International Journal of Economic Practices and Theories (IJEPT)
ISSN: 2247-7225
Volume 2026, Issue 1

Print as a Feminist Public Sphere: Indian Women's Journals and the Making of Gendered Consciousness

[1]Swapnil Sharma, [2]Dr. Jyoti Dwivedi

[1]Research Scholar of History Sharda School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sharda University

[2]Assistant Professor Sharda School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sharda University

Corresponding Author* Swapnil Sharma

Abstract:

Indian women's periodicals played an important role in shaping women's participation in public debates, challenging established gender norms and creating alternative spaces for feminist expression. However, their historical contribution to the development of gendered consciousness and its relevance to contemporary digital feminism require further conceptual examination. This paper examines how Indian women's periodicals functioned as a feminist public sphere and explores how their historical role contributes to understanding gendered consciousness in contemporary India. Drawing on feminist critiques of the public sphere and the concept of counterpublics, it investigates how print culture enabled women to engage with debates on education, marriage, employment and citizenship despite their limited access to formal public institutions. The study uses a qualitative, interpretive research design based on a purposively selected corpus of fifty scholarly sources published between 1986 and 2024. The sources were analysed through reflexive thematic analysis, supported by source, theoretical and investigator triangulation. Five major themes emerged: periodicals as counterpublic spaces; reform, education and domesticity; intersectional exclusions; nationalism and transnational networks; and continuities between print-based and digital feminism. The findings show that women's periodicals widened opportunities for participation and fostered communities of female readers, while also reproducing caste, class and religious hierarchies and frequently associating women's emancipation with reformist and nationalist agendas. Contemporary digital hashtag publics reflect both the emancipatory possibilities and structural exclusions inherited from print-based feminist spaces. The paper argues that gendered consciousness in India is best understood as a historically cumulative, contested and multidimensional process rather than a linear progression towards emancipation. It establishes a conceptual connection between the history of women's print culture and contemporary digital feminist scholarship, highlighting the continuing significance of historical media spaces in understanding the formation and transformation of feminist public engagement in India.

Keywords: Feminism, Periodicals, Counterpublics, Nationalism, Intersectionality, Consciousness.

Introduction

Modern democratic participation depends on citizens' ability to express opinions, exchange ideas and influence collective decisions. However, the classical conception of the public sphere does not adequately account for the historical exclusion of women from public discussions. Feminist perspectives challenge this limitation by demonstrating that supposedly universal spaces of public debate have been structured by gender and class inequalities (Fraser, 1990). The concept of subaltern counterpublics explains how marginalized groups establish alternative communicative spaces to articulate their identities, interests and demands. These spaces enable excluded communities to develop alternative interpretations of social realities and challenge dominant narratives. The relationship between media and democratic communication highlights the importance of circulation and accessibility in shaping public opinion (Habermas, 2006). Thus, meaningful participation requires not merely formal rights but also accessible spaces in which marginalized voices can be expressed, recognized and circulated. This provides the theoretical foundation for examining women's periodicals in India as historical sites of feminist communication and public engagement. The exclusion of women from public life is closely connected to the gendered division between public and private spheres. Gender is not simply a social distinction but a fundamental mechanism through which relationships of power and inequality are organized

(Scott, 1986). Women's participation in public communication has historically been shaped by restrictions on mobility, social expectations and unequal access to institutional spaces. Contemporary research further demonstrates that public spaces remain unevenly accessible in terms of safety, visibility and participation (Gqola et al., 2024). Historically, these restrictions made print particularly significant for women in India. Periodicals could enter domestic spaces, circulate across geographical boundaries and facilitate intellectual engagement without requiring physical participation in public assemblies. Print therefore provided an alternative means of negotiating the boundaries between domestic restrictions and public expression.

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India, women's periodicals emerged as important platforms for social reform, education and feminist-nationalist engagement. Their significance extended beyond the circulation of information to the articulation of women's experiences and political concerns. For instance, the Hindi periodical Stri Darpan and Rameshwari Nehru's travels to Rangoon demonstrate how women's print networks connected feminist-nationalist ideas with wider political developments (Nijhawan, 2012). Affordable publication, postal circulation, collective reading practices and pseudonymous authorship further facilitated women's engagement with print. These developments expanded opportunities for women to participate in intellectual and political discussions. Access remained unequal because editorial authority, financial resources and literacy were concentrated among particular social groups. Women's periodicals simultaneously challenged gender-based exclusion and reproduced certain class, caste, religious and regional hierarchies. They must therefore be understood as important but internally unequal spaces of feminist participation. The historical development of print also offers an important perspective for understanding contemporary digital feminism. Digital platforms have created new opportunities for women to challenge sexism, communicate experiences and organize collective campaigns (Munro, 2013). However, technological development does not automatically ensure democratic or inclusive participation. The structural, representational and interactional dimensions of communication continue to influence whose voices become visible and influential (Dahlgren, 2005). This suggests that digital feminist spaces confront several questions that were already present in print-based communication, particularly concerning ownership, accessibility, representation and exclusion. Examining historical and contemporary media together therefore helps establish whether digital feminism represents a fundamental transformation or an extension of earlier struggles for communicative participation. The study brings together three interconnected theoretical perspectives: the feminist public sphere, intersectionality and layered gendered consciousness.

The feminist public sphere provides a framework for understanding how women created alternative spaces for expressing their experiences and challenging dominant narratives. Intersectionality examines how caste, class, religion, language and regional inequalities shaped women's unequal access to these spaces. The concept of layered gendered consciousness further explains how communication contributes to the recognition, articulation and collective questioning of gender-based inequalities. Gendered consciousness is therefore understood as a historically changing and socially differentiated process rather than a uniform experience shared by all women. This approach avoids treating women's periodicals either as universally emancipatory institutions or as exclusively elite spaces. Instead, it examines their achievements alongside the structural inequalities that influenced participation and representation. Despite existing research on individual periodicals, regional print cultures and contemporary digital activism, an integrated understanding connecting India's women's print history with feminist public sphere theory, intersectionality and digital participation remains limited. Historical studies frequently concentrate on particular publications, languages or geographical regions, although contemporary discussions of digital feminism often overlook the historical foundations of women's mediated communication. Similarly, research on gender inequality in India does not always examine the earlier communicative spaces through which women's experiences and demands were articulated. This separation limits an understanding of how feminist public participation has evolved across different media. Addressing this gap, the present study connects historical and contemporary developments by examining the mechanisms of access, representation, gatekeeping and exclusion. The paper contributes an integrated account of women's participation in public communication while recognising the unequal conditions under which feminist voices have emerged. It also establishes the importance of preserving women's print histories and addressing language, accessibility, safety and ownership in contemporary digital spaces. Therefore, the paper makes an attempt to

