

DIGITAL ADVOCACY BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR MENSTRUAL ACTIVISM: A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF #LAHUKALAGAAN (BLOOD TAX) CAMPAIGN BY SHESAYS INDIA

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ABSTRACT

Digital advocacy for social and political change is emerging as a strategic choice by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in India. On the social front, menstrual activism has taken flight in compelling and powerful forms across the world to address the issue of menstrual equity across the globe. The present study looked at how a non-government organization, She Says, framed menstrual issues and policy change in their campaign #LahuKaLagaan (Blood Tax) directed against indiscriminate tax policy on menstrual hygiene in India. A qualitative framing analysis of the NGO's Twitter handle was done from April 2017 to July 2018, along with in-depth interviews with advocacy specialists in India. Results show that the organization optimally utilized the three core framing techniques: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames in their advocacy. NGO's thrust on prognostic framing was new and made the campaign potent. Extensive use of themes like gender injustice, female identity, solidarity, participation, and action in framing the issue helped the organization transform its message into action, making #LahuKaLagaan an effective advocacy campaign.

Keywords: Digital Advocacy, New Media, Menstrual Activism, Framing, Twitter, #LahuKaLagaan

INTRODUCTION

Social media has found an integral position in modern advocacy campaigning. Citizens, civic groups, and NPO's use a plethora of platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit, to talk about policy issues and engage with civil society groups and political leaders. While many factors affect whether or not NPO's adopt social media in their media mix, the vast majority today are actively trying to integrate social media into their campaigns.

Initiating #LahuKaLagaan, a digital advocacy campaign

#LahuKaLagaan was by started by She Says, a non-governmental organization (NGO) to protest against Indian Government's imposition of 14 % Goods and Services Tax on sanitary pads. The government had classified sanitary napkins used by menstruating women as a luxury commodity triggering the digital advocacy campaign by the NGO. Besides tax exemption, the NGO She Says, sought that the sanitary napkins should fall under the Essential Commodities Act and sanitary vending machines should be installed

at more places so that women have access to inexpensive napkins. A parody video featuring a popular feminist comedian marked the beginning of the campaign on Twitter. Various humorous analogies likening the tax to a monthly subscription were used that made the campaign gain instant attention (Fadnis, 2017). Supporting the campaign, Sushmita De, member parliament, started an internet-based petition resulting in signatures by more than 400,000 people. Students from several universities too joined the digital advocacy campaign. With both online and offline (legal petitions) efforts within 15 months of the campaign on 21st July 2018, India's GST Council agreed to eliminate the tax imposed on menstrual hygiene products such as sanitary pads and tampons. The campaign activity on social media created a ripple effect propelling coverage by mainstream media that created pressure on Finance Minister and GST Council to relook and change the taxation policy yielding tangible outcomes (Saxena, 2017). The campaign is also cited as the catalyst for creating the groundswell of public discussion,

start a conversation around menstrual hygiene, and challenge the perception of them as luxury goods (Mukherjee, Ratho, & Jain, 2021). #LahuKaLagaan is salient as it presents the social network and activities akin to social and political activists working on ground who display distinct characteristics (Hon, 2016).

Menstrual Activism and Global Campaigns

Menstrual activism is finding traction as women demand attention towards issues long dismissed as individual female complaints be heard, acknowledged, and reconsidered by society at large. Parallely, the expansion of social media helps in challenging and eradicating stereotypes besides transforming audiences into more educated, empowered, and motivated internet users (Moscato, 2016). Menstrual activism has been a part of feminist activism history worldwide (Gender Equality, Global Annual Report, 2018). However, there has been a spurt in conversation around menstruation-related issues on mainstream media platforms in recent years. 2015 was named as year period went public by the Cosmopolitan magazine making the academia and advocates say that menstruation is now 'having a moment' ("Social Media Preferences Vary by Race and Ethnicity | Pew Research Center," 2015). In the same year, drummer Kiran Gandhi ran the London marathon without the tampon bringing the issue to the CenterStage. Agencies, activists, and advocates created loud conversations and discourses asking the governments to eliminate the tampon tax and make space in their agendas for a menstrual equity policy (Social Media Site Usage 2019 | Pew Research Center," 2020). In India, a documentary about menstruation set in India, 'Period. End of Sentence.' won an Oscar in 2019, and the Bollywood film 'Pad Man' (2018), based on Arunachalam Muruganathan, who devised the technology to make low-cost sanitary pads for rural women was released. Campaigns by NGOs like Plan International UK's #PeriodEmoji campaign institutionalized the red blood droplet - an emoji meant to normalize periods in public discourse. ("Period Poverty: Everything You Need to Know," 2019). A global cohort of activists is finding their way into the policy solutions and crisis interventions for creating informed opinions and education around menstrual issues, for more affordable access to menstrual hygiene products-tampons, pads, and

