

Breaking the Silence: Unveiling Gendered Perceptions of Femininity in Indian #MeToo Discourse on Facebook

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Abstract—The patriarch society has always showed a biased attitude towards women. The systematic subjugation of women, the normalization of abuse and harassment and the manifestation of everyday power that men hold sets the paradigm of the society's attitude. Over the period of time the social shaming and taming of the women has accumulated and boasted by society. From social to cultural, from economical to emotional, from physical to virtual this attitude has resurfaced in different forms and shapes via new ways and belief systems.

The virtual world, especially social media, has now become a new space to shame-tame women. Facebook, one of the most popular and widely used social media platforms in India, has become a dumping ground for hate towards women. Presented here is a study of the counterarguments to the #MeToo Movement. Furthermore, the paper analyzes the contemporary and prevalent attitudes and perceptions of Facebook users towards women and femininity. Whether social media, like Facebook, has become an extended version of patriarchal society.

Index Terms— Facebook, #MeToo, shaming-taming, mindset, patriarchy, gender-based hate speech, women, society, attitude.

I. INTRODUCTION

The #MeToo Movement in India started in 2018 allowed women to share their experiences of sexual assaults, especially in their work space. Sexual assault survivors came out and publicly shared their horrific past. From Sister Lucy Kalapurra from Kerala, who supported a fellow nun, Mahima Kukreja, who accused Utsav Chkraborty of AIB, Mumbai, to the most reported cases of MJ Akbar and actor Nana Patekar, Alok Nath, countless women writing #MeToo raised the hidden question of everyday sexual assault and the absence of guaranteed safety. These women who spoke and wrote publicly about sexual assaults were at worst threatened with rape and murder. They were abused with all kinds of slang and sexual comments. The best solution that is always used is simply not to believe them and to stamp them as liars. Users in the online space were mainly concerned about fake accusers, false accusations, liars, and the problems men face regarding their reputation. The reputation of the accused men was considered more important than the trauma of the women.

Women speaking out publicly in a patriarchal society have always been a major problem. It has always been taboo for women to speak out publicly. A silent woman is considered morally sound, lady like, pure and someone worthy of man's betterhalf. This attitude of the society is as ancient as the human civilization's history.

At the European royal courts, for example, courtiers of both genders were expected to engage in public displays of verbal skill, often with mixed company and frequently on subjects that were sexually and politically charged. 'The court lady was required to speak; the bourgeois wife was enjoined to silence' (Jones, 2014). This kind of behaviour became the proper model of feminine behaviour that encourages woman's silence. This approach of keeping women quiet never diminished instead with time new ways and forms evolved. From social to cultural, from economical to emotional, from physical to virtual patriarchy reestablished itself to quieten her. Women who speak are shameless and are honorable was the mindset that was praised by the society.

Facebook, a popular social media site in India, is no different. Shaming women on social media is now commonplace in India. It has become a phenomenon. First, shame them via online abuse, cyberbullying, trolling, threats of sexual violence, and sexual comments. Second, most women, after this abuse, leave the argument or, moreover, the online platform. Thus, tame them not to speak again. The systematic subjugation of women and the normalisation of abuse and harassment have become the real attitudes of society towards women. This research paper deals with the contemporary attitude of society that supports the shaming and taming of women via a patriarchal mindset, online abuse, and the general hatred against women. With special reference to what Facebook users wrote about the #MeToo Movement in India and women in general.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

With this background, the paper aims to investigate the Facebook user's mindset in the increasing popular setting of social media especially Facebook underlining the cyber-psychology of counterargument prevalent via cyber bullying, trolling and abuse on the #MeToo Movement. This paper will also study the danger trends of online abuse and harassment of shaming women online. This paper will also highlight the bandwagon perception about the gender concepts that users follow on social media. This paper will focus on user generated comments on the #MeToo Movement on the Facebook.

The paper is divided in two sections. The first section contains the quantitative analysis of the comments of the Facebook users about #MeToo Movement. This quantitative analysis is further covered in two parts. The first part deals with the Bandwagon Perceptions of the users that affects the behavior of the people in their vicinity. This change in behavior is also called crowd online behaviour. The second part deals with the dangerous trends prevalent on social media adopted from the society's biased attitude towards women. This part deals with the normalisation of the abuse and harassment of women in online space and the attitude of society to put women in the moral and traditional values.