analyse how Indian women's journals functioned as a feminist public sphere, how far they widened and how far they limited women's participation in public debate, and how their legacies shape the formation of gendered consciousness in India, including in the digital feminist publics of the present. In doing so, it treats periodicals neither as mirrors of social change nor as its sole engine, but as arenas in which meanings about womanhood were produced, contested and circulated under unequal conditions.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative, interpretive research approach employing systematic interpretive review and qualitative document analysis (QDA) to examine the historical development of Indian women's periodicals and their contribution to the formation of gendered consciousness (Snyder, 2019; Bowen, 2009). The analysis is guided by an integrated theoretical perspective combining feminist public sphere theory, counterpublic theory, intersectionality and feminist critical discourse analysis. These perspectives are used to examine women's participation in print culture, the construction of alternative public spaces, intersecting social exclusions and the relationship between feminist expression, nationalism and contemporary digital activism. Scholarly sources were identified through structured searches of academic databases and journal platforms, including Scopus, Web of Science, JSTOR, Project MUSE, Cambridge Core, Wiley Online Library, SAGE Journals and Taylor & Francis Online, with Google Scholar used for supplementary citation tracking. The search strategy employed combinations of terms such as "feminist public sphere," "counterpublics," "women's periodicals," "Indian print culture," "gendered consciousness," "intersectionality," "nationalism and feminism," and "digital feminism." The search and selection process covered publications between 1986 and 2024. Screening involved three stages: initial title and source screening for relevance, full-text assessment against the inclusion criteria, and final thematic eligibility screening. The inclusion criteria required sources to be published in English, peer-reviewed or issued by recognized scholarly presses, and authored by non-government researchers or scholars, with substantive relevance to women's print culture, feminist public spheres, gender relations in India or the theoretical perspectives employed in the study. Opinion pieces, blogs, duplicate publications and sources without direct relevance to the research objectives were excluded. Following the selection process, fifty scholarly sources were retained, comprising forty substantive sources and ten methodological sources. The forty substantive sources constituted the core analytical corpus, although the remaining ten sources provided methodological guidance and support for the research design and analytical procedures. The substantive corpus was examined through reflexive thematic analysis, involving repeated reading, coding, categorization, theme development and interpretive refinement. The analysis followed an iterative process in which themes were constructed through engagement with the literature rather than treated as predetermined categories (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Five interconnected themes were developed to examine the formation of feminist publics, social reform and domesticity, intersectional exclusions, nationalism and transnational feminist networks, and the relationship between print and digital feminist publics. A feminist critical discourse perspective was employed to examine how language, representation and social power shaped the construction of femininity and women's public participation (Lazar, 2007). Triangulation was undertaken by comparing evidence across disciplinary sources, theoretical perspectives and the authors' independent interpretations (Carter et al., 2014). Research trustworthiness was strengthened through an analytical audit trail, peer debriefing and attention to credibility, sincerity and meaningful coherence (Nowell et al., 2017; Tracy, 2010). Researcher reflexivity was maintained throughout the process, with attention to how disciplinary positions and interpretive assumptions influenced source selection, coding, thematic development and analytical emphasis. The study offers an interpretation of Indian women's print culture as a historically situated and contested feminist public sphere. It does not seek to establish causal relationships or claim comprehensive representation of all women's experiences. Instead, it examines how gendered consciousness was articulated, negotiated and transformed through print-based participation and how its historical legacies continue to inform contemporary feminist communication.

Results and Discussion

Periodicals as Counterpublic Arenas

The first theme examines whether women's periodicals can be understood as counterpublic arenas. Table 1 and Figure 1 set out how the forty substantive sources distribute across the five themes developed in this study.

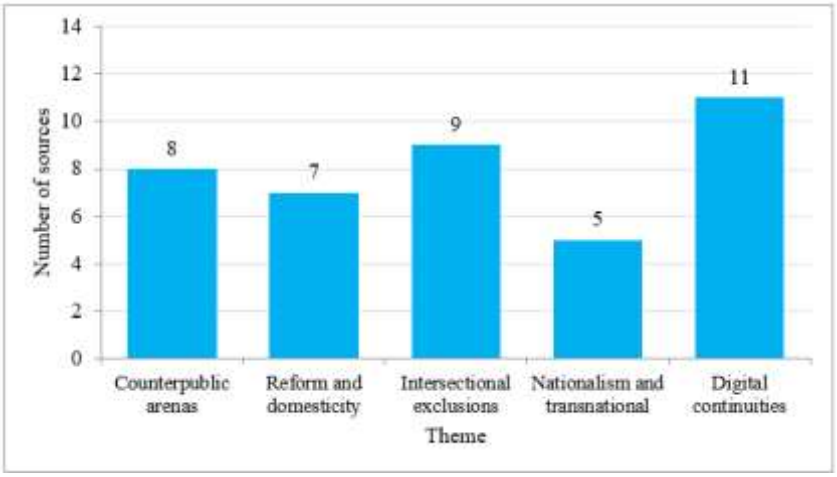
These counts indicate the distribution of scholarly attention; they do not rank the themes by importance. The largest clusters concern digital continuities (eleven sources) and intersectional exclusions (nine), although work on nationalism and transnational networks is the smallest (five). This distribution is also analytically relevant. Much of the literature that theorizes publics and counterpublics is conceptual or contemporary, whereas the studies that examine particular Indian periodicals are fewer and tend to appear under the reform and nationalism themes. This suggests that the concept of the counterpublic is more fully developed in theory than it has been tested against the Indian archive, which is one reason why this section begins from the concept and then examines how far periodicals fit it.