menstrual cups; and against laws that make life more difficult for menstruators. At present, less than 20 countries have a zero-taxation policy on menstrual hygiene products. A few success stories come from Kenya, Australia, Canada, Germany, the UK, 32 states of the US, and India. According to a report titled *International Day of the Girl 2020* more than eight hundred million people are menstruating everyday (UNICEF,2020). Period poverty has an adverse effect on the health, education, employment, and livelihoods of millions of females, transgender men, non-binaries, gender-queers, or people with gender dysphonia worldwide. More than eighty-eight percent of women aged 15 to 24 do not have access to sanitary products during their period in India. ("National Family Health Survey-5," 2020). Ninety-three percent of the women do not practice menstrual hygiene and use harmful materials like rags, husk, sand, ash during periods due to lack of knowledge and money (Sharma, 2019).

Advocacy on Menstruation in India

Over the years, governments, NPO's and corporates have made efforts to bring menstrual hygiene to the forefront and foster civic engagement in India. For example, #Period of Pride (2021), #KeepGirlsInSchool (2020), by P&G's Whisper brand, #RedDotChallenge (2020) by UNICEF, #UngenderMenstruation (2021), India's first-ever gender-inclusive menstruation campaign by Boondh Social Foundation and Schbang for Good and Menstrual Hygiene Scheme under National Health Mission (2011) are a few notable campaigns in the recent past.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Studies have been done to understand the framing of an issue by non-government organizations through digital advocacy vis-à-vis the salience of digital campaigns in social movements and social networking sites and activism.

Digital campaigns & Organizations

(Tilly, 2019) kept campaigns among the three main elements of social movements to bridge social movement theory with public relations scholarship by highlighting strategic communication and public mobilization. Shirley (2008) found scope for digital advocacy since initiating and sustaining the cause-based movement is low cost, requires less resource

mobilization and does not need structural organizational protocols as opposed to prerequisites of an offline advocacy campaign planning by a non-governmental organization. Campaigns on digital media can reach global and local audiences alike at a much faster speed referred to as ‘supersizing effects’ besides leveraged affordances. A civil society network is created online as the digital media provides opportunity to all online media consumers to ideate, create and share content without any obstruction or gatekeeping (Castells,2002; Carty, 2018). Hon (2016) analysed the Million Hoodies campaign movement for justice, resulting in examples of frame alignment for collective online and offline support. (Muralidharan et al., 2011). Designing an effective messaging strategy requires the framing of issues (Hallahan, 1999).

Twitter has opened a new era of possibilities for organizations to communicate with and engage their core stakeholders and the general public. (Moscato, 2016). Organizations find Twitter effective to strategically engage their stakeholders via dialogic and community-building practices, possibly because Twitter has the feature hashtag, which is arguably a modern-day adaptation of Kristeva's intertextuality (D'Angelo, 2009).

Digital Campaign Issues & Snow and Benford's Framing

A lot of studies employ Snow and Benford's framing analysis (2000) in social movements. As it: (1) gives greater attention to the context in which framing occurs (such as the multiorganizational field), (2) works effectively on movements that transcend nation-state borders, (3) examines framing dynamics over time, so that changing social and political contexts can be taken into account, and (4) provides scope for understanding conflict and negotiation underlining formation of collective action frames.

Particular progress has been made in demonstrating how external political and cultural forces influence movement framing (McCammon et al., 2007) (Ihlen & Nitz, 2008) (Putnam et al.,)1984). But in the areas of campaign design and research, significant gaps remain. (Gerbaudo, 2012) while examining the presence of Snow and Benford's

framing processes in public relations content found merely18% had framed the messages using diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing in one

Research Questions

From the literature, the following research questions emerged:

RQ1. What are the specific frames and alignments used by She Says #LahuKaLagaan campaign in its communication on Twitter?

RQ2. What is the differential use of prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational framing in #LahuKaLagaan?

RQ3. How do frame alignments- bridging, amplification, extension, and/or transformation in this campaign advocate menstrual rights in India?

METHODOLOGY

Snow and Benford's framing of issues form the conceptual basis of the framing analysis of #LahuKaLagaan. David Snow and Robert Benford proposed that organizations accomplish their tasks through diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing (Table 2). The four strategies of frame alignment used in social movements by activists to identify shared interests, similar socio- cultural background so as to mobilize to achieve the cause have been adapted to analyse digital advocacy in this campaign (Figure 1).

