University of Helsinki
Dissertationes Universitatis Helsingiensis 150/2024

What issues, which women, whose solutions: a social representations approach to the content and reception of women's rights campaigns in India

Keshia D'silva

DOCTORAL THESIS

To be presented for public examination, with the permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki, in lecture hall 6 (B317), Metsätalo, on the 18th of July at 12 o'clock.
Helsinki, 2024

Research Location
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki

Supervised by
Professor Anna-Maija Pirttilä-Backman
University of Helsinki

Dr. Eemeli Hakoköngäs
University of Helsinki

Pre-examined by
Dr. Geetha Reddy
The Open University, United Kingdom

Dr. Hemangini Gupta
University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

Opponent
Professor Sandra Jovchelovitch
London School of Economics

Funding
Kone Foundation

The Faculty of Social Sciences uses the Ouriginal system (plagiarism recognition) to examine all doctoral dissertations.

Cover picture: Photograph taken by Keshia D'silva in April, 2024, featuring a mural in Lodhi Art District, composed by artist Shilo Shiv Suleman of the Fearless Collective, painted in collaboration with Chintan and Start India and co-created with female waste collectors at Vivekanada Camp, Lutyens, in November, 2021, in Delhi, India. The producers of the artwork have consented to its use in this thesis.

Publisher: Helsingin yliopisto
Series: Dissertationes Universitatis Helsingiensis 150/2024

ISBN 978-951-51-9864-8 (print)
ISBN 978-951-51-9863-1 (online)
ISSN 2954-2898 (print)
ISSN 2954-2952 (online)
PunaMusta, Joensuu 2024

Abstract

India has a long tradition of feminist activism and gender advocacy that aims to address deep-rooted patriarchal practices. However, the specific issues prioritized by different waves of feminism have fluctuated over the decades in accordance with socio-political and historical circumstances. Critiques have been directed at more recent waves for being dominated by neoliberal tropes that assume singularity in the experiences of women in accordance with middle-class ideals and put forth solutions inaccessible to the majority of women. While digital campaigning is argued to have brought in a new wave of feminism in India, little is known regarding what issues are prioritized by this wave of campaigning, what solutions are constructed as optimal to these issues, which women they aim to help, or how audiences might respond to these campaigns. This would be a particularly ripe time for such studies, given the plethora of digital campaigns launched by a variety of different organizations dedicated to gender justice in the country, in the years before and after India was labelled the most dangerous country in the world for women by a 2018 Thomas Reuters perception poll. Furthermore, given the diversity in the experiences of India's hundreds of millions of women, it is important to understand the extent to which digital gender advocacy in India maintains or challenges the criticized neoliberal ideals that homogenize women.

The three sub-studies in this thesis are thus dedicated to the task of exploring the content and reception of digital gender advocacy campaigns in India, disseminated through the medium of YouTube. The social representations theory is utilized as the main theoretical framework that approaches the broad question of women's emancipation as a system of socially constructed meanings and symbols located within wider social, cultural, and historical circumstances. Methodologically, the sub-studies employ a range of different materials, data collection techniques, and qualitative analytical approaches in conjunction with tools of the social representations theory.

Study I draws on a sample of 250 videos from three different organizations representing an Indian government ministry, an international non-governmental organization, and a local non-governmental organization to provide a broad overview of the issues prioritized in these different organizations' campaigns and how the representations of these issues uphold neoliberal ideals of womanhood, adapted to India's socio-historical conditions. Using analytical concepts of the social representations theory in conjunction with content and thematic analysis, it identifies two hegemonic social representations, the first anchoring and objectifying sexual harassment as an urban middle-class issue and the second depicting early marriage, gender-biased sex selection, and female education as rural issues, with solutions to all these different issues mostly placed on individuals and rarely on institutions. Meanwhile, Study II focuses on a small sample of eight videos produced by the Indian government ministry and the international non-governmental organization, which were exceptionally dedicated to promoting institutional change by reforming the Indian police in tackling gender-based violence. Tools of the social

representations theory were integrated with narrative analysis to explore how the role of the police was represented in such campaigns. While the campaign of the government ministry glorified the Indian police and reproduced traditional gender roles within law enforcement, the campaign of the international non-governmental organization critiqued the police, highlighting how the organizations' identities and relationships with state institutions influenced their advocacy. Yet, despite the premise of institutional reform, these campaigns still do not depart from neoliberal ideals by placing the burden of change on individual women. Finally, Study III explores how an urban middle-class audience consisting of 25 professionals employed in the information technology sector in India, who can be considered a realistic target audience for the advocacy campaigns, react to three campaign videos representing the hegemonic neoliberal ideals identified in Studies I and II. The sample consisted of 13 women and 12 men and employed reflexive thematic analysis and a discursive approach to social representations to highlight how the hegemonic understandings are negotiated in accordance with participants' own positions, such as class and gender, serving identity-related functions.

As a whole, the studies suggest the dominance of neoliberal ideals in the content and reception of Indian gender advocacy campaigns, characterized by an emphasis on solutions calling for individual responsibility and a dearth of demands for institutional change and collective action. The hegemony of such ideals functions to preserve social hierarchies that position the educated, urban middle-classes as the vanguards of progress and attribute patriarchy to uneducated, rural, and working-class populations in India. However, there was also evidence of alternative understandings that went beyond neoliberal tropes to envision a greater accountability of institutions, to highlight the complicity of the elite in perpetuating patriarchy, and to illustrate the limitations of self-transformation as a solution to structural oppression. The existence of such alternatives may have the potential to destabilize hegemonic meanings and bring about social change in the future. When considered holistically, the studies thus shed light on hegemonic, emancipated and polemic meanings, ideas, images, and narratives of women and women's issues in multimodal digital Indian gender advocacy campaigning, and how these understandings are in turn re-presented by a reception audience.

Acknowledgments

For someone who hated school to be completing a PhD, there is bound to be a lot of people to thank. The first is the Finnish education system—I could not have pursued a master's or a PhD at the University of Helsinki if not for free education. During that journey, I met my current supervisors, Professor Emerita Anna-Maija Pirttilä-Backman and Dr. Eemeli Hakokõngäs. From my master's days, Anna-Maija welcomed me warmly, included me in her research group, gave me invaluable experience as her research assistant, and supervised my master's thesis, along with Dr. Rusten Menard. Their support and intellectual nourishment gave me faith in the wild idea that I might have what it takes to be an academic. Meanwhile, I crossed paths with Eemeli at a seminar when I was doing my master's and he his doctorate. When I needed to interview someone who inspired me for a career planning course, I picked him, and my admiration has only grown in the years since. To be supervised by the people who were instrumental in my decision to undertake doctoral studies has been the utmost privilege. I am eternally grateful for their gentle encouragement to take my work to greater depths, their constant reassurance that all hurdles would be overcome, their patience in answering the hundreds of questions I directed at them, and the helpful reading suggestions they sent my way.

This thesis has also been greatly enriched by the constructive comments and literature suggestions provided by my pre-examiners, Dr. Geetha Reddy and Dr. Hemangini Gupta. I feel very fortunate to have had my work assessed by academics I admire and whose scholarship has advanced my own thinking. I am also grateful for the feedback I have received from all the journal editors and reviewers on the studies that comprise this thesis which helped strengthen my work.

While the prospect of a public defense is nerve-wracking to me, I still eagerly await it, if only for the supreme honor of having Professor Sandra Jovchelovitch act as my opponent. Professor Jovchelovitch has deeply influenced my understanding of the social representations theory, particularly in relation to the role of power in knowledge construction, a central issue of concern in this thesis. I cherish the privilege of engaging in a dialogue with her about my research.

As social psychologists, we place great importance on our environments—the lovely community of academics in my department, in the "Every day thinking and arguing" research group, in the FEMCORUS reading group, at my thesis seminars, at the María Lugones Decolonial Summer School 2021 and the CES Endangered

Theories Summer School 2022, at conferences and different stages of my education all gave me the space to grow and learn from some of the best minds. A special mention to Professor Inari Sakki, Professor Emeritus Klaus Helkama, Professor Walter Mignolo, Professor Rolando Vazquez, Professor Wolfgang Wagner, Professor Gaia Giuliani, Professor Peter Beattie, Dr. Maria Indelicato, Dr. Saara Ratilainen, Dr. Aniela Wenham, Dr. Carol-Ann Hooper, Dr. Howard Sklar, Bob Coles, Angeline Theopilus, and Deidre Bala for their support and engagement with my work. Academia is rumored to be competitive and lonely, but Dr. Marguerite Beattie-Tynjälä, Dr. Yên Mai, Dr. Dániel Jenei, Dr. Viivi Eskelinen, Anaïs Duong-Pedica, Viivi Mäkinen, Yanjin Zhu, Helenor Tormis, Timo Häkli, Smarika KC, Rachel Bhali, Dionysia Kang, Malin Ekholm, Martina Faccini, Zachary Leamy, Matilde Tassinari, Minna Paanasalo, Hanna Sjögren, and Zea Szebeni showed me it can also be friendly and cooperative.

Speaking of cooperation, I could not have gotten through this without the love, support, and sharing of household duties with my husband, Juho Valta. He also provided me with in-laws, Helena and Ville Valta, who have been second parents to me in Finland. This brings me to my own family. Hopefully my thesis will shed some light on patriarchy in India. Considering that, I feel lucky to have been so wholeheartedly supported by my parents, Laila and Savio D'silva, throughout my education and to have never been restricted in any way as a girl.

I also received tremendous support from my extended family and friends in India who showered me with constant encouragement, hosted me when I needed a place to work and stay, and went out of their way to connect me with potential participants. I sadly cannot name you all to ensure anonymity for my participants, but I hope you know who you are. To my participants themselves, I am profoundly grateful for the time and insights they shared with me, as this research could not have materialized without them. As a considerable portion of my early research plan was conceived while couch-surfing in a village in West Bengal, much thanks is owed to my host Saumya Choudhury for her hospitality, companionship, and encouragement. Meanwhile, friendships with Kaino Wennerstrand, Sandra Sánchez, Tania Irakau, Lorenzo Staden, and Harshal Solidor kept me grounded by reminding me that there is life outside of academia. I also want to express my gratitude to Kenno Filmi for giving me opportunities to speak and write about my work at popular events and in publications.

I was fortunate to receive multiple grants from various University of Helsinki funds, as well an office space that enabled me to make the most of the doctoral school experience. Lastly and very importantly, I am so very thankful for the generous four-year grant I received from the Kone Foundation, which gave me the freedom to fully dedicate my attention to this project for the last four years and go beyond what I had envisioned it to be in my initial research plan. I hope I have done you and my topic justice.

Index

List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications:

I D'silva, K., & Hakokõngäs, E. (2022). Empowered but Endangered? An Analysis of Hegemonic Womanhood in Indian Gender Advocacy Campaigns. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *10*(1), 253-271. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.5619

II D'silva, K. (2022). Same old story of good cop–bad cop? A narrative approach to social representations of the police's role in addressing gender-based violence in Indian gender advocacy. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2655

III D'silva, K. (under review). Not to blame, but still responsible: Negotiating representations of neoliberal feminism among urban middle-class Indians.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals. Studies I and II are published under the open access (OA) publishing model and are made available under the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.

Abbreviations

AII	Amnesty International India
BI	Breakthrough India
FCRA	Foreign Contributions Regulation Act
MWCD	Ministry for Women and Child Development
NGO	Non-governmental organization
SRT	Social representations theory

1. Introduction

When I tell people I am exploring Indian gender advocacy campaigns in my research, they often nod enthusiastically and say how timely my topic is. After all, India's reputation as a poster child for misogyny precedes itself. In 2018, it was named the most dangerous country in the world for women in a Thomas Reuters' survey, climbing up from fourth place in the same poll in 2011. Survey participants considered Indian women to be most vulnerable to sexual violence, human trafficking, and cultural practices (Narayan, 2018). The polls did not use official statistics, but measured perceptions of dangers to women among academics, policy makers, non-governmental organization (NGO) staff, and other experts (Anderson, 2011). This is worth noting because it suggests that how dangers to women are perceived is as important as what dangers to women are documented to be. Indeed, from a social representations perspective, perceptions are powerful because they shape reality and have material consequences (Moscovici, 1984).

The public debate (for instance, Bhattacharya, 2018; Narayan, 2018) generated by the surveys went on to shape reality. While the Indian government ministry for women dismissed the poll as malicious foreign propaganda, local activists felt it to be a much-needed wake-up call to the status of women in India (BBC, 2018). The increased scrutiny of women's issues in the wake of these two surveys gave gender advocacy organizations and institutions a chance to highlight their efforts to address the grievances of India's hundreds of millions of women and girls. Over the past decade, government ministries, international and local NGOs, and civil society organizations have been actively conducting digital campaigns on women's issues in India. However, in a country with over 22 official languages, seven major religions, over three thousand castes, widespread economic inequality, and a vast rural-urban divide (Joshee & Sihra, 2009), women in India are presumably not a homogeneous category; nor do they carry the same burdens in their daily lives.

Around the world, gender advocacy organizations and feminist movements have been accused of failing to account for the differences between women in their activism (Bunjun, 2010). This has been attributed to the dominance of neoliberal feminism in shaping women's rights movements, which promotes a vision of womanhood that prizes self-sufficiency, self-confidence, and self-empowerment (Rottenberg, 2014). While such ideals may be commendable and relevant to the lives of many middle-class women who have the social and economic circumstances

to aspire to them, Rutherford (2018) points out that neoliberal feminism remains blind to the most pressing problems of women from less privileged backgrounds and promotes solutions that are unattainable to most women.

Although neoliberal ideals are suggested to influence activism and programs committed to gender equality in India (Wilson, 2015; Gupta, 2016), there is a lack of comprehensive understanding of what issues are prioritized in digital gender advocacy campaigns in India, which women they aim to support, and what solutions are proposed to different problems. Before the work of organizations and feminist movements in India can be critically evaluated, it is imperative to understand the social representations or "system of values, ideas and practices" (Moscovici, 1973, xvii) that they are putting into circulation in their advocacy and how those representations espouse or repudiate the ideals of neoliberal feminism. Furthermore, not only are women an exceptionally heterogenous category in India, the gender advocacy landscape in the country is also extremely diverse. Since the 1990s, there have been over 50,000 organizations in India focusing on women's issues, with around 50 of them considered significant in terms of their operations and impact (Sundar, 1996). Yet, little is known about the similarities and differences in the work of any of these organizations.

While figures are not available for what percentage of advocacy is digital, Jain (2020) acknowledges the complementary and overlapping relationship between online and offline advocacy. Offline feminist work is often promoted through digital campaigns, and digital campaigns in turn influence activism on the ground. However, as Rao (2014) discusses, what distinguishes digital campaigns is that their viewership is likely to be restricted to an urban middle-class audience by virtue of being broadcast on digital platforms like YouTube. This is due to social and economic constraints and the country's large digital divide, which stratify access to the internet along class, gender, and geographical lines (Parsheera, 2019). Gupta (2016) highlights how digital gender advocacy campaigning in India reproduces neoliberal ideals of feminism to cater to urban middle-class audiences. As such campaigns often try to bring about social change by spreading awareness and eliciting donations, it is important to understand how their intended audience responds to them, which existing research has not addressed.

The studies in this thesis thus focus on digital media, particularly on gender advocacy campaigns broadcast through YouTube. As the selected campaigns comprise of multimodal content, it is also essential to explore how meanings are constructed through the combination of moving images, verbal and textual narration, and music and sound. Multimodal approaches to campaigning have been extensively studied in the field of communications, especially political communication (Esposito, 2019; Moussa et al., 2020; Famulari, 2021; Al-Sabbagh, 2022; Salojärvi et al., 2023, Xiang, 2023). There has also been increasing interest in these issues in other fields, such as education (Hawreliak & Lemieux, 2020;

Tetloff et al., 2014) and social psychology (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016a; Sakki & Martikainen, 2020). Over 20 years ago, de Rosa and Farr (2001) highlighted the importance given by the social psychological theory of social representations to images as products, mediums, and sources of social knowledge. More recent research (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2019; Martikainen, 2019; Cohen et al., 2022) has shown how the social representations theory (SRT) can be combined with the approaches of visual studies to analyze visual material. Multimodal applications within discursive psychology are also gaining popularity in relation to political communication (Martikainen & Sakki,2021; Pettersson et al., 2023). Yet, this is still an area in its nascency and remains theoretically and empirically underexplored. Research within social psychology has largely neglected to consider how multimodal communication is utilized in social justice advocacy and the impressions such material creates for their audiences. The studies in this dissertation build on the aforementioned applications to contribute to developing methods of multimodal analysis in social psychology.

Thus, this dissertation broadly aims to explore the content and reception of women's rights campaigns in India by a government ministry for women, an international NGO, and a local NGO, utilizing the SRT as a theoretical and methodological framework. By including organizations with differing mandates and relationships with the state that have been active for many years with a vast online repository of multimodal campaign material, the studies allow a comparison of how women's issues are constructed. Hakoköngäs and Sakki (2016b) have highlighted the dearth of qualitative studies exploring audience reception to visual content in social psychology. Studying content along with reception responds to this gap and provides a more holistic understanding of the complexities involved in multimodal communication about women's issues in India.

The summary is structured as follows: Chapter two discusses the emergence of neoliberal feminism, how it shaped women's rights movements, and concludes with what kinds of alternative feminisms to neoliberal feminism could exist. Chapter three looks at women's rights in India and provides a history of the Indian women's movement, the status of women in contemporary India, and the failure of institutions to uphold women's rights. Chapter four explicates on the main theoretical framework: the social representations theory, paying attention to the definitions and processes of social representations, the power dynamics involved, the application of SRT to multimodal material, and research on representations of feminism. Chapter five outlines the general aims and specific research questions of the studies. In the sixth chapter, the epistemology, methods, and ethical considerations of the studies are presented. The results of the studies are described in chapter seven, followed by a discussion of these results in chapter eight, which also reflects on the limitations of the studies and directions for future research. Chapter nine is devoted to a concluding note and the contributions of the research.

2. Neoliberal feminism as a hegemonic feminism in the 21st century

In his book, "A brief history of neoliberalism," David Harvey (2007, p.18) quips that "We are all neoliberals now." Here, Harvey is referring to how, over the course of four decades, neoliberalism attained its hegemonic status globally as an economic and political ideology. Not merely confined to facilitating free trade, maximizing corporate profits, and curbing welfarism, neoliberal rationality also became deployed as a form of governmentality that involved expanding and spreading market values to all institutions and social actions (Brown, 2003). Neoliberal ideology has so pervasively shaped social consciousness that Bettache et al. (2020) have identified the presence of neoliberal beliefs at the level of individuals and entire societies. Such beliefs include confidence in personal control, support for system justification, social exclusion of disadvantaged groups, and a lack of support for collective action to reduce inequalities.

The essence of neoliberalism is well described by Margaret Thatcher, who spearheaded Britain's transition to neoliberalism and remarked in her now infamous "Woman's Own" speech that "economics are the method but the object is to change the soul" (Harvey, 2007, p.23). Key to this soul-changing venture was recasting liberal conceptions of individual rights and freedoms into a mold for morality that measured an individual's moral autonomy in terms of their capacity for self-responsibility. Consequently, failures to meet needs and ambitions were seen as individual shortcomings, no matter how grave the external constraints hampering the realization of such needs and ambitions. (Brown, 2003).

This appropriation has left any political movement placing value on individual freedom vulnerable for co-optation into the neoliberal fold (Harvey, 2007). In that sense, "we are all neoliberals now" captures only too well the ability of neoliberal rationality as the dominant mode of governance to colonize more and more domains, domesticating emancipatory movements, and remaking them in its own image. Feminist movements have also been seduced by neoliberalism, and scholars (Fraser, 2009; Rottenberg, 2014) have documented the rise of neoliberal feminism, in which feminist ideals are resignified under neoliberal capitalism.

To understand this development, it is necessary to contextualize the evolution of feminist movements within changing socio-historical circumstances. Feminist

history in the West, particularly the United States, is often understood in terms of the "wave" metaphor to denote changes in feminist movements over time (Laughlin et al., 2010). Like a wave in the sea which exists in relation to other waves, feminist waves are defined in relation to turning points in feminist activism that precede and succeed them (Bailey, 1997). The wave metaphor has been criticized for assuming a linear chronology to feminist movements that may not have existed, excluding feminist activism by marginalized groups who were not part of mainstream movements, and overemphasizing differences between waves while neglecting diversity within a single wave (Laughlin et al., 2010). While these criticisms are valid, the wave metaphor is still useful for situating different currents of feminism over time and recognizing the continuities and discontinuities across them.

Day and Wray (2018) suggest there have been four waves of feminism so far. These are discussed below, with particular attention paid to the second wave of feminism in the United States, as Fraser (2009) argues that neoliberal ideals started having an influence on feminist movements during the latter part of this wave. I then focus on the resultant NGOization of women's rights movements, concluding with alternative feminisms envisioned by activists and scholars. One might question why a thesis concerned with social representations conveyed by gender advocacy in India would begin with a historical analysis of feminist movements in the West. This is not to lend credibility to the myth of feminism as an exclusively Western movement, but to highlight how the West has been able to exert a strong influence on socio-political systems and movements in parts of the Global South through a combination of market reforms and soft power, as argued by Brown (2003).

As will be further discussed under the section, "New Waves, Same Neoliberal vision?," Western financial and corporate institutions also financed the growth of NGOs as a shadow state in many countries in the Global South, giving them the power to shape feminist development agendas in line with their neoliberal visions (Brown, 2003). I therefore find it necessary to foreground feminism in India within a broader feminist history, as that history has shaped the visions of gender justice movements in India and other parts of the world. Reddy and Amer (2023) have also criticized mainstream currents of social psychology for promoting positivistic and individualistic perspectives that do not adequately account for context and material constraints in explaining phenomena. While they consider the social representations theory an exception to this, owing to its emphasis on context in understanding group level phenomena, they also discuss how the theory is often applied in Western settings in ways that pay inadequate attention to context. Thus, recognizing the processes that have led to the dominance of neoliberal ideals in feminist movements worldwide directs the social representations theory back to its roots and aligns with calls to reorient social psychology towards knowledge production which does justice to histories of dominance and oppression (Fine, 2023).

2.1 Emergence of neoliberal feminism

> Some people ask, 'Why the word feminist? Why not just say you are a believer in human rights, or something like that?' Because that would be dishonest. Feminism is, of course, part of human rights in general – but to choose to use the vague expression human rights is to deny the specific and particular problem of gender.
>
> -Chimamanda Adichie (2014, pg. 14).

Most feminists would agree with Nigerian born writer Chimamanda Adichie that feminism is the fight for solutions to the specific and particular problems of gender. Yet, feminism is not a unified political ideology and what constitutes the specific problems of gender has varied across time and nations as well as different currents of feminism (Bunjun, 2010). Adichie herself has come under criticism for failing to include the rights of trans women within her vision for feminism (Camminga, 2020). The first wave of feminism in the West is commonly traced to the mid-19th century with campaigns for women's suffrage and legal, educational, and economic reforms to improve women's lives (Day & Wray, 2018). This gave way to a second wave of feminism beginning in the 1960s that represented a diversity of feminist perspectives, such as radical feminism, socialist feminism, and lesbian feminism (Ghandy, 2016).

Fraser (2009) highlights that while these different strands of feminism had different opinions on how women's liberation could be achieved, they all considered gender justice to be part of a larger struggle against imperialism, racism, classism, and heteronormativity, and envisioned a deep transformation of social and political structures. She emphasizes that these ambitious visions of early second-wave feminism must be charted within their emergence in the post-Second World War years, marked by the implementation of Keynesian economic policies in Western nations to combat "stagflation," the combination of inflation and slow growth. These included investments in infrastructure, social welfare, redistributive taxation, regulation of businesses, nationalization of essential industries, and decommodification of public goods. According to Fraser, second-wave feminists recognized the importance of tackling class inequalities through strong political institutions that delivered justice through redistributive welfare projects. However, she also draws attention to the shift in the focus on political economy and public spheres to understand injustice within the family and cultural traditions. Fraser argues that the resulting project, popularized by the slogans, "the personal is the political" and "sisterhood is global," assumed a certain unity across the experiences of all women while trying to draw attention to less visible dimensions of oppression, such as unpaid care work, women's subordination in marriage, gender inequalities in the labor market, and male domination of political institutions.

To challenge the assumptions of singularity in womanhood, Black feminist groups such as the Combahee River Collective in the United States called for an expansion of the definition of injustice beyond gender to encompass intersecting axes of oppression or social identities, including race, class, sexuality, and nationality (Bunjun, 2010). Such challenges enriched second-wave feminism and broadened it as a political movement. However, Ghandy (2016) points to a shift in second-wave feminism after 1975, dominated by a trend of "cultural feminism," which rejected a critique of capitalism and social structures and focused instead on the cultural features of patriarchal oppression. Thus, second-wave feminism failed to achieve the structural and institutional changes it set out to accomplish, even while spearheading a massive cultural transformation that gave mass appeal to previously polemic ideals of gender equality. Fraser (2009) ties second-wave feminism's institutional failure but simultaneous cultural success to neoliberal political and economic transformations in the 1980s that were overturning Keynesian state welfarism. In its place, privatization, de-regulation, self-responsibility, and "trickle-down" ideologies were promoted whereby advantages given to corporations and elite classes were thought to improve the economy and eventually lead to the betterment of those at the bottom of the class pyramid.

Fraser (2009) suggests that these shifts led to the resignification of the visions of second-wave feminism. As she argues, the movement's attempt to expand the focus from class and political economy to culture and the family occurred when entire political systems were trying to repress any form of class consciousness. Additionally, neoliberalism introduced the norm of two-earner families and was considered to encourage more horizontal organizations and flexible networks. Fraser explains that this spirit of neoliberalism found favor with second-wave feminists who had critiqued the male breadwinner model and top-down state welfare policies of the preceding Keynesian era as hierarchical and paternalistic.

Thus, feminism and neoliberalism became entangled in what Eisenstein (2017) terms "a dangerous liaison." The former's critique of institutions, focus on the personal, and prioritization of recognition of oppression along identity-based categories over redistribution ended up being employed in the service of neoliberalism's cutbacks of social welfarism and emphasis on self-responsibility. This led to an amplification of feminist ideals that supported this new form of capitalism and promoted the cultural transformation that second-wave feminism is credited with.

Hence, some scholars, such as Fraser (2009), have alluded to the complicity of second-wave feminism in kickstarting cultural changes that legitimized the structural transformation of capitalist society towards neoliberalism. Meanwhile, others like Rottenberg (2014) see the convergence between second-wave feminism and neoliberalism as an unfortunate accident of historical socio-economic conditions rather than a deliberate courtship. However, it is generally agreed that

the result of this dalliance was the production of a new kind of feminism centered around an ideal feminist subject who is individualized and enterprising, diligently optimizing her resources through hard work, drive, and innovation, and pursuing with singular focus an ascent to the top of existing power hierarchies rather than transforming oppressive structures and systemic patriarchy. As Rottenberg (2014) argues, constructing success in terms of the ability to juggle different roles so that women "could have it all" was essential to a neoliberal feminist project that sought to address the gap between unpaid gendered labor at home and a neoliberal mantra at work by requiring women to take the initiative and put in extra hours. Classical liberal terms of equality, opportunity, and free choice were thus stripped of their wider structural connotations and the struggle for women's rights and women's autonomy was reframed in terms of behavior modification and affect.

The operative logic was that acquiring the right dispositions, such as confidence and resilience, would enable girls and women to do anything they wanted and be anything they wished to be without recognition of structural and material constraints. As the self-transformative work demanded by the ideals of neoliberal feminism are most accessible to those women higher in the social hierarchy, middle-class women were optimally positioned to embrace such ideals of empowerment that were typical to neoliberal feminism (Rutherford, 2018). Consequently, despite second-wave feminism's early commitment to recognizing intersecting axes of oppression, visions of neoliberal feminism produced a homogenous subject of womanhood shaped by middle-class ideals.

2.2 New waves, same neoliberal vision?

A third wave of feminism is suggested to have been ushered in during the 1990s by a younger generation of feminists who criticized the second wave for being too radical and puritanical (Coleman, 2009). Some scholars point to discourses on post-feminism as specific to this period, whereby the existence of sexism was acknowledged, yet feminism was thought to no longer be needed (Gill, 2007). The assumption behind post-feminism was that the feminist revolution had already successfully occurred in Western nations and if women were not yet empowered, they were to blame for failing to internalize the revolution and act on the reality of a brave new feminist-friendly world (Rottenberg, 2014). This often manifested in popular cultural products like movies, magazines, and television shows that undermined feminism as a social critique while celebrating female power directed at consumerism, a phenomenon that McRobbie (2004) termed "double entanglement." The movie "Bridget Jones's Diary" was cited by McRobbie as an example that embodied this phenomenon.