Table 1: **Thematic Structure of the Forty Substantive Sources**

Theme	Sources (n)	Publication span	Central analytic claim
Periodicals as counterpublic arenas	8	1990–2024	Print created addressable women's publics, but their "counter" character depended on discourse, patronage and cost.
Reform, education and domesticity	7	1986–2023	Reform gave women a legitimate way into print but also limited what could be said.
Intersectional exclusions	9	1986–2022	Caste, class and religion structured who could read, write and be represented in the feminist public.
Nationalism, empire and transnational networks	5	1987–2022	The women's question was entangled with nationalist and imperial agendas and with cross-border solidarity.
Print and digital continuities	11	2002–2021	Digital feminist publics repeat the promise and the exclusions of print under new commercial conditions.
Total	40	1986–2024	Ten methodological sources were excluded from coding.

Note. Themes were assigned by each source's primary analytic focus.

Figure 1: **Distribution of Substantive Sources by Primary Theme**



Note. Source: authors' thematic coding of the substantive corpus (n = 40).

The formation of a public sphere through women's periodicals in colonial India can be traced through the circulation of printed texts, the development of shared readerships and the emergence of collective discussions beyond domestic boundaries. A public does not necessarily emerge through formal membership or institutional recognition; rather, it develops when texts circulate among strangers and establish continuing relationships between writers and readers (Warner, 2002). The growth of women's print culture in India provides historical evidence of this process. Bamabodhini Patrika, established in Calcutta in 1863, became an important Bengali periodical addressing women's education and social conditions. The periodical continued publication, with interruptions, until 1922 and provided a platform for discussions concerning women's social position and education. Similarly, Stri Darpan, launched in Allahabad in 1909 under the editorship of Rameshwari Nehru, developed a Hindi readership through regular publication and engagement with women's issues. It reportedly circulated among approximately 1,000–2,000 subscribers and included editorials, political news, readers' letters, book reviews, poetry, biographies, short stories and discussions of social reform and nationalism (Nijhawan, 2012). These publications connected women across households and geographical locations through common discussions and recurring debates., periodicals did more than circulate individual opinions; they helped establish shared readerships and transformed isolated readers into participants in a wider communicative community.

The political significance of women's periodicals also emerged from their ability to redefine issues traditionally confined to domestic life. By addressing women as readers and treating their experiences as legitimate subjects of public discussion, these publications challenged the assumption that women's concerns belonged exclusively within the household. Discussions concerning household management, children's education, widowhood, marriage, religious practices and women's social responsibilities acquired wider significance when published and circulated among readers. Stri Darpan, for example, combined domestic advice with political news, nationalist discussions, literary contributions and debates concerning women's social position (Nijhawan, 2012). Such discussions were not necessarily radical in their content, but their movement from private conversations into printed debate altered the boundaries of public participation. This development reflects the feminist critique of the conventional public sphere, particularly the argument that issues associated with domestic life must also be recognized as matters of public concern. Women's periodicals therefore created opportunities to question established gender roles while remaining within the social conventions of colonial India.

However, classifying all women's periodicals as counterpublics requires critical examination. Counterpublics should be understood through the nature of their discourse and their relationship with dominant publics rather than simply through the identities of their participants (Asen, 2000). This distinction is particularly relevant to the Indian experience because several women's publications operated within existing reformist and patriarchal frameworks. Male reformers, educated families and influential patrons sometimes shaped editorial policies, financial arrangements and intellectual direction. The Indian Ladies Magazine, established in Madras in 1901 under the editorship of Kamala Satthianadhan, provides an important example. Published monthly until 1918 and subsequently revived between 1927 and 1938, it addressed women's education, social reform, domestic responsibilities and changing social roles. Its contributors included prominent figures such as Sarojini Naidu (Puri, 2023; Logan, 2024). Its emphasis on modernizing womanhood did not necessarily challenge the conventional separation between domestic and public responsibilities. The presence of women readers and contributors therefore did not automatically make every publication oppositional. Some journals questioned restrictions surrounding women's education, marriage and widowhood, although others reinforced ideals of domestic responsibility, moral conduct and respectable womanhood. Their political character varied according to editorial priorities, social influences and the extent to which they challenged established norms.

The distinction between enclaves, counterpublics and satellite publics provides a further explanation of these differences (Squires, 2002). Enclaves offer marginalized groups relatively protected spaces for internal discussion, whereas counterpublics engage with and challenge dominant discourses. Satellite publics, in contrast, maintain greater separation from dominant communicative spaces. Women's periodicals performed these different functions through their varied editorial content. Publications addressing domestic practices, health, education and social conduct created spaces for communication among women, although discussions of colonial policies, legislation, nationalist politics and social reform extended their engagement with wider public

debates. Stri Darpan offers a particularly relevant example because it combined discussions of domestic life with political reporting and nationalist engagement. Its editor, Rameshwari Nehru, also used the publication to circulate experiences of women's mobilization in Burma. Her account of Burmese women, published in 1920, connected women's social conditions with questions of political participation and nationalist identity (Nijhawan, 2012). Such developments demonstrate that internal communication and outward political engagement were interconnected. Women's periodicals could provide spaces for discussing shared experiences although extending those concerns into wider political debates. The expansion of women's print culture also needs to be examined through unequal access to publication and participation. Public expression does not necessarily produce equality when the resources and institutions governing communication remain concentrated among privileged groups (Banaji, 2024). Historically, literacy, financial resources, editorial authority and family support significantly influenced women's ability to participate in print culture. English-language publications such as The Indian Ladies Magazine primarily reached educated and relatively privileged sections of society, although access to regional-language publications was also shaped by literacy, economic position and geographical location. Similarly, Stri Darpan addressed an educated readership, although its discussions extended to wider questions of women's social and political participation (Nijhawan, 2012). These limitations raise important questions about the representation of lower-caste women, working women and women from religious and regional minorities. Editorial control and financial dependence influenced which subjects received attention and which experiences remained underrepresented. Women's periodicals expanded opportunities for public expression without eliminating the structural inequalities that shaped participation. Their historical significance must therefore be accessed through both their contribution to women's communication and the social limitations governing access to it. These historical examples demonstrate that women's periodicals created important but internally differentiated spaces of public communication in colonial India. Publications such as Bamabodhini Patrika, Stri Darpan and The Indian Ladies' Magazine contributed to the circulation of ideas concerning education, social reform, domestic responsibilities, nationalism and women's public participation. However, their contribution was shaped by differences in language, readership, editorial authority, class position and political orientation. Their role in developing gendered consciousness should therefore not be understood as the transmission of a uniform feminist ideology. Rather, they established communicative spaces through which women could recognize shared concerns, articulate experiences and negotiate changing social identities. This historical understanding provides a basis for examining the substantive content of women's periodicals, particularly their debates on social reform, education and domesticity.