Diagnostic framing (Problems)	What led to #LahuKaLagaan? What is the problematic tax policy of the Indian government? What is the core and peripheral issues associated with menstrual activism in the campaign?
Prognostic framing (Solutions)	What actions and measures does the campaign advocate?
Motivational framing (How to Solve)	How are motivations created through tools and tactics used to? achieve the goals?

Table 2: Adapted from Benford & Snow, 2000 for framing analysis of #LahuKaLagaan

Subsequently, four strategies of frame alignment were examined while analysing the campaign (Fig.1).

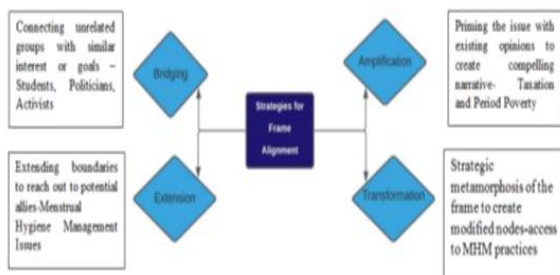


Fig. 1: Adapted from Snow et al., 2000, four strategies for frame alignment

Methods & Procedure

Mixed research methods were adopted to analyse the campaign. A qualitative content analysis of #LahuKaLagaan tweets by the NGO, She Says twitter handle was done based on Snow and Benford's Framing Analysis. Twitter data was collected for 15 months, i.e., from the day the campaign was initiated (18th April 2017) until 21st July 2018, when taxation was waived off on menstrual hygiene products by the government. Primary data was collected from NGOs through semi-structured interview schedules.

Sample

This paper draws on n=1540 tweets with #LahuKaLagaan, on its Twitter page and @SheSays Twitter Handle. Nine in-depth Interviews with campaign planners of the non-government organizations working on digital advocacy conducted in 2019. As many as 1540 tweets of the Twitter posts examined here cross-referenced related Facebook posts. The entire web history showed maximum engagement posts on the web and the themes highlighted. Twitter posts were examined and analysed qualitatively using the textual analysis approach of social media communication. The interviews (face-to-face, telephonic and web-based) were approximately 20 minutes to half an hour duration each. Interviews were transcribed and analysed as frames and processes emerged.

The process of identification and categorization of themes into diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames is illustrated in Table 5-9 (Annexure II).

Exemplar tweets for each manifest theme is presented in Exhibit 1-10 (Annexure III).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. She Says uses all the three core frames in the #LahuKaLagaan campaign

The framing analysis shows the use of the three types of framing: Diagnostic, Prognostic & Motivational. By She Says #LahuKaLagaan's twitter posts during the period examined. Through its posts on twitter, the NGO used gender injustice and identity themes for diagnostic framing to gain the attention of the publics. Several tweets called out the inherent bias and apathy towards menstruation hygiene management as it concerns women alone while some pointed out the discriminatory behavior of polity and society towards menstruation related problems. A lot tweets used gender identity as a theme embodying issues of body, self and commune. #LahuKaLagaan diagnosed the problem as lack of awareness and accessibility about female menstrual hygiene products and framed the solution (prognostic framing) adopting solidarity among people as the theme and change in policy through political action as an imminent solution. The organization used motivational framing in #LahuKaLagaan to mobilize the participants, co-opted supporters from media and entertainment industry for various online , on-ground events and activities in order to build pressure on the policymakers for tax withdrawn.

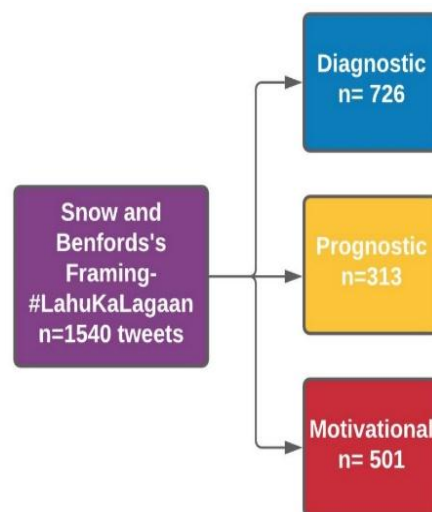


Figure 2: Framing distribution among sample tweets

2. Established media themes on gender were present in framing #LahuKaLagaan

The researchers found the data from the tweets and interviews collapsing into the following gender-specific themes w.r.t the issue in the campaign. (Figure 3) and (Table 4).