The second section comprises a qualitative analysis of the comments of Facebook users about the #MeToo movement. Under this section, three points have been covered. First, the ever-present nature of patriarchy and subjugation of women, for instance, the division of work according to gender. Second, the shaming and taming of women via abuse and threats in the online space as well. Third, the attitude of social media towards women; examining whether it is an extension of patriarchal society

A total of 170 posts are selected on the #MeToo Movement, with a total of N=19,308 comments on Facebook. The posts and comments that are similar or copied exactly from the users are excluded from the selected data. As aforementioned, this paper aims to investigate the orthodox behaviour of the users, their language usage while commenting on the particular topic, their approach towards the movement, and the downstream effects of bandwagon perceptions, concluding whether the users are becoming liberal or more orthodox. The researcher has codified the data for quantitative analysis.

III. BANDWAGON CONTAGION PATTERNS

According to the Behaviour Contagion Theory people copy others' behaviour by repeating the same. It is a form of social contagion, also called crowd behaviour, where a person copies certain behaviour of others who are in the same contiguity or whom they have been exposed to. In today's digital era, behaviour contagion is also related to the spread of online behaviour also called online contagion behaviour. This explains the aspects of behaviour of people in online space, especially during commenting, arguing and discussing virtually. This further leads to the changes in the behaviour patterns, perceptions and mindset of others.

According to Prof. Jeffrey Fagan of Columbia Law School, abuse or violence spreads largely through social networks, and increased network density increases the risk of spread/transmission of violence and abuse. He continued in 'Contagion of violence', a workshop organized by Institute of Medicine, DC and National Research Council, US in 2012, about the dose-response effect (the role of increased and repeated exposure to violence) that the Internet, social media in particular, exposes individuals to violent content.

In the selected data, different types of behaviour contagion were found and showed certain patterns. According to this certain pattern, they can be divided into two major categories: one-word comments and copied comments. They are as follows:

A. One-word comments

For instance, comments like ‘you are right’, ‘correct’, ‘sahi kaha aapne’, ‘right’, ‘absolutely right’, ‘ekdum sahi’, ‘agree’, ‘sahi baat hai’, ‘me bhi yahi manta hu’ and similar comments were in abundance. They covered approximately 11% of total comments. The table below will give a proper insight of these repetitions or copied reactions. These comments are the stream comments of the posts.

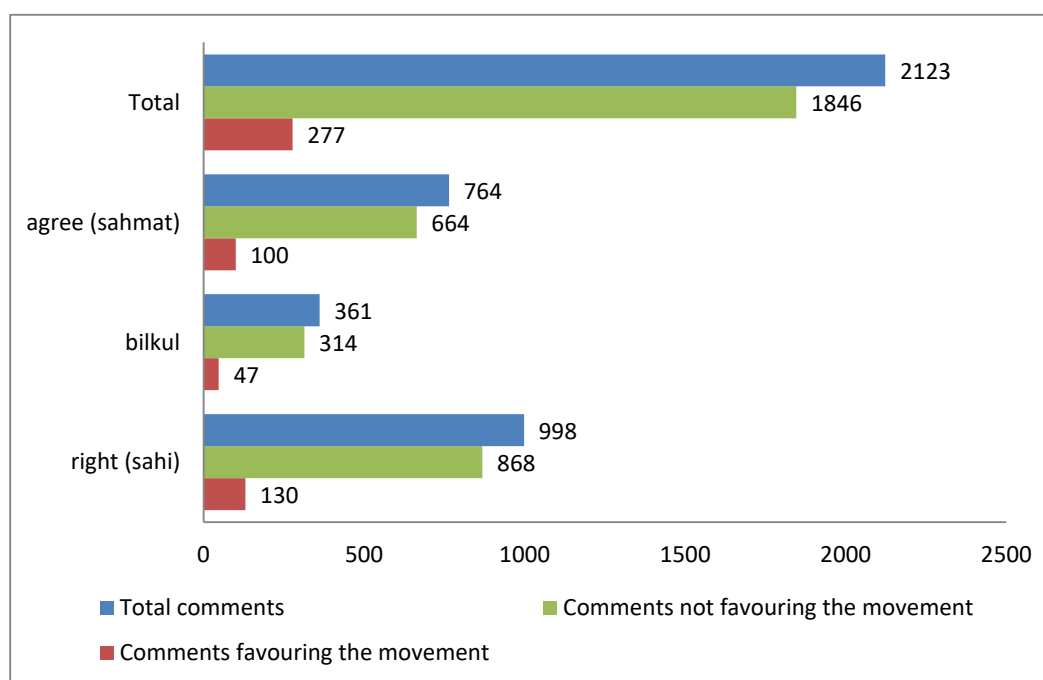


Fig. 1- Bandwagon contagion patterns : One word comments

In other words, these streams are the replies of the comments written on the posts. According to many research findings, these kind of copied comments do not add any valuable thought to the comment or to the post but accumulates the importance of the statement. The stream following a particular comment shows the contagion behaviour of sharing the exact same views and mindset.