Reform, Education and Domesticity: Negotiating Women's Entry into Public Life

The debates surrounding social reform, education and domesticity constituted the central themes through which women's participation in colonial Indian print culture developed. These subjects were significant because they connected women's social position with broader questions of colonial modernity, cultural identity and the restructuring of Indian society. Before women gained greater opportunities to represent their experiences through print, colonial administrators, male reformers and nationalist thinkers had already constructed competing images of Indian womanhood. These representations frequently portrayed women either as symbols of Indian cultural tradition or as evidence of the perceived backwardness of indigenous society. Colonial representations included the devoted Hindu wife, the self-sacrificing widow and the figure of the sati, alongside depictions of the Indian woman as socially oppressed or culturally subordinate. Such representations were not neutral descriptions; they reflected the political and ideological interests of colonial rule and debates over Indian social reform (Sen, 2001). Women's entry into print therefore involved more than acquiring literacy or contributing to literary discussions. It provided an opportunity to challenge externally constructed identities, reinterpret social expectations and establish women's experiences as legitimate sources of public knowledge. In this context, women's writing gradually became a means of negotiating the relationship between social identity, cultural authority and political representation.

The household occupied a particularly important position in these debates because it represented both the principal target of social reform and a major site of patriarchal authority. Discussions concerning marriage, child-rearing, household expenditure, women's conduct and relations between husbands and wives reflected

wider disagreements about the organization of family life under colonial modernity. Advice literature was especially significant because it translated abstract reformist ideas into everyday expectations governing women's behaviour. Research on late nineteenth-century Bengal demonstrates that male-authored advice manuals frequently sought to reorganize patriarchal domestic arrangements in response to colonial social changes, whereas women authors attempted to reinterpret these expectations and negotiate greater authority within the household (Walsh, 1997). This distinction reveals that domesticity was not simply a sphere of female confinement; it was also an arena in which competing ideas about gender, authority and social change were produced. Discussions of household management and child-rearing could reinforce conventional gender roles, but they could also establish women's knowledge and experience as valuable forms of social authority. The domestic sphere became an important location from which women could negotiate wider questions of social recognition and participation.

Education represented another crucial dimension of this transformation because it connected women's intellectual development with debates about family reform, social advancement and individual agency. The emergence of the educated Indian woman, however, involved a complex negotiation between modern education and established cultural expectations. Analysis of the Indian Ladies' Magazine during its first publication period (1901–1918) demonstrates how editorial discussions of education and social reform contributed to the construction of the New Indian Woman. Under Kamala Satthianadhan's editorship, the magazine encouraged intellectual engagement, developed a community of readers and promoted women's social advancement (Puri, 2022). The ideal of the New Indian Woman remained carefully negotiated: she was expected to acquire an education and intellectual competence while continuing to fulfil domestic and familial responsibilities. This dual expectation reveals the limitations of colonial-era reform because women's advancement was frequently justified through its perceived benefits for the household and society rather than through their independent rights and aspirations. At the same time, the increasing acceptance of women's education created opportunities to challenge intellectual dependency and expand women's participation in public communication. Education thus operated simultaneously as an instrument of social reform and a means of developing women's capacity to question established inequalities.

The relationship between domestic responsibility and women's agency can also be understood through the concept of patriarchal bargains. Women's strategies for negotiating power are shaped by the specific social arrangements within which they seek security, recognition and limited autonomy (Kandiyoti, 1988). In colonial India, presenting female education as beneficial to family welfare could provide women with a socially acceptable justification for acquiring knowledge, developing intellectual skills and entering public discussions. Such negotiations were not necessarily expressions of complete submission; they could also represent practical strategies for expanding opportunities within restrictive social arrangements. However, these strategies carried limitations because women's newly acquired authority often remained dependent on their ability to fulfil established expectations of domestic responsibility. The same educational achievement could therefore be interpreted as strengthening family life or as increasing women's independent capacity for decision-making. This tension demonstrates that women's entry into public life did not always require an immediate rejection of domestic identities. Instead, it frequently involved renegotiating the meaning of those identities and expanding the possibilities available within them. The relationship between education, resources and agency further demonstrates why women's empowerment cannot be measured simply through access to literacy or public discussion. Empowerment involves the ability to make meaningful strategic life choices through the interaction of resources, agency and achievements (Kabeer, 1999). In the context of women's print participation, education and literacy constituted essential resources, although writing, editing, intellectual exchange and public argument represented expressions of agency. However, the actual outcomes depended on whether women possessed the financial means, institutional opportunities and social support necessary to exercise these capacities. Access to education did not automatically translate into economic independence, political influence or control over household decisions. The distinction is important because it shifts the analysis from the assumption that education automatically liberated women towards examining how educational opportunities were distributed and what forms of autonomy they actually produced. Women's participation in print culture therefore

represented an important development in gendered consciousness, although its benefits remained uneven across social and economic groups.

The continuing relationship between resources and women's agency is also visible in contemporary discussions of economic participation. Evidence concerning women's financial inclusion in India indicates that participation in formal financial systems is influenced by individual circumstances, household conditions and institutional arrangements (Govindapuram et al., 2023). Although this research addresses contemporary financial participation rather than historical print culture, it reinforces the importance of examining the material conditions underlying women's agency. The historical emphasis on education, employment and domestic reform similarly reflected aspirations whose realization depended on access to resources and supportive institutions. Women's ability to translate knowledge into meaningful choices has therefore remained connected to broader questions of economic opportunity, household authority and institutional accessibility. The comparison does not establish that colonial and contemporary conditions are identical; rather, it highlights the continuing analytical importance of distinguishing between the formal recognition of women's rights and their practical ability to exercise them. The debates on reform, education and domesticity reveal the contradictory character of women's entry into public communication in colonial India. Reformist discourse created opportunities for women to acquire education, participate in print and articulate concerns that had previously received limited public recognition. These opportunities were frequently conditioned by expectations that women's advancement should strengthen the family, preserve cultural respectability and contribute to national improvement. Women's gendered consciousness developed through both resistance to unequal social arrangements and negotiation with the domestic expectations that structured their participation. This dual character is essential for understanding the historical development of feminist communication because it demonstrates that women's public engagement was neither a straightforward movement towards emancipation nor merely an extension of patriarchal reform. Rather, it involved continuous negotiations over education, authority, identity and the meaning of women's participation in society.