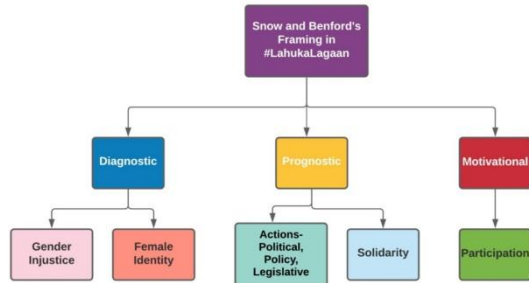


Figure 3: Dominant themes of core frame in #LahuKaLagaan.

Diagnostic Framing
a) Gender Injustice- Scope and influence of the master frame of injustice is expanded in Gender to highlight exclusion, bias and discrimination. The frame embodies both cognitive and affective perceptions of inequitable situations (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)
b) Female Identity- Building collective definition of we- the movement protagonist and supporters that emerges out of common experiences and external labels (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)
Prognostic Framing
a) Action - Triggering emotions of mobilization, building a call for action for common goals under social movements- symbolizing actions (Tarrow, 1998).
b) Solidarity- Connecting vast stakeholder group to illuminate a topic, developing frames of political discourse that spans social movements, allies, opponents, and authorities (Tarrow, 1998)
Motivational Framing
a) Participation: Movement participation creates a sense of contribution. A voluntary act of fighting for the cause. It holds a belief that one's group is capable of resolving its grievances through a campaign (Klandermans, 2007) (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)

Table 4: Descriptive summary of the themes in core frames

Diagnostic framing

The organization tweeted extensively to build public awareness about the unfair tax policy of the Indian government besides allied issues of menstrual taboos, government's apathy towards menstrual hygiene, and sanitary napkins. Within it, Gender Injustice and Female Identity were the most prevalent themes.

From the outset (April 2017) the NGO in its diagnostic framing, tweeted on gender injustice. One of the earliest posts (tweet no 5) raised the issue of gender discrimination while tweets 8-15 shared posters and facts about sindoor, bangles, and bindis (symbols of marriage) were made tax free; condoms and contraceptives are already tax-exempt, but the sanitary napkins continue to be taxed to highlight the inequality by the government to underline the priorities set by the government where non-essential items are considered to be more critical to a woman's well-being than essential sanitary products (Table 5). A video post on 18th April 2017 showed an actress and social media influencer Shenaz Treasury, with her travel bag, and she starts to pack while addressing Arun Jaitley (Finance Minister of India) (Saxena, 2017). Shenaz gets sarcastic for the campaign and explains to Arun Jaitley how she feels fortunate to be able to afford the napkin listed in luxury items. (Exhibit 1).

@SheSays shared a one-minute video featuring comedian/actor Mallika Dua sending a message to the Finance Minister "It's not like I signed up for a monthly blood subscription. It just happens. So why am I being punished for it?" (20th April 2017). The sarcastic tone of the campaign has resonated with campaign supporters.

The posts highlighted economic injustice on women because of taxation on products related to their biological process. A woman's body mechanisms shouldn't be treated as fair game to tax. Menstrual bleeding is a natural function, not a voluntary act, and neither is it a luxury. All women, on average, menstruate from the ages of 12 to 51. Despite being the biological and hygienic requisite of more than half the population, current legislation systematically discriminates against women by taxing essential commodities such as sanitary napkins. (Exhibit 2)

Few posts (Exhibit 3) raised the issue of justice under constitutional provisions mentioning specific articles that guarantee equal rights for women without any discrimination. Various celebrities like Anshula Kapoor and influencers like Kanan Gill from film and entertainment industry too joined the campaign. Popular television news anchor and journalist Faye D'Souza joined the conversation. (Exhibit 4). Later online content channels Girliyapa, Buzzfeed, ScoopWhoop, VitaminStree were approached to make an audio-video content on menstrual hygiene, prevailing conditions in India and data driven communication based on research. (Exhibit 3). *"#LahuKaLagaan clearly highlighted the inherent biases in socio-political cultural norms in our country. I definitely feel like there's a moment happening right now, where we're reaching a tipping point to talk about what gender equality means and why it's important"* (Interview A, dated 8th April 2019)

In its diagnostic framing, #LahuKaLagaan underlined the lack of implementation of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which has been adopted by the country (Table 6).

Tweets questioned why the legislature has been ignorant about issues related to the promotion of women's health and well-being. Several posts by She Says implied that the unfair bracketing of sanitary napkins for tax purposes is of concern because the government does not recognize the purpose of sanitary products as essential. Posts communicated a distrust of the law enforcement system with mentions about women lacking access to health and hygiene during menstruation was framed as a significant health issue. Posts with people flashing sanitary napkins were put up, showcasing the need to speak up. (Exhibit 4) The NGO representatives asserted the need to preserve identity and dignity, resonating with the theme of Female Identity within the frame. *"#LahuKaLagaan was a step forward in educating and empowering women to speak up ... for doing what's right and hold the values of dignity and self-identity"*. - (Interview A, 8th April 2019)

She Says emphasis upon objectives and actions for prognostically framing the issue

She Says used prognostic framing more than diagnostic framing and talked about clear

goals and aims. In order to mitigate the feelings of gender injustice reflected in tweets on reasons for levying the blood tax, use of solidarity gave the organization widespread engagement and momentum in order to result in legislative action. Both Solidarity and Actions framed the solution to the tax issue.