According to the above data, the total number of one-word comments is 2123. Out of them, only 13% of the comments are in favour of the #MeToo Movement. On the other hand, 87% are disfavoring the movement.

B. Copied comments

These comments show the behaviour and mindset of the user, in which the user does not alter the comment but copies exactly the same comments of the others who are in the same situation or whom s/he has been exposed to. Users commenting on the selected posts also showed the same behaviour and contagion pattern.

For instance, comments like ‘fansaya/ revenge (trap/ framed/ allegation/ conspiracy/ cabal)’, ‘Publicity/ limelight’, ‘sweetu se MeToo (from Sweetu to MeToo)’, ‘naatak (drama)’ and ‘Section 497 of IPC’ are plenty. These comments show a behavior contagion with downward effects showing the counter arguments against women speaking up and sharing their trauma.

Comments that are supporting the movements comprise of copied comments like ‘fight/ sangharsh/ speak up’, ‘resign/ barkhast’ and ‘majboori/ shoshan/ helpless’ are more quantity. These comments show a behavior contagion with upward effects.

1. **Fansaya/ revenge (trap/ framed/ allegation/ conspiracy/ cabal)’: in these comments the user was meant to say that those women speaking up are only doing that with the intent to frame somebody with conspiracy intentions. In other words they are deviating from the truth. The data showing these**

comments in the selected data has the highest majority. Few comments like ‘kisi ko fasa do’, ‘baki bhee jhutee fasye gaye hain’, etc.

According to the data in the diagram below the comments with the content of ‘fansaya/sazish (trap/framed/allegation/conspiracy/cabal)’ are in majority i.e. 25%. Comments like ‘mujhe to darr lagta hai mera naam lede’, ‘target poor hua’, ‘itna darr hai koi mohtarma mera naam lele’, ‘yeh pakka fasaegi’, etc. These comments show a behavior contagion with downward effects showing the counter arguments against women speaking up and sharing their trauma.

2. **‘Publicity/limelight’**: in these comments the user was meant to say that the women who are saying #Metoo for publicity and popularity. Comments with this content are the second highest, saying that these women are lying to get some limelight with 18%. Some examples of these comments are ‘kaam nhi mil rha to publicity pane ke liye aur limelight me rehne ke liye sab fake h’, ‘ye sb publicity ke liye krti hai’, etc.
3. **‘Sweetu se MeToo (from Sweetu to MeToo)’** : this kind of comments is copied by the user without making a single edit to the source content with the percentage of 11%. The comment says ‘kaam ke lie sweetu, kam nikalne ke bad metoo’ which conveys that the women first they are sweet to men for then blame them afterwards. The intention is malign. All these comments are similar. Few examples can be looked at ‘first compromise then complaint’, ‘kam niklwane k waqt sweetu phir meto’ etc.
4. **‘Section 497 of IPC’**: the #MeToo movement and the struck down of the Section 497 of IPC by the Supreme Court of India were discussed at large on social media within the same time frame. The court found the section unconstitutional based on inequality and discrimination against women. The court continued that section 497 violates the Fundamental Rights under Article 14 of the Constitution of India. Although, many users blamed this struck down as sole reason for women to speaking about sexual harassment. These comments comprise of 8%. Some examples of these comments are ‘ab orte kuch v kr skti hain kuki act 497 tut chuka hain’, ‘supreme court ne jo dhara 497 hata di uska bhi faeda uthaengi ab’ etc.