Intersectional Exclusions in the Feminist Public

The feminist public sphere in colonial and modern India was shaped by unequal patterns of access, participation and representation, raising critical questions about whose experiences were acknowledged and whose concerns remained marginalized. Intersectionality provides an analytical framework for understanding these exclusions through the interconnected dimensions of gender, caste, class and religion. Access to women's periodicals was conditioned by literacy, language, economic resources, leisure and household support, which were unevenly distributed across social groups. The emerging feminist public was largely accessible to women who possessed the educational and material resources necessary to participate in print culture. The reformist agenda similarly reflected the priorities of those who controlled publication platforms, often privileging concerns related to domesticity, education, morality and respectable femininity while overlooking the experiences of socially disadvantaged women. Representations of the ideal Indian woman frequently emerged from particular upper-caste and middle-class social locations but were presented as universal feminine ideals. Such exclusions were not merely incidental but reflected the structural, political and representational dimensions of intersectionality, through which apparently inclusive public spaces reproduced existing social hierarchies (Crenshaw, 1991). The marginal position of certain women within dominant institutions also generated distinctive forms of knowledge. Women who participated in male-dominated spaces without receiving full recognition could identify contradictions within reformist and nationalist discourses, although their experiences differed significantly according to their social location. The perspective of an educated reformist woman, for instance, could not be equated with that of a domestic worker who remained excluded from periodical readership altogether (Collins, 1986).

The analytical approach adopted here is primarily intracategorical, examining the differences within the category of "woman" through the experiences of literate producers and readers of periodicals. Rather than claiming to represent all women, this approach investigates how gendered identities and public participation were shaped by intersecting social inequalities (McCall, 2005). Intersectionality is employed as a historically sensitive analytical perspective rather than a predetermined framework, recognising that caste, class, religion

and gender operate through context-specific relationships in India (Nash, 2008). This distinction is particularly important because social positioning, identity, collective attachments and normative value systems do not necessarily produce uniform experiences among women (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Although periodical readers shared a position as literate women, their understandings of reform, modernity and social change varied according to their caste affiliations, class locations, religious commitments and cultural values. Gender, caste and class must therefore be understood as distinct yet interacting systems of inequality rather than as separate disadvantages accumulated by individuals (Walby et al., 2012). In the Indian context, the regulation of women's sexuality, mobility, conduct and public appearance frequently operated as a mechanism for maintaining caste and community boundaries. Accordingly, periodicals promoting ideals of respectable femininity, domestic refinement and moral discipline could reproduce these boundaries, even when their explicit objectives involved women's education and emancipation. The ideal of the reformed woman was not socially neutral. It privileged particular forms of cultural respectability and implicitly excluded women whose lives and social practices did not conform to these expectations. Caste-based hierarchies of respectability further shaped the construction of femininity, as dominant social norms frequently classified Dalit sexuality as vulgar while positioning upper-caste conduct as the standard of respectable humanity. Dalit assertions of dignity therefore challenged not only gendered expectations but also the caste-based classifications through which social recognition was distributed (Paik, 2022).

These exclusions reveal that the expansion of women's participation in print culture did not necessarily produce an equally inclusive feminist public. The relationship between empowerment and control over communication platforms remains significant, as initiatives addressing women's advancement can reproduce unequal power relations when women are positioned primarily as recipients rather than as active producers of change (Mangurkar & Rangaswamy, 2022). This pattern offers a useful parallel with reformist periodicals, where women's emancipation was often articulated through channels controlled by particular social groups. The digital public sphere further demonstrates the persistence of these tensions. Dalit-Adivasi-Bahujan feminist interventions, including the circulation of the List of Sexual Harassers in Academia, challenged established feminist spaces by exposing the discomfort and resistance generated when marginalized women asserted alternative forms of political speech and accountability (Morais dos Santos Bruss, 2020). Such developments indicate that technological expansion and wider communication access do not automatically eliminate inequalities of recognition, authority and representation. Instead, marginalized groups continue to contest the boundaries of feminist publics across changing media environments. The historical experience of women's periodicals thus demonstrates that feminist consciousness in India developed not only through reformist initiatives but also through persistent challenges to the exclusions embedded within those initiatives. A comprehensive understanding of the feminist public must therefore examine both the opportunities created by print culture and the social hierarchies that restricted its reach. Widening access to a communication medium is not equivalent to widening the public that participates in it; meaningful inclusion requires the recognition of diverse social experiences, the redistribution of communicative authority and the questioning of normative ideals that privilege particular categories of women over others.

Nationalism, Empire and Transnational Feminist Networks

Women's periodicals in colonial India operated within the intersecting political contexts of British imperialism, the nationalist movement and emerging international feminist networks. These forces shaped women's opportunities for public expression and influenced the articulation of gendered consciousness. Colonial debates on social reform frequently positioned women as subjects of discussion rather than active participants. The controversy surrounding sati illustrates this contradiction, as colonial officials and indigenous male elites invoked women's status to negotiate questions of tradition, authority and civilization, although women's own perspectives remained marginalized (Mani, 1987). Women's contributions to periodicals therefore represented an intervention into a public sphere historically dominated by men. Their writings challenged established assumptions by presenting women as intellectual and political actors. Simultaneously, colonial representations frequently constructed Indian women as passive, oppressed and culturally homogeneous subjects. Such representations were critically questioned through feminist scholarship, which demonstrated how the category of