"#LahuKaLagaan moved ahead from just retweeting hashtags on Twitter. Its call for action was direct- calling out the elite decision-makers to be accountable." - (Interview E, dated 26th April 2019)

#LahuKaLagaan digitally advocates Real Action as opposed to Slacktivism

The campaign emphasizes making real change by taking action, particularly concerning government policy. (Table 6) countering the perception of hashtag activism as a lazy, armchair, and narcissistic (slacktivism).

"It is difficult to gauge how successful hashtag activism is, as much of it aims to change social attitudes rather than changing legislation. #LahuKaLagaan was action-driven; the strategy was to break bigger issues into smaller achievable steps/actions that can translate our ideas across." - (Interview A, dated 8th April 2019).

The NGO framed the issue to advocate sanitary napkin as a necessity item instead of a luxury by offering 100% tax exclusion for the production and distribution of environment and health-friendly pads. #LahuKaLagaan used solidarity as a theme to form a collective of advocates, influencers, civil society with shared views. One of their twitter posts asked the public to "showcase what all products they consider as a luxury in their life." (Exhibit 6). Furthering the solidarity frame, celebrities and influencers were part of the campaign. A post about Mirror Now #Exclusive: WCD Minister @Manekagandhibjp defends #LahuKaLagaan; says 12% tax on sanitary pads is fine! @fayedsouza #CheaperSanitaryPads. Social Media Entertainment (SME) creators-influencers, Youtubers, were requested to send tweets to the Finance Minister for making sanitary napkins tax-free under the GST bill. Comedians Kenny Sebastian, Mallika Dua, Kanan Gill, Rohan Joshi, Sorabh Pant encouraged their followers to tweet, post and share. (Exhibit 6). She Says tweeted about how NGO Youth Ki Awaaz and some other prominent personalities met the Finance Minister illustrating other NGOs' commitment

to the cause, reinforcing solidarity as a key theme in prognostic framing.

"Social media has progressed from a predominant tool for social interaction to an important tool for organizing solidarity. #LahukaLagaan brought the celebrity power to bring collective attention to the issue"- (Interview E, dated 13th April 2019)

Another advocate said: "#LahukaLagaan has contributed in community building and mobilization of people towards gender issues. With a clear strategy at hand, we aimed at creating a common voice" (Interview G, dated 22nd April 2019).

Using social media to motivate participation

#LahuKaLagaan's motivational framing centred around open conversation and forming a chain of participants for sustained pressure. In India, menstruation is not talked about aloud, but this campaign reversed it. The participation included famous stand-up comedians, radio and music show hosts, soap opera stars, and fashion models who also took to Twitter to urge the Finance Minister to consider their appeal for tax-free sanitary pads and improved sanitation facilities in rural areas. Social Participation was found as the dominant theme in motivational framing.

Beyond Internal Publics towards Media Mileage

Internal publics of She Says tweeted effectively to create a spill over to the external publics such as the mass media. Sustained media coverage was found in Indian English dailies like The Hindustan Times, Times of India, The Economic Times Daily News & Analysis, Hindustan Times, and The Economic Times and articles on nature and cause of the campaign appeared on the websites of The New York Times, Guardian and The Huffington Post (Saxena 2017; Sharma 2019). Increased visibility in the media not only spread awareness but also fuelled the online engagement, sharpening the focus on the campaign building imminent pressure towards the outcomes. The blood tax campaign also reduced the hesitation on communication menstruation amongst the legislators as it asked the parliamentarians to participate via its posts (Exhibit 7).

"Participation marketing doesn't just entail getting audiences to subscribe to a newsletter or

like a social media post. It's about following a consumers' journey and becoming a part of their lives, thus evolving the brand narrative. #LahukaLagaan asked for joining brand-initiated conversations/posting brand-solicited messages. (Interview I, dated 28th April 2019).

Even after the tax was exempted, the campaigns urged people to remain motivated and continue to fight for menstrual awareness and rights.