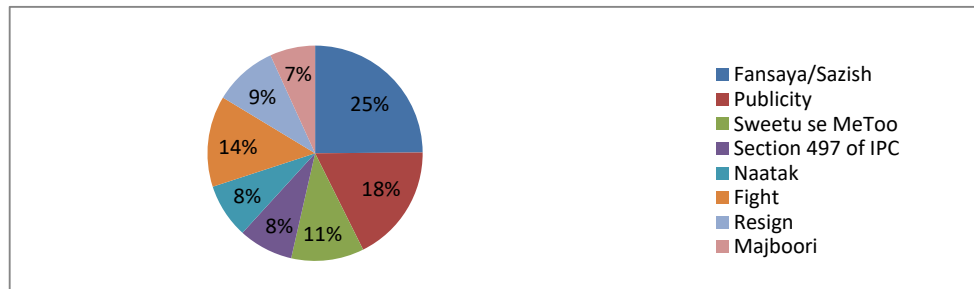


Fig. 2 - Data of Copied Comments

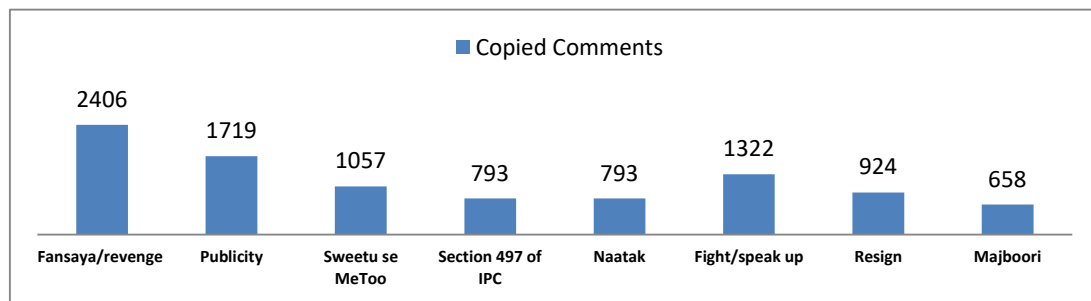


Fig 3 - Copied Comments in numbers

5. **‘Naatak (drama)’**: these comments include the users saying the movement is a drama consists of 8% of the selected posts’ comments. The comments conclude that the women are using the movement as it is a drama to malign to male, or they want to gain popularity. These comments are ‘sab ke sab dramabaaz’, ‘#metoo is not a campaign, it’s a social drama’ etc.

6. **‘Fight/ Sangharsh/ Speak Up’**: in these comments the users show the upward effect of the bandwagon contagion pattern consists of 14% of the posts’ comments. These comments support the women speaking up and sharing their traumas. Some examples are ‘speak up, you have support’, ‘bahut khob, ese hi sangharsh kre’ etc.
7. **‘Resign/Barkhast’**: comments showing the content of this category consist of 9% of the selected posts’ comments. The users who wrote these comments asked to get accused resign or the other accused to bring under judicial procedure. Comments such as ‘isteefa to lena chahiye’, ‘istefaa do’, etc.
8. **‘Majboori/Shoshan/Helpless’**: comments using content like majboori or helplessness of the women who shared their traumas are quite low that is only 7%. These comments also show the content showing upward effects of behavior contagion that are supporting the women who have been exploited by their boss or superior or even colleagues.



Fig. 4 - Total Copied Comments

According to Fig. 4, the total copied comments show a clear flow of bandwagon contagion perceptions of the users and the comments they posted on the selected posts. The upward effects of bandwagon perceptions include the different categories of comments that are in support of the movement or in favour of women speaking up and sharing their trauma. Although the percentage of this effect is only 30% of the total number of copied comments, it is 2904 comments. Hence, the data concludes that less than one-third of the users are liberal. They focus on equality and believe in the Fundamental Right of Article 19(1)(a), which is the right of freedom of speech and expression given to every citizen of India, and the Fundamental Right of Equality given by the Constitution of India.

On the other hand, the downstream effects of bandwagon perceptions include 70% of the total number of copied comments. This flow shows that 6768 comments are either opposing the movement or believe that women are lying either for publicity or for revenge, therefore lying. Bandwagon contagion shows that perceptions are influenced and copied by people. So, if one user is orthodox or believes in pedantism, others will copy and do the same. As the data concludes that two-thirds of the total comments have a downward effect, it thus concludes that the majority of the users are either orthodox or believe in pedantism. The far right has strengthened its hold, and social media has allowed them to amplify their majoritarianism.

IV. THE DANGER TRENDS: SPEAKING UP IN PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Without free speech, there is no freedom to find out the truth, and only when free speech is allowed will we know the truth. Justice Jasti Chelemeswar, a former judge of the Supreme Court of India 'Freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental right given to every citizen of India by the Constitution, which means that irrespective of age, class, race, and gender, everyone has an equal right to free speech. As the first condition of liberty, freedom of speech and expression is also guaranteed by international conventions like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, and Fundamental Freedoms.