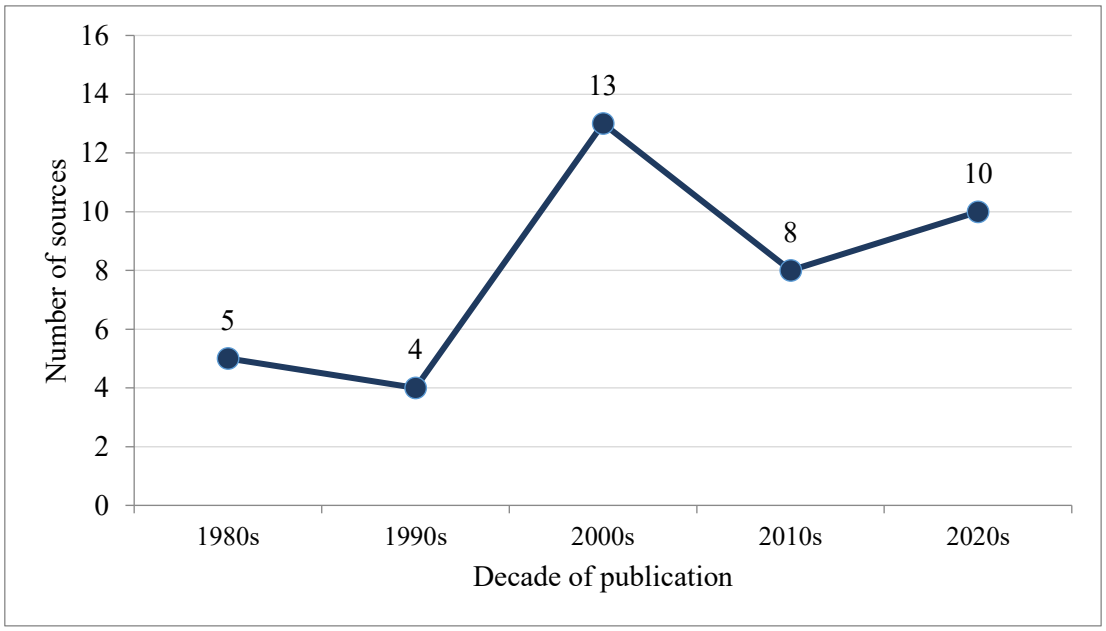
the "Third World woman" obscured differences in historical experience, social position and political agency (Mohanty, 1988). Women's periodicals provided an important counter-discourse by documenting diverse experiences and enabling women to articulate their own interpretations of social reform, education and emancipation. These publications were not entirely free from generalizations about Indian womanhood, revealing the continuing tension between individual experiences and collective representations. Transnational feminist networks significantly expanded the intellectual and political horizons of Indian women's periodicals. The Women's Indian Association, established in 1917, connected Indian women with international feminist movements, although its journal, Stri Dharma, became an important platform for negotiating women's rights, nationalist politics and international solidarity. The periodical communicated with Indian nationalists, international feminist allies and women's organizations, linking domestic demands for political and social rights with wider feminist campaigns (Tusan, 2003). However, international associations also generated concerns regarding national loyalty, particularly when women's demands were perceived as subordinate to or disruptive of the nationalist struggle. Print culture further enabled women to challenge restrictions on mobility and domestic confinement. Bengali women's travelogues, published in periodicals such as Bamabodhini Patrika, Bharati and Antahpur from the 1860s, provided accounts of travel and encounters beyond the household. These writings challenged conventional ideals of female immobility and expanded women's participation in Bengali literary and public culture, although opportunities remained conditioned by gender and class (Harder, 2020). Transnational solidarity, therefore, was not simply the transfer of feminist ideas from one region to another. It involved selective engagement, translation and negotiation across unequal political and social contexts. Meaningful solidarity requires reciprocal dialogue and recognition of differences rather than speaking on behalf of marginalized women (Vemuri, 2022).

The relationship between nationalism and feminism further shaped the development of gendered consciousness. Women's education, public participation and social emancipation were frequently justified as essential to national regeneration. This formulation enabled women's demands to enter the dominant political discourse, but it also risked subordinating gender equality to nationalist priorities. When women's advancement was valued primarily for its contribution to the nation, their independent claims could be postponed in favour of political objectives. Women's periodicals became spaces where national belonging, gender equality and social reform were continuously negotiated. Their contributors occupied multiple positions as women, members of religious and social communities, colonial subjects, nationalist participants and members of international networks. These overlapping affiliations shaped the ways gender inequality was understood and challenged. The historical development of feminist consciousness in India must therefore be understood as a plural and cumulative process rather than a linear progression towards emancipation. Each phase of women's print culture introduced new arguments while retaining unresolved tensions from earlier periods. Contemporary debates concerning feminism, nationalism and global solidarity continue to reflect these historical negotiations. The women's periodical press demonstrates that feminist political consciousness developed not merely through the expansion of rights but through persistent struggles over representation, authority, political allegiance and the right to speak for women.

From Print to Digital: Continuities and Ruptures

This theme considers what the history of print can tell us about digital feminist publics. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the forty substantive sources by decade of publication. The distribution reveals a pattern relevant to the development of scholarship in this area. The corpus contains five sources from the 1980s, four from the 1990s, thirteen from the 2000s, eight from the 2010s and ten from the 2020s. The foundational theoretical work on publics, gender and intersectionality is concentrated in the earlier decades, although the work on digital media clusters from the 2000s onwards. This timing reflects the pace at which scholarship has responded to new platforms, and it supports the suggestion that the novelty of digital feminism has sometimes been overstated by a literature that lacks a long historical baseline. The question that follows is whether the structure of the feminist public changed when the medium changed.

Figure 2: **Substantive Sources by Decade of Publication**



Note. Source: authors' analysis of publication years in the substantive corpus

From Print to Digital Feminist Publics

The shift from print-based to digital feminist communication has widened women's opportunities for political expression, but historical inequalities in public participation have persisted. The distinction between public space and public sphere is important because the availability of communication platforms does not automatically ensure democratic participation or collective political influence (Papacharissi, 2002). Historically, women's periodicals provided spaces to discuss education, social reform, domestic inequalities and political rights. Contemporary social media platforms have extended these possibilities through instant communication, wider circulation and transnational connections. However, digital participation in India remains affected by gendered inequalities in access. According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), conducted during 2019–21, only 33.3 per cent of women aged 15–49 had ever used the internet, compared with 51.2 per cent of men. The disparity was particularly pronounced between rural and urban women, with internet usage recorded at 24.6 per cent and 51.8 per cent respectively (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2022). These figures demonstrate that digital feminist publics emerged within an unequal technological environment. Feminist blogging networks enabled women to establish connections, exchange arguments and amplify political concerns across multiple platforms, resembling the historical circulation of ideas between women's periodicals (Shaw, 2012). Thus, digital communication transformed the speed and geographical reach of feminist engagement without eliminating the structural conditions governing participation.