#LahuKaLagaan bridged conversations, amplified the issue significantly, and transformed to a certain extent

Frame bridging was visible in tweets that linked issues surrounding #LahuKaLagaan to women facing injustice and neglect. One of the most prominent examples was comparing, highlighting the consequences of non-accessibility of menstrual hygiene products on women's education, health, and overall development. (Exhibit 8). Amplification was equally notable. Many examples were found of how #LahuKaLagaan's Twitter communication amplified its framing through clarification and invigoration. Some posts included videos that dramatized the injustice and showed how women in rural areas use unhygienic alternatives due to lack of access to sanitary napkins. (Exhibit 8). Collective and amplified voice create impact, then it's no longer just about an NGO fighting. It became a cool thing to talk about; a people's movement. People questioned the composition of the finance ministry – it had only one woman on it. They had multiple demands, classifying sanitary napkins as an essential commodity, ensuring a price ceiling, and making it tax-free. They even filed multiple RTIs to look at the government schemes, such as the National Rural Health Mission, which were supposed to distribute sanitary napkins in villages (Exhibit 9). She Says used frame extension too. From media advocates to celebrities or people at large, #LahuKaLagaan tried to increase its base of supporters. For example, as the campaign progressed, She Says started offline advocacy efforts among college students. (Exhibit 10). To claim transformation will be premature given that the period for this study extended only till the campaign resulted in the desired outcome. Menstrual hygiene is closely associated with gender equality and female empowerment through its direct influence on women's reproductive health, education, and

labour. It brings it to the forefront of international development concerns represented in UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 5-6). The movement aims to move beyond a legislative action and work towards achieving the SDG-5. It managed to break the taboo, raise mass awareness about the issue, and mobilize people to lend their voice to it.

As advocates for #LahukaLagaan, we followed the following design tools to make a campaign effective: a) Issue Building by Amplification: tell new recruits what is wrong and why b) Highlighting Sustainable Solutions: present a solution to the existing issue and c) Driving Motivation: give people a reason to join collective action. (Interview I, dated 28th April 2019).

CONCLUSION

In the case of non-governmental organizations, digital advocacy can motivate collective action, but only if new media tools are organized intentionally and maintained consistently in a campaign. Since networked communication gives young people opportunities to enter new communities, the advocacy organizations should create a participatory loop to run a campaign. Developing a campaign based on a mix of diagnostic-prognostic or prognostic - motivational framing of issues can result in a wider reach of the message as people today don't only consume the mainstream agenda but are actively co-constructing the contents of the civic imagination. The framing analysis of #LahuKaLagaan underlines the importance of using multiple framing processes in addition to issuing specific themes that make digital advocacy an effective strategy.

LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is limited to a digital advocacy campaign on a specific gender-based issue in order to analyse the strategic use of frames. It would be useful to know how organizations, NGO's in particular apply frame extension in digital advocacy in further research studies. We could find a few posts exemplifying frame transformation. Additional research needs to examine salience of frame transformation in digital advocacy campaigns on gender to find the efficacy of the device in while planning and executing a short-term campaign with WUNC properties. #LahuKaLagaan is an example of how organizations are combining

principles of offline and grassroots activism with new media tools in order to create advocacy campaigns that may have global reach and outcomes. With increasing new media consumption across geodemographics of India, digital advocacy has evolved as an effective form and a visible marker of socio-political change.

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Annexure I (Interview Details)

S.No	Interviewee	Title	Date
1	A	Gender Advocacy Director, She Says	8 th April, 2019
2	B	PIL Activist	22 nd April, 2019
3	C	Gender Advocate	23 rd April, 2019
4	D	Communication Researcher	15 th April 2019
5	E	Corporate Communications, Goonj	13 th April, 2019
6	F	Communications Director, She Says	26 th April, 2019
7	G	Programme Director - Research, Advocacy and Communications, Azad Foundation	22 nd April, 2019
8	H	Founder & CEO, WAT Consult	26 th April, 2019
9	I	Founder, She Says	28 th April, 2019

Annexure II (Table 5-9)

a) DIAGNOSTIC FRAMING		
Tweet	Theme	Rationale
if beedis are tax-free, why not sanitary products? Expenses incurred by a woman on sanitary napkins. They are taxed up to 14.5% depending on states! No to #LahuKaLagaan! @arunjaitleypic.twitter.com/k1GawlewDD – She Says (@SheSaysIndia) April 18, 2017	Gender Injustice Unequal /Unfair treatment meted out to women based on discrimination between men and women.	Use of metaphors, analogies and comparisons with items consumed largely by men to pose critical questions on blood tax. The posts outlined the gender injustice of the taxation policy in the country.