In parallel to post-feminist assumptions that Western societies had achieved the required level of gender equality, the state of gender in the Global South came to be

sharply scrutinized, mobilizing a missionary vision of saving "Third World women" (Mohanty, 1984). The Washington Consensus among Bretton Woods institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the US Congress and administration in the 1980s pushed structural adjustment programs in the Global South, including India (Brown, 2003). This hollowed out the public sectors in these countries and prompted the growth of NGOs and development agencies financed by the institutions whose policies had disenfranchised people in the countries they now claimed to want to help. International development agendas constructed all women in the Global South as a static homogenous category without agency, in need of civilizing by Western interventions (Mohanty, 1984).

According to Wilson (2015), this birthed a trope that came to be known as the "Girl Effect" of international development, in which an ambitious entrepreneurial girl from a low-income household in the Global South required a small investment in her human capital to go to school, after which "she will do the rest." This constructed poverty to be a consequence of ostensibly inadequate local knowledge or "traditional cultural practices" like early marriage. Conveniently, structural causes of poverty, including historical inequalities caused by colonialism, transnational labor migration, and class relations were ignored (Hodžić, 2014).

However, Day and Wray (2018) suggest that a renewed commitment to feminism arose in the West in the 21st century, with the internet emerging as an important site of feminist activity as digital campaigns and hashtag activism, such as #MeToo, gained traction. Some scholars argue that this online presence of feminism marked the start of a fourth wave of feminism, considered more accessible than previous waves by including women without the time or resources to participate in rallies and meetings in person (Harris, 2010). Yet, the existence of digital divides stratifying internet access along class, gender, age, and geographic location excluded those lacking access to the internet and digital literacy skills from obtaining all the benefits of the virtual world. Thus, Day and Wray (2018) discuss how offline activity is often regarded as the only type of "real activism" and digital campaigns are sometimes dismissed as 'Slacktivism," incapable of achieving concrete political transformations. In reality, online and offline movements feed each other and what starts as online activism may spread offline and vice versa.

As many of the neoliberal ideals that developed during the second wave continued into both the third and fourth waves, there is a lack of consensus on how these waves differed from their predecessor (Day & Wray, 2018). This ties back to the critique of the wave metaphor, which attempts to divide feminist demands into unique sets of goals and concerns that followed each other chronologically when there is often overlap between waves and diversity within waves (Laughlin et al., 2010). Undoubtedly, the largest continuity has been the focus on the choices and feelings of individual women as markers of empowerment, which have come to dominate visions of mainstream feminism, beginning with feminist projects during

the second wave and persisting into the fourth wave. Neoliberal feminism has thus justifiably been termed a hegemonic feminism in the 21st century because of its long-reaching impact on the terms and visions of contemporary feminist movements across the world (Eisenstein, 2017).

2.3 NGOization

> NGOs have a complicated space in neoliberal politics. They are supposed to mop up the anger. Even when they are doing good work, they are supposed to maintain the status quo. They are the missionaries of the corporate world.
>
> -Arundhati Roy (as cited in Barsamian, 2017, para. 8).

The broad umbrella of women's rights has been taken up by a multitude of organizations ranging from both state and civil society entities to everything in between that represent a diversity of aims and visions. As suggested by their name, non-governmental organizations may encompass civil society organizations that counter the state and provide checks on state power (Bernal & Grewal, 2014). One can think of organizations like Amnesty International, whose mandate evolved with the explicit aim of exposing human rights violations by both state and non-state actors. However, many NGOs may have direct and indirect relationships with the state, but this alone does not necessarily mean a betrayal of feminist principles. Hodžić (2014) illustrates how in some African contexts, advancing progressive feminist political projects has involved working with the state, particularly when those projects involve tackling institutional violence.

For Hodžić, the risk of co-optation of feminist NGOs arises in relation to their role in perpetuating the depoliticizing effects of the development apparatus where they may act as agents of neoliberalism and neoliberal aid regimes. The transition to neoliberalism saw a massive expansion of NGOs, which stepped in to cover gaps in welfare services as states withdrew support from the social sector (Brown, 2003). As Alvarez (2014) discusses, NGOization does not simply refer to the increase in feminist NGOs during the 1990s but also to the promotion and legitimization of certain practices of professionalization and bureaucratization among such organizations under transitions to neoliberalism at both a national and global level. By moving across what is included and excluded by the state, NGOs may become a part of neoliberal projects of privatization and state withdrawal.

In their scathing critique of the non-governmental industry titled "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded," INCITE, an activist organization of feminists of color in the United States, discuss how the NGOization of feminist movements forced activists to become accountable to funders rather than the communities they serve. As corporate funders are implicated in the very inequalities that non-

governmental organizations aim to tackle, there is a conflict of interest in the goal of challenging the status quo and addressing the root causes of oppression (Ahn, 2007). Consequently, many NGOs are more concerned with the provision of social service rather than social change. The major difference between the two according to Kivel (2007) is that while social change is concerned with long-term, sustainable strategies of eradicating exploitation, social service is geared towards immediate and temporary ways of helping people survive violence. While social service is necessary to help people cope with the wounds of disenfranchisement, it does not eliminate the sources of oppression. Thus, funding trends end up influencing the work, priorities, and direction of non-governmental feminist organizations who need to stay competitive in the social movement market. This has shifted the priority of activists from social change to statistics and reports showcasing how successfully the work has met the criteria set by their funders (Pérez, 2007).

The influence of elite interests on social movements has been termed "elite capture" by Táíwò (2022). He discusses how a select few have greater access to power as a result of advantages conferred on them by their lineage or caste, wealth, gender, or other reasons, giving them the ability to influence how funds and resources are distributed. Thus, according to Táíwò, elite interests thus capture the values of social movements, which can reduce the interests of the movement to what they share in common with the few at the top or worse, leading to the elite advancing their own narrow interests under the group banner of solidarity with the masses.

While there are country-specific differences in the sources of NGO funding, Salamon's (2010) study, which included 16 countries across all continents, found that in most countries, the income of NGOs largely came from supporter fees or philanthropy. Although India was not included in the latter study, it was the top recipient of overseas development aid between 2020–2021 (OECD, 2023). As Jalali (2008) discusses, even though foreign funding of NGOs is tightly regulated in India through the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA), grants from multilateral agencies such as the United Nations and World Bank that make up a substantial portion of overseas development aid are not subject to FCRA restrictions. Dependence on foreign funding has raised concerns regarding the accountability, co-optation, control, priorities, and strategies of NGOs (Jalali, 2013).

Similar critiques are also directed at corporate funding, which as Pérez (2007) argues causes dependency, restricts the direction and content of social justice work, and imposes a business culture on the operations of many NGOs. The resulting NGOization leads to feminist movements being modeled on corporate culture and hierarchies that reward bourgeoisie credentials and upward mobility (King and Osayande, 2007). Táíwò (2022) argues that limiting the leadership of non-governmental feminist movements to well-paid professionals from top universities who have no relationship with the communities they serve leads to less collective action by people, more remote decision sites, and the rise of technocrats.

According to Rojas (2007), the integration of business culture into the non-governmental sector also causes projectification, compartmentalizing different social issues, and turning people's welfare into deliverables where campaign goals must be achieved in short periods of time. Because tangible impact cannot take place under these tight deadlines, organizations may employ a "smoke and mirrors" approach to campaigning and prioritize symbolic gestures that look good for photo opportunities but do not lead to sustained change. Additionally, Kivel (2007) argues that as funding is limited, NGO projects are only accessible to a handful of people and not to all in need of them. The lucky few who qualify as beneficiaries are upheld as examples that the system is fair, validating the idea of a level playing field, where one can get ahead and obtain benefits by working hard, following the rules, and presenting no challenge to the status quo. Additionally, showcasing the few who succeed provides a justification to blame those who do not for lacking a good work ethic, in accordance with neoliberal logic which obscures the root causes of inequalities that keep the majority of women oppressed.

While the above discussion highlights the blind spots of NGOs and interrogates how their forms and processes under neoliberalism may impact their advocacy, it would be a grievous simplification to conclude that all progressive and radical feminist visions of NGOs were wiped out under neoliberalism. A plethora of research suggests that in different contexts around the world, feminist NGOs are finding ways to creatively resist neoliberal reforms and put forth demands to transform the state apparatus. For instance, Alvarez (2014) has found that after grappling with the past mistakes of NGOization in Latin America, feminist activists strategically used the NGO form to become politically active and reclaim movement building, collective action, and collaborate with different organizations on multiple issues that extended beyond gender. Meanwhile, in Ghana, Hodžić (2014) illustrates how the collaboration between individual feminists, NGOs, and labor unions produced a manifesto critiquing the constraints on NGOs' independence while also historicizing the precarity of Ghanian women, explicitly using the term "underdeveloped" rather than "undeveloped" to draw attention to the role of colonial and neocolonial exploitation and expropriation of resources in producing poverty.

In India, Vijayakumar (2018) highlights how neoliberal aid regimes have appropriated the term "community mobilization" to shift responsibility from the state onto vulnerable groups themselves. However, the local meanings attached to conceptions of "community" also allowed marginalized minorities to creatively deploy community mobilization schemes to launch collective claims for rights. Roychowdhury (2021) also notes how women organizations in India have acted as "brokers," organizing marginalized populations to demand state-based rights and resources that are typically inaccessible to them. Such forms of resistance are also connected to wider calls for alternatives to neoliberal feminism, as discussed below.

2.4 Calls for alternatives to neoliberal feminism

The dominance of neoliberal feminism has cultivated a sense that it is the only type of feminism available and if the visions of neoliberal feminism are rejected, feminism as a whole is rejected. Thus, in critiquing neoliberal feminism, some scholars and activists emphasize that neoliberal feminism is not really feminism, which brings up questions regarding the true nature of feminism. According to Rottenberg (2014), such an exercise is doomed to fail as it assumes that the borders of "true feminism" can be charted neatly and that there are unchanging principles from which "real" feminist ideals develop. However, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, women's rights, like other human rights, do not have an intrinsic meaning but are contested within particular historical, political, social, and cultural contexts. For instance, the rights of trans women were not on the radar of first-wave feminists, but in contemporary times, feminists failing to take up these struggles are considered to be "TERFS" or trans-exclusionary radical feminists.

Hence, Rottenberg (2014) makes a case for the boundaries of feminism to be kept open so that the pertinent needs of the day can be taken up. Instead of debating whether neoliberal feminism is truly a kind of feminism, it is more important to analyze the functions of neoliberal feminism at particular periods, and the ideals of womanhood it produces. Such an analysis can reorient feminism towards new articulations of social justice. Thus, the most pressing question according to Rottenberg is how mass feminist renaissance as resistance to multiple oppressive forces that exclude whole segments of society can be sustained and broadened while the logic of neoliberal feminism is rejected.

In answering this question, Rottenberg (2014) draws inspiration from Judith Butler's (2009) work on precarity, which conceptualizes precarity as a politically induced condition resulting from breakdowns in social and economic networks that induce different forms of vulnerability across different segments of people. As Rottenberg discusses, most conditions of precarity, including those caused by climate disasters, wars, and sexual violence disproportionately affect women. As precariousness involves heterogeneous and intersecting processes that connect social, economic, and cultural conditions, precarity can transcend particular identities, uniting feminism over a broader project without dismissing the specificity of different identities. For Rottenberg, seeing precarity as a politically induced condition highlights the importance of reclaiming state institutions to combat economic and ecological vulnerability and inequality precipitated by neoliberalism. Focusing on precarity is also in line with Coultas et al. (2023), who call for a social psychology of precarity that rejects neoliberal tendencies towards individualizing problems and solutions that have become common in the discipline. For Fine (2023), such a psychology would situate oppression in relation to historical, structural, and colonial power dynamics while highlighting collective forms of resistance and envisioning radical alternatives.

Fraser (2009) has also envisioned four focal points that a post-neoliberal feminist critique might be directed towards. The first focus integrates the dimensions of redistribution, recognition, and representation, which were fragmented from each other in previous eras. The second focus advocates for value to be placed on uncommodified activities, such as care work, that have largely been the responsibility of women. The third focus seeks to strengthen participatory democracy that subordinates bureaucratic managerialism to citizen power. The final focus moves beyond Western-centric visions of feminism to redress injustice along every axis, including trans-border injustice.

Additionally, despite the hegemony of neoliberal feminism, it is important to acknowledge that tension, difference, and resistance have been present not just within NGOs, as discussed in the previous section, but also across different currents of feminism. In response to the singularity of womanhood assumed by white second-wave feminists, the Combahee River Collective was already advocating for intersectional approaches to feminism in the 1970s. This was further developed by Crenshaw (1991) and Collins (2000) to describe the layers of oppression a woman may experience because of the way race interacts with class and gender, demonstrating the limitations of gender as a singular entry point of analysis.

Mohanty (2003) has also illustrated how entitlement, power, innocence, and complicity have been cemented into feminist organizations as hegemonic feminist ideologies, such as "sisterhood is global" and "the personal is the political." As she discusses, the idea that a unifying experience of womanhood connects all women places women outside of contemporary world history and renders invisible the effects of imperialism on the lives of women in the Global South. Mohanty therefore argues for a temporality of struggle that locates women within their historical, political, economic, and social positions before they are integrated into a collective vision. A politics of partiality as advocated for by Ang (2003) can also help challenge "one size fits all" versions of feminism and bring forth tensions and differences that are necessary for expanding visions of women's liberation.

To conclude, in providing a historical analysis of feminism in the West and NGOization, I attempt to highlight the hegemony of neoliberalism in shaping feminist ideals across the decades, while also drawing attention to the accompanying resistance and alternative visions of feminism that have characterized these transitions. This is important from a social representations perspective that is interested in how certain ideas become dominant in society and the alternatives that are marginalized. The goal of the following chapter is to narrow in on the situation in India and traverse the journey of the Indian women's movement to analyze how neoliberal transitions have shaped Indian feminist projects, the possibilities for resistance that have emerged locally, and the role of the state in questions of gender justice and injustice.

3. Women's rights in India—a background

> Even a cursory examination of the women's movement would demonstrate to what extent it has been pervasively structured by local and global forces from its very inception in the 19th century to the present. One would be hard-pressed to find any period when women's issues emerged autonomously or authentically "in their own right", so deeply mired have they been in the complex histories of colonialism and nationalism.
>
> - Mary John (2009, Divergent Pictures section, para. 2).

In India, feminism has often been dismissed as a Western import by conservatives and leftists alike while in the West, movements for women's rights in the Global South are often seen to imitate Western models. Yet as the above quote from John (2009)—an Indian scholar of women's studies—exemplifies, the reality is more nuanced as campaigns and debates associated with women's emancipation in India have been shaped by both indigenous and global forces. From a social representation perspective, it has been recommended by Moscovici (1984), the founder of the theory, that to understand how a society thinks about a phenomenon it is necessary to start with the representation "from which it is born." Thus, building on the broader understanding of global feminist movements provided in the previous chapter, I draw on India's past in this chapter to situate what common ideas and practices or social representations might be mobilized or resisted in activism on women's issues in India at present. With this aim, in the sections below, I map the history of the Indian women's movement to highlight the issues taken up by activists in the country over the past two centuries and how the priorities, methods, and messaging of feminism in India have been affected by both national interests and Western influences. To provide a context for evaluating the issues taken up by the gender advocacy campaigns analyzed in this thesis, I then outline the status of women in contemporary India, paying attention to the often-neglected caste component of gender-based violence and providing statistics on other indicators of women's status. I conclude with the role of Indian institutions in perpetuating women's rights abuses to lay out the case for institutional reform.

3.1 The Indian Women's Movement: a history in four waves

According to Jayawardena (1986), the organized struggle for women's emancipation in India took shape in the 19th century as a political movement to resist British imperialism and a social movement to reform local practices oppressive to women. As she argues, many of these practices were sanctioned by the caste system under Hinduism. Because the caste hierarchy was a hereditary occupation system with particular castes tied to specific occupations, mobility across the caste system was rigorously policed and inter-caste marriages forbidden. Consequently, as Jayawardena discusses, sati or the self-immolation of widows on their husband's funeral pyres became common, child marriages were rampant, choice of life partners was subject to parental control, and widow remarriage was forbidden. She also notes that families were patriarchal in many parts of India, subjugating women to men and prizing sons over daughters for their role in performing religious rituals. As patriarchal practices were motivated by ideas around purity and pollution and sought to preserve inherited wealth, they were most common among dominant castes and classes.

Under British occupation, such practices came under the scrutiny of the colonizers who emphasized that the subordination of Indian women reflected the backwardness of the country, using this as a justification to embark on a civilizing mission. In response, Indian reformers comprising mostly of elite males, took up the issues of sati and widow remarriage to quell accusations of barbarity from the colonial overlords and to distinguish themselves from the rural poor (Rao, 1999). Nationalist elites also sought to differentiate Indian identity and culture from the West (Roy, 2012). Indian women came to embody that difference, giving rise to standards of femininity based on ideals of purity and self-sacrifice.

When campaigns for female education gained traction during this period, they were not aimed at preparing women for employment but to make them better wives and mothers (Gupta, 2016). Similarly, calls for the inclusion of women into the national struggle for independence by Gandhi were based on the notion that Indian women had a greater tolerance for suffering than men, making them ideally suited to non-violent resistance. Such ideas reinforced patriarchy by glorifying women's alleged endurance for hardship as an ideal of womanhood to strive for, instead of critiquing patriarchal norms that expected women to suffer silently.

Binaries also emerged between middle-class and working-class women. As Thapar (1993) discusses, prior to independence, women in public spaces were largely restricted to sex workers and street vendors. To separate these women from the "brave new woman" emerging from her home to advance her country's freedom, the former were constructed as promiscuous and vulgar and the latter as virtuous and respectable. Yet, while the first wave of feminism is thought to have been

restricted to the bourgeoisie, Jayawardena (1986) argues it enjoyed a wider base as many practices being challenged were anchored in religion, linking the reformation of Hinduism with the struggle for women's emancipation. The connections between caste hierarchies and the subordination of women also ignited movements by radical social reformers of marginalized caste backgrounds like Jotirao Phule, agitating simultaneously against caste and women's oppression.

Post-independence, Armstrong (2014) describes how India began undertaking various social programs and created development plans and commissions specifically for women. However, as she discusses, dissatisfaction among feminists with the nation state grew, precipitated by a worsening of economic conditions for women and the custodial rape of 14-year-old Mathura from the Adivasi tribal community in 1972. The incident occurred prior to the declaration of Emergency by India's prime minister Indira Gandhi, marked by the suspension of civil liberties to dissent and assemble. However, Armstrong highlights that when the emergency period ended in 1977, women in cities across the country protested the supreme court's decision not to press charges against the police officers who raped Mathura.

These circumstances gave birth to the autonomous women's movement in India, which distanced itself from political parties, religious institutions, government agencies and external funding, and initiated a series of legal reforms around violence against women (Roy, 2018). Armstrong (2014) also draws attention to the ground-breaking report, "Towards Equality," produced by the Indian government on women's exploitation and oppression, used to substantiate left-leaning feminist demands for better distribution of state resources for women. This led to women mobilizing around issues specifically related to gender, and transforming their position from objects of social reform to subjects of social change for the first time in national history. Yet, as Armstrong observes, concerns went beyond gender-related issues like rape, violence against women, and dowry (the payment given by the bride's family to the groom's family at the time of marriage), as redistribution of land and combating inflation were also prioritized. Hence, second-wave feminism in India is often romanticized as a golden age of feminism, free from co-optation (Roy, 2018), in contrast to second-wave feminism in the West that is accused of selling out (Fraser, 2009). Such nostalgia obscures how the Indian second wave also had exclusionary moments. Jain (2020) cites the Shah Bano case in 1978 on the maintenance of divorced Muslim women as an example where women's groups, largely composed of dominant caste Hindu women, failed to mobilize because the predicament of Muslim women was beyond their imagination.

Third-wave feminism emerged in the 1990s following neoliberal economic reforms, when many autonomous women's groups were transformed into funded city-based NGOs and the focus shifted from communal objectives to individual rights (Jain, 2020). The move to market reforms and structural adjustment programs shrank the public sector and positioned NGOs in India within a

contractor model of service delivery, prioritizing a vocabulary of competence over commitment in relation to social issues. As feminism turned into well-paid nine-to-five work, there was a greater feminization of poverty among the Indian population, produced by economic liberalization. (Roy, 2015). Thus, while the average Indian woman got poorer, with fewer safety nets, women activists got richer (Dave, 2012). Critiques were directed at "career feminists" and the NGOization of feminism in India, which had led to similar consequences seen with NGOization elsewhere, such as donor dependence, corporatized working culture, domesticated goals not capable of social transformations, and depoliticization of social issues (Alvarez, 1999).

However, Roy (2015) cautions against condemning all NGOs as sellouts. She argues that this prevents understanding new forms of feminist organizing, the possibilities and limitations of subversive feminist practices under neoliberalism and may also fuel state-led repression of civil society. Data from the government of India indicates that over 20,000 NGOs in India have been stripped of their licenses to receive funding from abroad since 2011, 80% of which occurred in the years following Narendra Modi's election as prime minister. This has stifled their activities and led to many shutting shop in the country, including Amnesty International. (Purohit, 2022).

While such a climate can curb civil society, Roy (2018) suggests that the growth of social media, transnational links with feminist struggles elsewhere, and increased education and employment options for women have also prompted new ways of political intervention by Indian women. Jain (2020) points to the emergence of a nascent fourth wave of digital feminism in India, where hashtag activism around sexual harassment, safety in public spaces, and sexual agency are initiating conversations and awareness. Yet, it is argued that this activism mirrors the ideals of neoliberal feminism by embodying consumeristic and individualistic dispositions of urban middle-class Indian women, prompting concerns about elitism, Westernization, and limited reach (Gupta, 2016; Roy, 2018).

Phadke et al. (2011) also draw attention to how public discussions on safety in India often focus on middle-class women and lead to brutal exclusions and vilifications of working-class men in the name of the safety of these women. Gowda and Gupta (2010) argue that while social media may provide an accessible platform for marginalized voices excluded from mainstream media platforms, as long as access to the internet is stratified in India by a digital divide and unfavorable algorithms, we cannot talk of democratic online movements. Additionally, for women who struggle to access food, healthcare, and education, online conversations on reclaiming public spaces and sexual pleasure have little meaning (Jain, 2020). Ultimately, if online activism does not translate into offline participation that accounts for the needs of the most marginalized women in society who might not be online yet, it risks reproducing hegemonic neoliberal feminist agendas.

3.2 Women's issues in contemporary India

Thanks to the efforts of local movements for women's emancipation, India would appear to be a progressive country for women, as civil liberties were inscribed into the constitution, reservation quotas were undertaken for women in government and civil service jobs, and numerous legislative measures were introduced to prevent violence and exploitation of women. Some of these include the Dowry Prohibition Act (1961, amended in 1985), the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005) and the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act (2013). However, not only is the legislation often inadequate, for instance by exempting marital rape from criminalization (Mandal, 2014), but ineffective implementation of laws, patriarchal norms, and corrupt institutions lead to high rates of female infanticide, child marriage, trafficking, sexual and non-sexual violence, and dowry harassment (National Crime Records Bureau, 2016).

The Thomas Reuters Foundation (2018) survey, which named India the most dangerous country for women, used six parameters in its classification: sexual violence and harassment; cultural practices; human trafficking; healthcare; discrimination and economic resources; and non-sexual violence. These parameters guided the content analysis undertaken in Study I, which is described further in the chapter "Materials and Methods." There is some overlap between these parameters and those utilized in the 2022 "Status of Women" report by the Indian government, which refers to six indicators: crime, education, health, employment, financial inclusion, and political participation (Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, 2022). Statistics in terms of these indicators point to the enduring oppression of women in India. These issues are discussed below to situate the issues prioritized in Indian gender advocacy campaigns within broader social trends.

When India's status as the most dangerous country in the world for women is brought up, violent crimes against women are often what come to mind. Yet, while the last decade in India was foreshadowed by several brutal rape cases, only two became highly sensationalized international media events. Both cases, the first involving a 23-year-old medical student on a Delhi bus in 2012 and the second a 26-year-old veterinary student in Hyderabad in 2019, had some commonalities. Subramanian and Sharma (2022) discuss how the victims were constructed as deserving of sympathy because of their Hindu backgrounds and their career ambitions in occupations esteemed by Indian society. Meanwhile, calls for justice emphasized the working-class background of their perpetrators, whose idleness and unproductivity were highlighted vis-à-vis the victims' ambitious aspirations. When the perpetrators received the death penalty in the first case and were executed extra-judicially by the police in the second, celebrations erupted nationally (Guha, 2020). However, anti-caste feminists like Sonavane and Wadekar (2020)

have emphasized the need to be critical of retributive "justice," especially in forms such as the death penalty and extra-judicial killings, which demonize and disproportionately target people from marginalized communities.

Commentators were quick to point out the hypocrisies in the media coverage and public and institutional responses. "We are having an unexceptional reaction to an event that isn't exceptional," remarked writer and activist Arundhati Roy in response to the 2012 Delhi rape (Banerjee, 2013, para. 2). This draws attention to how common rapes are in India, particularly among women from working-classes and oppressed castes who are almost twice as likely to experience sexual violence (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2017). In 80% of cases, the violence is perpetrated by dominant caste men (Swabhiman Society & Equality Now, 2020). Yet, conviction rates for offences against marginalized castes remain low (National Crime Records Bureau, 2016). In 2020, when a 16-year-old Dalit girl was raped and murdered by dominant caste men in Uttar Pradesh, the police locked the victim's parents in their house and burnt her body against their will, showing how the delivery of "justice" is dependent on one's caste location. The sensationalization in reporting of rape cases involving urban middle-class women and the invisibility of Dalit women is interpreted by Rao (2014) to stem from pressures to please middle-class audiences, who want to see their own issues reflected in media content.

Meanwhile, female literacy rates nationally are around 72% in comparison to 85% for men, dropping to 67% for women in rural areas. Girls are also 16% more likely to be out of school compared to boys, and those in school have an increased risk of dropping out, particularly during secondary education (Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, 2022). The lack of functioning toilets and quality education in rural areas, large commuting distances, and having to shoulder domestic chores also contribute to girls dropping out. Additionally, while the Status of Women report mentions a higher risk for marginalized castes, it neglects to discuss caste discrimination that contributes to the higher dropout rate. Early marriage of girls is another factor, with 15% of cases occurring in urban areas and 27% in rural areas (UNICEF, 2023). Among girls married by the age of 18, 46% were also in the lowest income bracket (UNFPA, 2020).

In terms of health, gender-biased sex selection (the practice of selective abortion or infanticide of daughters, stemming from a cultural preference for sons) remains prevalent, contributing to India's skewed sex ratio which is among the worst in the world. Despite bans on sex determination tests, there are only 100 females for every 110 males (United Nations, 2023). The ratio is worse in urban areas, at 956 females compared to 1009 in rural areas, attributed to greater access to sex determination technology and higher income levels for paying bribes to circumvent the ban on sex screening (Press Trust of India, 2017).

When it comes to employment as well, Biswas and Banu (2023) have found that women in rural areas outperform those in urban areas at an employment rate of

30.03% compared to 15.44% among their urban counterparts, with the rate being even lower among literate and educated urban women. This is somewhat surprising as urbanization is often associated with greater independence of women and the erosion of patriarchal relations. Some interpretations suggest that because wages for men are higher in urban areas, women are less motivated to work and contribute to household income. Other reasons could include a high prevalence of patriarchal norms among the urban middle-class that restrict women from working after marriage, a shortage of jobs in proportion to qualifications, and gender discrimination in obtaining employment. (Biswas & Banu, 2023). Meanwhile, among women aged 25–34, extreme poverty levels, defined as living on less than $1.90 a day, rose substantially during the COVID-19 pandemic, estimated to push 14.7% of women and girls in India into worsening economic conditions compared to pre-pandemic levels of 13% (UN Women, 2020).

One area for optimism is the political participation of women. Though representation of women in the lower house of parliament is only 14%, participation of women in politics has increased at the municipal level, leading to a rise in reservation quotas from a third of seats to a full 50% (Ghosh, 2022). This should be interpreted cautiously, as representation may be confined to wives of the local elite, as found by Bryld (2001). However, the gap between male and female voter turnout has also narrowed considerably, with a turnout of 66.9% among women compared to 67.3% among men. This is attributed to increasing literacy and political awareness among women, wider reach of digital campaigns on voting rights, measures to ensure safety when voting, and increased awareness of women's rights (Ghosh, 2022). While the increasing political participation of women gives hope for women's rights in India in the future, Indian institutions must be held accountable for the concerning trends in relation to women's status highlighted above. In the following section, I discuss the criticism directed at Indian government institutions for their failures and complicity in women's rights abuses.

3.3 Failure of Indian institutions in upholding women's rights

> The institutions send the victim's family on a merry-go-round, going from one agency to another, until they wear out and give up. This is a very effective way to beat down poor and oppressed people, who do not have the time to prosecute their cases…If this is a democracy, obviously it is a bourgeois democracy limited to the middle and upper classes. Only they can afford to participate in it.
>
> - Huey Newton (2002, p.69)

In the above quote, Huey Newton, an African American political activist, was speaking about Black people's experiences of the justice system in the United States, but it also applies to the experience of marginalized women in India. Under a neoliberal model that pushes the state to contract and farm out welfare responsibilities to other entities while teaching individuals and communities to take charge of their own development, accountability failures become normalized (Church et al., 2018). When citizens knock on the door, seeking justice and redressal for rights abuses, it becomes easy for state institutions to pass the buck, demand bribes for performing their duties, and even blame victims for their own oppression. Studies (Damania & Singh, 2022; Menon & Allen, 2018) have documented how state institutions like the police and the criminal justice system in India uphold patriarchal beliefs and rape myths, which are commonly held stereotypes about the victims and perpetrators of rape, including the idea that rape is caused by women's behavior, women lie about rape, and rape is solely committed by strangers or people of certain castes and classes. Such beliefs shape institutional responses to rape and violence against women.