The expansion of digital feminist activism in India became particularly visible through campaigns addressing women's mobility, public safety and sexual harassment. Following the December 2012 Delhi gang rape, nationwide demonstrations and online discussions brought violence against women into the centre of public debate. The subsequent Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, expanded the legal framework addressing sexual offences. In January 2017, the #IWillGoOut campaign mobilized women across Indian cities through coordinated demonstrations demanding equal access to public spaces and freedom from gender-based restrictions. Similarly, the #WhyLoiter campaign challenged the assumption that women's presence in public spaces required a particular purpose or social justification, connecting digital activism with everyday questions of mobility and citizenship (ORF, 2019). Another significant development was the Indian #MeToo movement in 2018, which enabled women in the film industry, journalism, academia and other professional sectors to

publicly discuss experiences of sexual harassment. Its significance extended beyond individual allegations by generating debates about institutional accountability and workplace safety. Research examining #MeTooIndia between 2018 and 2021 analysed 354,496 tweets and identified both the movement's participatory potential and the exclusion of suburban women's experiences. It also documented how online hostility could discourage participation and produce self-censorship (Al Dahdah et al., 2024; Pain, 2020). These developments demonstrate that digital feminist activism can transform individual experiences into collective political demands, although participation and visibility remain unequally distributed (Mendes et al., 2018; Jackson & Foucault Welles, 2015).

The commercialization and institutional control of digital communication further complicate the formation of inclusive feminist publics. Digital platforms operate through algorithmic ranking, corporate ownership and commercial priorities, influencing which feminist concerns receive attention and which remain marginalized. Online harassment and unequal access to technological resources disproportionately affect women from disadvantaged social backgrounds. In South Asia, digital feminist interventions involving Dalit, queer, transgender and other marginalized communities have challenged dominant representations although exposing continuing hierarchies within feminist movements (Gajjala & Basu, 2021). The commercial incorporation of feminist ideas also risks replacing collective demands for structural equality with individualized narratives of empowerment and personal success (Baer, 2016; Rottenberg, 2014). Similarly, contemporary media cultures frequently associate feminism with individual choice and self-surveillance rather than sustained collective political engagement (Gill, 2007; McRobbie, 2004). Three conclusions emerge from this comparison. First, print and digital feminist publics share historical continuities in networking, editorial or platform gatekeeping and unequal representation. Second, digital media have introduced new opportunities through rapid circulation, transnational solidarity and broader political mobilization. Third, inequalities of caste, class, gender and technological access continue to determine whose experiences receive recognition. Women's periodicals should therefore be understood not simply as predecessors of digital feminism but as historically important foundations for examining the possibilities and limitations of contemporary feminist communication.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. It relies exclusively on secondary sources rather than direct archival examination of women's periodicals, making its interpretations dependent on existing scholarly accounts. The focus on English-language, DOI-indexed, non-government publications excludes important vernacular scholarship, historical monographs and archival materials, potentially underrepresenting regional and non-elite perspectives. Its five thematic categories represent an interpretive organization of the selected literature rather than an exhaustive classification or statistical measurement of the field. The geographical and linguistic coverage is uneven, and the discussion of digital feminism remains selective. Although triangulation and reflexive interpretation were employed, alternative readings of the same literature remain possible. The corpus also ends in 2024 and does not establish causal relationships between historical print culture and contemporary digital activism. Future research should therefore incorporate archival examination of periodicals, regional-language scholarship and empirical investigations of contemporary digital feminist practices to develop a more geographically inclusive and historically grounded understanding of gendered consciousness in India.

Conclusion

The historical development of Indian women's print culture demonstrates that the emergence of gendered consciousness was not simply a consequence of social reform or the expansion of literacy, but a prolonged struggle over women's access to public expression, intellectual authority and political recognition. Drawing on the thematic analysis of fifty scholarly sources, this study establishes that women's periodicals functioned as important counterpublic arenas through which experiences previously confined to domestic life were transformed into subjects of wider social and political debate. Their contributions extended across five interconnected dimensions: the creation of alternative spaces for women's expression, the negotiation of education and social reform, the reproduction and contestation of caste- and class-based exclusions, the interaction of feminist aspirations with colonialism and nationalism, and the continuing transformation of feminist communication through digital platforms. The analysis demonstrates that these publications were

neither uniformly emancipatory nor merely reproductions of dominant social hierarchies; rather, they constituted contested spaces in which women negotiated the possibilities and limitations of their participation. Although print enabled women to question established conventions and articulate claims to education, dignity and agency, access and recognition remained unequally distributed through caste, class, religion, literacy and control over publication. Equally, the relationship between feminism, nationalism and transnational networks reveals that women's political consciousness developed through multiple and sometimes competing affiliations rather than through a singular ideological trajectory. The comparison with contemporary digital feminist movements further establishes that technological expansion can widen opportunities for expression without necessarily dismantling inequalities of representation, visibility and communicative authority. This study contributes by understanding gendered consciousness in India as a historically cumulative, intersectional and contested process, shaped not only by the arguments women articulated but also by the exclusions they confronted and the boundaries they continuously challenged. This interpretation moves beyond celebratory accounts of women's print culture by recognizing both its emancipatory possibilities and its internal limitations. It also establishes the importance of further research incorporating vernacular periodicals, archival materials and the experiences of marginalized women to recover histories that remain insufficiently represented in existing scholarship. The historical significance of women's periodicals lies not merely in providing women with a medium to communicate, but in transforming the conditions under which they could claim intellectual authority, question established power relations and participate in defining their position within society. The enduring significance of this history rests on a fundamental proposition: a feminist public sphere becomes meaningful not simply when women are permitted to speak, but when their diverse experiences are recognized, their voices influence public debate and they possess the authority to shape the terms of their own emancipation.

Author Contribution

Swapnil Sharma, Research Scholar in History, contributed to the conceptualization, literature review, source collection, and thematic analysis, interpretation of findings and preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Jyoti Dwivedi, Assistant Professor and Research Supervisor, provided academic guidance and suggestions during the research and manuscript development. Both authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

Ethical Consideration

The study is based entirely on secondary sources, including published scholarly literature and documentary materials. No human participants were involved; therefore, formal ethical approval was not required. All sources have been appropriately acknowledged and cited.

Funding Statement

The authors received no external funding for the research, authorship or publication of this article.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this research.