<p>“It’s not like I signed up for a monthly blood subscription. It just happens. So why am I being punished for it?”</p> <p>— Comedian/actor Mallika Dua to Finance Minister Arun Jaitley, on India’s tax on sanitary napkins</p>		
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Table 5: Shows the illustrations of diagnostic framing in tweets of #LahuKaLagaan

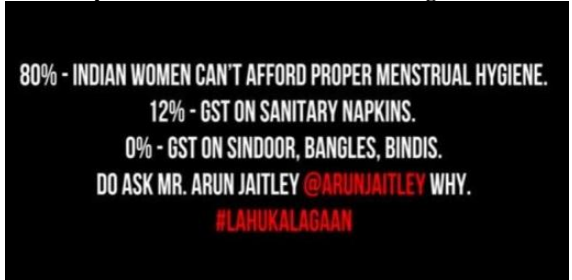

DIAGNOSTIC FRAMING		
Tweet	Theme	Rationale
<p>@SheSays dated 9th August 2017</p>  <p>Trisha Shetty @TrishaBShetty · 26 May 2017 Women havin access to health+sanitation is a cause deeply personal to me @SheSaysIndia has led efforts on taxfreeSN since 2016 #LahuKaLagaan</p> 	<p>Female Identity (Women want to see their human rights respected. Rights to personal safety, economic security and meaningful participation)</p>	<p>Tweets quoting data on magnitude and scale of the problem highlighting its gender specific nature. The posts highlighted that it is important to understand and accept that menstrual health is a public health issue.</p>

Table 6: Shows the illustrations of diagnostic framing in tweets of #LahuKaLagaan

PROGNOSTIC FRAMING		
Tweet	Theme	Rationale
<p>@SheSaysIndia Legal representations have been sent to government officials on behalf of women at large. These are few of our demands #LahuKaLagaan @arunjaitley5:42 PM - Apr 19, 2017</p>	<p>Actions (Political, Legislative for change in tax policy)</p>	<p>Tweets on what is being done about the demands put to the government, an update on day-to-day developments to bring about the policy change The campaign had posted its objective right in the beginning setting the tax exemption as a legislative action frame as the possible solution.</p>


 <p>Our Demands :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tax-Free Sanitary Napkins. • Including SNs as Essential Commodities under Essential Commodities Act. • Transparency and thorough implementation of menstrual hygiene schemes. • SN vending machines to be installed in public toilets, government offices and educational institutions. • Provide local SHGs with inexpensive machinery designed by Indian innovators to manufacture SNs. 		
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Table 7: Shows the illustrations of Prognostic Framing in tweets of #LahuKaLagaan


PROGNOSTIC FRAMING		
Tweet	Theme	Rationale
<p>@SheSays Mirror Now #Exclusive: WCD Minister @Manekagandhibjp defends #LahuKaLagaan; says 12% tax on sanitary pads is fine! @fayedsouza #CheaperSanitaryPads</p> 	<p>Solidarity</p>	<p>Presence of solidarity frame as mainstream news media handles , film and Social Media Entertainment (SME) content creators tweeted in support of the protest campaign.</p>

Table 8: Shows the illustrations of Prognostic Framing in tweets of #LahuKaLagaan

MOTIVATIONAL FRAMING		
Tweet	Theme	Rationale
<p>@SheSaysIndia, dated 12 June 2018 Dear @poonam_mahajan, you have been a stellar advocate for women. Do support our campaign #LahuKaLagaan to make sanitary napkins tax-free.</p>	<p>Participation (of bystander publics, the media, potential allies, and elite decision makers)</p>	<p>Asking all stakeholders to participate and break the taboos around talking about menstrual hygiene.</p>

Table 9: Shows the illustrations of Motivational Framing in tweets of #LahuKaLagaan

Annexure III (Exhibit1-10)



Exhibit 1: Sample tweets reflecting gender injustice framing



Exhibit 2: Sample tweets reflecting gender injustice framing

@fayedsouza, 11 Nov 2017
 In closing, a woman needs about 12 pads per month/ per women for half her life. Do the math. 75% of rural India survives on Rs 33 per day (Source: SECC). Also, NO UTERUS NO OPINION!#LahuKaLagaan
 181 replies 213 retweets 579 likes (Tweet 743)

Online Content Channels were partnered to create engaging content (Tweet 329)

Trisha Shetty
 @TrishaBShetty
 Huge win for us all -Sanitary napkins to be exempt from GST!Thank you, GST Council for doing what's right by the women of India & dropping the #lahukalagaan @SheSaysIndia had filed a PIL over this issue along with other prayers in 2017. (Tweet 1445)

Exhibit 3: Sample tweets reflecting gender injustice framing

@SheSays, dated 22 July 2018



Tweet No (1503)

@SheSays, dated 18th April 2017



Tweet No(432)