But in a patriarchal society, the fight for free expression has gone beyond the noble endeavour of challenging authority and orthodox beliefs; instead, it has become a tool to normalise hate speech and silence women, especially through social media. They have employed new methods of indirect suppression.

In this paper, the researcher has taken three broad categories of danger trends. First, the trend of denying any truth in the movement; second, the amount of abusive comments written for these women in the selected posts; and third, the reference to traditional and moral values.

1. **Women are liars**: in this category all the comments saying the #MeToo movement is only a lie. All the traumas that are shared by the women are just a way of getting attention. They are lying. Other views say that whole movement is trivial and it is in the control of the women to get sexually harassed or not.

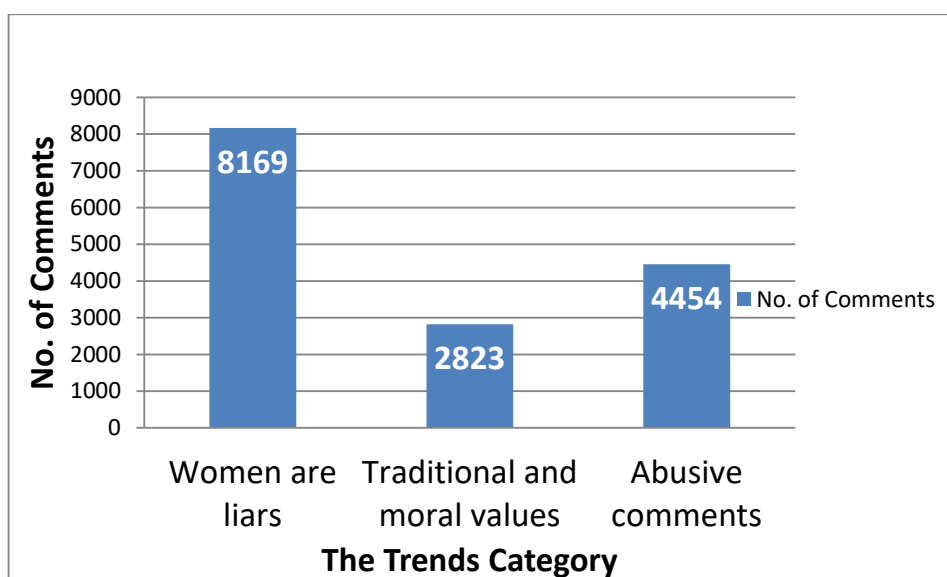


Fig. 4 - The Danger Trends

- In other words, women can only suffer from sexual harassment if she wants to get harassed, otherwise men cannot do so. Therefore, it is the woman's responsibility if she is sexually assaulted. Such kind of trend in the comments comprised a total of 8169 comments making them 42.30% of the total comments. Few examples are 'jhooti hai ye', 'jhoota ilzam lga rhi h' etc.
2. **Traditional and moral values:** in this category comments that are showing traditional values, moral values, cultural values, conventional values and values that are prevalent in the Indian cultural society. These values show the current mindset and perception of the users that are commenting on the posts. As these users that are commenting on Facebook are the common people that follow the general perception of the majority. This trend category includes 2823 that is 14.62% of the total comments. Some examples are 'ache ghar ki aurten ese nhi fasati', 'parivarik parmpra par galat asar delgi ye oraten', 'bhartiya sanskriti ko bahutbada nuksan pahunchaya hai is metoo ne' etc.
 3. **Abusive comments:** these comments are abusive in nature also called cyber based violence. They consist of slangs, sexual comments, slanders, threats, abusive threats, rape threats, genitalia comments (comments mentioning women sexual body parts), doxxing, etc. This trend is the most dangerous trends of all the three trends. These comments are, generally, sexual in nature, have misogynistic contents, and defame women. The language of these comments is violent, abusive, offensive, outrageous, sexual and scurrilous. 23% of the total comments consist of abusive comments. This trend shows that a lot of comments shaming women have been written. Few examples 'sabne r***** laga rakha h', 'high society ka r***** hai ye' etc.

V. PATRIARCHY NEVER LEAVES

'Ghar me ni rha jata in aurton se' (these women can't stay at home), a user commented on the news coverage of Tanushree Dutta speaking on #MeToo and sexual harassment. Another user commented 'mahilao ko ghar me rah kar khana banana chiye, paise kamane ke lie aadmi hai' (women must stay at home to cook, men are there to earn money). These comments, and many more like these, show the mindset of the users. On Facebook, they presented their counterarguments on the movement. According to these counterarguments women especially in Bollywood are seen as shameful unwomen. These women are characterless who sell their bodies to work. Journalist women are also seen as unchaste women.