Data Availability Statement

The study draws upon fifty scholarly sources identified through the literature selection process and analysed using reflexive thematic analysis. All sources are appropriately cited in the manuscript and reference list. No primary data were collected. Additional research materials are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

References

[1] Asen, R. (2000). Seeking the “counter” in counterpublics. Communication Theory, 10(4), 424–446. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2000.tb00201.x

[2] Baer, H. (2016). Redoing feminism: Digital activism, body politics, and neoliberalism. Feminist Media Studies, 16(1), 17–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1093071

[3] Banaji, S. (2024). Against resilience: The (anti-)ethics of participation in an unjust and unequal public sphere. Javnost – The Public, 31(1), 141–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2024.2311012

[4] Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. Qualitative Research, 15(2), 219–234. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475

[5] Boell, S. K., & Cecez-Kecmanovic, D. (2014). A hermeneutic approach for conducting literature reviews and literature searches. Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 34, Article 12. https://doi.org/10.17705/1CAIS.03412

[6] Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. Qualitative Research Journal, 9(2), 27–40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

[7] Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 11(4), 589–597. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806

[8] Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosius, D., DiCenso, A., Blythe, J., & Neville, A. J. (2014). The use of triangulation in qualitative research. Oncology Nursing Forum, 41(5), 545–547. https://doi.org/10.1188/14.ONF.545-547

[9] Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. Social Problems, 33(6), s14–s32. https://doi.org/10.2307/800672

[10] 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

[11] Dahlgren, P. (2005). The Internet, public spheres, and political communication: Dispersion and deliberation. Political Communication, 22(2), 147–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590933160

[12] Finlay, L. (2002). "Outing" the researcher: The provenance, process, and practice of reflexivity. Qualitative Health Research, 12(4), 531–545. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973202129120052

[13] Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. Social Text, 25/26, 56–80. https://doi.org/10.2307/466240

[14] Gajjala, R., & Basu, M. (2021). Introduction. Feminist Media Studies, 21(1), 147–150. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1864868

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

[16] Govindapuram, S., Bhupatiraju, S., & Sirohi, R. A. (2023). Determinants of women's financial inclusion: Evidence from India. Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics, 94(1), 131–158. https://doi.org/10.1111/apce.12376

[17] Gqola, P. D., Perera, I., Phadke, S., Shahrokni, N., Zaragocin, S., Satija, S., & Ghosh, A. (2024). Gender and public space. Gender & Development, 32(1–2), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2024.2376976

[18] Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. Communication Theory, 16(4), 411–426. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x

[19] Harder, H. (2020). Female mobility and Bengali women's travelogues in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 43(5), 817–835. https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2020.1791500

[20] Jackson, S. J., & Foucault Welles, B. (2015). Hijacking #myNYPD: Social media dissent and networked counterpublics. Journal of Communication, 65(6), 932–952. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12185

[21] Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. Development and Change, 30(3), 435–464. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00125

[22] Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. Gender & Society, 2(3), 274–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124388002003004

[23] Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist critical discourse analysis: Articulating a feminist discourse praxis. Critical Discourse Studies, 4(2), 141–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900701464816

[24] Mangurkar, I., & Rangaswamy, N. (2022). Controlled empowerment of women: Intersections of feminism, HCI and political communication in India. Feminist Theory, 23(2), 171–206. https://doi.org/10.1177/14647001221082296

[25] Mani, L. (1987). Contentious traditions: The debate on sati in colonial India. Cultural Critique, 7, 119–156. https://doi.org/10.2307/1354153
[26] McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. Signs, 30(3), 1771–1800. https://doi.org/10.1086/426800
[27] McRobbie, A. (2004). Post-feminism and popular culture. Feminist Media Studies, 4(3), 255–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/1468077042000309937
[28] Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). #MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. European Journal of Women's Studies, 25(2), 236–246. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506818765318
[29] Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. Feminist Review, 30, 61–88. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1988.42
[30] Morais dos Santos Bruss, S. (2020). Queering feminist solidarities: #Metoo, LoSHA and the digital Dalit. Open Gender Journal, 4. https://doi.org/10.17169/ogj.2020.71
[31] Munro, E. (2013). Feminism: A fourth wave? Political Insight, 4(2), 22–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12021
[32] Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. Feminist Review, 89, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2008.4
[33] Nijhawan, S. (2012). At the margins of empire: Feminist-nationalist configurations of Burmese society in the Hindi public (1917–1920). The Journal of Asian Studies, 71(4), 1013–1033. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911812001192
[34] Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847
[35] Paik, S. (2022). The vulgarity of caste: Dalits, sexuality, and humanity in modern India. Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503634091
[36] Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere: The internet as a public sphere. New Media & Society, 4(1), 9–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440222226244
[37] Puri, T. K. (2022). Kamala Satthianadhan and the Indian Ladies' Magazine: Women's editorship and transnational print networks in late colonial India. Victorian Periodicals Review, 55(3–4), 340–372. https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2022.0028
[38] Rottenberg, C. (2014). The rise of neoliberal feminism. Cultural Studies, 28(3), 418–437. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.857361
[39] Scott, J. W. (1986). Gender: A useful category of historical analysis. The American Historical Review, 91(5), 1053–1075. https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376
[40] Sen, I. (2001). Devoted wife/sensuous bibi: Colonial constructions of the Indian woman, 1860–1900. Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 8(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/097152150100800101
[41] Shaw, F. (2012). "Hottest 100 women": Cross-platform discursive activism in feminist blogging networks. Australian Feminist Studies, 27(74), 373–387. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2012.738007
[42] Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. Journal of Business Research, 104, 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039
[43] Squires, C. R. (2002). Rethinking the black public sphere: An alternative vocabulary for multiple public spheres. Communication Theory, 12(4), 446–468. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2002.tb00278.x
[44] Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. Qualitative Inquiry, 16(10), 837–851. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410383121
[45] Tusan, M. E. (2003). Writing Stri Dharma: International feminism, nationalist politics, and women's press advocacy in late colonial India. Women's History Review, 12(4), 623–649. https://doi.org/10.1080/09612020300200377
[46] Vemuri, A. (2022). Talk to me: Towards a politics of transnational feminist solidarity. Gender, Place & Culture, 29(1), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2020.1841121
[47] Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple inequalities in social theory. Sociology, 46(2), 224–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511416164

[48] Walsh, J. E. (1997). What women learned when men gave them advice: Rewriting patriarchy in late-nineteenth-century Bengal. The Journal of Asian Studies, 56(3), 641–677. https://doi.org/10.2307/2659604

[49] Warner, M. (2002). Publics and counterpublics. Public Culture, 14(1), 49–90. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-14-1-49

[50] Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. European Journal of Women's Studies, 13(3), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065752