Rape cases are often not investigated, and the lack of sensitivity characterizing institutional responses may add to the trauma of women seeking justice. Human Rights Watch (2009) documents how the Indian police encourage women experiencing domestic violence to reconcile with their spouses even after repeated and severe physical abuse. Women are also discouraged from reporting experiences of violence due to the lack of supportive infrastructure, such as trained policewomen and separate reporting rooms (Ghosh & Choudhuri, 2011). All-women police stations have been established in some Indian states as solutions. However, these may make it harder for women to obtain justice due to increased travel costs involved in accessing them and limit the responsibilities of policewomen working in them by assigning them only to cases involving violence against women (Jassal, 2020). Moreover, owing to corruption, there are biases in the justice system with elite castes and classes likely to be protected and marginalized groups villainized and targeted (Bansode, 2020).

In addition to the police and criminal justice system, Kapilashrami (2021) argues that health institutions in India function in ways that perpetuate systemic violence. As an example, she mentions how women experiencing violence in India are commonly subjected to invasive medical examinations to determine their "habituation" to sexual intercourse, violating their right to privacy, and impacting their physical and mental health. For all these reasons, sexual violence is notoriously under-reported, with an estimated 99.1% of cases never being reported (Rao, 2018). In general, public trust in the police is also low, with less than 25% of the population having faith in the system (Common Cause & CSDS, 2018).

Owing to the ineffectiveness of the police and the justice system in protecting majority of women and indeed much of the population in India, scholars have

argued for the need to move away from over-reliance on criminal legal strategies to address the social and structural drivers of violence against women. Peacock (2022) suggests that deterring violence through harsh criminal sanctions reinforces neoliberal logic aimed at reforming individual behavior, doing more harm than good. For instance, criminal legal strategies may retraumatize survivors, discriminate and disproportionately target poor and marginalized communities, fail to address structural causes behind violence against women, and undermine international human rights laws. In reviewing criminal justice responses to violence against women in India, from legal reforms in the 1970s and 80s to the enactment of new laws after the Delhi bus rape in 2012, which expanded the use of the death penalty for rape cases, Sharma and Bazilli (2014) argue that the reforms failed to provide justice or deter violence against women. The authors conclude that such strategies fail to address the social drivers of violence in India and have also been appropriated by far-right Hindu nationalists and neoliberal forces.

How then can institutional accountability and reform be strengthened without relying on the criminal justice system? Some alternatives emphasize the importance of economic strategies, such as cash transfers to women experiencing violence, job skills and training, and addressing job insecurity by partnering with trade unions to strengthen women's autonomy to leave abusive relationships (Goodmark, 2018). Community activism, school-based interventions, and programs integrating individual, community, and society levels are also thought to have a better chance at making a sustained impact (Peacock, 2022). The Ministry for Women and Child Development's flagship scheme "Beti Bachao Beti Padhao," which encompasses multiple agencies, states, and sectors to prevent female infanticide and encourage the education of girls, is a step in this direction. However, reports suggest that 78% of its budget between 2016–2019 was spent on advertising and media advocacy instead of interventions in education and health, highlighting the importance of greater accountability in the use of state funds (Press Trust of India, 2022).

To summarize, the meanings or social representations of social objects shared among groups in present times is shaped by past events (Wagner et al., 1999). In these introductory chapters, I have attempted to discuss past events that are relevant for understanding contemporary feminism in India by providing a historical analysis of feminism within and beyond India. The task of the following chapter is to elaborate further on the social representation theory as the main theoretical and methodological framework utilized in this dissertation.

4. Social Representations Theory

> Feminism, like water, is fluid. It takes the shape of the pot into which it is poured.
>
> - Kamla Bhasin (as cited in Vora & Menon, 2018, para. 20).

As highlighted in the preceding chapters, the issues taken up by movements for women's rights in India and around the world have evolved in accordance with the historical, political, and social circumstances these movements have operated within. This suggests that feminist movements are constantly negotiating with what are the most pressing issues facing women and what women's emancipation constitutes in practice. The above quote from Indian feminist Kamla Bhasin simultaneously captures both the state of flux that meanings attached to women's liberation undergo at regular intervals, as well as how spatio-temporal factors constrain and guide the formation of these meanings. Prevailing ideological and material realities act like a metaphorical pot that give form to visions of women's emancipation at a particular point in time.

As a theory concerned with how meanings are constructed and negotiated in society and how knowledge is socially, culturally, and collectively constituted, the social representations theory provides an ideal framework to explore the dynamic nature of women's emancipation outlined above. In this chapter, I discuss what social representations are as well as the processes through which they are formed. I then outline how power dynamics play an instrumental role in shaping what representations are legitimized and gain currency within a society and what representations are relegated to marginal status. I also explore issues of power in relation to the knowledge produced by the SRT itself, to reflect upon what it means to utilize a European theory on knowledge construction in the context of the Global South. As this thesis utilizes multimodal video campaigns as a main source of material to explore the social representations of women's issues in India, I also elaborate on how the conventional tools of the SRT have been used and can be further developed to analyze multimodal content. Finally, I look at existing research on the social representations of feminism to explore the common-sense understandings and meanings that have come to be attached to women's rights movements around the world and in India.

4.1 Definitions and processes

The social representations theory has often been described as "an intellectual revolution" (Billig, 1988), marking a shift away from experimental psychological studies towards a social science that prioritizes exploring socially shared beliefs in their context. When social psychology was accused of being dominated by behaviorism and cognitivism, leading to calls for a societal psychology by Himmelweit and Gaskell (1990) to reclaim the social in social psychology, the SRT was often recognized as a rare exception in the discipline as it had embraced many of the visions that societal psychology proposed. These included the need to locate human beings within their socio-cultural contexts; the need to recognize the ontological connection between the individual and the collective; the need to study the material realities of particular environments along with their mediated realities; the need for theoretical and methodological pluralism; the need for a historical perspective; and the need for interdisciplinary and multilevel approaches (Himmelweit, 1990).

Moscovici's seminal study (1961/2008) explored how psychoanalysis was constructed in French media and then reconstructed by different segments of the French public, thus bringing the discipline of social psychology into conversation with media and communication. What distinguished social representations from their Durkheimian predecessor of collective representations was their dynamic and fluid qualities arising from contemporary communication methods and social interaction (Moscovici, 1988). Thus, social representations were considered by Moscovici (1973, xviii) to consist of "a system of values, ideas and practices" functioning to provide a symbolic code of orientation that conventionalized ideas and enabled interaction among members of a society. This definition highlights how social representations enable individuals to understand the world and communicate with members of their societies. Thus, social representations link knowledge and perception to culture and social context.

For Moscovici (1972), social representations are situated within a semiotic triangle consisting of the ego or the self, the alter or other(s), and the object of the representation, thus emphasizing the interaction between the self and others in constructing representations. Bauer and Gaskell (1999) reconceptualize this triad as an elongated triangle, known as the Toblerone model, where they add a time dimension to capture how every social representation has a past, a present, and a future. Meanwhile, Voelklein and Howarth (2005) conceive the triangle in terms of the object of the representation, the subject undertaking the representation, and the social group that the subject identifies with when undertaking the representation. Because the SRT situates the individuals holding a representation in terms of their membership in a social group, Raudsepp (2005) argues that social representations cannot be considered as the sum of individual representations but should rather be seen to reflect the social processes between members of a group.

Accordingly, Duveen and Lloyd (1990) propose three different levels at which social representations evolve. Firstly, social representations involve a microgenetic level where they are used and reconstructed in the minutiae of social interactions. The second level is ontogenetic, concerning psychological and identity-related changes in individuals in relation to social representations. Finally, the sociogenetic level relates to changes in social representations at the level of social groups, institutions, and culture. These levels are interconnected as changes in representations at the microgenetic level can drive changes at the ontogenetic and sociogenetic levels. In recognizing this connection, the studies in this thesis explore the social representations of women and women's issues at these different levels. Studies I and II elaborate on social representations at a sociogenetic level, by exploring the content of gender advocacy campaigns of different organizations in India that circulate particular ideas and visions of women's emancipation in society. Meanwhile, Study III illustrates how the representations conveyed by the campaigns are interpreted by a selected audience in relation to their identities, thus linking social representations at a sociogenetic level with social representations at a microgenetic and ontogenetic level.

Two socio-cognitive processes are involved in the formation of social representations: anchoring and objectification. According to Moscovici (1984), anchoring is a classification process in which novel ideas and objects are compared to existing categories of knowledge to domesticate them and make them ordinary. By naming and classifying a new phenomenon and assimilating it within existing knowledge, anchoring is thought to reduce the threat we may experience when being confronted with the unfamiliar. Moscovici (1981) also argues that anchoring can take two directions: generalization or individualization. Generalization occurs when the object is judged to be similar to the prototype, while individualization is when the object is evaluated to be different from the prototypical category. Such evaluations are never neutral but lead to a positive or negative relationship towards the object.

Building on these ideas, Kalampalikis and Haas (2008) suggest that in some situations, anchoring may not aim to create familiarity but instead institute difference. They describe the latter type of anchoring as stigmatic anchoring, which functions to ensure that unfamiliar ideas remain distant and strange. Meanwhile, in objectification, the iconic aspects of abstract ideas are highlighted and made concrete by connecting them to images, symbols, metaphors, and even people (Moscovici, 1981). The source of objectifications is not random but tied to the historical, cultural, and socio-economic conditions of social groups (Wagner et al., 1999). For example, in South Africa, Isaacs (2016) found that media representations of intimate partner violence were anchored as extreme acts of physical violence and objectified by an emphasis on the gruesome details of these acts, serving to

construct a commonplace phenomenon as rare and downplay the seriousness of other forms of violence.

While the processes of anchoring and objectification highlight the interactive nature of knowledge construction with social groups actively negotiating with existing knowledge to produce new representations, representations can also acquire a prescriptive, taken-for-granted status, making it hard to separate the object from its representation. For instance, neoliberal feminism is just one variety but has become so commonplace that it is hard to envisage an alternative feminism. The process by which ideas become taken for granted is termed naturalization by Moscovici (1984), who considered it the final stage of the objectification process after which the phenomenon in question acquires a permanent place in social reality. However, Hakoköngäs & Sakki (2016a) view naturalization as its own process, as naturalized representations continue to be used to interpret new phenomena, becoming anchoring points for other objects.

Representations about topics such as human rights can also have a visionary aspect, which Doise (2002) terms normative social representations. As he elaborates, social representations of human rights involve beliefs about norms that should be institutionalized and govern how individuals are treated. Meanwhile, Philogène (1994) identifies anticipatory social representations, which are representations that contain elements of an imagined social change in anticipation of what it is hoped that the group will become in future. Feminism and women's issues are likely to contain normative and anticipatory aspects, bringing up questions regarding what norms, common reference points, and future-oriented visions are drawn upon in feminist campaigns and how different audiences relate to such visions. Ultimately, the question of what representations are legitimized as taken-for-granted knowledge and what possibilities exist for transforming them is a question of power, making it imperative to consider the interests and hierarchies at stake in matters of representation (Howarth, 2006).

4.2 Power dynamics and social representations

A common criticism of the SRT is that it fails to account for power relations and ideology in conceptualizing representations (e.g., Howarth, 2006). This has stimulated an increasing body of literature explicating on the relationship between representations and power (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 1997; Glăveanu, 2009). A contribution of the studies in this thesis is how they build on existing scholarship to advance a more power-centric account of SRT. In particular, the studies illuminate how certain representations acquire hegemonic status while others are marginalized, how social change may be resisted or embraced, and how a group's position determines its interest in preserving or challenging dominant ideas. Additionally, applying the European-originated SRT to a context in the Global

South raises questions regarding the issues of power at stake in such an endeavor. Hence, I also reflect upon these and in the process, highlight how attending to such issues may provide an opportunity to augment previously criticized gaps in the theory.

4.2.1 Social representations and hegemony

> Whoever controls the media, controls the mind.
>
> - Jim Morrison (as cited in Doe & Tobler, 1988, p.85)

As a concept, hegemony is perhaps most commonly associated with Antonio Gramsci who, in his works written between 1929 to 1935, considered it a form of ideological domination through which the values and interests of the ruling class are embedded into every layer of society, from economic and political to social and cultural. For Gramsci, hegemony was not necessarily attained coercively but consensually through the media, which shapes public opinion. (Çoban, 2018). While Moscovici (1981) would no doubt agree with the role of the media in acquiring social knowledge, he rejected the idea that individuals and groups were under the sway of a dominant ideology produced and imposed upon by the ruling class. This failed to capture the conditions of contemporary societies with decentralized sources of power, providing opportunities for debate and contestation (Duveen, 2001). Mass communication technologies had produced what Moscovici (1984) termed "a thinking society," in which individuals and groups were far from passive receptors, but rather, independent thinkers who were able to utilize scientific knowledge and ideologies as food for thought. These developments were considered to give social representations their fluid dynamic properties, differentiating them from collective representations, which Durkheim had identified as characteristic knowledge forms in hierarchical feudal societies of the late 19th century that transcended generations relatively unchanged (Moscovici, 1981).

Moscovici (1961/2008) also argued that another characteristic of knowledge transmission in contemporary societies was the flow of knowledge through the media from a reified universe, consisting of experts across various institutions, including science and academia, to a consensual universe comprised of the common public. In a public sphere resembling the Habermasian ideal (see Habermas, 1962/1989), where public information and socio-political discussions circulate to shape public opinion, Moscovici (1981, pp.16) considered people to engage in a literal battle of ideas "in the streets, in cafes, offices, hospitals, laboratories, etc.," to reconstitute expert knowledge and transform it into common sense, promoting a diversity of conceptions.

To account for this plurality, Moscovici (1988) discusses different ways that representations can be shared across a society. Taken-for-granted understandings shared by the majority of people in a society are known as hegemonic representations, while local adaptations of hegemonic ideas among groups in contact are called emancipated representations. Finally, polemic representations refer to marginalized beliefs and ideas held by minority groups that oppose hegemonic representations. For Jovchelovitch (1997), the distinction between different types of representations is a question of power, as representations become hegemonic when groups with control over resources like media and communication are able to embed their versions of reality into institutions, practices, and social thinking. Simultaneously, when certain beliefs, values, and customs are legitimized, others are silenced and marginalized, normalizing hierarchies of domination.

Similarly, Howarth (2006) discusses how groups have differing access to the public sphere and varying means to defend or oppose different versions of reality in accordance with their interests. In particular, she considers it vital to understand the role of power in the reification and legitimization of "expert" knowledge systems that give validity and recognition to some representations over others. Purkhardt (1993) also argues that all knowledge, whether arising from a reified or consensual universe, is socially constructed. Thus, so-called experts also employ social representations in constructing knowledge.

While social representations are not reducible to ideology, they may have ideological effects when they function to establish and maintain relations of domination (Souza et al., 2021). Maglioglou and Coen (2021) point to the existence of agenda-setting in the media, whereby even if media sources do not tell us what to think, they shape what we think about, with hegemonic social representations determining what to think about in relation to the issue at hand. Indeed, as the latter elaborate, the battle of meaning has much at stake as the winning hegemonic social representation becomes the basis for social, political, and institutional decision-making for society at large. As hegemonic representations are embedded into institutions, social practices, social roles, and social control (Maglioglou & Coen, 2021), they can be used ideologically to maintain the social order and exclude other realities (Howarth, 2006).

In the last few decades, the internet has emerged as a prominent arena in which the battle of ideas occurs, with the advancement of digital technologies and the proliferation of social media platforms. Thus, if social representations are tied to particular modes of communication as Moscovici (1984) implies, digital media platforms are likely to have implications for the construction of social representations. In the nascency of digital platforms, Wahlström (2012) pointed to their potential to increase the plurality of media sources, give individuals an increased ability to filter and select content, decentralize the power of the media, and make it easier to access differing perspectives in a variety of formats, including

texts, videos, and images. He argues that this has allowed social representations to be constructed more quickly, dissolved conventional group boundaries as information circulates rapidly across continents, reduced reliance on "expert" sources, and provided more competing sources of information, but also led to more polarization due to filter bubbles and echo chambers. Wahlström also suggests that digital media platforms may be particularly conducive to breaking taboos, as users are encouraged to take risks to gain attention while being able to maintain anonymity. More recent research points to the role of algorithms in shaping public opinion. As Siles (2023) discusses, online platforms extract data from internet users, generating profiles in relation to their typical online activities. This data is then processed by algorithms, directing individuals to content online in accordance with their typical user behavior and what is trending in certain regions among other users identified to be similar in some way by the algorithms. Selection is therefore an inevitable part of algorithms, according to van Dijck et al. (2018), steering user activity and the visibility and availability of certain kinds of content in particular directions. Additionally, Bucher (2018) argues that algorithms are embedded within broader histories of exploitation and inequality, thus reproducing and amplifying certain ideologies and hegemonic ways of world-making.

For these reasons, digital platforms do not necessarily lead to greater plurality. Gillespie (2008) anticipated this 15 years ago, arguing that digital technologies may not produce a tolerance of different perspectives as alternative representations can be used purely in ways that function to protect the hegemonic representation. As representations are only partially shared, it follows that some people may lack some piece of knowledge that someone else has. Hence, communication and interaction are stimulated by both similarities and differences in social representations, and defending one's representation will usually require an awareness of competing representations. Thus, Gillespie (2008, pg. 13) sees alternative representations as "the representation of a potentially competing representation from within a social representation." While alternative social representations have the potential to destabilize the main representation, they can also exist as straw men or caricatures that are drawn on only to be dismissed and for the superiority of the hegemonic representation to be reiterated. This is connected to how social identities are mobilized to position oneself in relation to different types of representations, which is discussed further in the section that follows.

If neoliberal feminism is a hegemonic form of feminism, as suggested in chapter one, this brings up questions regarding the extent to which digital Indian gender advocacy campaigns maintain or challenge their representations with more polemic knowledge, and in turn how a potential target audience is able to negotiate with hegemonic ideas. The organizations involved in producing representations may be considered part of a reified universe of expert sources, but simultaneously, the representations put forth by them also reflect consensual understandings. Different

organizations may have their own interests depending on their funding sources and relations with the state and other powerful actors, influencing how invested they are in keeping the status quo or challenging it. These are questions that the studies in this thesis grapple with.

While the distinction between different kinds of representations has received theoretical attention (Jovchelovitch, 1997; Howarth, 2006; Gillespie, 2008), empirical studies that explore what kind of ideas become hegemonic or alternatively, polemic, are scarce. The few existing ones have explored topics such as hegemonic social representations of survival in relation to the climate crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic (Magioglou & Coen, 2021), history and identity (Liu et al., 2002; Liu & Hilton, 2005), wine consumption (Lo Monaco & Guimelli, 2011), and perceptions of violations of women's rights (Kassea et al., 2009). This thesis contributes to this dearth in all three sub-studies. The findings of Study II in particular shed light on how utilizing a power-centric approach to conceptualizing different representations helps us understand how representations that are not necessarily held by the majority of society can still attain hegemonic status in public discourse as a result of a powerful minority ensuring its dispersal in media and other channels. This will be further elaborated in the "Discussion" chapter.

4.2.2 Social identity and positionality

> Identity becomes a 'moveable feast': formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways in which we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us.
>
> -Stuart Hall (1996, p.598)

As the SRT understands social representations to be formed and transformed by people in groups through interaction and communication (Sakki et al., 2010), the question of social identities becomes enmeshed with social representations. Social identity is described by Tajfel (1978) as the part of an individual's self-concept arising from their membership in social groups along with the value and emotional significance attached to this membership. In accordance with the social identity theory, groups engage in strategies to maintain a positive social identity by defining their own identity favorably in comparison to other groups (Tajfel, 1978). While this suggests a connection between social representation and social identity, there are questions that must be addressed in order to bridge these social psychological concepts. For Elejabarrieta (1994), the tension arises from the SRT's assumption of the pre-existence of group identity as a feature for delimiting social representations as well as the social identity theory's treatment of group membership as simply a matter of assigning an individual into pre-determined social categories. Resolving

this tension requires unpacking how group identities and social categories are mutually constructed in relation to each other.

This is elaborated by Breakwell (1993), who discusses the group dynamics and interests that produce representations. As she argues, social representations are usually not created by a single group but co-produced by multiple groups motivated by different interests. Power dynamics between groups shape the development of representations, making it necessary to situate the relations between groups in their contexts and histories and understand how the representation is distributed across the group in question. Additionally, while the functions of social representations are often explained in relation to how representations serve to make the unfamiliar familiar or keep the unfamiliar distant, Breakwell contends that these are merely the functions of the representation processes of anchoring and objectification. These should be distinguished from the functions of specific representations, which are usually determined by group dynamics and individual needs. As Batel and Castro (2018) argue, the use of particular representations and discourses in communication is not random but functions to serve the strategic interests of the individuals and groups deploying them. Some identity-related functions of representations discussed by Breakwell (1993) mirror the functions of stereotyping, such as attributing causality for an issue, justifying particular social arrangements, and differentiating an ingroup favorably in comparison to outgroups. Breakwell also explicates on how social identity may shape the way that individuals relate to a representation. Group membership can determine the level of exposure to particular social representations and the acceptance or rejection of representations by establishing credibility of some representations over others. Finally, group membership may also impact how frequently certain social representations are used by individuals.

However, while representations are considered to be consensual across groups, there are still individual differences in the content and structure of social representations, reflecting the interplay between representations at a microgenetic, ontogenetic, and sociogenetic level, identified by Duveen and Lloyd (1990). Hence, the integration of identity and representation paradigms necessitates the use of methods that allow the elaboration of both consensus and diversity. (Breakwell, 1993). One such method suggested by Elejabarrieta (1994) is social positioning, which can help explore how individuals and groups strategically utilize social representations from multiple and differing locations. For Elejabarrieta, positions are not identities themselves but refer to the way an individual occupies a symbolic space that expresses their social identity in relation to a representation. Andreouli (2010) further elaborates on this by suggesting that people are offered a variety of positions through social representations, but ultimately the position accepted by them is defined by their relations with those they consider as the "other."

Thus, when considering the positions taken by individuals within a social representational system, it is vital to understand the role of identities and group relations. As Glăveanu (2009) suggests, a social representational system or a representational field as some researchers refer to it (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 2008; Renedo, 2010) is defined by a plurality of worldviews that requires people to constantly locate themselves in relation to the worldview presented to them by either accepting it or rejecting it. Accordingly, a representational system includes the representation itself, alternative representations, representations of the ingroup and outgroup, and the relations between these groups (Glăveanu, 2009). Positions are adopted through communication and negotiated in relation to alternatives. The adoption or assignment of a position expresses a choice between a plurality of selves. (Elejabarrieta, 1994). Positioning can also illustrate how identities shape the way that people relate to different types of representations. For example, Savonen et al. (2022) highlight that in the case of stigmatizing social representations, positioning may involve distancing from the hegemonic representation or when this is not possible, partially accepting the negative representation. Thus, utilizing positioning as a bridge between social identity and social representations can shed light on the relations between groups and the power differentials structuring these relations.

The studies of this thesis recognize the connection between social identity and social representations in two ways. Firstly, in Study II, the differences in the representations of the chosen organizations are explained in terms of their differing organizational identity and the interests motivating the maintenance of that identity. Meanwhile, Study III, concerned with the reception of selected campaigns among an urban middle-class audience, argues that the extent to which a campaign can influence an audience's social representations will depend on how they situate themselves in relation to hegemonic meanings in campaign material, illustrating how social identity and social representations are drawn on simultaneously to guide interpretations. Hence, Study III builds on the growing body of literature discussed above that approaches identities and social representations in terms of positions.

4.2.3 Approaching themata through positioning

The approach of positioning has also been utilized in relation to themata, described by Marková (2003) as interdependent oppositional categories that underlie social representations. Themata (plural), or thema (singular) exist in opposition to each other but are simultaneously interdependent and hence are considered a dialogical approach to social representations (Liu, 2004). For Moscovici and Vignaux (2000), themata are "primary ideas," "concept images," "reference points," and "semantic kernels," anchored in collective memory that generate and organize discourse, cognitive and cultural positionings, and classes of argumentation. According to

Marková (2003), focusing on themata helps to better explore the communicative aspects of knowledge and the dynamics between stability and change by examining the interactions between people and knowledge. As themata involve dyadic tensions structuring relations between the self and others, they can encompass multiple intergroup positions. For example, Nicholson (2019) found a themata of equality-inequality to structure representations of group relations among Palestinian participants who positioned themselves in relation to inequality. Meanwhile, inclusivity-exclusivity structured Israeli participants' representations, who positioned themselves in relation to both ends of this dyad.

Liu (2004) suggests that the introduction of themata offers new possibilities for conceptualizing hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic representations. As he elaborates, rather than considering hegemonic, polemic, and emancipated understandings as separate social representations, the concept of themata suggests that the same social representation can simultaneously involve hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic dimensions as these different ways of sharing a representation are dialogically connected to each other. Dyadic antinomies express social and political change and ideological conflict. Hence, according to Liu, while themata can be generated by hegemonic and widely shared thema, they may also contain emancipated and polemic dimensions, depending on the circumstances of the groups that activate them in relation to their particular life spheres.

To further develop this idea, Study III responds to Gibson's (2015) call for discursive-rhetorical approaches to social representations and suggests that hegemonic, polemic, and emancipated understandings can be considered positions that are activated in relation to themata, depending on a group's identity. This provides a novel way of qualitatively exploring how people relate to societally hegemonic meanings. Thus, going beyond previous literature, (e.g., Smith & Joffé, 2013), Study III combines ideas of positioning in relation to themata to explore the themata structuring participants responses and the hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic positions adopted in relation to the themata. In particular, participants are conceived to adopt a hegemonic position to feminism when they reproduce the dominant ideals of neoliberal feminism in their talk. Meanwhile, when participants challenge or resist such ideas, they are considered to take emancipated or polemic positions. Study III also considers how participants' identities, such as gender and class, are drawn on in their positions.

4.2.4 Issues of power involved in applying the SRT to an Indian context

Some years ago, I contributed a chapter to the Oxford Handbook of Global South Youth Studies, which explored social representations of homosexuality across different generations in my hometown, Bengaluru (D'silva, 2020). As I interviewed

participants for the study, I quickly realized how the legacy of colonialism in India had shaped their views, making it necessary to take an explicitly decolonial perspective in the analysis. As the Decolonial Psychology Editorial Collective (2021) discuss, "coloniality" as a concept highlights that our present is a legacy of colonial domination, and the contemporary world order remains rooted in power relations shaped by colonial projects. This also prompted me to question the applicability of the SRT to contexts in the Global South and in turn, try to understand how studying Southern contexts could enrich the SRT. I believe these questions are relevant in relation to this thesis as well, yet surprisingly little literature has been dedicated to this task. One reason for this could be a presumption that the SRT is free of the charges against a coloniality of knowledge production directed at other Western theories because sensitivity to cultural contexts was such a central part of the SRT at the time of its introduction.

Indeed, unlike many theories in the social sciences influenced by the Cartesian view of rationality, in terms of a mind-body duality that is considered to be individualized and objective, the SRT has the potential to explore the context-dependent nature of rationality that can tie knowledge systems and the logic structuring them with communities, cultures, and histories (Jovchelovitch, 2007). In this sense, Wagner et al. (2000) argue that the SRT is capable of recognizing the validity of local belief systems. Yet, the same authors also recognize that the SRT may fail to account for the way that power operates to determine which particular local belief systems have validity. They go on to discuss how the cultures of the West are usually constructed as natural and objective while the beliefs of remote and marginal communities are often perceived from a Western vantage point as strange and exotic. This latter point has been largely overlooked even though it constitutes a serious internal critique of the applicability of the SRT in the Global South that must be addressed in studies that hope to do justice to such contexts.

For Coultas (2022), the issue comes from framing knowledge systems in dualities such as modern-traditional. Even though Moscovici (1984) does not consider so-called traditional knowledge to be inferior, decolonial scholars such as Mignolo (2009) highlight how one cannot ignore broader societal discourses that commonly link "modernity" with greater pluralism and the West. The SRT considers modernity to be an age of social representations as a result of new communication technologies that spread ideas that are thought to provide more opportunities for debate. Modern societies have thus been termed "thinking societies" by Moscovici (1984). Bhambra (2007) has challenged Eurocentric ideas of modernity that equate progress with technological advancement and global economic involvement. Nevertheless, as representation research is based on the premise that access to information enables people to form and transform social representations, this need not disqualify most Southern contexts, given their access to communication technologies and participation in the information economy.