@SheSays, dated 8th February 2018



Exhibit 4: Sample tweets reflecting female identity framing-use of celebrities and research studies

She Says @SheSaysIndia · 18 Apr 2017

Time to do away with the tax on Sanitary Napkins. Mr @arunjaitley, Sanitary Napkins must be affordable & accessible. Say no to #LahuKaLagaan.(Tweet 816)

We would like to thank @MoHFW_INDIA for taking cognizance of our representation to them to make sanitary napkins tax-free. #LahuKaLagaan

SheSays@SheSaysIndia June 14, 2017 (Tweet 1020)

@SheSays

Update on the PIL filed by She Says India for tax-free Sanitary. A division bench of Justices heard the matter earlier today and recognized the seriousness of the issue that affects half of India's population. #LahuKaLagaan #morepower.(Tweet 1029)

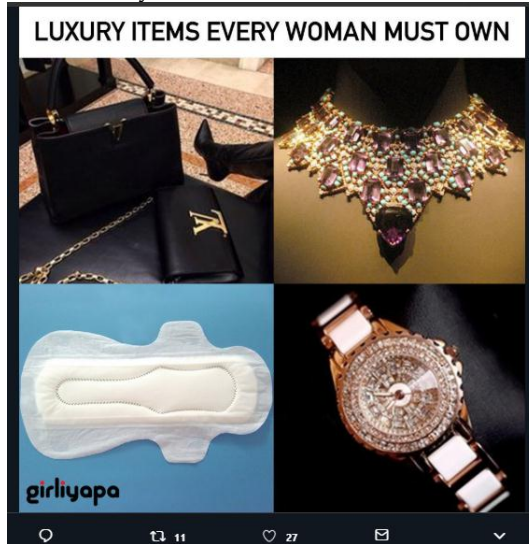
@SheSays, dated 19 June, 2017



Finance Minister Arun Jaitley with petition activist (Tweet 842)

Exhibit 5: Sample tweets reflecting action framing

@SheSays , dated 22nd November 2017



Use of hyperbole to draw comparisons (Tweet 923)

@SheSays , dated 4th July 2017



News coverage across national channels



Exhibit 6: Sample tweets reflecting solidarity framing



She Says @SheSaysIndia, February 3, 2018

Bollywood has taken the brilliant initiative of posing and posting photos to social media with sanitary napkins in an effort to dispel the strong stigma surrounding menstruation, products for which carry an unnecessary tax. (Tweet 1071)

Congress President Sonia Gandhi supported a Change.org petition, started by Congress MP Sushmita Dev., for scrapping of tax on sanitary napkins.

Shalini Thackeray @ThakareShalini, Apr 20, 2017 (Tweet 283)

Our fight results in budget for installation of sanitary napkin vending machines in BMC schools and toilets. #LahukaLagaan She Says @SheSaysIndia, February 22, 2018 (Tweet 1322)

Exhibit 7: Sample tweets reflecting participation framing

@SheSays India

When It Comes To #MenstrualHealth In #India, There Are A Number Of Barriers, While Many Are Still Stuck With Taboo And Absurd Superstitions, Others Simply Don't Have Access To #SanitaryPads, ActionAidUSA, @ActionAidUSA August 3, 2017

@SheSays India

India should get rid of an unpopular 12% tax on feminine products. This will allow more women and girls to have access to these products and do everyday things like go to work and school. #LahuKaLagaan, ActionAidUK, @ActionAidUK July 23, 2017

@SheSays India

#PeriodPoverty means millions of women and girls across the world are still denied the right to manage their own natural bodily cycles with dignity and control. #MyBodyIsMine #LahuKaLagaan, July 30, 2017

Exhibit 8: Sample tweets reflecting frame alignment-bridging

@SheSaysIndia RJ Sukriti

@RjSukriti May 25, 2017

#SanitaryNapkins are much more imp than #Bindis & #Sindoor. Why is it so difficult to understand? #LahukaLagaan #GST #gstcouncilSheSays (Tweet 288)

Exhibit 9: Sample tweet reflecting frame alignment-alignment

(November 27, 2017).

She Says@SheSaysIndia Nov 27

She Says' Gender Advocacy Director, Prageeyaa Khanna, having a discussion with students from University of Exeter and Mumbai. This one is on the significance of Advocacy and the journey of how the hashtag #LahuKaLagaan translated into public interest litigation.

@SheSays, dated 6th July 2017

She activist Trisha took part in prime time offline news debates on National news channels like CNN-IBN, MirrorNow, and AajTak etc. (Tweet 373)



Exhibit 10: Sample tweet reflecting frame alignment-extension