Thus, while language barriers and a delay in translating Moscovici's work from French could explain why most early studies of social representations were conducted in the Global North, I would like to draw attention to another possibility—that these contexts were presumed to epitomize "modern thinking societies." This is supported by the tendency of SRT researchers to characterize contexts in the Global South as "traditional" and less pluralistic in later studies applying the SRT outside of Europe. (D'silva, 2020). However, failure to account for coloniality as the dark side of modernity risks perpetuating knowledge rooted in colonial thinking. As Mignolo (2009) highlights, colonial and neocolonial knowledge projects imposed in different parts of the world, from European renaissance all the way up to US neoliberalism, contributed to eradicating the pluralism that was very often a feature of life in such societies prior to colonialism.

Recognizing this risk does not mean abandoning applications of the SRT in the Global South but being sensitive to histories of oppression and colonialism when analyzing representations in such contexts. In fact, there is every reason to suspect that if such research is done well, it may have the potential to augment some commonly identified gaps in the SRT. As already mentioned, a common criticism is that the SRT does not account for how power structures are reflected in the creation and maintenance of social representations (Räty & Snellmann, 1992). Thus, applying the SRT to an Indian context in the current study, where its past as a colonized country intersects with its present entanglement with neoliberal projects, can draw attention to asymmetries of power between the Global North and South, as highlighted in this thesis. A further critique is that the SRT pays inadequate attention to its relationship with other concepts like ideology (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Studying social representations in an Indian context while engaging with global hierarchies could shed light on how representations may be fused with ideological power to maintain systems of inequality as illustrated through all three studies of this thesis. Additionally, Potter and Litton (1985) have criticized the SRT for being overly deterministic and assuming consensuality in representations. While research has tried to show how representations are not just imposed but negotiated through argumentation (e.g., Howarth, 2006), applying the SRT to an Indian context as demonstrated by the studies in this thesis highlights how consensuality might be an outcome of relations to domination.

Furthermore, as Potter and Billig (1992) discuss, conceptions of anchoring and objectification teeter on the brink of cognitive reductionism and should be interpreted sociologically, rather than cognitively. This is also related to the need to conceptualize social representations as particular rather than universal concepts and historicize their particularity. Applying such concepts in the Global South can contribute to the development of historical particularities and also denaturalize the present order by showing how what is now has not always been (Fine, 2006). Moreover, applying the SRT to contexts in the Global South can also foster

engagement with literature beyond one's discipline, helping to transcend disciplinary boundaries as recommended by Potter and Billig (1992). Throughout this research, I engaged with traditions outside of social psychology, including decolonial and feminist scholarship as well social psychological concepts outside the SRT like the social identity theory, which helped me make connections between concepts and phenomena whose links remain underexplored.

4.3 A multimodal approach to social representations

Throughout Alfred Hitchcock's less appreciated 1964 film Marnie, the eponymous main character has seemingly inexplicable panic attacks when she encounters objects that are colored in shades of deep red. The entire film slowly uncovers how Marnie's reaction to the sight of red is rooted in a traumatic incident of sexual abuse she faced during childhood. Released just three years after Serge Moscovici (1961/2008) published his seminal work on social representations, the film seems to instinctively capture the often-neglected visual dimension of social representations and the symbolic language accompanying them. In the film's case, Marnie's representation of sexual abuse could be said to be objectified by the color red and anchored in violence, and hence all visual cues to red instantly conjure up the image of abuse for her.

Considering the proliferation of television in post-Second World War Western societies, which marked an important step in the emergence of visual cultures (McCarthy, 2001), it is understandable that Moscovici's research gave importance to the iconic dimensions of social representations, with his study titled, "Psychoanalysis: Its image and its publics." Yet, despite the growth of visual information, research in social psychology and also within the social representation tradition has remained verbal-centric (de Rosa & Farr, 2001; Joffe, 2008). However, this is slowly changing, precipitated by the rapid explosion of images in recent decades fueled by social media applications, making it difficult to ignore the primacy of images in most contemporary societies. In addition to images, multimodal content that combines actions, speech, sounds, images, and words has also began to consume the everyday activities of the netizens of today. The growth of such content has prompted the theoretical and methodological evolution of the SRT to make it more conducive to the analysis of such material. The sub-sections below elaborate further on these developments and also outline the ways that this thesis contributes to them.

4.3.1 Applying anchoring and objectification to multimodal data

While a reader has to draw on language in textual material to construct a mental image or objectification of the described phenomenon, visual and multimodal content directly provides the images that serve as objectification categories for viewers. For this reason, images are considered to operate simultaneously as products, mediums, and sources of social representations (de Rosa and Farr, 2001). Producers strategically utilize the different dimensions of multimodal communication, including sound, voice, text, and moving image in combination to convey messages most effectively (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2019). Hence, when considering anchoring and objectification in relation to multimodal material, the relationship between different modes must be accounted for.

To this end, a number of studies have expanded upon the meaning of anchoring and objectification and have identified the importance of images in the process of objectification (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016a; Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2019; Martikainen, 2019). As multimodal content is often interpreted in terms of what the pictured subjects are doing, actions and practices are likely to be important aspects of the representation process in relation to multimodal material. However, the social representations theory has traditionally seen action to be generated by social representations (Moscovici, 1963), which does not seem to adequately capture the relationship between behavior and representations as depicted through multimodal content. If images themselves are visual expressions of objectifications (de Rosa and Farr, 2001), it follows that gestures and practices conveyed in images are also part of the objectification process, and hence part of the content of the representation itself rather than external to it.

Howarth's (2006) ethnographic research on racialized encounters makes a similar observation by highlighting how representations of Black youth are made tangible or objectified through social practices of either ignoring or being watchful of young Black people in the classroom. Hence, Howarth argues that social representations must be seen as both influencing and constituting social practices. Likewise, Wagner (1998, 2015) and László (1997) consider beliefs and behavior to be mutually constitutive of each other, with László recommending a narrative approach to analyze action as a part of social representations. Study II takes up this call and uses Propp's (1928/1968) typology of characters, actions, and goals to deconstruct the narrative structure and corresponding anchors and objectifications of the analyzed campaigns.

As stories help people make sense of the world, they usually trigger the processes of anchoring and objectification. Hence, Winskell (2021) considers dominant cultural narratives a form of hegemonic social representations and argues that objectification through narratives can be approached at the level of plots, characters, and messaging. Study II therefore considers objectifications to be

constituted by the actions of characters depicted in multimodal material, providing a novel way of locating objectifications. Meanwhile, in accordance with Jodelet (2008, pg. 426), anchoring is conceived as the social and cultural meanings attached to the objectified actions.

Yet, owing to the flexibility and broadness of an SRT approach, methodological innovation is not always needed, as some existing definitions of anchoring and objectification already lend themselves well to multimodal applications. For instance, Study I does not depart far from Moscovici's (1984) description of objectification as the process through which the abstract is made tangible and anchoring as the process of giving a phenomenon a meaning through classifying and naming. Through this conceptualization, objectifications were identified from the visual, textual, and sonic dimensions of the multimodal material that made the manner in which women's issues were represented tangible. Anchors were identified by the broader social meanings tied to the objectifications. The analytical procedure of the studies is elaborated further in the "Methodology" chapter.

4.3.2 Visual rhetoric and persuasion in campaigns

Häkli & Hakokõngäs (2022) argue that from an SRT perspective, campaigns appeal to existing conceptions, highlight changing values and ideas, and also introduce new ways of thinking. For these reasons, they argue that like images, campaigns function as products, mediums, and sources of social knowledge that can trigger the formation of new social representations (see also: de Rosa & Farr, 2001). This is particularly true for social justice campaigns about issues such as gender justice, that usually aim to change people's existing ways of thinking and also elicit donations to fund their work. In order to successfully deliver a message, advocacy campaigns must therefore relate to the existing social knowledge of audiences while finding a way to challenge these ideas or add new elements to them. In this way, the representations put forth by advocacy campaigns may resemble what Philogène (1994) terms anticipatory social representations. For instance, a gender advocacy campaign may attempt to challenge traditional gender roles in the household by showing a man doing chores commonly associated with a woman's role, thus putting forward an anticipatory social representation of a more egalitarian division of domestic labor that is desired in the future.

There are different rhetorical strategies that can be used to initiate change through persuasion. As early as 350 BCE, Aristotle put forth three rhetorical appeals: logos, which appeals to an audience's reason by utilizing logical arguments, ethos, which uses appeals to credibility to convince audiences that a source is trustworthy, and pathos, which uses appeals to emotions (Bartlett, 2019). These appeals can manifest more subtly in visual and multimodal content, suggesting that persuasion might be accomplished more easily. This is due to the differences

between iconic systems and textual systems (de Rosa, 2014), shaping the range of meanings that can be transmitted through them. The reality invoking aspects of images that claim to show "how things are" render invisible the selection and exclusion that are unavoidable in communication (de Rosa & Farr, 2001; Kress, 2003). Taken-for-granted social differences and hierarchies of class, gender, and sexuality are more easily reified through iconic mediums than textual mediums (Sontag, 1977; Haraway, 1991). Images also have a strong emotion arousing quality, shaping how audiences identify with the subject matter (Joffé, 2008).

Communication involved in moving images is likely to be even more nuanced, as they usually contain sound and text in addition to visuals (Adami, 2016). For instance, the role of salience, which Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) describe as the interaction of visual and textual components with varying degrees of rhetorical power, must be addressed in multimodal content. The different dimensions of multimodal communication are often exploited in persuasion, as Hakokõngäs and Sakki (2019) highlight in their research on how advertisement videos on social media subtly advance ideological meanings.

These aspects are particularly important to consider in relation to reception studies, which assume that the meaning of a message is not predetermined but emerges from the interpretations made by its viewers (Livingstone, 2008). One of the most instrumental works on audience reception is Hall's (1973/1991) study, which suggests that while viewers actively interpret media content, their interpretations are guided by the content. Thus, according to Hall, there are three ways a message can be decoded. In dominant-hegemonic coding, viewers understand content in relation to the meaning assigned to it by its producers while in negotiated coding, viewers discern the hegemonic meaning but modify it to suit their own circumstances. Finally, in oppositional coding, viewers comprehend the hegemonic meaning but challenge it. These different ways of interpretation also resemble Moscovici's (1988) distinction between hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic social representations. The persuasive qualities of multimodal material receive special attention in both Study I and Study III. By deconstructing the different appeals utilized in Indian gender advocacy campaigns, Study I sheds light on how these appeals are strategically deployed to be persuasive to a middle-class audience. Meanwhile, to understand reception, Study III utilizes semi-structured interviews and concepts of positioning to explore how audiences identify with the selected campaigns. This is further discussed in the "Methodology" chapter.

4.4 Womanhood, women's issues and feminism as social representations

As mentioned earlier, the meanings and issues attached to women's liberation are not static but negotiated under particular social, cultural, and historical conditions,

making womanhood, women's issues, and feminism the objects of social representations. Hence, in the subsections that follow, I outline studies that shed light on how these topics are commonly conceptualized and perceived. This review includes sources using a social representations lens specifically, as well as those approaching these issues from broader perspectives.

4.4.1 Understandings of womanhood

Different societies have different norms and expectations regarding the roles and qualities that women are expected to embrace. Duveen's (1993) research in the United Kingdom highlights how gender is one of the earliest forms of social representations and social identities acquired. As children develop an understanding of the hierarchical relations structuring gendered identities, which usually subordinate women to men, girls actively try and resist symbolic gender discrimination from an early age. This involves adopting positions that minimize their difference from boys while boys adopt positions that try to differentiate themselves from girls. Meanwhile, Morant (1998) discusses how social representations of women in British media have expanded to reflect the diversity of women's roles in society as mothers, wives and "career women," mobilizing constructions of "superwomen." Rottenberg (2014) argues that such representations are connected to neoliberal feminist ideals where an empowered woman is constructed as one who can successfully balance different roles, prompting self-help books that tell women how to have it all. In a similar vein, McRobbie (2004) explores how cultural products like films mobilize post-feminist discourses that reject the relevance of feminism as a social movement and frame empowerment through personal consumption choices. Scharff (2020), in turn, discusses how advice for raising daughters on parenting blogs construct empowerment through markers of individual choice and personality traits, such as confidence, optimism, and resilience.

Gendered expectations can also have racial and cultural dimensions. For instance, Waldron (2019) suggests that Black women in the United States may internalize stereotypes constructing them as strong, promiscuous, aggressive, and invulnerable, which negatively impact their self-esteem and sense of self while paradoxically also giving them resilience and enhancing their self-efficacy. Hence, Waldron recommends that Black feminist consciousness should provide Black women with the tools to reject these externally defined images and expectations and construct new individual and collective definitions of Black womanhood. In India, Sinha and Chauhan (2013) argue that the gendered cultural concept of "lajja" shapes expectations of womanhood, valorizing shyness, modesty, deference, knowing one's place in society, and fulfilling social role obligations. By anchoring such qualities in values of peace, social harmony, and cooperation, lajja normalizes

patriarchal gender roles and encourages women to be submissive. As these ideals and expectations of womanhood legitimize gender discrimination, it is possible that feminist campaigning might try to challenge them in their advocacy.

4.4.2 Understandings of women's issues

Women's issues are commonly framed in terms of gender equality and violence against women (e.g., World Health Organization, 2009). Among the most widely used definitions of gender equality is the one put forward by the United Nations (2001, p.1) as "equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and boys and girls." A well-established definition for violence against women also comes from the United Nations (1993, p.2) as:

> Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

Accordingly, much of the existing literature is dedicated to understanding the specific issue of violence against women. In the United Kingdom, Lombard and McMillan (2013) highlight how women are more at risk of violence from someone they know as opposed to strangers. Additionally, rape myths affect institutional responses to sexual violence cases, with a Danish study by Hansen et al. (2019) finding a reduced likelihood of cases being prosecuted when a victim defied stereotypes of how a "real" rape victim would behave. Studies in South Africa (Isaacs, 2016), and the United States and Germany (Schnepf & Christmann, 2023) also show how media framing of intimate partner violence can perpetuate victim blaming. Barca (2018) identifies how neoliberal conceptions of agency are used in news reporting of rape in the United States to perpetuate victim blaming by constructing women to be responsible for rape owing to their own choices, allowing the perpetrators to evade accountability, especially when they come from privileged backgrounds. In India, Rao (2014) points to how cases involving urban middle-class women are sensationalized in media reporting of sexual violence, mobilizing public sympathy for rape specifically in relation to this segment of women.

Yet, while the media can perpetuate patriarchy and misogyny, new digital forms of social media may enable the formation of counter publics who can challenge dominant representations. For instance, in relation to a highly sensationalized rape case in Spain, Mondragon et al. (2020) highlight how Twitter provided feminists with a digital space to participate in discussions on rape culture and other feminist issues that had previously only been discussed in feminist environments but not at wider social levels. Yet, while feminist discourses were prominent in response to the

mentioned case on Twitter, antifeminist and sexist discourses were also active. Less optimistically in Mexico, a study by Reyes-Sosa et al. (2023) of user comments on a news outlet's social media posts about different forms of violence against women identified a hegemonic social representation that legitimized rape culture and patriarchal practices, such as disbelieving and blaming the victim.

4.4.3 Understandings of feminism

Studies have analyzed the content of feminist activism and explored how different groups view feminism. Loney-Howes (2015) investigates how representations of rape in online activism try to challenge victim-blaming narratives and have also transformed over the last decade from showcasing suffering and vulnerability to emphasizing the agency of survivors who can narrate their own stories and define their experiences. However, not only does the emphasis on individual women put responsibility on survivors to share their trauma, but it also brings up questions of whose stories gain visibility, empathy, and are taken seriously. For instance, Salter (2013) highlights how in online environments, young, white, middle-class women are often given credibility as "ideal victims" of sexual violence.

Chowdhury also (2015) illustrates how international development narratives in line with neoliberal feminist agendas often frame violence against women as a cultural product typical of South Asian countries, without situating vulnerability of victims in relation to the forces of globalization, neoliberalism, patriarchy, and poverty. Similarly, Karim (2008) researched neoliberal ideals in relation to microcredit initiatives for women in Bangladesh, showing how such schemes construct poverty as an individual failure, instead of as a basis for making collective claims from the state. Additionally, Wilson (2015) contrasts how international development agendas conceptualize agency as something lacking in women from the Global South, which can be provided through development programs, while ignoring manifestations of agency expressed through the participation of women in strikes and union activities. In India, Gupta (2016) explores neoliberal feminism in relation to online hashtag activism and street demonstrations mobilized through them that emphasize personal desires as the basis for articulating feminist visions.

Existing literature has also analyzed representations of feminism among lay audiences. In Argentina, Alonso and Brussiono (2021) suggest that alongside feminists, anti-abortion movements campaigned simultaneously on the streets, on social networks, and in the media, leading to social representations of feminism being anchored in attitudes to abortion. While positive representations of feminism were correlated with supporting abortion legalization, negative representations of feminism correlated with opposing abortion legalization. In their study of social representations of feminism among students in Spain, Rotaeche et al. (2023) found an overall positive representation of feminism held largely by feminist-identifying

students and women, anchored in ideas of feminism as a struggle for freedom, equality, and empowerment through education. Meanwhile, a quarter of their sample, particularly male students and those who did not identify as feminists, held a negative representation of feminism, anchored in ideas of feminism as an extreme movement. Levtov et al. (2014) have documented how Indian men perceive feminism as a threat to their status. Additionally, Basu (2016) notes the rise of men's rights activists in India as a backlash to the Indian women's movement, largely comprised of upper middle-class and elite caste males united by perceived male victimhood and concerns about women misusing their rights. Such findings also reiterate the link between social identity and social representations.

Crusmac (2017) has studied representations of feminism among women against feminism, an online movement that emerged in the United States, which suggested that opposition stemmed from perceiving feminists to be aggressive man-haters who endangered society by destroying traditional gender roles, giving women preferential treatment, and promoting a lack of individual responsibility by advocating for collective action. Relatedly, Zucker (2004) found a correlation between embracing feminism and supporting collective action among university students in the United States. This highlights how despite the influence of neoliberalism, feminism may still be associated with collective action. In reviewing the existing literature on understandings of womanhood, women's issues, and feminism, I have illustrated how these concepts have a plurality of meanings, ideas, and values attached to them by different social actors and groups. In the next chapter, I briefly identify the gaps in the literature and how the studies in this thesis contribute to these gaps, thus outlining the specific aims and questions of the research.

5. The current study: identifying aims and questions

While the existing literature outlined in the preceding chapters provides excellent resources for thinking about how issues like rape and violence against women are understood and the societal myths and stereotypes about them, rape and violence against women are not the only issues faced by women. As statistics in India reviewed in chapter three highlighted, gender-biased sex selection, poverty, unemployment, and difficulties accessing quality education are also persisting issues in the country. The decision on what issues are focused on in gender advocacy may not just stem from what issues are most prevalent, but could also be motivated by other interests, including political interests. From a social representation perspective, hegemonic social representations may also shape what kinds of issues are seen as prevalent or pressing (Howarth, 2006).

The need to move beyond a single-issue perspective to understand how different issues are represented in Indian gender advocacy also resonates with the ethos of Black intersectional feminism, which is encapsulated in the famous quote by American writer, activist and professor Audre Lorde (1984, p.138): "there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives." Incorporating a multi-issue perspective can help understand whose issues are prioritized in Indian gender advocacy, whose issues are neglected, who is assigned responsibility for addressing these issues, and how such knowledge can contribute to imagine a feminism that recognizes that no woman is free until every woman is free. Additionally, a multifaceted perspective also contributes to critical social psychological scholarship envisioned by Coultas et al. (2023), which treats social issues as relational and situates them within the socio-political and historical contexts that produce them, thus moving beyond the narrow and individualized perspective that mainstream social psychology has too often taken. Hence, this thesis finds it necessary to depart from the focus on single issues to take a wider look at what kinds of different issues are prioritized in Indian gender advocacy, identify connections and patterns in the way these issues are represented, the kind of solutions they advocate for, and how an audience engages with these representations.

Additionally, while the constructs of neoliberal feminism and NGOization have inspired a broad range of applications in a variety of contexts, existing research has not really engaged with how organizations and institutions working for women's rights may also reproduce such ideals in their advocacy. This would be important to study in relation to India, which has been subjected to massive neoliberal reforms since the 1990s (Brown, 2003). Yet, at the same, India has also been considered a collectivistic country where values of interdependence and community ties are considered more important than individual needs or preferences (Verma & Triandis, 1999), suggesting that Indian culture may be at odds with the tenets of neoliberalism. Hence, a second research aim is to understand how neoliberal ideals shape the way that gender advocacy campaigns in India represent different issues.

Thirdly, as highlighted in the previous chapter, there is also a dearth of research in social psychology analyzing how meanings are made through a combination of visual images, text, sound, and narration. Additionally, when research in social psychology has concerned itself with social justice campaigns, it has often had a tendency to take the benevolent agenda behind the campaigns at face value and dedicate itself to examining how the presumed benevolent agenda could be spread more effectively to ensure the maximum impact and behavior change (for instance, see Lauri, 2015). However, in line with a more critical application of social psychology that recognizes power dynamics, it is necessary to deconstruct the campaigns themselves to see what sort of visions of the world they are producing, how an audience negotiates with these visions, and if the visions actually promote justice or maintain the status quo.

Furthermore, hegemony in the SRT has been conventionally understood in relation to Moscovici's (1988) conception as knowledge about a phenomenon shared consensually by a majority in society. Thus, multivariate statistical procedures using representative samples (e.g., Doise et al., 1993) are often favored to prove that the hegemonic social representation is held by a sufficient number of people. However, drawing on a discursive-rhetorical approach to social representations, as called for by Gibson (2015), that situates representations at a microgenetic and ontogenetic level in relation to those at a wider sociogenetic level (see also: Duveen & Lloyd, 1990) could enable more qualitative explorations of hegemony. Thus, a third aim of the thesis is to contribute to multimodal and critical analysis in social psychology that questions power dynamics and hierarchies as well as to develop theoretical and methodological approaches to qualitatively research hegemony in social representations.

Finally, while content and reception are often studied simultaneously in the field of media and communication (Jensen, 2020; Neumayer, 2022), there is a dearth of social psychological studies dedicated to analyzing how meanings are constructed in content and then reconstructed in reception, which as Livingstone (2008) argues, involves a process of interpretation and decoding. This research thus aims

to fill this gap and contribute a holistic social psychological understanding of meaning construction in gender advocacy campaigns at the levels of both content and reception.

Thus, the research questions guiding this thesis are:

1) How are women and women's issues represented in multimodal Indian gender advocacy campaigns?

2) What kinds of solutions are envisioned by the advocacy and by the chosen reception audience, and who is assigned responsibility for implementing these solutions?

3) How are hegemonic ideals of neoliberal feminism upheld or challenged by the campaigns and by the selected audience?

The first research question is answered on a broad level by the findings of Study I. Meanwhile, the second research question is answered in all three studies from different perspectives—the first offering a wider perspective with regards to the contents of over 200 analyzed campaign videos, the second offering an in-depth exploration of how institutional reform is represented in eight campaign videos calling to reform the police's way of tackling gender-based violence, and the third showing how an urban middle-class audience responds to the solutions portrayed in three selected campaign videos. The third research question is answered in Studies I and II from a content perspective, and in Study III from a reception perspective. Specifically in relation to this thesis, the first and second research questions are answered in the "Findings" chapter while the third research question is addressed briefly under the "Findings" chapter and elaborated in greater depth in the "Discussion" chapter.

6. Methodology

The need for reflecting about methodological choices is summarized well by Marecek et al. (1997, pg. 632), who describe its importance in the following way:

> Whether numbers or words, data do not speak for themselves. They acquire meaning only within the framework(s) of theory and interpretation imposed by researchers. No matter what the method, no researcher can escape questions about selection and interpretation of data, about his or her responsibilities to participants, about the interests and commitments that spawned the project in the first place.

In this chapter, I engage with the questions described above by outlining my epistemology that guided the studies in the thesis, the selection of materials and methods, how ethical issues were considered, and my subjectivity as a researcher in the process.

6.1 Epistemology

An advantage of the social representation theory according to Farr (1993) is that it does not privilege any single method. This flexibility has given social representation researchers freedom to develop methods for their research in accordance with their aims and questions, leading to a variety of methodologies being used to collect and analyze data in social representation studies, including surveys, participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus groups, drawings, media analysis, and experimental studies (Lauri, 2015). While the choices can therefore seem overwhelming when thinking about research methods within the social representation tradition, my research aims and epistemology guided my approach. As my research was concerned with how meanings regarding issues related to women's emancipation are constructed in Indian gender advocacy and among a potential audience in response to such advocacy, I chose qualitative approaches in all three studies since they are considered ideal to understand questions pertaining to meaning and perspective (Hammarberg et al., 2016). Moreover, Ball and Smith (1992) have highlighted how qualitative methods are particularly suitable for analyzing visual data, which often relies on the subtle nuances of narrative to convey

meanings that could be overlooked or misinterpreted by quantitative approaches that aim to document frequency and relationships between variables that are defined in advance.

All three studies in the thesis therefore utilized a qualitative methodology, which has been described by Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.3) as "a situated activity that locates the observer in the world through interpretive practices that turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self…" However, the specific qualitative materials and approaches used differed across the studies so in this sense, the thesis utilizes mixed methods. Conventionally, mixed methods are often discussed in relation to approaches that combine quantitative and qualitative methods together. This interpretation of mixed methods has been criticized by Flick et al. (2015), who mention the importance of also seeing a combination of different qualitative approaches as mixed methods. While mixed methods were usually aimed at triangulation to produce validity, this aim has shifted, and it has become more common to use mixed methods to get a more nuanced picture of a phenomenon under study rather than to demonstrate validity (Flick, 1992). This thesis suggests that the use of different qualitative approaches and materials can also fulfil this aim for a more in-depth understanding.

Additionally, the social representations theory has been described as a constructivist approach (Wagner, 1998) as well as a constructionist approach (Wagner, 1996). Negura and Plante (2021) consider this question concerning the epistemology of the social representations theory to be closely connected to the relationship between social representations and social reality. More specifically, as they elaborate, can social representations be considered a reflection of reality or do social representations constitute reality? Some scholars, such as Jovchelovitch (2001), argue that social representations are constructed in relation to reality but do not construct reality itself. However, for others (Wagner, 1996; Marková, 2012), the way that a social object is constructed by a social representation ends up constituting reality for the group. Lahlou (2015) argues that for a social representation to constitute reality for a social group, the representation must be installed at three levels: the physical level of the environment, the social level of institutions, and at the psychological level of individuals. The social representational process of naturalization is considered to play an important role in the construction of a social object as reality (Negura & Plant, 2021).

In relation to feminism, it becomes clear that particular feminist perspectives lead to specific practices of feminism. For instance, if there is a social representation of men being a threat to women in public spaces, a feminist campaign might not just try to raise awareness of this but also work to change the physical environment by having gender-segregated spaces in public transport and implement a law at the institutional level to guarantee such transport. Thus, the representation may not

confine itself to the symbolic realm of ideas but it could shape the material environment and be codified into institutions, also impacting social practices. In recognizing this circular process of a material reality shaping social representations and then representations in turn influencing material reality (Lahlou, 2015), I situate this research within a constructionist paradigm.

6.2 Data collection methods

Materials for Study I and Study II consisted of campaign videos from different organizations working on gender issues in India, while the material for Study III came from semi-structured interviews with 25 urban middle-class participants in Bengaluru, India. This is discussed in greater detail below to explain and justify the choices made in the studies.

6.2.1 Organizations

As the aims of Study I were to identify what kinds of issues were prioritized in Indian gender advocacy campaigns and how these issues were represented, I initially searched for organizations active in gender advocacy campaigning on social media in India. As Roy (2015) suggests that organizations' sources of funding and relations with states and other institutions of power as well as with the societies in which they work might influence their advocacy, I wanted to choose organizations that differed in these aspects to better compare their campaigns. To achieve this, I looked for organizations that belonged to three categories: a government ministry, an international NGO, and a local NGO. Additionally, because I was interested in exploring which issues received the most attention as the social representation theory discusses that what is focused upon and what is omitted is often rooted in relations of power (Howarth, 2006), it was essential that the organizations were not devoted to a single issue but that they tackled multiple gender issues. From a preliminary list of over 50 organizations, three were shortlisted for meeting these different criteria: the Ministry for Women and Child Development (MWCD), Amnesty International India (AII), and Breakthrough India (BI), which are described below.

After selecting these organizations, I undertook a preliminary review of the material on their YouTube channels, their Facebook pages, and their websites. In deciding what kind of campaigning material to focus on, I wanted to ensure that the material was comparable across organizations in the sense of being regularly published on a particular platform over a period of several years. Owing to these reasons, YouTube video campaigns were selected as data as the three organizations regularly posted content there, with the earliest campaigns dating to 2014, allowing me to focus on a five-year period from 2014–2019, with 2019 being the year when

I began to collect material. As a video sharing platform with a wide variety of content, YouTube is considered to have become an influential platform for constructing social representations (Kugelmann et al., 2019). However, as the studies in this thesis explored the content of digital media campaigns and how this content was reconstructed by an audience, examining the medium through which they are disseminated is beyond the immediate scope of the research. Although participants were sent links to the YouTube campaign videos during the interviews in Study III, the interview situation did not mimic the experience of being an organic consumer of YouTube or other video platforms. Hence, it is not possible to offer insight on how YouTube as a medium influenced the results. To note, the number of videos and followers of each organization was recorded at the end of 2019 when material collection for Study I was being wrapped up.

The Ministry for Women and Child Development (MWCD) was selected to represent a governmental body. MWCD became a separate government ministry in 2006 and is situated in New Delhi, India's capital located in the north of the country. Their stated mandate is to promote the social and economic empowerment of women through awareness-raising, among other things. MWCD had a following of 13,700 users and 603 videos on YouTube. Videos ranged from 18 seconds to 20 minutes, with the majority being less than three minutes.

Amnesty International India (AII) represented the category of an international NGO. Their Indian headquarters were established in Bengaluru in 2011, a metropolis in South India. However, the organization was banned from operating in the country in 2020 due to conflicts with the government. Defining itself as a grassroots organization campaigning for a world where human rights are enjoyed by all, one of their priority areas is gender, justifying its inclusion in the research. On YouTube, AII had a following of 2,080 users and a total of 186 videos. Videos ranged from 30 seconds to seven minutes, with the majority being under two and a half minutes.

Breakthrough India (BI) was chosen to represent a local NGO, having originated in India in 2000 with their head office in Delhi. Their mandate focuses solely on gender and aims to make discrimination and violence against women unacceptable by speaking to a diverse audience in different languages and mediums. They are not state-funded but have collaborated with the Indian government on various campaigns. BI had a following of 15,600 users and an output of 545 videos on YouTube. The majority of videos ranged from 30 seconds to three minutes in length, with a few between three and 21 minutes long.

The aims and subsequent selection of campaigns and organizations for Study II were determined by the findings of Study I. As the emphasis on neoliberal ideals of self-responsibility and lack of institutional solutions were prominent themes in Study I, I wanted to conduct an in-depth analysis of the few campaigns that called for the need to reform institutions in India. Only Amnesty International India and

the Ministry for Women and Child Development had conducted such campaigns and hence, the material for Study II comes from these two organizations.

Finally, as Study III sought to explore how a potential urban middle-class target audience responded to the campaigns and negotiated with the ideas conveyed by them, three campaign videos from the three aforementioned organizations were shown to participants.

6.2.2 Campaigns

The initial corpus of campaign material for Study I consisted of a total of 1,334 videos, taken from the organizations' YouTube channels covering the years 2014–2019. To narrow the material, the videos had to be part of a wider campaign and were categorized in accordance with the six parameters identified as dangers to women by the Thomas Reuters Foundation (2018), discussed further under "Data Analysis Methods." After applying these criteria, I was left with a final sample of 250 videos, out of which 69 belonged to MWCD, 18 to AII, and 163 to BI.

The studies in the thesis were organically built in relation to each other, with the selection of the topics for Study II and Study III not predefined in my research plan prior to the project; instead, they emerged from the results of each respective study. Hence, even though the research was broadly rooted in the framework of the SRT and grounded in knowledge of previous literature, it remained data-driven. As the emphasis on individual responsibility over institutional change was a prominent finding in Study I, I looked specifically for campaigns calling for reforming institutions in Study II, out of the 250 videos selected for Study I. This yielded a sample of eight videos from two campaigns by AII and MWCD respectively. All eight videos focused on the topic of reforming the police in India. Six of the videos were from AII's 2015–2016 campaign dedicated to making it easier for women to report violence to the police. The remaining two videos were from MWCD's 2016 campaign aimed at recruiting female police volunteers into the police to tackle violence against women. As none of BI's videos dealt with institutional reform, no campaigns from them were included in Study II.

The findings of Study I and II also influenced the selection of the campaigns chosen as reception material for Study III. In particular, I wanted to investigate how an urban middle-class audience negotiated with the neoliberal ideals of womanhood embodied by the campaigns, and also how they perceived the idea of institutional reform. Thus, three campaign videos from AII, BI, and MWCD respectively were used as reception material in Study III—the first from AII and the second from BI were found to epitomize neoliberal ideals in Study I, while the third video from MWCD was from their campaign on police reform analyzed in Study II.

6.2.3 Semi-structured interviews

As gender advocacy campaigns often aim to elicit donations to fund the social change they are advocating for, they are usually targeted at an urban middle-class audience who have a high enough income to be donors, and additionally are well connected digitally to view content on YouTube, the platform through which the campaigns are broadcast. Hence in Study III, semi-structured interviews were conducted between March and June 2022 with 25 urban middle-class participants who could be considered a realistic intended target audience for the campaigns in order to understand how this group would respond to the advocacy. The middle-class in India is a very heterogeneous group so to ensure some uniformity among participants, a snowball sampling strategy was used to recruit people employed in the IT sector in Bengaluru, India's IT capital. Radhakrishnan (2011) has suggested that IT workers embody different dimensions of middle-class status, such as a high income and fluency in English to fit into a multinational workplace. The average age of participants was 37, with the oldest participant being 57 and the youngest 24.

All but one interview was conducted through Zoom, as COVID-19 restrictions were in place in Bengaluru at the time of the data collection. For this reason, focus group interviews were also ruled out as the ability of all group participants to contribute to the conversation is likely to suffer in a Zoom call, owing to connection issues, delays or lags, and fear of judgment for expressing authentic opinions on sensitive topics without a chance to build any kind of rapport and connection. While the video topics dealt with women's issues, it was decided not to limit participants to women since patriarchy actively benefits men. Hence, there may be gendered differences in how the campaigns are received, which was explored in the study. Participants were shown the three selected campaign videos, and after each video they answered open-ended questions regarding the content, narrative structure, and message of the videos.

6.3 Data analysis methods

To analyze the materials in Study I, I utilized content analysis and thematic analysis in conjunction with social representations tools of anchoring and objectification. Meanwhile, narrative analysis along with the social representations theory guided the analysis in Study II. In Study III, thematic analysis along with positioning and the social representation tool of themata were employed in the analysis. I elaborate further on these methods below, paying particular attention to how they were used in conjunction with tools of the SRT.

6.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis encompasses a wide range of both quantitative and qualitative approaches and hence it was important to choose an approach compatible with the constructionist epistemology underpinning the research, which assumes that meanings are constructed and socially situated. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) outline three types of qualitative content analysis: conventional content analysis, directed content analysis, and summative content analysis. In conventional content analysis, researchers avoid using predefined categories and allow the category names to emerge from the data. Meanwhile, in directed content analysis, coding is done in accordance with predetermined codes derived from an existing conceptual framework. Finally, summative content analysis involves identifying and quantifying content to understand how the content is used and the underlying meanings structuring the content.

As the purpose of the preliminary content analysis in Study I was to delimit the vast amount of material (1,334 videos) into a more manageable size, a directed content analysis was utilized whereby the specific issues of each gender advocacy campaign video were categorized deductively by using the Thomas Reuter's Foundation's (2018) classification of dangers to women: healthcare; discrimination and economic resources; cultural, tribal, religious or customary practices; sexual violence and harassment; non-sexual violence; and human trafficking. The shortlisted videos were watched multiple times and transcribed verbatim. The issues covered by them are discussed further under "Findings." To pay attention to the modes of image, narration, text and sound, these different elements were placed in four parallel columns in accordance with the approach utilized by Hakoköngäs and Sakki (2019). This process was followed by thematic analysis.

6.3.2 Thematic analysis

Materials in Study I and Study III were analyzed manually using thematic analysis in conjunction with different social representation theory tools. Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2022) six steps of thematic analysis (familiarization with data, generation of initial codes, search for themes, review of themes, defining themes, and writing up) were used in both of these studies. In Study I, thematic analysis was inductively applied after the content analysis to look for more nuanced patterns in the data. After data familiarization, I wrote short summaries of each of the 250 videos. The initial codes were formulated by looking at the narrative structure of the videos, comprising of the issue represented, the actors, the setting, and the solution to the issue, which helped categorize shared elements across the material. At this stage, the resulting coding categories were quantified numerically to explore emerging patterns. Additionally, the material was coded in relation to dimensions of sound, text, image, and music. The search for themes was explored explicitly in relation to

a social representations framework by looking at how the identified issues, actors, setting, and solution were objectified and anchored.

As discussed in chapter four, objectification was conceptualized in accordance with Moscovici (1984) as the process in which the abstract is made tangible. I therefore looked at the ways in which these different elements of the narrative structure were made concrete. For instance, the setting of early marriage was given shape through visual images of villages as well as the use of folk music and textual references to villages. Meanwhile, anchoring was considered in line with Moscovici (1984) as the way a phenomenon is given meaning through naming and classifying. In practical terms, this meant looking at the meanings that the objectifications were tied to. In the aforementioned example of a village, the objectification of early marriage in villages served to anchor its meaning in traditionality. In the fourth and fifth stage, the resulting themes were reviewed and defined, and finally written up.

Meanwhile, in Study III, the interview data was coded in terms of how responsibility for the causes and solutions to different issues was assigned by participants to different actors in the videos. Three themes were generated and named: "individual," "culture," and "institutions." I then looked at the broad patterns of meaning across these themes, focusing on how participants' identities, such as gender and class, shaped their responses. This helped me to identify different positions taken by participants in relation to the issues discussed in the themes. These positions were explored in terms of how they maintained or challenged dominant ideals of neoliberal feminism identified by previous research (Rottenberg, 2014; Scharff, 2020, Wilson, 2015; Gupta, 2016). In searching for, reviewing, and defining the themes, I also sought to identify themata, which are mutually interdependent dyads structuring social representations. Liu (2004) distinguishes themes from themata with the former referring to units of analysis in qualitative research, such as conversation topics, and the latter to historically embedded and culturally shared antinomies organizing a representation. However, Liu elaborates that they are closely related as themata usually underpin themes derived from the interviewees' accounts. Guided by this conceptual distinction, I conceived themata as subthemes and identified them by looking at dichotomies underlying the way that participants talked about the topics in each theme.

It is also important to note that like content analysis, thematic analysis is not a single method but a family of methods (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Distinctions have been made between small q and big Q qualitative thematic analysis. The former consists of dimensions usually connected to positivism, which emphasize procedures for ensuring reliability and limiting bias through the use of structured codebooks, use of multiple coders, and intercoder agreement calculations. Meanwhile, the latter comprises of approaches more congruent with constructionism, such as seeing meaning as contextually situated and researcher subjectivity as a potential strength if accounted for adequately. While Braun and

Clarke (2023) do not necessarily discourage mashing together different approaches to thematic analysis, they do argue that combinations must be undertaken knowingly by acknowledging departures from conventional procedures and justifying them, or else they risk methodological incoherence.

The quantification of categories in Study I might seem more in line with small q approaches than my stated constructionist epistemology. To justify this choice, I would like to emphasize that the use of numbers was because the study materials comprised of 250 videos, which was exceptionally large for a qualitative study and hence preliminary quantification helped keep the analysis focused and meaningful patterns in the data could be identified.

6.3.3 Narrative analysis

Study II employs SRT tools of anchoring and objectification along with Propp's (1928/1968) narrative approach, which identifies a narrative structure through a typology of characters, including heroes, villains, and helpers, as well as their actions and goals. Wagner-Egger et al. (2011) utilize a similar approach in relation to textual data. However, the application to multimodal material in this thesis is novel. An action-oriented view of objectification is utilized to understand how narratives unfold and what motivates characters, providing a novel way of locating objectifications. This approach was influenced by Wagner (1998, 2015) and László (1997), who discuss the mutually constitutive relationship between social representations and practices, as well as Winskell (2021), who elaborates on the relationship between social representations and narratives, arguing that the process of objectification occurs at the level of plots and characters. Anchoring in turn is understood as a broader system of meaning shaping how objectifications are interpreted, in accordance with Jodelet (2008) and Hakoköngäs and Sakki (2019).

Transcription was influenced by the approach to multimodal data transcription taken by Sakki and Martikainen (2020), who in turn build on the work of Hakoköngäs and Sakki (2019) and place sound, verbal, and visual elements in parallel columns. The main actions and goals of each character were listed, also paying attention to compositional elements like framing to explain how narratives were constructed. To explore objectifications of the police's actions and goals, I looked at concrete manifestations of the police's actions, including practices and behavior, and then used the identified actions to interpret the anchors as units of meaning tied to objectifications.

6.4 Reflections on ethics and my subjectivity

Kitchener and Kitchener (2009) argue that social science research involves two fundamental ethical questions. The first pertains to the ethically correct way to collect, process, and report research data, and the second to the ethically responsible way of treating research subjects. For Fisher and Anushko (2008), these two questions should be guided by ethical principles of beneficence or maximizing research benefits while minimizing harm; respect to ensure that the research participation is informed and voluntary; and finally, justice to ensure that the research burdens and benefits are fairly distributed across populations. Meanwhile, Brabeck and Brabeck (2009) suggest that feminist researchers should ask how the research contributes to enhancing the conditions of women and other oppressed people. I attempt to discuss how I considered these questions below.

Firstly, in relation to data collection, online data sources such as YouTube videos, which are utilized in Study I and Study II, bring up challenges in ensuring conventional ethical principles, such as informed consent, privacy, and absence of psychological and physical harm (Legewie & Nassauer, 2018). While such material is public, those creating it usually do not get the opportunity to consent to its use in research. The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2019) allows publicly available online material to be used as research material and cited in research. The online YouTube campaigns used in this thesis are all publicly available. To ensure that ethical principles were considered in data processing and analysis, the videos were transcribed as accurately as possible using multimodal approaches to transcription, and accurate references are made to each video cited in the analysis. Links, transcripts, and descriptions of the videos were included as supplementary material in Studies II and III. The transcribed interview data utilized in Study III will be deposited in the Finnish Social Science Data archive after the study is published.

There are specific circumstances under which an ethical review must be undertaken, according to the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2019), for instance, if the research involves physical interventions, deviates from informed consent, focuses on minors, exposes participants to exceptionally strong stimuli, involves the risk of mental harm that exceeds limits of everyday life, presents a threat to the safety of the participants and their close ones, or is expected to be published in journals requiring the opinions of ethical committees. My research design in Study III involved showing campaign videos on topics such as sexual harassment to participants belonging to the urban middle-class in India, which could possibly trigger negative and traumatic associations. Hence, I obtained ethical clearance from an ethics board at the University of Helsinki in early spring of 2022 prior to conducting the research. To adhere to the ethical principles of informed consent, no deception, confidentiality, privacy, and to reduce the

mentioned risk of mental harm and trauma, I took certain precautions while recruiting and interviewing the participants. In particular, I shared an information sheet, consent sheet, and privacy statement with my participants prior to the interview. The information sheet described the research and the topics covered in the videos as transparently as possible so that people who did not wish to discuss these topics did not feel obligated to participate. The information sheet also emphasized that participants need not share personal experiences but could limit the discussion to opinions and beliefs about the messages of the videos. The rights of participants to withdraw at any point of the study and skip questions they did not wish to answer were also highlighted. The privacy statement clarified how their information and responses would be processed and their confidentiality and anonymity maintained. It was hoped that these measures would ensure that no participant experienced harm from participating in the study. Many participants expressed that they enjoyed participating and shared the study brief with colleagues and friends to recruit more participants, suggesting that they did not feel harmed by taking part.

With regard to data management, audio material from Study III was erased after transcription. The anonymity of participants was preserved both during transcription and the writing of the third article by using pseudonyms instead of names, leaving out the names of schools and companies that the participants had graduated from and worked in, and deleting or modifying any sensitive data. The collected material for the three studies in this thesis has been stored on my personal computer, accessible only by me and backed up on an external hard drive kept in a locked closet at the site of research, the Unit of Social Psychology at the University of Helsinki, for the duration of the project.

Additionally, as qualitative researchers, it is important to recognize how researchers actively play a role in the research process (Finlay, 2003). Decolonial scholarship has been instrumental in establishing the need for subjectivity by highlighting the colonial underpinnings of knowledge that claims to be universal. For instance, Grosfoguel (2007) discusses how Western philosophy has tended to employ a "point zero" perspective, which hides its local and particular vantage point under a supposed universalism. This is rooted in the Cartesian dualism between mind and body and mind and nature, exemplified by the truism "I think, therefore I am," which provides the foundation for contemporary Western science to claim a God-eyed view of knowledge of the world. Grosfoguel (2007) and Mignolo (2009) further argue that Europe would not have been able to impose this epistemic view on peoples across the world without the subjugation arising from European colonial expansion since the 15th century. By suggesting that their observations originate from nowhere-in-particular, dominant Western accounts are able to assert their applicability everywhere-in-general (Malherbe et al., 2021). To counter the point-zero perspective, decolonial scholarship has emphasized the importance of de-

linking epistemically and politically from the web of imperial knowledge (Mignolo, 2009). One way of doing so is by clarifying one's locus of enunciation or "the geopolitical and body-political location of the subject that speaks" (Grosfoguel, 2016, p.213), which runs parallel to feminist ideas of situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988) and the body politics of knowledge (Fanon, 1967/1952).

For Wilkinson (1988), reflections on subjectivity can involve personal reflexivity or how a researcher's subjectivity and values shape knowledge production, functional reflexivity, or how methods and study design shape knowledge production and discipline reflexivity or how academic disciplines shape knowledge production. As I have already discussed my choices regarding the methods and elements related to research design throughout this chapter, I attempt to clarify my locus of enunciation in relation to personal reflexivity and discipline reflexivity in the current discussion. I do not write about these aspects separately but together, as they overlapped and influenced each other constantly.

I am an Indian woman from the urban middle-class who grew up in Bengaluru, India, and I live in Helsinki, Finland. I first became acquainted with the SRT during my master's degree at the University of Helsinki and remember the joy I felt at encountering a European theoretical framework that placed so much emphasis on the role of context and history in shaping prevalent ideas in society. This motivated me to utilize the theory in my master's research exploring perspectives on homosexuality across generations and different religious groups in Bengaluru, and in my doctoral research that the reader is hopefully well acquainted with by now.

Meanwhile, I first became acquainted with the manner in which neoliberal tropes were prevalent in gender advocacy after working for gender justice organizations in India and abroad. Despite this awareness, I had not anticipated this to emerge as a dominant finding in my research. My initial aim when beginning the project was to allow myself to be guided by the material in the analysis and ensure that the studies remained rooted in the SRT. I selected three organizations with different mandates, interests, and relationships to the Indian state in the hope that this would enable me to explore a diversity of perspectives and highlight similarities and differences in their campaigning. I was therefore surprised by the relative consistency in the content and messages of the organizations found in Study I. This seemed to contradict the SRT's assumption of the plurality of knowledge in contemporary societies. Additionally, as discussed in chapter 4, I also encountered other challenges in applying a European theory to an Indian context, owing to its assumptions that reproduced dualities between traditional and modern.

Decolonial perspectives emphasize the importance of using our disciplines in ways that center the epistemic perspectives of the marginalized global majority in the Global South and seeking guidance from other disciplines when we may not find answers in our own (Decolonial Psychology Editorial Collective, 2021; Coultas, 2022). Hence, I was motivated to attend summer schools on decolonial, feminist,

and critical perspectives outside my discipline that helped me interrogate Eurocentric assumptions, unlearn them when possible, and learn alternative perspectives that could provide a more expansive understanding. To explain the finding of similarity across gender advocacy campaigns, I also turned to critical feminist scholarship on hegemonic femininity (Rutherford, 2018) to complement my work as a social psychologist. This helped me to identify the presence of a hegemonic representation of neoliberal feminism that neglected the issues of the majority of women in India. Other critical scholarship (e.g., Rao, 2014) highlighted how media content often perpetuates classist stereotypes by encouraging empathy with middle-class victims and rendering issues of working-class and marginalized caste victims invisible. I was thus encouraged to take a critical perspective throughout the research. All three studies in the thesis pay attention to how power relations are maintained through social representations.

If neoliberal feminism is most accessible to middle-class women, as Rottenberg (2014) suggests, an ethical stance would suggest it important to understand how the needs of marginalized women are neglected by hegemonic feminism by including such women as reception audiences. This is in line with decolonial psychological approaches that suggest rethinking notions of validity in terms of who is excluded from the research and how this may affect what we know (Fines, 2006). My initial research plan had hoped to study reception across a range of audiences. However, when the reception phase of the research commenced, COVID-19 restrictions were in place in different parts of India. Hence, Zoom was the only platform through which I could do the research. As socio-economically disadvantaged women in rural areas were unlikely to have access to technology that could permit online conversations and I thought it unethical to travel to rural areas and subject women with limited access to health infrastructure to health risks, I limited the reception audience in Study III to the urban middle-class.

My urban middle-class background likely helped me gain access to interviewees for this study, as I was probably perceived as a cultural insider in relation to my participants, having grown up in Bengaluru, the city where the interviewees were residing at the time of data collection, and being from the same class background as them. This enabled the establishment of trust and rapport, with many female participants in the study opening up about their own experiences of harassment and gender-based violence in relation to the campaigns I showed them, presumably because I was perceived to be able to relate to these experiences as a fellow Indian woman. Knowledge of my position may have also shaped the kind of participants who volunteered to participate in the study. I am known among close friends and family for being vocal about feminist issues. Hence, on hearing about my study, those in my networks may have forwarded the brief specifically to people they perceived to be fellow feminists or supporters of women's rights. To try and prevent this, I specifically emphasized in my study brief that all views were welcome without

any judgment. Many participants contested the ideas in some of the campaigns they were shown, suggesting that they felt free to voice their own opinion.

Yet, presumptions of similarity can also mask power differentials. McAvoy (2009) reflects on how she has a different agenda from her participants, which involves using their words in her service and therefore, she cannot be precisely "one of them." Similarly, my multiple positions in the research are relationally distributed as I exist both as a middle-class woman from Bengaluru and a PhD researcher living in Helsinki, and I occupy simultaneous privilege and marginalization in relation to these positions. Interrogating feelings and affect can also help shed light on knowledge production during the research process (Lazard & McAvoy, 2020). In an earlier chapter, I had discussed how feminists employed in NGOs in India got richer while the majority of women got poorer. This is also a self-critique as I received funding to study Indian gender advocacy campaigning shortly after India was named the most dangerous country in the world for women. While I have dedicated much space to justifying the need for my research, I also felt unsettled by benefiting personally from scholarship on this topic. Perhaps this is the uncomfortable reflexivity Dosekun (2015) discusses that highlights ethical conundrums without neat solutions. My guilt was likely also a motivating factor for taking a critical perspective in this research and interrogating middle-class complicity in perpetuating oppression.

Although clarifying identity-related positions may be an aspect of a locus of enunciation, the Decolonial Psychology Editorial Collective (2021) argue that it is important to remember that identity categories should not be conceived in monolithic or essentialist terms as they are collective constructions that can be contested. Therefore, in Study III, I tried to avoid imposing predetermined categories on my participants and looked at how identities like class and gender were constituted during the interview. Additionally, Grosfoguel (2007) emphasizes the necessity of distinguishing one's epistemic location from one's social location, as a social location in the oppressed side of power relations does not necessarily mean that a person is thinking from a subaltern epistemic location. As a result of awareness of the many inequalities in Indian society in relation to gender, from considering existing literature as well as my social location as an urban middle-class woman, I have come to embrace an epistemic location that motivates me to explore more inclusive forms of feminism, binding the struggle for women's rights with struggles against caste, class, and racial inequalities and to take a critical stance when confronted with manifestations of such inequalities in my own research. Using the SRT to see how my urban middle-class participants negotiated with hegemonic neoliberal ideals from the campaign videos shown to them also allowed me to understand how their social locations were used at times in service of a neoliberal epistemic location and how at other times, to challenge that epistemic location.

7. Findings

> In the quick and easy recipes of 'gender awareness' programmes, what is missed is that behaviour change occurs never by rhetoric but only when there is a clear understanding of what the limitations and possibilities are for gaining one's freedom in the present situation
>
> -Maithreyi Krishnaraj (as cited in Chakravarti, 2018, p. xiv)

In this chapter, I present an overview of the findings of the three studies included in this thesis under the headings of "content" and "reception" below. Content includes the findings of Studies I and II, while reception includes the findings of Study III. The content section helps to answer my first two research questions of how women and women's issues are represented in Indian gender advocacy, and what solutions are envisioned by the advocacy. Meanwhile, the reception section also helps to answer what solutions are envisioned by the advocacy from an audience perspective. The third question on how hegemonic ideals of neoliberalism are upheld or challenged by the campaigns and selected audience is answered briefly under both content and reception, but will be more thoroughly discussed in the chapter that follows.

7.1 Content

Studies I and II explored the content of Indian gender advocacy campaigns. Study I sheds light on what issues were prioritized in the campaigns, how women were represented in them, and what kinds of solutions were advocated by them. Meanwhile, Study II specifically explores a sub-category of videos dedicated to the solution of institutional reform.

7.1.1 What issues?

Findings from Study I showcase what issues are prioritized in gender advocacy campaigns from MWCD, BI, and AII over the period between 2014 and 2019. The highest number of videos, comprising of 30% of the videos analyzed, were dedicated to sexual violence and harassment, which was a common focus area uniting all three

organizations. Gender-biased sex selection featured almost as prominently, with 28% of the videos dedicated to this issue. Early marriage and female education comprised of 15% and 14% of videos respectively, while maternal malnourishment and domestic violence were less featured at 6% and 5%. Gender-biased sex selection, early marriage, female education, and domestic violence were overlapping issues between MWCD and BI but not covered by AII. Meanwhile, maternal malnourishment was an exclusive focus of MWCD's campaigns, and online violence and transgender rights were themes solely covered by AII. Table 1, which is a modified version of the table presented in Study I, provides further information on how the focus on different issues was divided across organizations and the classification according to the Thomas Reuter's Foundation (2018) parameters.

Table 1

Themes in gender advocacy campaigns across three organizations (N = 250)

Themes of videos	Classification according to Reuter's parameters	BI (N=163)	MWCD (N=69)	AII (N=18)
Sexual violence and harassment	Sexual violence and harassment	46	15	13
Gender-biased sex selection	Cultural practices	36	33	
Female education	Discrimination	34	2	
Early marriage	Cultural practices	36	1	
Domestic violence	Non-sexual violence	11	2	
Maternal malnourishment	Healthcare		14	
Online violence	Non-sexual violence			4
Dowry	Cultural practices		2	
Transgender rights	Discrimination			1

Note. Adapted from "Empowered but Endangered? An Analysis of Hegemonic Womanhood in Indian Gender Advocacy Campaigns," by K. Dsilva, and E. Hakokõngäs, 2022, Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 10(1), p.261. Distributed under Psych Open Gold Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.

7.1.2 Which women?

To understand how the identified issues were represented, the next step of the thematic analysis in Study I looked at the issue specifically in relation to the actors featured in the video, the setting, and the solution. Videos on maternal malnourishment, domestic violence, and transgender rights included footage of events hosted by the organizations and interviews with their staff, making it hard

to distinguish clear environments. Hence, these issues were excluded from the next step of analysis. In relation to sexual harassment, early marriage, female education, and gender-biased sex selection, two consistent patterns emerged in how these issues were portrayed.

Videos from all three organizations depicting sexual violence and harassment were set in cities and commonly featured an urban middle-class woman as a protagonist. Thus, sexual harassment was shown to be an issue of urban middle-class women. This was accomplished through mostly visual and occasionally verbal/textual objectifications, such as clothes, occupations, skin color, and language that anchored the protagonist experiencing harassment as an urban middle-class woman. The use of a middle-class protagonist to establish appeals to empathy suggest that the videos are targeting an urban middle-class audience who are able to relate to the middle-class background of the protagonist and also have the funds to donate to the campaigns. Not all videos depicted or referenced the perpetrator of the violence, but those that did often used visual and verbal objectifications that anchored the perpetrator as a working-class male. However, in the case of MWCD and AII, there was some more diversity in relation to perpetrators. Half of all of MWCD's videos depicted the perpetrator as an urban middle-class man in a position of power, while almost a quarter of the perpetrators in all of AII's videos were represented as a foreign diplomat.

Meanwhile, videos on early marriage, female education, and gender-biased sex selection were mainly set in rural areas and often showed socio-economically disadvantaged girls as the protagonist. This suggests that the latter issues were depicted as issues of rural Indian women, which was achieved through the use of mostly visual and to a lesser extent sonic, verbal, and textual objectifications that typically anchored these issues to women and girls in rural areas. However, the videos of BI are likely targeted at an urban middle-class English-speaking audience, as evidenced by the use of English subtitles in BI's campaigns, which would be unnecessary if the expected audience was from the same background as the Hindi-speaking protagonist. Thus, persuasive appeals are made through ethos or authenticity by utilizing a documentary style of storytelling and the use of different eyewitnesses to present their accounts. Yet, while BI typically showed these issues among socio-economically disadvantaged rural families, MWCD also portrayed it among urban and rural middle-class families. These findings suggest the presence of two hegemonic social representations: the first depicting sexual harassment as an urban middle-class issue and the second showing early marriage, gender-biased sex selection, and female education as rural dangers. These hegemonic social representations are tied to neoliberal ideals, as evidenced by the individualistic solutions advocated by the campaigns, which are described below.

7.1.3 Whose solutions?

In Study I, two kinds of solutions could be identified from the videos: immediate solutions, which typically asked the audience for donations and to raise awareness of the issue of focus, and implied solutions, which gave subtle guidance on how the issue could be solved. In relation to the latter category of solutions, videos focusing on sexual harassment commonly placed the onus on ending this problem on women themselves, by implying that the solution was for women to assert their rights, for instance by reporting violence, practicing self-defense, using public transport, and sharing stories of harassment on public forums or with male members of their families. A small minority of videos by AII and MWCD also promoted institutional reform, specifically in relation to reforming the police as a solution for sexual and gender-based violence. Solutions were two-pronged in videos dealing with early marriage, female education, and gender-biased sex selection. On one hand, the videos called for the need to change the presumed traditional outlook of rural families and communities and simultaneously emphasized the responsibility of girls to stand up to their families and the traditional beliefs prevalent in their communities.

Meanwhile, Study II specifically looked at how the organizations included in Study I advocated for institutional reform. Only AII and MWCD had campaigns promoting institutional change, with both organizations dedicating campaigns to the need to reform the Indian police and its ways of tackling sexual harassment and gender-based violence. By using narrative analysis in conjunction with SRT tools of anchoring and objectification, the findings illustrate how the role of the police is constructed in these campaigns.

AII's campaigns depicted the police as a villain, objectified by actions that included neglecting cases of sexual violence, upholding rape myths, victim blaming, and perpetuating sexual harassment, thus anchoring the police as a patriarchal misogynistic institution. Even though the campaigns were premised on reforming the police, ultimately the solution promoted by AII's representation placed the responsibility on women to be heroes and claim their own rights by fighting against the patriarchal police to persevere in their task of reporting sexual violence.

Contrastingly, MWCD's campaigns depicted the policeman as a hero, objectified as a tough enforcer of the law, while the policewoman was shown as a helper, objectified as a sensitive sidekick. This ultimately anchored the police as defenders of women's safety in MWCD's representation. The solution promoted by the MWCD was for more women to join the police as they were considered to have the caring and gentle virtues that could complement the authoritative role of their male counterparts. Ideologically, this deference of policewomen to policemen suggests that women are a welcome addition to the police force as long as patriarchal gender roles are preserved within the institution. Additionally, the positive depiction of the

police in MWCD's social representation also illustrates how their campaign fails to engage in a critique of institutions, even while attempting to reform them.

Thus, neoliberal ideals of feminism as discussed by Rottenberg (2014) are visible in the solutions to the different issues talked about in the advocacy campaigns explored in Study I, which largely place responsibility on individuals and rarely on institutions. Meanwhile, the few campaigns aiming at institutional change in Study II still do not depart from neoliberal ideals by placing the burden of such change on individual women, either by encouraging them to join the police or stand up for their rights when reporting violence to the police. This hegemonic representation of neoliberal feminism is elaborated on further in the "Discussion" chapter.

7.2 Reception

In Study III, in response to the three campaign videos shown to them, discussions with my urban middle-class participants were coded in terms of how responsibility was assigned for the causes and solutions to the issues of sexual harassment and early marriage depicted in the videos. Accordingly, three themes were identified: emphasis on individual responsibility, culture as a cause and a solution, and finally, a skepticism of institutions. These are briefly described below.

7.2.1 Emphasis on individual responsibility

While participants did not blame women for the harassment they experience, there was an emphasis on self-transformation as a solution for overcoming victimhood. A themata or dyad of empowered versus oppressed underlined this theme, with individual responsibility emphasized as a solution for transcending oppression and achieving empowerment. Empowerment was equated with overcoming fear, standing up for oneself, and using one's voice. However, there were gender differences in how participants positioned themselves to empowerment. Female participants discussed the constraints women may face in standing up for themselves against sexual harassment in the workplace, such as termination of employment. Meanwhile, male participants often discussed their anxieties about women having too much power, which men feared could be used to falsely accuse them of harassment.

Thus, participants' ideas of empowerment mirrored ideals of neoliberal feminism that promote self-transformation as a solution to women's oppression. As such ideals have been identified as hegemonic in previous research (Rottenberg, 2014; Eisenstein, 2017), participants are considered to have taken a hegemonic position on empowerment. Yet, the constraints on self-transformation as a solution mentioned by some female participants and the perception of empowered women as a threat by some male participants also suggest the presence of polemic positions

in relation to the hegemonic position. Depending on the dialogical relationship between the alternatives and the hegemonic representation, alternative positions may have the potential to destabilize hegemonic representations as suggested by Gillespie (2008). In this case, the alternatives are used by participants to question the hegemonic meaning of an empowered woman through the use of rhetorical devices such as "but." Thus, variations of the following sentence, "I believe that women should actively speak up but" were occasionally used by participants to challenge the idea that women standing up for themselves was an ideal solution.

7.2.2 Culture: a cause and a solution

The theme of culture as a cause and a solution often arose in relation to the topic of early marriage. Culture was commonly blamed for this issue, with cultural change seen as a solution. A themata of traditional versus modern structured this theme, with backward traditions seen as the cause of the problem and modernity the solution to fixing the problem. The boundaries between traditional and modern were constantly negotiated by participants. Rural areas were often positioned as traditional and in need of change compared to urban areas, which were constructed as modern and having reached the desired levels of gender equality.

Wilson (2015) suggests that neoliberal development agendas attribute harmful practices like early marriage and female infanticide in India to rural and socio-economically disadvantaged populations while obscuring the structural causes of such practices. Participants reproduced this hegemonic representation by adopting a position of distance from practices like early marriage by claiming them to be specific to rural India. However, some participants reflected on how issues like early marriage also occur in urban areas in different forms than in rural areas, implying that urban areas may also be traditional and in need of change. Additionally, patriarchy caused by cultural traditions was not seen as a product of individual men but of Indian society, with participants describing instances of patriarchal practices being upheld and maintained by women and men alike.

The recognition that such practices also occur among the urban elite and that patriarchy is upheld by Indian society as a whole suggests the presence of more emancipated positions. Such alternative positions do not necessarily oppose the hegemonic one but may exist alongside it. For instance, participants usually agreed with the representation of early marriage as a rural issue, but added that such practices may also occur among their own friends and family.

7.2.3 Skepticism of institutions

Participants sometimes implicated institutions in contributing to the abuse of

women's rights in India but expressed apathy about the potential of institutional reform, commonly viewing institutions like the police to be incapable of change. A themata of supporter versus opponent structured this theme. Participants often positioned institutions to be opponents of women's rights by talking about how institutions should ideally function as supporters of women's rights, and then describing the reality of how institutions violated women's rights in India.

Thus, according to the participants, institutions should be allies of women and support their rights in an ideal world. This could be seen as a polemic position, by defying the hegemonic neoliberal ideal of self-reliance (Rottenberg, 2014). However, participants were pessimistic about institutions being supporters of women's rights, invoking common perceptions of the police as a corrupt and misogynistic institution to justify the lack of faith in institutional change. In this way, participants drew upon the polemic position of how institutions should ideally function to emphasize that institutions could never be reformed in reality, and to reassert the hegemonic neoliberal social representation of self-reliance as the optimal solution. Thus, the polemic position was used as a straw man and rejected in order to reassert the legitimacy of the hegemonic social representation, in the manner outlined by Gillespie (2008).

8. Discussion

> We must ask what is the aim of the scientific community. Is it to support or to criticize the social order? Is it to consolidate it or transform it?
>
> - Serge Moscovici (1972, p. 23)

While almost 50 years have passed since Moscovici made this statement, his questions remain pertinent for all research projects. In relation to the findings outlined in the previous chapter, I would like to reflect on how representations of women, women's issues, and the solutions to overcome these issues consolidate or transform social order. Thus, in the following sections I summarize what kinds of representations have become hegemonic in Indian gender advocacy and the ideological interests and identity-related functions served by such representations. I then discuss the alternative representations that could offer resistance to hegemonic ideas and their potential for social change. The final section is dedicated to a consideration of the limitations of the studies and directions for future research. While the issues highlighted in the discussion below were rooted in and inspired by the three studies that comprise this thesis summary, my aim in this chapter is to go beyond summarizing the discussions in each individual article to take a holistic perspective of all three studies in their totality, and expand on the ideas expressed in them at a more theoretical level.

8.1 Hegemonic representations and their consequences

The findings of Studies I, II and III point to the dominance of neoliberal feminism as a hegemonic social representation in Indian gender advocacy campaigns. Such representations function to maintain social stratifications along the lines of class, caste, gender and region in India. The findings also draw attention to the role of institutional power in circulating hegemonic knowledge and suppressing polemic perspectives. I elaborate further on these points in the subsections that follow.

8.1.1 Dominance of neoliberal feminism

Maglioglou and Coen (2021) have argued that hegemonic social representations do not necessarily determine what to think but what to think about. The hegemony of

neoliberalism as a form of governmentality in the 21st century (Brown, 2003) has led to the institutionalization of neoliberal ideas in all forms of social life, including feminism. This has affected how feminism is thought about, both in terms of the content of feminist activism as well as its reception. The findings of all three studies point to the influence of the ideals of neoliberal feminism in the content of Indian gender advocacy and in the way that an urban middle-class Indian audience interpreted this content.

This manifested itself in the findings of Study I in relation to the solutions that were proposed to a variety of issues ranging from sexual harassment to gender-biased sex selection and early marriage. The majority of the videos from all organizations presented the ideal solution to these issues to be women standing up for themselves against the people or institutions that were violating their rights. Thus, the hegemonic depiction of an empowered woman was typically visualized as a young woman who had gathered the courage to break free from constrictive social norms and transform her own life by asserting her will, acquiring confidence, and not giving into fears. If feminism and women's issues are thus approached in terms of what Doise (2002) describes as normative social representations, in the sense of involving a common reference point to institutionalized norms governing how individuals should be treated, the dominance of neoliberal feminism has institutionalized specific meanings, practices, and ideas of feminism, and how women should be treated. This involves an emphasis on individual responsibility as a solution and a corresponding absence of demands for political action, legislative changes, and institutional reform.

Even in Study II, which focused on exploring the few campaigns devoted to institutional reform, the neoliberal paradigm was not completely averted. While Amnesty International India was critical of the Indian police as a government institution, their campaigns did not put pressure on the police to change their ways but on individual women to change the police. Meanwhile, the Ministry for Women and Child Development proposed that the way to make the Indian police more conducive to addressing women's concerns was for women themselves to join the institution and change it from within, rather than changing the police to make it more effective at delivering services for women.

Finally, participants in Study III showed an immense amount of cynicism towards institutions and politics, leading them to favor solutions at the level of individual action, whether by encouraging women to speak up against injustices against them or by changing the mindsets of people they considered to be less educated than themselves. Pyysiäinen et al. (2017) suggest that neoliberal ideology is particularly persuasive, as the emphasis on self-responsibility resonates with psychological desires for freedom and personal control. Therefore, the pessimism that participants felt in relation to institutions and political action may have led

them to prioritize individual-level solutions, which could be perceived as more attainable and something they had control over.

The emphasis on individual responsibility, self-transformation, and lack of institutional critique or concrete policy solutions is in line with previous literature on neoliberal feminism, which discusses how self-empowerment is promoted in place of structural changes (Rottenberg, 2014; Eisenstein, 2017; Rutherford, 2018). Hegemonic representations can be used ideologically to maintain the status quo as they are embedded in institutions, social practices, and social roles (Maglioglou & Coen, 2021). Bongiorno et al. (2021) suggest that embracing neoliberal feminist messages of individual resilience leads to reduced intentions to engage in collective action to overcome gender inequality, less anger about inequality, and reduced perceptions of gender discrimination. In discussing the consequences of imposing mental health care initiatives in India that take a neoliberal lens emphasizing personal fulfilment, Bhatia and Priya (2021) suggest that such initiatives alienate people from community relations and can worsen their mental and material suffering. Adopting neoliberal ideals of self-responsibility can therefore lead to a situation where individuals are held responsible for solving inequalities and forms of oppression that are recognized to be structural, make individuals less willing to engage in collective action to produce social change, and fragment people from community ties, which can be detrimental in more collectivistic contexts like India. There was also an adaptation of neoliberalism to the particular conditions of India that functioned to maintain deeply rooted social hierarchies, which I will discuss further below.

8.1.2 Preserving social hierarchies

As discussed in earlier chapters, previous research (Mohanty, 1984; Wilson, 2015) has identified a neoliberal trope in international development called the girl effect, which refers to a narrative device used by organizations to suggest that the education and empowerment of an individual girl can lead to the transformation of whole communities. Simultaneously, poverty is attributed to a lack of knowledge and traditional practices rather than structural causes. This trope was prevalent in the multimodal campaigns explored in Study I in which early marriage, discontinuing female education, and gender-biased sex selection were presented as problems specific to rural India. However, an additional representation also emerged, which situated sexual violence and harassment in an urban setting and depicted the protagonist as a middle-class woman, targeted by unfamiliar working-class men, showing how the tropes of neoliberal feminism were tweaked to accommodate India's class and caste distinctions.

These hierarchies between urban and rural, working-class and middle-class, and uneducated and educated that feature in both types of representations complement

and reinforce each other by maintaining the idea that patriarchy in the country can be attributed to the so-called backwardness of India's uneducated, rural, and working-class populations, which the educated urban middle-class has presumably transcended. While there can be differences in how individuals position themselves in a representational field, Doise (2002) argues that in the case of normative social representations, variations in positioning are usually organized in a systematic way. This is visible in the findings of Study III, where participants systematically positioned themselves to hegemonic ideals of neoliberal feminism in relation to their educated middle-class status and gender, demonstrating how representations function to defend the interests and identities of the groups and individuals using them (Bastel & Castro, 2018). Many participants tried to distance themselves from rural communities in relation to issues like early marriage by emphasizing how such practices were specific to rural India. This suggests that post-feminist assumptions, according to which feminism is not relevant anymore because gender equality has already been achieved, were mobilized to position urban India as having achieved the desired level of gender equality. While Wilson (2015) has shown how post-feminism is utilized in Western development agendas depicting Third World women as helpless and lacking in agency who can only be empowered through Western interventions, Study III highlights how elite groups in the Global South may also appropriate such discourses.

Such ideas have a long history in India, as illustrated by the first wave of Indian feminism where the elite classes held rural communities responsible for harmful practices prevalent in the country. Additionally, the way that some men positioned themselves as threatened and some women positioned themselves as constrained in relation to the hegemonic idea of an empowered woman also shows how social identities like gender may anchor the positions that are adopted to a representation. Duveen (1993) suggests that gender hierarchies disadvantage women and benefit men, while Basu (2016) and Rotaeche et al. (2023) found that men are more likely to have a negative representation of feminism, so it is not surprising that men would see empowerment of women as a threat and adopt a position that preserves their own interests by perpetuating rape myths.

The omission of certain issues and narrow ways of representing the issues that were covered also point to the maintenance of social hierarchies. For instance, explicit references to caste, which is arguably the most significant identity category in relation to violations of women's rights in modern India, was completely absent from the videos. Additionally, addressing the specific vulnerabilities that the country's vast economic inequalities cause among poor women was also absent from the campaigns, even while statistics (UN Women, 2020) highlight poverty as a major contributor to the disempowerment of women in India. As feminist movements during India's second wave and to a lesser extent first wave paid attention to caste and class dynamics in their demands (Armstrong, 2014;

Jayawardena, 1986), it can be argued that the complete absence of these questions demonstrate how deeply the neoliberal feminist paradigm has embedded itself in Indian gender advocacy. Even while neoliberal capitalism widens inequalities and makes life harder for the masses of working-class people who are already struggling, it has also led to increasing living standards among a narrow segment of middle-class to upper middle-class people (Rottenberg, 2014). As a result, the lack of support for strong political action as a solution among the urban middle-class is also reflective of their privileged position, as they benefit from the status quo.

The dominance of neoliberal ideals in the content of organizations with such different mandates, funding sources, and interests is somewhat unexpected from a social representation perspective, which presumes a plurality of knowledge in contemporary societies. This is particularly so when considering that knowledge disseminated through digital platforms like YouTube is argued to facilitate exposure to a diversity of content and could possibly lead to more tolerance for diversity in representations, as well as breaking of social taboos (Wahlström, 2012). However, as Gillespie (2008) illustrates, the existence of alternative social representations does not necessarily mean that these representations will challenge the hegemonic representation as it depends on how the alternatives are in dialogue with the hegemonic idea, which in turn is influenced by factors such as group identity, relations between the ingroup holding the representation and the outgroup, and power differences across groups. Furthermore, algorithms also play a role in the kind of content people are exposed to, leading to echo chambers, filter bubbles, and the amplification of certain kinds of content that resonate with dominant ideologies (Bucher, 2018).

Additionally, as Jovchelovitch (1997) asserts, groups with greater access to resources such as communication channels have the power to shape discourse and prevent certain viewpoints from being widely distributed. Due to the NGOization of women's movements, members of elite classes and castes have a greater representation proportionally in government agencies and on the boards of NGOs, giving them access to control their operations (Dabhi, 2009). Furthermore, in a digitally divided society like India, members of the middle-class are the likeliest audience of digital gender advocacy campaigns (Jain, 2020; Gupta, 2016), hence it is natural that content would be produced to appeal to the existing knowledge and identities of the middle-class. Therefore, perhaps it should not be so surprising that the urban middle-class was depicted in a positive manner in the campaigns, either as a trustworthy and relatable source of information or as the vanguard of progressive thinking in India, and that these depictions resonated with the urban middle-class audience interviewed in Study III.

8.1.3 The role of institutional power

Hegemonic social representations have usually been understood with reference to Moscovici's (1988) description of hegemony as a widely held representation shared by most members of a community. However, the findings of Study II call this supposition into question by discussing how state institutions are in a privileged position to dictate the terms of conversations about institutional reform. Hence, even when the majority of the population in a country may not share a positive conception of the state, their dissenting views might not be able to circulate in public forums owing to state control of media resources. The closure of the operations of Amnesty International India and several other organizations that have criticized the Indian government in recent years shows how the state can prevent the circulation of ideas and representations that go against its interests.

Consequently, rather than seeing hegemony simply in terms of popularity among the masses, it is important to adopt a more materialist and power-centric account of hegemony. Jovchelovitch's (1997) insights into the importance of having access to material resources such as communication channels in asserting hegemony is also relevant here to understand the power of state institutions. The findings of Study III also point to state power in suppressing criticism and resisting accountability and transformation as participants recognized the structural causes of gender inequalities yet had such deep cynicism towards politics and institutions that they could not imagine an institutional solution to these problems. Thus, the lack of faith in institutional change led to participants adopting a neoliberal outlook on solving these issues, despite recognizing the structural nature of different gender issues.

8.2 Alternative representations, themata, and potential for social change

> Individual or social representations make the world what we think it is or what we think it must be. They show us that at each moment something absent is being added, and that something present is being modified
>
> -Serge Moscovici (1961/2008, pg. 16).

The social representations theory has been described as a theory of social change with several studies dedicated to understanding how old ideas adapt when confronted with new ones (e.g., Moloney & Walker, 2000; Sakki & Salminen, 2015). Hence, in addition to understanding how certain ideas and hierarchies are preserved through hegemonic social representations, it is also important to explore alternative representations that may be marginalized by hegemonic understandings. Ultimately, social justice campaigning is premised on social

change and may strive to advance what Philogène (1994) has termed "anticipatory social representations," which encompass the new meanings that may be attached to a social object and changes in group relations that are expected to arise in the future. Hence, even while their solutions preserve certain hierarchies and do not challenge the status quo, their representations may also include polemic and emancipated elements as they attempt to introduce novel ideas or modify existing ways of thinking (Moscovici, 1988).

This was visible in Study I, where MWCD deviated from the hegemonic trope of depicting perpetrators of sexual harassment as working-class men and also showed them as colleagues and bosses in white collar jobs. A small minority of AII's videos depicted a scenario where a foreign diplomat harassed Nepali migrant women. By demanding accountability from powerful men for their abuse of power and highlighting the vulnerability of marginalized migrant women, this polemic representation can be seen to question the hegemonic representation of sexual harassment. Additionally, AII had one video on transgender rights, which was not an issue that was taken up by other organizations. The depiction of gender-biased sex selection occurring in urban middle-class households in some of MWCD's campaigns also challenged the hegemonic representation of visualizing it as a rural problem. This polemic representation is also more consistent with statistics that point to the higher prevalence of gender-biased sex selection in urban middle-class households (Press Trust of India, 2017). Evidence of more polemic representations was also seen in some of BI's campaigns. For instance, one of their sexual harassment campaigns called for infrastructural solutions like street lighting and buses for women. However, the campaigns did not make these demands to the government but called on women to demand such infrastructure themselves. Meanwhile, the very existence of campaigns premised on institutional reform that were analyzed in Study II speaks of a polemic current in the content of gender advocacy campaigns that challenges the lack of institutional solutions and structural change that dominated the majority of campaigns.

The presence of polemic and emancipated understandings was also visible in Study III, where participants' identities influenced how they positioned themselves in relation to the dominant themata. For instance, while the themata of empowerment was constructed in line with hegemonic neoliberal ideals of self-transformation through confidence and overcoming fear, female participants often recognized the constraints that women may have in realizing these aims, such as the termination of their employment contracts if they spoke up against sexual harassment at work. Meanwhile, male participants feared that women could misuse their empowerment to defame innocent men, also suggesting a polemic positioning in relation to their gendered interests. Additionally, participants' urban middle-class identity shaped how they positioned themselves to the issue of early marriage, which was shown in the campaign to be a rural issue. While participants often

agreed with this hegemonic association of traditionality with rural parts of India, they also reflected on the occurrence of such practices within their own communities and families in slightly different forms. Savonen et al. (2022) suggests that this is not uncommon, as people may accept negative representations about themselves in situations where the issue is too close to them to avoid.

While the existence of more emancipated and polemic understandings points to the potential for social change, it is also important to note that the alternative visions to neoliberal feminism discussed in the introductory chapters that called for a feminism that recognizes the plurality of the category of women and their diverse needs (Rottenberg, 2014) historicizes and contextualizes poverty and oppression (Mohanty, 2003), and works towards the transformation of institutions (Fraser, 2009) were largely missing even from these emancipated and polemic perspectives in Indian gender advocacy. Additionally, it is also worth reflecting on the extent to which the kind of individual actions promoted as solutions by advocacy could lead to societal transformation. While Moscovici (1985) gives importance to the role of minority influence in promoting social change, Glăveanu (2009) emphasizes that for active minorities to accomplish social transformations, they must engage in coordinated collective actions as a group to promote alternative representations. This suggests that actions merely directed at individual self-transformation may not be successful in achieving wider change.

Furthermore, while commitment to individual action by a middle-class minority could have the potential to change their social realities, the assumption that such actions are equally accessible to all women neglects the structural barriers discussed by Bansode (2020) that prevent marginalized women from pursuing justice. Emancipatory social change is thus likely to rest, not with a privileged minority pushing solutions inaccessible to the vast majority, but when the privileged go beyond their own interests to support a feminism that is sensitive to the needs of the most marginalized.

8.3 Limitations and future directions

At the time of writing my research plan to undertake this project four years ago, I aimed to study the content, production, and reception of Indian gender advocacy campaigns to gain a holistic look into the full loop through which social representations on my chosen topic circulate. However, India experienced severe waves of the COVID-19 pandemic, during which conducting interviews in person would have been impossible. Furthermore, owing to the devastation caused by loss of lives and livelihoods, inviting people to engage in Zoom interviews would have felt unethical and insensitive during these difficult periods. Additionally, Amnesty International was forced to shut down its operations in India in 2020. For all these reasons, the production phase of the research had to be dropped, which is

undoubtably the biggest limitation of the project as this would have enriched the scope of the studies. In line with Purkhardt (1993), from a social representation perspective, the producers of gender advocacy campaigns do not create such content as isolated experts but also draw on the knowledge they share as members of different groups. Hence, studying production could have shed light on the social representations of womanhood, women's issues, and feminism among producers and provided insights on how their representations and identities shaped the kind of content that they produced. Additionally, it could have provided contextualizing information regarding production choices, the target audience, and the kinds of interests the organizations keep in mind when producing such content, shedding light on what the NGOization of feminism in India might look like in practice. Future studies would do well to take these questions up and elaborate on them.

Secondly, as the sample of visual material in Study I was exceptionally large for a qualitative study, the resulting criteria and parameters that were used to narrow down the focus during data collection and analysis may have compromised the richness of the material and posed challenges in identifying more subtle details and patterns of campaigning. There were strong theoretical and empirical grounds to focus on the material that was selected in the final analysis, as discussed under "Methodology," and the selected material was analyzed deeply and widely. Nevertheless, in practice, there are likely to be more nuances, similarities, and differences in the social representations of gender advocacy campaigns than those identified by this research. The material excluded from further analysis, such as domestic violence campaigns by BT and AII's campaign on transgender rights, could provide interesting data for future studies.

Thirdly, digital media platforms are considered to have implications for constructing social representations (Wahlström, 2012). As the studies in this thesis were limited to exploring the content of digital media campaigns and how the content was reconstructed by an audience, examining the medium through which they are disseminated was beyond the scope of the research. However, the impact of different digital media platforms on social representations could be elaborated in the future, with efforts to understand the role of algorithms on the construction of social representations.

Fourthly, Laughlin et al. (2010) suggest that feminist activism by marginalized groups is often excluded in research, which tends to focus on mainstream feminist movements. While the focus on campaigning by organizations in India that are a part of mainstream feminist activism is justified, considering the dearth of research on this topic and the greater influence that mainstream activism may have in constructing social representations, there are also counter-feminist movements whose campaigning could be researched in future studies. Some such studies already exist, such as Armstrong (2014) who highlights how the All India

Democratic Women's Alliance has opposed neoliberal policies and developed a form of organizing prioritizing vulnerable women in India.

Fifthly, while qualitative research does not necessarily see a researcher's influence in the data collection and analysis as a bias or limitation to be overcome, it is still important to acknowledge how my position as an urban middle-class Indian woman who could be considered a cultural insider might have shaped the focus and interpretations of the study. To help readers evaluate my findings in relation to my position, I have attempted to address my subjectivity in the "Methodology" chapter. The qualitative nature of the research also makes wider generalizations in the statistical sense impossible.

Furthermore, as social representations are considered to be dialogical and are contested and negotiated through interaction and communication, focus groups are considered ideal for researching them (Flick et al., 2015). While individual interviews have their advantages when dealing with topics such as sexual harassment and violence against women that are sensitive in Indian society, Study III could have benefited from the use of focus groups as a method of data gathering. This would have provided the opportunity to see how participants actively contested and negotiated with the campaigns showed to them as a group. However, as mentioned in the "Methodology" chapter, this proved difficult owing to the COVID-19 restrictions that were in place in India at the time of data gathering.

Moreover, as neoliberal feminism is considered most accessible to middle-class women, I could be faulted for my decision to prioritize interviewing an urban middle-class sample in the reception study. This choice was made due to COVID-19 restrictions that limited participation to Zoom, ruling out the possibility of interviewing women in rural areas without digital access. Additionally, an urban middle-class audience was identified as a likely target group for the advocacy campaigns. However, expanding reception samples beyond this audience to include rural populations, urban slum dwellers, women-only samples, and survivors of gender-based violence among other groups could provide new angles to explore in future research.

Participatory methods that provide marginalized groups with the means to tell their own stories have been successfully utilized to produce consciousness-raising films (Malherbe et al., 2019). Such methods could also be a good way to engage with women from rural India and build knowledge on the issues that are most relevant to their lives and how they would like them to be addressed. Other topics for further research could also include in-depth analysis of similarities and differences across individual campaigns and videos and focusing on single issues raised exclusively by particular organizations. Further exploration of the emancipated and polemic representations identified by the research in this thesis could also highlight how social change can be brought about.

9. Conclusion

The metaphor of a "common ground" has sometimes been used to describe social representations as the stock of ideas, beliefs, and values that we share socially (Liu & Páez, 2019). In this research, I have tried to illustrate what the common ground of multimodal Indian gender advocacy is and how it is constructed through text, images, sounds, and narratives. I have also tried to bring to the forefront the ground that is less common to highlight what alternatives exist to the dominant way of representing women, women's issues, and solutions to these issues, and how these alternatives could challenge the status quo. By way of a conclusion, I would like to briefly reflect on the theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions that I have been able to make through this work and the possible policy implications of the research.

In editing a special volume on neoliberalism and social psychology for the Journal of Social Issues, Bettache and Chiu (2019) argue that social psychology could benefit from more critical reflections on how neoliberalism has exerted a hegemonic influence on knowledge creation and social practices, while social psychology can help understand the social and psychological impact of neoliberalism and envision alternatives to a neoliberal world. The studies in this thesis illustrate the benefits of a reciprocal exchange between social psychology and neoliberalism studies to facilitate a better understanding of how gender advocacy in India is shaped by neoliberal ideals, and the social-psychological implications of the dominance of neoliberalism in relation to hegemony, power, and the maintenance of social hierarchies.

Empirically, the thesis provides new insights on neoliberal feminism, showing how ideals of neoliberal feminism are adapted locally in India to preserve deeply rooted social hierarchies and how the neoliberal paradigm has spread to organizations with very different backgrounds. In particular, the studies illustrate how advocacy campaigns use multimodal content to advance hegemonic social representations of sexual harassment as an urban middle-class issue and early marriage, gender-biased sex selection, and female education as rural issues. By paying attention to what issues have dominated the radar of different organizations involved in gender justice in India, the thesis also shows the alternatives that were marginalized, the issues that were omitted, and how the issues of economic inequality, land redistribution, and caste-based vulnerability to violence taken up

during second-wave feminism have completely vanished from contemporary visions of mainstream gender advocacy campaigning. The normative social representation, to use Doise's (2002) term, thus constructs a vision of feminism that is anchored and objectified in neoliberal ideals and practices. This in turn serves identity-related functions identified by Breakwell (1993), including attributing responsibility to women for their own oppression, justifying the absence of clear political solutions, and differentiating the urban middle-class favorably in comparison to rural, working-class populations.

Departing from the finding of convergence across organizations in the way that different women's issues were represented in Study I, Study II pays attention to how the more polarizing topic of institutional reform is represented by organizations with starkly different mandates and interests. This illustrates the construction of two contrasting social representations of the police in tackling gender-based violence that correspond with the organizations' identities and interests, while still maintaining a neoliberal paradigm by placing responsibility on women for saving themselves. Study III in turn provides insights into how an urban middle-class sample of participants contest and uphold ideals of neoliberal feminism conveyed by three selected gender advocacy campaigns from the three studied organizations by adopting different positions in relation to the hegemonic understandings.

The studies in this thesis also have a two-fold contribution to existing literature on hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic social representations. Study II advances the discussion on hegemonic and polemic representations, calling for a conceptualization of hegemony that is attentive to whose social representations have power to circulate in society and how that power is attained through control over resources. Additionally, by applying Liu's (2004) insights into how hegemonic, emancipated, and polemic understandings may be shared dialogically within the same social representation through the concept of themata, Study III highlights how a reception audience negotiates with hegemonic ideas by adopting positions that either preserve hegemony or challenge it, depending on how these positions align with their social identities, such as gender and class. The thesis also advances understandings on the relationship between social representations and action in Study II by building on the arguments of Howarth (2006), László (1997), and Wagner (1998, 2015) to illustrate how social representations and action mutually constitute each other in relation to multimodal content, where the practices and behavior of characters are part of the objectification process of a representation, rather than separate from it.

Methodologically, Study I illustrates how it is possible to conduct qualitative analysis with a large set of multimodal material. The use of clear parameters for delimiting the material, a transcription grid that paid attention to the different modes of multimodal communication, and the use of numbers to quantify preliminary codes and identify important patterns emerging in the material helped

facilitate a more in-depth qualitative multimodal thematic analysis. Meanwhile, Study II broadens existing applications that combine narrative analysis with the social representations theory (for instance, Wagner-Egger et al., 2011) by utilizing them in relation to multimodal material. Conducting a multimodal narrative analysis also provided a novel way of locating objectifications as actions and articulated practices. Finally, Study III highlights how concepts of hegemonic, polemic, and emancipated representations can be researched qualitatively through a discursive-rhetorical approach to social representations, as suggested by Gibson (2015), that seeks to understand how participants position their talk in relation to wider societal discourses and representations. The studies also link the different levels of social representations identified by Duveen and Lloyd (1990) by elaborating on representations at a sociogenetic level in the content of gender advocacy campaigns in Study I and II, and then exploring how these wider constructions are made sense of by my chosen audience at a microgenetic and ontogenetic level in Study III.

While it is my hope that these contributions may enrich social psychology and the social representations theory in their modest way, I would like them to circulate beyond the confines of academia and give life to new practices and ways of thinking about women and women's issues, bringing me to the potential policy implications of the research. Whenever I have attended conferences and presented the findings of the three studies that make up this thesis, I have always received questions on what I consider to be the ideal solutions to responsible and impactful gender advocacy campaigning in India. As academics, we have been so well trained to criticize that it is indeed more challenging to come up with positive visions for better practices in feminist advocacy. Here, one might also ask what it means to engage in work that aspires for transformative action while living outside of India. As increasing repression can limit critical voices in the country, I feel a responsibility to take critical stances as a citizen who is likely not to face the same consequences as my counterparts working in India. Yet, this may also risk an extractive relationship where my country and its issues become a way of advancing my own career outside of India. For Mignolo (2009), mitigating this requires prioritizing human life as the end goal of all knowledge production over disciplinary impact. Ultimately, I hope that the findings of this research will be most useful and relevant to activists engaging in feminist projects in India that could better the lives of millions of women in the country, rather than a Western audience.

However, I do want to emphasize that from a decolonial perspective accounting for the power hierarchies between the Global North and South, the failure of aid initiatives to envision more inclusive feminisms that consider the needs of the majority of women in India is likely not just a thoughtless omission. As I have tried to illustrate through discussions on NGOization, these choices are also a way of preserving and maintaining the interests of the entities who fund and implement

the activities of these organizations. Hence, the transformative action envisioned in this thesis is perhaps more suited to mobilizing Indian women and their allies to understand the limits of self-empowerment paradigms promoted by NGOs and demand concrete political action from state institutions. However, for those NGOs that are less dependent on funding from neoliberal institutions and foreign interests and thus have more room to define their agenda, the findings of the research reiterate the importance of moving beyond a top-down approach, which can reproduce patronizing class relations and unattainable ideals to a grassroots one that defines the agenda of the organization based on the needs and desires of the communities they are supposed to serve.

In particular, as I have tried to highlight throughout this summary, there is a need for feminist advocacy that better accounts for caste and class issues in the country and highlights economic inequality, labor rights violations, and lack of access to quality services. Armstrong (2014) has argued that these issues define the everyday struggles of hundreds of millions of poor and marginalized Indian women. Reflecting on other omissions, such as the dearth of advocacy for queer women, is also essential for more inclusive feminist projects that could make a difference for people who require our solidarity. Additionally, data should be used to guide the issues prioritized in gender advocacy projects and the way that these issues are represented. Using a data-led approach could, for instance, lead to recognizing the vulnerability of marginalized women to sexual harassment, recognizing how gender-biased sex selection occurs more frequently in urban areas, and recognizing how not sending girls to school may not result from lack of knowledge of the benefits of education but a lack of accessible schooling options, lack of funds, lack of facilities in schools like toilets, lack of transport to schools, and unequal gender distribution of labor in the household that burdens young girls with domestic chores (Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, 2022).

It would also be important for campaigns to have the courage to criticize powerful individuals and institutions that bear responsibility for the dangers that women in India face. While India's political climate is developing in a manner that makes harsh criticism of the government increasingly risky (Reporters Without Borders, 2021), campaigns should at least highlight the gaps and shortcomings of government services, as addressing them will be critical to ensuring a more dignified future for Indian women. I would also add that a more critical eye should be directed towards multinational corporations, landowners, and those who employ women as informal laborers, as they constantly violate the country's legislative frameworks that should grant women protection (Delaney & Tate, 2015; Levien, 2017, Dubey, 2016).

Furthermore, such campaigns could do a better job of engaging with men and changing patriarchal norms at a community level, rather than placing the burden on transcending cultural conditions on individual women. Drury and Kaiser (2014)

emphasize that challenging status legitimizing beliefs, highlighting how men are also harmed by gender inequality and emphasizing how societies as a whole benefit from women's empowerment, can help in building allyship for feminism among men, which Indian gender advocacy campaigning could underline. Moreover, while it could be argued that women must take the first step and report the violence they have experienced for justice to be delivered, merely reporting the violence—as most of the campaigns encouraged—is not a sufficient solution to eradicating gender-based violence in India. Instead, campaigns should go beyond this emphasis on self-responsibility of women to seek justice and show how various issues should be addressed to ensure that justice is eventually delivered for women seeking it. For instance, campaigns could do a better job at illustrating how the justice system could support women, how to prevent stigmatization of survivors by their communities, and how they will receive psychosocial support throughout the process. Additionally, prioritizing preventative measures and addressing the structural causes of violence against women could help shift the focus away from the over-reliance on the criminal justice system as the default response to women's rights abuses.

Finally, as Wiley and Bikman (2012) suggest, building solidarity with oppressed groups requires the forging of a shared destiny and a common identity to rally people to take collective action. This is also supported by Lerner's (1980) just world hypothesis, which found that when people are confronted with injustice, they try to distance themselves from the suffering and can only be motivated to help when they are able to imagine that they could have also been a victim. Hence, campaigns should strive to transcend divisive stereotypes based on regional, class, and gendered barriers and instead promote a shared fate and common identity as Indians to tackle different women's issues while simultaneously paying attention to situated vulnerabilities, in accordance with the principles of intersectional feminism (Armstrong, 2020).

In an interview with Democracy Now! (2023), Indian scholar Vijay Prashad recently joked that academics have a tendency to write long books and papers where they lament chapter after chapter about how hopeless things are, and then insert a completely detached notion of hope to console the reader in their concluding remarks. Looking at these last few paragraphs, I hope I have not fallen into this trap but that these alternative visions and ways of representing women's issues have carried throughout this summary. The social representations theory is ultimately a theory that gives reason for hope, by emphasizing how the way we see the world can change at the level of entire societies when marginalized groups use their polemic and emancipated representations to take collective action to challenge the status quo (Glăveanu, 2009).

Hence, articulating alternative visions for a more inclusive feminism in India is necessary to emphasize the possibility of questioning hegemonic ideals of neoliberal

feminism and reorienting feminism toward new expressions of justice in line with Rottenberg's suggestions (2014). Offering such alternatives also supports current calls to reconceptualize social psychology as a world-making discipline that goes beyond stating what the world is at present to suggest what it could be in the future (Power et al., 2023). In this way, it is necessary to go beyond the present normative social representation (Doise, 2002) of feminism in Indian gender advocacy that upholds beliefs and practices institutionalized in neoliberal ideals to put forth an anticipatory social representation (Philogène, 1994), which can act as a blueprint for what feminism could look like in the future. For mainstream Indian feminist movements to claim this envisioned space, they must prioritize attending to the struggles of the masses of Indian women and represent those struggles in ways that do not patronize them. An idea popular in Marxist thought emphasizes that serious politics starts not where there are thousands of people but where there are millions (Shakhnazarov & Burlatskii, 1984). For those fighting for a better future for women in India, I would change this formulation to say that serious feminism begins not where there are millions of women but where there are hundreds of millions of women.

References

Adami, E. (2016). Multimodality. In O. Garcia, N. Flores, & M. Spotti (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society* (pp. 451-473). Oxford University Press.

Adichie, C. (2014). *We should all be feminists*. Fourth Estate. ALLEA (2017). *The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*. - https://www.allea.org/publications/joint-publications/european-code-conduct-research-integrity

Ahn, C. (2007). Democratizing American Philanthropy. In INCITE! (Eds.), *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (pp.63-76). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373001

Alonso, D., & Brussino, S. (2021). Abortion legalization and social representations of feminism in Argentina. *Papers on Social Representations*, 30(2), 3.1-3.23. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/592/489

Al-Sabbagh, R. (2022). Nonprofit campaigning done ethically to elicit empathy instead of aversion: A case study of the UNICEF multimodal book *Lives Beyond Figures*. *Social Semiotics*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2022.2041985

Alvarez, S. (1999). Advocating Feminism: The Latin American Feminist "Boom". *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1(2), 181-209. https://doi.org/10.1080/146167499359880

Alvarez, S. (2014). Beyond NGOization?: Reflections from Latin America. In V. Bernal & I. Grewal (Eds.), *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism* (pp. 285–300). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11688xv.18

Anderson, L. (2011, June 15). Analysis: Poll highlights hidden but deadly dangers for women. *Thomas Reuters Foundation*. http://news.trust.org/item/20110615000000-t7zol/?source=spotlight

Andreouli, E. (2010). Identity, Positioning and Self-Other Relations. *Papers onaSocial Representations*, 19, 14.1-14.13. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/391/349

Ang, I. (2003). I'm a Feminist But...'Other' Women and Postnational Feminism. In R. Lewis & S. Mills (Eds.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (pp.190-206). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203825235

Armstrong, E. (2014). *Gender and neoliberalism: The All India Democratic Women's Association and Globalization Politics*. Routledge.

Ball, M., & Smith, G. (1992). *Analyzing Visual Data*. SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412983402

Bailey, C. (1997). Making waves and drawing lines: The politics of defining the vicissitudes of feminism. *Hypatia*, 12(3), 17-28. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1997.tb00003.x

Banerjee, S. (2013, February 3). Rethinking the critique of commodification. *Kractivism*. https://www.kractivist.org/india-sexual-violence-consumer-culture-and-feminist-politics-vaw-sexuality/

Bansode, R. (2020). The missing Dalit women in testimonies of #MeToo sexual violence: Learnings for social movements. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 54(1), 76–82. http://doi.org/10.1177/0069966719885563

Barca, L. (2018). The agency factor: neoliberal configurations of risk in news discourse on the Steubenville, Ohio rape case. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 15(3), 265-184. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2017.1408476.

Barsamian, D. (2017). India: "The World's Largest Democracy". *International Socialist Review*, 86. https://isreview.org/issue/86/india-worlds-largest-democracy/index.html

Bartlett, R (2019). *Aristotle's "Art of Rhetoric". A New Translation with an Interpretive Essay, Notes, and Glossary*. University of Chicago Press.

Basu, S. (2016). Looking through Misogyny: Indian Men's Rights Activists, Law, and Challenges for Feminism Special Issue: Men's Groups: Challenging Feminism. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, 28(1), 45-68. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjwl.28.1.45.

Batel, S. & Castro, P. (2018). Reopening the dialogue between the theory of social representations and discursive psychology for examining the construction and transformation of meaning in discourse and communication. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57(4), 732-753. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/bjso.12259

Bauer, M. & Gaskell, G. (1999). Towards a paradigm for research on social representations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 29(2), 163-186. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5914.00096

BBC (2018, June 28). *Is India really the most dangerous country for women?* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42436817

Bernal, V. & Grewal, I. (2014). *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11688xv

Bettache, K. & Chiu, C. (2019). The Invisible Hand: An Ideology: Towards a Social Psychology of Neoliberalism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(1), 8-19. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12308

Bettache, K., Chiu, C. & Beattie, P. (2020). The merciless mind in a dog-eat-dog society: neoliberalism and the indifference to social inequality. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 34, 217-222. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2020.06.002

Bhambra, G. (2007). *Rethinking modernity: Postcolonialism and the sociological imagination*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhatia S., Priya, K. (2021). Coloniality and psychology: From silencing to re-centering marginalized voices in postcolonial times. *Review of General Psychology,* 25(4), 422-436. https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680211046507

Bhattacharya, P. (2018, June 28). India is not the most dangerous country for women, data shows. *Mint*.

https://www.livemint.com/Politics/7PF8NRqgyxoNs2AecfmxVL/India-is-not-the-most-dangerous-country-for-women-data-show.html

Billig, M. (1988). Social representation, objectification and anchoring: A rhetorical analysis. *Social Behaviour*, 3(1), 1–16.

Biswas, B. & Banu, N (2023). Economic empowerment of rural and urban women in India: A comparative analysis. *Spatial Information Research*, 31, 73-89. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41324-022-00472-3

Bongiorno, R., Ryan, M., Gibson, O., & Joyce, H. (2021). Exploring collective costs and individual benefits of neoliberal feminism. *PsyArXiv*. https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/9x6ar

Brabeck, M. & Brabeck, K (2009). Feminist perspectives on research ethics. In D. Mertens & P. Ginsberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics* (pp. 39-53). Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348971

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021) One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 18(3), 328-352. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2023) Toward good practice in thematic analysis: Avoiding common problems and be(com)ing a knowing researcher. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 24(1), 1-6. https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2022.2129597

Breakwell, G. (1993). Social representations and social identity. *Papers on Social Representations*, 2(3), 198-217.

Brown, W. (2003). Neo-liberalism and the end of liberal democracy. *Theory and Event*, 7(1). https://doi.org/10.1353/tae.2003.0020.

Bryld, E. (2001). Increasing Participation in Democratic Institutions through Decentralization: Empowering Women and Scheduled Castes and Tribes through Panchayat Raj in Rural India. *Democratisation*, 8(3), 149-172. https://doi.org/10.1080/714000213

Bucher, T. (2018). *If… Then: Algorithmic Power and Politics*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190493028.001.0001

Bunjun, B. (2010). Feminist Organizations and Intersectionality: Contesting Hegemonic Feminism. *Atlantis*, 34(2), 115-126. https://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/atlantis/article/view/338/319

Butler, J. (2009). Performativity, precarity and sexual politics. Revista de *Antropología Iberoamericana*, 4(3), i–xiii. https://aries.aibr.org/storage/antropologia/04v03/criticos/040301b.pdf

Camminga, B. (2020). Disregard and danger: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and the voices of trans (and cis) African feminists. *The Sociological Review*, 68(4), 817-833. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120934695

Chakravarti, U. (2018). *Gendering caste: through a feminist lens*. Sage.

Chowdhury, E. (2015). Rethinking Patriarchy, Culture and Masculinity: Transnational Narratives of Gender Violence and Human Rights Advocacy.

Journal of International Women's Studies, 16(2), 98-114. https://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1785&context=jiws

Church, J., Gerlock, A., & Smith, D. L. (2018). Neoliberalism and Accountability Failure in the Delivery of Services Affecting the Health of the Public. *International Journal of Health Services*, 48(4), 641-662. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020731418793106

Çoban, S. (2018). Introduction. In S. Coban (Ed.). *Media, ideology and hegemony* (pp. 1-3). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004364417

Cohen, G., Bessin, M., & Gaymard, S. (2022). Social representations, media, and iconography: A semiodiscursive analysis of Facebook posts related to the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Communication, 37(6), 629-645*. https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231221096332

Coleman, J. (2009). An introduction to feminisms in a postfeminist age. *Women's Studies Journal*, 23 (2), 3-13. https://www.wsanz.org.nz/journal/docs/WSJNZ232Coleman3-13.pdf

Collins, P.H. (2000). Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy. T*he Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *568*, 41–53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1049471

Common Cause and CSDS (2018). *Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A study of performance and perceptions*. https://www.lokniti.org/media/upload_files/Report%20Police%20Survey.pdf

Coultas, C. (2022). Accounting for colonial complicities through refusals in researching agency across borders. *Journal of Social Issues*, 78(2), 413-433. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12473

Coultas, C., Reddy, G., & Lukate, J. (2023). Towards a social psychology of precarity. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12618

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crusmac, O. (2017). The Social Representation of Feminism with the On-Line Movement "Women Against Feminism". *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, 19(1). 5-25. https://doi.org/10.21018/rjcpr.2017.1.228

Dabhi, J. (2009). Women on the margins and the role of NGOs in India. Indian *Journal of Indian Culture and Business Management*, 2, 392-407. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJICBM.2009.024653

Damania, M., & Singh, R. (2022). An exploratory qualitative analysis of rape myths in India. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 22(3), 989-1016. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12323

Dave, N. (2012). *Queer activism in India: A story in the anthropology of ethics*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11sn0b5

Day, K and Wray, R (2018) Fourth-wave feminism and postfeminism: Successes and failures. *Transform: A Journal of the Radical Left*, 4, 113-137.

Decolonial Psychology Editorial Collective. (2021). General psychology otherwise: A decolonial articulation. *Review of General Psychology*, 25(4), 339-353. https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680211048177

Delaney, A., & Tate, J. (2015). Forced Labour and Ethical Trade in the Indian Garment Industry. In: L. Waite, G. Craig, H. Lewis, & K. Skrivankova (Eds.), *Vulnerability, Exploitation and Migrants. Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship* (pp. 244-255). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137460417_18

Democracy Now! (2023, August 23). *Vijay Prasad on BRICS and why global south cooperation is key to dismantling unjust world order* [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FopFosNMkoI

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-32). 3rd edn. Sage Publications.

de Rosa, A. (2014). The role of the iconic-imaginary dimensions in the modelling approach to social representations. *Papers on Social Representations, 23*, 17.1-17.26. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/253

de Rosa, A., & Farr, R. (2001). Icon and symbol: Two sides of the same coin in the investigation of social representations. In F. Buschini & N. Kalampalikis (Eds.), *Penser la vie, le social, la nature* (pp. 237–256). Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Doe, A. & Tobler, J (1988). *In their own words: The Doors*. Omnibus Press.

Doise, W. (2002). *Human Rights as Social Representations*. Routledge.

Doise, W., Clemence, A. & Lorenzi-Cioldi, F. (1993). *The quantitative analysis of social representations*. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Dosekun, S. (2015). "Hey, You Stylized Woman There": An Uncomfortable Reflexive Account of Performative Practices in the Field. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(5), 436-444. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800415569788

Drury, B. & Kaiser, C. (2014). Allies against Sexism: The Role of Men in Confronting Sexism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 637-652. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/josi.12083

D'silva, K. (2020). Mapping social change through youth perspectives on homosexuality in India. In S. Swartz, A. Cooper, C, Batan & L, Kropff (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Global South Youth Studies* (pp. 343–356). Oxford University Press.

Dubey, S. Y. (2016). Women at the Bottom in India: Women Workers in the Informal Economy. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*, 8(1), 30-40. https://doi.org/10.1177/2455328X16628776

Duveen, G. (1993). The development of social representations of gender. *Papers on Social Representations*, 2(3), pp. 171-177. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/140/105

Duveen, G. (2001). Introduction: The power of ideas. In S. Moscovici & G. Duveen (Eds.), *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology* (pp. 1–17). New York University Press.

Duveen, G. & Lloyd, B. (1990). Introduction. In G. Duveen, & B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Social representations and the development of knowledge* (pp. 1-10). Cambridge University Press.

Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (2022). *Status of women in India*. https://eacpm.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Status-of-Women-in-India.pdf

Eisenstein, H. (2017). Hegemonic feminism, neoliberalism and womenomics: 'Empowerment' instead of liberation? *New Formations*, 91, 35-49. https://doi.org/10.3898/NEWF:91.02.2017

Elejabarrieta, F. (1994). Social positioning: a way to link social identity and social representations. *Social Science Information*, 33(2), 241-253. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901894033002006

Esposito, E. (2019). The Social Media Campaign for Caribbean Reparations: A Critical Multimodal Investigation. In: E. Esposito, C. Pérez-Arredondo, & J. Ferreiro (Eds.), *Discourses from Latin America and the Caribbean* (pp.175-209). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93623-9_6

Famulari, U. (2021). The Strategic Use of Visuals on Facebook: A Multimodal Analysis of Images and Audience Reactions During the Campaign for the 2019 UK General Election. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 28(4), 199-211. https://doi.org/10.1080/15551393.2021.1986828

Fanon, F. (1967/1952). *Black skin, white masks*. Grove Press.

Farr, R. M. (1993). Theory and method in the study of social representations. In G. M. Breakwell & D. V. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical Approaches to Social Representations* (pp. 15-38). Clarendon Press.

Fine, M. (2006). Bearing witness: Methods for researching oppression and resistance—A textbook for critical research. *Social Justice Research*, 19, 83-108.

Fine, M. (2023). Prec(ar)ious knowledge and the neoliberal academy: Towards re-imagining epistemic justice and critical psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 180-193. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12617

Finlay, L. (2003). The reflexive journey: mapping multiple routes. In L. Finlay, & B. Gough (Eds.), *Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences* (pp. 3-20). John Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470776094.ch8

Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2019). *The ethical principles of research with human participants and ethical review in the human sciences in Finland: Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK guidelines 2019*. https://tenk.fi/sites/default/files/2021-01/Ethical_review_in_human_sciences_2020.pdf

Fisher, C. B., & Anushko, A. E. (2008). Research ethics in social science. In P. Alasuutari, L, Bickman and J, Brannen (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics* (pp. 95-109). Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348971

Flick, U. (1992). Triangulation revisited: Strategy of or alternative to validation of quantitative data. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 22(2), 175-197. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1992.tb00215.x

Flick, U., Foster, J. & Caillaud, S. (2015). Researching social representations. In G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations* (pp. 64–80). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107323650.032

Fraser, N. (2009). Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history. *New Left Review*, 56, 97-117.

Ghandy, A. (2016). *Philosophical trends in the feminist movement*. Foreign Language Press.

Ghosh, A. (2022). Women's Representation in India's Parliament: Measuring Progress, Analysing Obstacles. *Observer Research Foundation*, 382. https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/ORF_OccasionalPaper_382_Women-Parliament.pdf

Ghosh, B., & Choudhuri, T. (2011). Legal protection against domestic violence in India: Scope and limitations. *Journal of Family Violence*, 26, 319–330. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-011-9369-1

Gibson, S. (2015). From representations to representing: On social representations and discursive-rhetorical psychology. In G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations* (pp. 210–223). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107323650.018

Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. European *Journal of Culture Studies*, 10(2), 147–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898

Gillespie, A. (2008). Social representations, alternative representations and semantic barriers. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 38, 375-391. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2008.00376.x

Glăveanu, V. (2009). What differences make a difference? A discussion of hegemony, resistance and representation. *Papers on Social Representations*, 18, 2.1–2.22. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/374/335

Goodmark L. (2018). *Decriminalizing domestic violence: A balanced policy approach to intimate partner violence*. University of California Press.

Gowda, R., Gupta, H. (2010). Tracking and Explaining E-Participation in India. In E. Tambouris, A. Macintosh, & O. Glassey (Eds.)*, Electronic Participation. ePart 2010. Lecture Notes in Computer Science: Vol 6229 (pp. 66-81).* Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-15158-3_6

Grosfoguel, R. (2007). The epistemic decolonial turn. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3). 211-223. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162514

Grosfoguel, R. (2016). From "economic extractivism" to "epistemic extractivism" and "ontological extractivism": A destructive way of knowing, being and being in the world. *Tabula Rasa*, 24, 123–143. https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.60

Guha, P. (2020). Facebook, WhatsApp, and selective outrage: The impact of digital activism on the intersectional identities of anti-rape feminist activists in India. In O, Guntarik and V, Grieve-Williams (Eds.), *From sit-ins to #revolutions: Media and the changing nature of protests* (pp. 159–172). Bloomsbury.

Gupta, H. (2016). Taking action: The desiring subjects of neoliberal feminism in India. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 17, 152-168. https://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1845&context=jiws

Habermas, J. (1962/1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (T. Burger, & F. Lawrence, Trans.). Polity Press. (Original work published 1962).

Häkli, T., & Hakoköngäs, E. (2022). Natural, Enjoyable, and Finnish: Social Representations of Eating Meat in Finnish Meat Product Advertisements. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 10(1), 306-322. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.7407

Hakokõngäs, E., & Sakki, I. (2016a). The naturalized nation: Anchoring, objectification and naturalized social representations of history. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4(2), 646–669. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v4i2.664

Hakokõngäs, E., & Sakki, I. (2016b). Visualized Collective Memories: Social Representations of History in Images Found in Finnish History Textbooks. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 26(6), 496-517. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2276

Hakokõngäs, E., & Sakki, I. (2019). The past as a means of persuasion: Visual political rhetoric in Finnish dairy product advertising. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *7*, 507-524. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i1.1107

Hall, S. (1973/1991) Encoding, decoding. In S. During (Ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (pp. 90-103). Routledge.

Hall, S. (1996). Questions of Cultural Identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert, & K. Thompson (Eds.), *Modernity an Introduction to Modern Societies*. (pp. 596-632). Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M., and de Lacey, S. (2016). Qualitative research methods: when to use them and how to judge them. *Human Reproduction*, 31, (3), 498–501. https://doi.org/10.1093/humrep/dev334

Hansen, N.B., Hansen, M., Campbell, R., Elklit, A., O. I. Hansen, O.I., & Bramsen, R.H. (2019). Are rape cases closed because of rape stereotypes? Results from a Danish police district, *Nordic Psychology*, 71(1), 51-61. https://doi.org/10.1080/19012276.2018.1470552

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in Feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Haraway, D. (1991). *Simians, cyborgs and women: The reinvention of nature*. Free Association Books.

Harris, A., 2010, Mind the gap: Attitudes and emergent feminist politics since the third wave, *Australian Feminist Studies*, 25 (66), 475-484. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2010.520684.

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199283262.001.0001

Hawreliak, J & Lemieux, A (2020) The semiotics of social justice: a multimodal approach to examining social justice issues in videogames. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 41(5), 723-739. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2020.1769936

Himmelweit, H.T. (1990). Societal psychology: Implications and scope. In H.T. Himmelweit & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Societal Psychology* (pp. 17-45). Sage Publications.

Himmelweit, H. T., & Gaskell, G. (1990). *Societal Psychology*. Sage Publications.

Hodžić, S. (2014). Feminist Bastards: Toward a Posthumanist Critique of NGOization. In V. Bernal & I. Grewal (Eds.), *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism* (pp. 221–247). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11688xv.15

Howarth, C. (2006). A social representation is not a quiet thing: Exploring the critical potential of social representations theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 45*, 65-86. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X43777

Hsieh, H. and Shannon, S. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687

Human Rights Watch (2009). *Dysfunction, abuse and impunity in the Indian Police*. https://www.hrw.org/report/2009/08/04/broken-system/dysfunction-abuse-and-impunity-indian-police

Isaacs, D. (2016). Social representations of intimate partner violence in the South African media. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 46(4), 491-503. https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246316628815

Jain, S. (2020). *The rising fourth wave: Feminist activism on digital platforms in India*. Observer Research Foundation, 384. https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/ORF_IssueBrief_384_OnlineFeminism.pdf

Jalali, R. (2008) International Funding of NGOs in India: Bringing the State Back In. *Voluntas* 19(2), 161–188. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1007/s11266-008-9059-7

Jalali, R. (2013). Financing Empowerment? How Foreign Aid to Southern NGOs and Social Movements Undermines Grass-Roots Mobilization. *Sociology Compass*, 7(1), 55-73. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/soc4.12007

Jassal, N. (2020). Gender, law enforcement, and access to justice: Evidence from all-women police stations in India. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1035–1054. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000684

Jayawardena, K. (1986). *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. Zed Books.

Jensen, K. (2020). Media Reception: Qualitative Traditions. In K. Jensen (Eds.). *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies* (pp. 177-192). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781138492905

Jodelet, D. (2008). Social representations: The beautiful invention. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 38(4), 411–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2008.00383.x

Joffé, H. (2008). The power of visual material: Persuasion, emotion and identification. *Diogenes, 55*, 84-93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0392192107087919

John, M (2009). Reframing Globalisation: Perspectives from the Women's Movement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(10). https://www.epw.in/journal/2009/10/postnational-condition-special-issues-specials/reframing-globalisation-perspectives

Joshee, R. & Sihra, K. (2009). Religion, culture, language, and education in India. In J. Banks (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Multicultural Education* (pp. 425-436). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203881514

Jovchelovitch, S. (1997). Peripheral communities and the transformation of social representations: Queries on power and recognition. *Social Psychological Review, 1*, 16-26.

Jovchelovitch, S. (2001). Social representations, public life and social construction. In K. Deaux, & G. Philogène (Eds.), *Representations of the Social: bridging theoretical traditions* (pp. 165-182). Blackwell.

Jovchelovitch, S. (2007) *Knowledge in Context: Representations, Community, and Culture*. Routledge.

Jovchelovitch, S. (2008). Reflections on the diversity of knowledge: power and dialogue in representational fields. In T. Sugiman, K, Gergen, W. Wagner, & Y. Yamada (Eds.), *Meaning in Action: Constructions, narratives and representations* (pp. 23-36). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-4-431-74680-5_2

Kalampalikis, N., & Haas, V. (2008). More than a theory: A new map of social thought. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 38*, 449-459. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2008.00381.x

Kapilashrami, A. (2021). Transformative or Functional Justice? Examining the Role of Health Care Institutions in Responding to Violence Against Women in India. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(11-12), 5471-5500. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1177/0886260518803604

Karim, L. (2008). Demystifying Micro-Credit: The Grameen Bank, NGOs, and Neoliberalism in Bangladesh. *Cultural Dynamics*, *20*(1), 5–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374007088053

Kassea, R., Sakki, I. & Pirttilä-Backman, A-M. (2009). Women's Human Rights Violations: Cameroonian Students' Perceptions. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 19(2), 111-124. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.986

King, T. L., & Osayande, E. (2007). The Filth on Philanthropy: Progressive Philanthropy's Agenda to Misdirect Social Justice Movements. In INCITE! (Eds.), *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (pp. 79-89). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373001

Kitchener, K. S., & Kitchener, R. F. (2009). Social science research ethics: Historical and philosophical issues. In D. Mertens & P. Ginsberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics* (pp. 39-53). Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348971

Kivel, P. (2007). Social Service or Social Change? In INCITE! (Eds.), *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (pp. 129-149). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373001

Kress, G. (2003). *Literacy in the New Media Age*. Routledge. http://doi.org/10.4324/9780203299234

Kress, G., & van Leewen, T. (2006). *Reading Images: The grammar of visual design*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003099857

Kugelmann, R., Watson, K.& Frisby, G (2019). Social representations of chronic pain in newspapers, online media, and film. *PAIN*, 160(2), 298-306. https://doi.org/10.1097/j.pain.0000000000001422

Lahlou, S. (2015). Social representations and social construction: The evolutionary perspective of installation theory. In G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations* (pp. 193–209). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107323650.017

László, J. (1997). Narrative organization of social representations. *Papers on Social Representations*, 6(2), 155–172. https://psr.iscte-iul.pt/index.php/PSR/article/view/234/200

Laughlin, K. A., Gallagher, J., Cobble, D. S., Boris, E., Nadasen, P., Gilmore, S., & Zarnow, L. (2010). Is it time to jump ship? Historians rethink the waves

metaphor. *Feminist Formations, 22*(1), 76-135. http://doi.org/10.1353/nwsa.0.0118

Lauri, M (2015). Social change, social marketing and social representations. In G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations* (pp. 397–410). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107323650.032

Lazard, L., & McAvoy, J. (2020). Doing reflexivity in psychological research: What's the point? What's the practice? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 17(2), 159-177. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2017.1400144

Legewie, N. & Nassauer, A. (2018). YouTube, Google, Facebook: 21st Century Online Video Research and Research Ethics. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *19*(3). http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.3.3130.

Lerner, M. (1980). *The Belief in a Just World: A fundamental delusion*. New York: Plenum.

Levien, M. (2017). Gender and land dispossession: a comparative analysis. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44(6), 1111-1134. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2017.1367291

Levtov, R., Barker, G., Contreras-Urbina, M., Heilman, B., & Verma, R. (2014). Pathways to Gender-equitable Men: Findings from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey in Eight Countries. *Men and Masculinities*, 17(5), 467-501. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1177/1097184X14558234

Liu, L. (2004). Sensitising concept, themata and shareness: A dialogical perspective of social representations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 34(3), 249-264. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-8308.2004.00247.x

Liu, L. and Hilton, D. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(4), 537-556. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X27162

Liu, L., Lawrence, B., Ward, C. & Abraham, S. (2002). Social representations of history in Malaysia and Singapore: On the relationship between national and ethnic identity. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 5(1), 3-20. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00091

Liu, L. and Páez, D. (2019). Social Representations of History as Common Ground for Processes of Intergroup Relations and the Content of Social Identities. In D. Matsumoto, and H. Hwang (Eds.), *The Handbook of Culture and Psychology*, 2nd edn (pp.586-614). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190679743.003.0018

Livingstone, S. (2008). Engaging with media - A matter of literacy? *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 1(1), 51-62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1753-9137.2007.00006.x

Lombard, N. & McMillan, L. (2013). Introduction. In N. Lombard & L. McMillan (Eds.), *Violence Against Women: Current Theory and Practice in Domestic Abuse, Sexual Violence and Exploitation* (pp.7-16). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Lo Monaco, G. and Guimelli, C. (2011). Hegemonic and polemic beliefs: culture and consumption in the social representation of wine. *The Spanish Journal*

of Psychology, 14(1), 232-245. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_SJOP.2011.v14.n1.21

Loney-Howes, R (2015). Beyond the Spectacle of Suffering: Representations of Rape in Online Anti-Rape Activism. *Outskirts*, 33(1), pp. 1-17. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2700387

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider*. New York: Ten Speed Press.

Maglioglou, T., & Coen, S. (2021). The Construction of a Hegemonic Social Representation. *European Psychologist*, 26(3), 230-240. https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000442

Malherbe, N., Suffla, S. & Everitt-Penhale, B. (2019). Engaging praxes for decolonial feminist community psychologies through youth-centred participatory film-making. In F. Boonzaier & T. van Niekerk (Eds.) *Decolonial Feminist Community Psychology* (pg. 77- 93). Spring Nature. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/978-3-030-20001-5_6

Malherbe, N., Ratele, K., Adams, G., Reddy, G., & Suffla, S. (2021). A Decolonial Africa(n)-Centered Psychology of Antiracism. *Review of General Psychology*, 25(4), 437-450. https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680211022992

Mandal, S. (2014). The impossibility of marital rape: Contestations around marriage, sex, violence and the law in contemporary India. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 29(81), 255–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2014.958124

Marecek, J., Fine, M. & Kidder, L. (1997). Working Between Worlds: Qualitative Methods and Social Psychology. *Journal of Social Issues*, 53(4), 631-644. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1997.tb02452.x

Marková, I. (2003). *Dialogicality and Social Representations: The Dynamics of Mind*. Cambridge University Press

Marková, I. (2012). Objectification in common sense thinking. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 19(3), 207-221. https://doi.org/10.1080/10749039.2012.688178

Martikainen, J. (2019). Social representations of teachership based on cover images of Finnish Teacher magazine: A visual rhetoric approach. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 7, 890-912. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i2.1045

Martikainen, J., & Sakki, I. (2021). Boosting nationalism through COVID-19 images: Multimodal construction of the failure of the 'dear enemy' with COVID-19 in the national press. *Discourse & Communication*, *15*(4), 388-414. https://doi.org/10.1177/17504813211002039

McAvoy, J. (2009). *Negotiating constructions of success and failure: women in mid-life and formations of subject, subjectivity and identity*. [PhD thesis, The Open University]. Online Research Online. https://doi.org/10.21954/ou.ro.00006645

McCarthy, A. (2001). *Ambient Television: Visual Culture and Public Space*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11hph91

McRobbie, A. (2004). Post-Feminism and Popular Culture. *Feminist Media Studies*, 4(3), 255-264. https://doi.org/10.1080/1468077042000309937

Menon, S., & Allen, N. (2018). The formal systems response to violence against women in India: A cultural lens. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 62(1–2), 51–61. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12249

Mignolo, W. (2009). Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(7-8), 159-181. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409349275

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (2017). *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4) 2015-16*. http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-4Reports/India.pdf

Mohanty, C. (1984). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Boundary, 2*, 333–358. https://doi.org/10.2307/302821

Mohanty, C. (2003) *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smp7t

Moloney, G., & Walker, I. (2000). Messiahs, pariahs, and donors: The development of social representations of organ transplants. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 30(2), 203–227. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5914.00126

Mondragon, N., Echaide, L., Alcibar, N. & Eguileor, M. (2020). "La Manada" in the digital sphere: coping with a sexual aggression case through Twitter. *Feminist Media Studies*, 20(7), 926-943. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2019.1643387

Morant, N. (1998). Social Representations of gender in the media: quantitative and qualitative content analysis. In Wetherell, M. (Ed.), *Doing Social Psychology* (pp. 231-286). Sage Publications.

Moscovici, S. (1961/2008). *Psychoanalysis: its Image and its Public (D. Macey, Trans.)*. Cambridge: Polity Press (Original work published in 1961).

Moscovici, S. (1963). Attitudes and opinions. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 14, 231–260. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.14.020163.001311

Moscovici, S. (1972) Theory and society in social psychology. In J. Israel & H. Tajfel (Eds) *The Context of Social Psychology: A Critical Assessment* (pp. 17-68). Academic Press.

Moscovici, S. (1973). Introduction. In C. Herzlich (Ed.), *Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis* (pp. ix-xiv). Academic Press.

Moscovici, S., (1981). On social representations. Perspectives on everyday understanding. In J. Forgas (Ed.), *Social Cognition* (pp. 181-209). Academic Press.

Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of social representations. In R. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social Representations* (pp. 3-55). Cambridge University Press.

Moscovici, S. (1985). Innovation and minority influence. In S. Moscovici, G. Mugny & E. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Perspectives on Minority Influence* (pp. 9-51). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of social representations. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 18(3), 211–250. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420180303

Moscovici, S., & Vignaux, G. (2000). The concept of themata. In K. Duveen (Ed.) Social representations. *Explorations in Social Psychology* (pp. 156-183). Polity Press.

Moussa, M., Benmessaoud, S. & Douai, A. (2020). Internet Memes as "Tactical" Social Action: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis Approach. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 5920-5940.

Narayan, D. (2018, July 2). India is the most dangerous country for women. It must face reality. *The Guardian*. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/02/india-most-dangerous-country-women-survey

National Crime Records Bureau. (2016). *Crime in India - 2016*. http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2016/pdfs/NEWPDFS/Crime%20in%20India%20-%202016%20Complete%20PDF%20291117.pdf

Negura, L., and Plante, N. (2021). The construction of social reality as a process of representational naturalization. The case of the social representation of drugs. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 51(1), 124-144. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1111/jtsb.12264

Neumayer, C. (2022). Content, Form, and Reception: Perspectives from Digital Media Data. In P. Vossen & A. Fokkens. (Eds.) *Creating a More Transparent Internet* (pp. 143 – 155). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108641104.011

Newton, H (2002). *The Huey P. Newton Reader*. Seven Stories Press.

Nicholson, C. (2019). Working together, living together: Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel crossing imagined group boundaries. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 7(2)*, 959-977. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i2.852

OECD (2023). Aid at a glance charts: *Official Development Assistance (ODA) flows for DAC and non-DAC members, recipients, and regions*. https://public.tableau.com/views/AidAtAGlance/DACmembers?:embed=y&:display_count=no?&:showVizHome=no#1

Parsheera, S. (2019, October 17). India's on a digital sprint that is leaving millions behind. *BBC*. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49085846

Peacock, D. (2022). Moving Beyond a Reliance on Criminal Legal Strategies to Address the Root Causes of Domestic and Sexual Violence. *Violence against Women*, 28(8), 1890-1907. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012221086002

Pérez, A. (2007). Between Radical Theory and Community Praxis: Reflections on Organizing and the Non-Profit Industrial Complex. In INCITE! (Eds.), *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (91-99). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373001

Pettersson, K., Martikainen, J., Hakoköngäs, E. & Sakki, I (2023). Female Politicians as Climate Fools: Intertextual and Multimodal Constructions of Misogyny Disguised as Humor in Political Communication. *Political Psychology*, 44(1), 3-20. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12814

Phadke, S., Khan, S., & Ranade, S. (2011). *Why Loiter? Women and Risk on Mumbai Streets*. Penguin.

Philogène, G. (1994), "African American" as a new Social Representation. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 24(2), 89-109. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1994.tb00248.x

Potter, J., & Billig, M. (1992). Re-representing representations – Discussion of Räty and Snellman. *Papers on Social Representations*, 1(1), 15-20.

Potter, J., & Litton, I. (1985). Some problems underlying the theory of social representations. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 24, 81-90. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1985.tb00664.x

Power, S., Zittoun, T., Akkerman, S., Wagoner, B., Cabra, M., Cornish, F., Hawlina, H., Heasman, B., Mahendran, K., Psaltis, C., Rajala, A., Veale, A. & Gillespie, A. (2023). Social Psychology of and for World-Making. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 27(4), 378-392. https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683221145756

Press Trust of India (2017). Sex-ratio in urban areas worse than rural areas: survey. *Business Standard*. https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/sex-ratio-in-urban-areas-worse-than-rural-areas-survey-117030300971_1.html

Press Trust of India (2022, August 5). 78% Funds for 'Beti Bachao' Spent on Ads, 'Reconsider' Says Parliamentary Panel. *The Quint*. https://www.thequint.com/news/politics/reconsider-spending-on-ads-for-beti-bachao-beti-padhao-scheme-parliamentary-committee

Propp, V. (1928/1968). *Morphology of the Folktale (L. Scott, Trans.)*. University of Texas Press (Original work published 1928). https://doi.org/10.7560/783911

Purkhardt, S. C. (1993). *Transforming Social Representations: A Social Psychology of Common Sense and Science*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315725864

Purohit, K. (2022, January 13). In India, NGOs face funding bans, reel under 'strangulating' laws. *DEVEX*. https://www.devex.com/news/in-india-ngos-face-funding-bans-reel-under-strangulating-laws-102404

Pyysiäinen, J., Halpin, D., & Guilfoyle, A. (2017). Neoliberal governance and 'responsibilization' of agents: reassessing the mechanisms of responsibility-shift in neoliberal discursive environments. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 18(2), 215-235. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2017.1331858

Radhakrishnan, S. (2011). Gender, the IT revolution and the making of a middle-class India. In A. Baviskar & R. Ray. (ed.) *Elite and Everyman: The Cultural Politics of the Indian Middle Classes* (pp. 193-219). Routledge. http://doi.org/ 10.4324/9780367817961-10

Rao, S. (1999). Women-as-symbol: The intersections of identity politics, gender, and Indian nationalism. *Women's Studies International Forum, 22(3)*, 317-328. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(99)00033-3

Rao, S. (2014). Covering rape in shame culture: Studying journalism ethics in India's new television news media. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 29(3)*, 153-167. https://doi.org/10.1080/08900523.2014.918497

Rao, S. (2018). No country for (women) journalists: Reporting on religious nationalism and sexual violence in India. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 38(2), 43–53. https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2018.0015

Räty, H., & Snellman, L. (1992). Making the unfamiliar familiar – Some notes on the criticism of the theory of social representations. *Papers on Social Representations*, 1(1), 3-13.

Raudsepp, M. (2005). Why Is It So Difficult To Understand the Theory of Social Representations? *Culture & Psychology*, 11(4), 455-468. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X05058587

Reddy, G., & Amer, A. (2023). Precarious engagements and the politics of knowledge production: Listening to calls for reorienting hegemonic social psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 71-94. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12609

Renedo, A. (2010). Polyphony and Polyphasia in Self and Knowledge. *Papers on Social Representations*, 19, 12.1-12.21. https://researchonline.lshtm.ac.uk/id/eprint/3878/1/Polyphony%20and%20Polyphasia%20in%20Self%20and%20Knowledge.pdf

Reporters Without Borders (2021). *2021 World Press Freedom Index*. https://rsf.org/en/india

Reyes-Sosa, H., Martínez-Cueva, S. & Mondragón, N (2023). Rape Culture, Revictimization, and Social Representations: Images and Discourses on Sexual and Violent Crimes in the Digital Sphere in Mexico. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38(1-2), 847-871. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605221084747

Rojas, P. (2007). Are the Cops in Our Heads and Hearts? In INCITE! (Eds.), *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (197-214). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373001

Rotaeche, P. F., Mondragon, N. I., & Albóniga-Mayor, J. J. (2023). Comparing social representations of feminism among education and engineering majors: Insights for developing feminist pedagogies. *Feminism & Psychology*, 33(2), 256-275. https://doi.org/10.1177/09593535221126

Rottenberg, C (2014). The rise of neoliberal feminism. *Cultural Studies*, 28, 418-437. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.857361

Roy, S. (2012). *New South Asian Feminisms*. Zed Books.

Roy, S. (2015). The Indian Women's Movement: Within and Beyond NGOization. *Journal of South Asian Development*, *10*(1), 96–117. https://doi.org/10.1177/0973174114567368

Roy, S. (2018). #MeToo Is A Crucial Moment to Revisit the History of Indian Feminism. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 53(42). https://www.epw.in/engage/article/metoo-crucial-moment-revisit-history-indian

Roychowdhury, P. (2021). *Capable Women, Incapable States: Negotiating Violence and Rights in India*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rutherford, A. (2018). Feminism, psychology, and the gendering of neoliberal subjectivity: From critique to disruption. *Theory & Psychology*, *28*, 619-644. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354318797194

Sakki, I., Kassea, R., Vauhkonen, T., & Pirttilä-Backman, A-M. (2010). Social representations: the heart of community psychology. In Frank Columbus (Ed.), *Community Psychology: New developments* (pp. 67-91). Nova Publishers.

Sakki, I., & Martikainen, J. (2020). Mobilizing collective hatred through humour: Affective–discursive production and reception of populist rhetoric. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(2), 610–634. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12419

Sakki, I., & Salminen, M. (2015). Stability and change in the representations of female politicians in Cameroon. *Papers on Social Representations*, 24, 4.1–4.28. http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/.

Salamon, L. (2010). Putting the Civil Society Sector on the Economic Map of the World. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 81(2), 167-210. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8292.2010.00409.x

Salojärvi, V., Palonen, E., Horsmanheimo, L. & Kylli, R-M. (2023) Protecting the future 'Us': a rhetoric-performative multimodal analysis of the polarising far-right YouTube campaign videos in Finland*, Visual Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2023.2249430

Salter, M (2013). Justice and revenge in online counter-publics: Emerging responses to sexual violence in the age of social media. *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal*, 9 (3), 225-242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659013493918

Savonen, J., Kataja, K., & Sakki, I (2022). Distancing from the worst or facing the inescapable? Social representations and positioning of people in marginalised groups. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 32, 896-907. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2603

Scharff, C. (2020). Prepare her for sexism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *27*(1), 3–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506819885707

Schnepf, J., & Christmann, U. (2023). "Domestic Drama," "Love Killing," or "Murder": Does the Framing of Femicides Affect Readers' Emotional and Cognitive Responses to the Crime? *Violence Against Women*, *0*(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012231158103

Shakhnazarov, G. & Burlatskii, F. (1984). On the Development of Marxist-Leninist Political Science. *Soviet Law and Government*, 23(3), 3-26. https://doi.org/10.2753/RUP1061-194023033

Sharma R. & Bazilli S. (2014). Violence against women: What's law got to do with it? A reflection on gang rape in India. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 3(3), 4–21. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v3i3.155

Siles, I. (2023). *Living with Algorithms: Agency and User Culture in Costa Rica*. MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/14966.001.0001

Sinha, M. & Chauhan, V. (2013). Deconstructing LajjA as a marker of Indian Womanhood. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 25(1), 133-163. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1177/0971333613477314

Smith, N., & Joffe, H. (2013). How the public engages with global warming: A social representations approach. *Public Understanding of Science*, 22(1), 16–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662512440913

Sonavane, N., & Wadekar, D. (2020, November 6). The law is casteist. A*kademi Mag*. https://www.akademimag.com/the-law-is-casteist

Sontag, S. (1977). *On Photography*. Penguin.

Souza, L., O'Dwyer, E., Coutinho, S., Chaudhuri, S., Rocha, L. & de Souza, L. (2021). Social Representations and Ideology: Theories of Common Sense About COVID-19 Among Middle-Class Brazilians and Their Ideological Implications. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 9(1), 105-122. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.6069

Subramanian, S. & Sharma, R. (2022). Toward an Anti-Caste and Feminist Vision of Transformative Justice: Analyzing Social Media Activism Against Sexual Violence. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 45(4), 465-481. https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2022.2135948

Sundar, P. (1996). Women and philanthropy in India. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, **7**(4), 412–427.

Swabhiman Society, & Equality Now. (2020). *Justice denied: Sexual violence and intersectional discrimination. Barriers to accessing justice for Dalit*

Women and Girls in Haryana, India. https://www.equalitynow.org/resource/justicedenied/

Táíwò, O. (2022). *Elite Capture: How the Powerful Took Over Identity Politics (And Everything Else)*. Pluto Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2g591sq

Tajfel, H. (1978). The achievement of inter-group differentiation. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation Between Social Groups* (pp. 77–100). Academic Press.

Tetloff, M., Hitchcock, L., Battista, A. & Lowry, D (2014). Multimodal Composition and Social Justice: Videos as a Tool of Advocacy in Social Work Pedagogy. *Journal of Technology in Human Services*, 32(1-2), 22-38. https://doi.org/10.1080/15228835.2013.857284

Thapar, S. (1993). Women as activists; Women as symbols: A study of the Indian nationalist movement. *Feminist Review, 44(1)*, 81-96. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1993.22

Thomas Reuters Foundation. (2018). *The world's most dangerous countries for women*. http://poll2018.trust.org/

UNFPA (2020). *State of World Population 2020*. https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNFPA_PUB_2020_EN_State_of_World_Population.pdf

UNICEF (2023). *Ending Child Marriage: A profile of progress in India, 2023 Update*. New York.

United Nations. (1993). *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/eliminationvaw.pdf

United Nations. (2001). *Gender mainstreaming: Strategy for promoting gender equality*. Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/factsheet1.pdf

United Nations (2023). *India Overtakes China as the World's Most Populous Country*. https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/sites/www.un.org.development.desa.pd/files/undesa_pd_2023_policy-brief-153.pdf

UN Women (2020). *From insight to action: Gender equality in the wake of COVID-19*. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/09/gender-equality-in-the-wake-of-covid-19

van Dijck, J., Poell, T., & de Waal, M. (2018). *The Platform Society*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190889760.001.0001

Verma, J., & Triandis, H. C. (1999). The measurement of collectivism in India. In W. J. Lonner, D. L. Dinnel, D. K. Forgays, & S. A. Hayes (Eds.), *Merging Past, Present, and Future in Cross-Cultural Psychology: Selected papers from the Fourteenth International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology* (pp. 256–265). Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers.

Vijayakumar, G. (2018). Collective demands and secret codes: The multiple uses of "community" in "community mobilization". *World Development*, 104(1), 173-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.11.009

Voelklein, C. & Howarth, C. (2005). A review of controversies about social representations theory: a British debate. *Culture and Psychology*, 11(4), 431-454. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X05058586

Vora, R. & Menon, S. (2018, May 10). IDR Interviews/ Kamla Bhasin. *India Development Review*. https://idronline.org/idr-interviews-kamla-bhasin/

Wagner-Egger, P., Bangerter, A., Gilles, I., Green, E., Rigaud, D., Krings, F., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2011). Lay perceptions of collectives at the outbreak of the H1N1 epidemic: heroes, villains and victims. *Public Understanding of Science*, 20(4), 461–476. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662510393605

Wagner, W. (1996). Queries about social representation and construction. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 26(2), 95–120. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1996.tb00524.x

Wagner, W. (1998). Social representations and beyond: Brute facts, symbolic coping and domesticated worlds. *Culture & Psychology*, 4(3), 297–329. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X98004003

Wagner, W. (2015). Representation in action. In G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations* (pp. 12-28). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107323650.004

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Verma, J., & Themel, M. (2000). "I have some faith and at the same time I don't believe' - Cognitive Polyphasia and Cultural Change in India. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 10(4), 301-314. https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-1298(200007/08)10:4<301::AID-CASP585>3.0.CO;2-V

Wagner, W., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Marková, I., Duveen, G., & Rose, D (1999). Theory and method of social representations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 2(1), 95-125. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00028

Wahlström, M. (2012). *The digitalisation of social representations: The influence of the evolution of communication technology on the development of shared ideas*. (Publication No. 17989132) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. Helsingin Yliopiston digitaalinen arkisto. https://core.ac.uk/reader/14925160

Waldron, I. (2019). Archetypes of Black Womanhood: Implications for Mental Health, Coping, and Help-Seeking. In M. Zangeneh, & A. Al-Krenawi (Eds.), *Culture, Diversity and Mental Health - Enhancing Clinical Practice. Advances in Mental Health and Addiction* (pp. 21-38). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26437-6_2

Wiley, S. & Bikman, N. (2012). Building Solidarity Across Difference: Social Identity, Intersectionality, and Collective Action for Social Change. In S. Wiley, G. Philogène & Revenson, T. (Eds.), *Social Categories in Everyday Experience* (pp. 189-204). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/13488-010

Wilkinson, S. (1988). The role of reflexivity in feminist psychology. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(5), 493-502. https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(88)90024-6

Wilson, K. (2015). Towards a Radical Re-appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism. *Development & Change,* 46, 803-832. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12176

Winskell, K. (2021). Social representations theory and young Africans' creative narratives about human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune

deficiency syndrome, 1997–2014. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 51(1), 164–182.https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12270

World Health Organization. (2009). *Promoting gender equality to prevent violence against women*. https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/44098/9789241597883_eng.pdf

Xiang, Y. (2023). Visualizing Hegemony and Resistance: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of "Covid-19 Hero" on Chinese Social Media. In A. Veneti, & M. Rovisco (Eds), *Visual Politics in the Global South: Political Campaigning and Communication* (pp. 73-92). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-22782-0_4

Zucker, A. (2004). Disavowing Social Identities: What it Means When Women Say, "I'm not a Feminist, But…". *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(4), 423-435. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00159.x

Report on co-authorship

Out of the three articles included in the dissertation, Study I was co-authored while Study II and III were single authored. Below, the contributions to co-authorship in Study I are described.

Study I

D'silva, K., & Hakoköngäs, E. (2022). Empowered but Endangered? An Analysis of Hegemonic Womanhood in Indian Gender Advocacy Campaigns. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 10(1), 253-271. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.5619

First author: Keshia D'silva

Second author: Eemeli Hakoköngäs

The study design and methods were developed by the first author in collaboration with the second author. The first author collected the data. Initial data analysis was carried out by the first author, whose interpretations were then triangulated by the second author. The first author wrote the first version of the manuscript. The second author edited the draft of the manuscript and provided comments and additions. The first author undertook the final preparations of the manuscript for submission.

Helsinki, 23.11.2023

Keshia D'silva
PhD Candidate
University of Helsinki
Ph number: +358449345332
keshia.dsilva@helsinki.fi

Eemeli Hakoköngäs
University Lecturer
University of Helsinki
Ph number: +358504758316
eemeli.hakokongas@helsinki.fi