Cynthia Enloe in her book 'The Big Push: Exposing and Challenging the Persistence of Patriarchy' (2017), asks us to rethink and re-engage patriarchy beyond the prevailing view i.e. 'a rather heavy-handed term that a generation ago Second Wave feminists painted on their protest sign'. She continues that 'patriarchy is a current as Brexit, Donald Trump, and nationalist political parties. It is as au courant as Twitter, hedge funds, and

weaponised drones. Patriarchy is not old-fashioned; it is as hip as football millionaires and Silicon Valley startups.' She focuses that the term 'patriarchy' is a term that so many people shy away from using. This attitude is one of the things that enable it to survive. Time and constant practice turned it into a system. The systematic subordination uses different ways to subjugate a woman like physical abuse, financial, social and cultural dependence on man. Social media is no different anymore.

VI. TAMING AND PUNISHING WOMEN

History has been an evident example of women's silence and domestication in society. And how it is accepted then appreciated. Not only appreciated but also boasted. Women are stereotyped as scolds, harridans, and shrews, and women's speech has long been regarded as obnoxious, detrimental, or even illegal, criminal. Beginning in Britain in the 1500s 'Taming of Shrew', a man sewing a woman's mouth shut with a long thread became a trend to forcibly keeping women quiet. In 1567 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth Ist, in Scotland and the North of England, women were forced to wear face bridals called gossip's bridle. An instrument to publically punish women of the lower classes whose speech was deemed riotous or troublesome or even a woman who did not obey her husband's or her master's command (Boose, 1991). It was till late nineteenth century that women writers used male pseudonym to get their voice heard and to write literature. It was deemed 'unladylike' for a woman to write. Having opinion or engaged in any literary activity or expression was considered immoral and profane. Over the period of time this social taming and the attitude towards women speaking up has been socially boasted and accumulated.

VII. PSYCHIC RAPE THROUGH FACEBOOK

Online abuse, threats of physical violence, rape, kidnapping, doxxing, trolling, pornographic photoshop, abusive sexual slangs etc. are part of online communication nowadays. Comments like 'b*** sali', 'jamin kar dalkar p**** chaiye ise to', and many others as normal as breathing on Facebook now. The social and online environment also allows sexual violence to be normalized and justified these things. This behaviour given by the society has always told women to keep their words to themselves. To maintain equality and freedom, proper execution of cyber law in online world, must be followed. People also need to understand that gender based online violence may be seen as a continuum of offline violence, they are as harmful as physical abuse leading to psychic abuse. People also need to understand that gender based online violence is an act of discrimination.

VIII. SOCIAL MEDIA HAS BECOME ANTI-SOCIAL FOR WOMEN.

This systematic and constant subjugation of women forced them to be quiet and submissive. Therefore, when social media began, many female theorists considered it a liberal medium that would provide a new space for women. A liberating space. A new space free from the gender-orthodox tendencies of society. The anxiety and concern that emerged from the woman's inferior status in Indian society found expression.

"The great thing about social media was how it gave a voice to voiceless people." Jon Ronson.

It was considered an alternative media, a beam of hope that will provide an alternative path, a different path from the popular and main stream media. A media which provide alternative views and alternative opinions instead of popular ideas and views. A media which represent the voice of one and every person rather than few powerful people. A space for all. A space for equality and freedom. A space free from biased power, money, politics, orthodox etc. But, now, in India, social media became an antithesis of this alternative voice. It has become a place of shamming women, trolling and a dumping ground of slangs and threats. Women with troublesome/riotous speech are immediately trolled or abused online, now. Misogyny and abuse are plethora in online space. Reports says that two out of every ten young women, aged 18-29, have been sexually harassed online and one in two say they were sent unwarranted explicit images. According to the latest global survey conducted in 2020 by Plan International, a UK-based humanitarian organization, titled 'State of the World's Girls Report', 58 per cent young women face online harassment.

Silencing women on social media is not only prevalent in India; it is a worldwide phenomenon now. Ranging from threats of sexual violence to sexual comments and stalking, online harassment of young women was directed in different manners on different social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, etc. Social media is not only supporting but increasing every aspect of the orthodox construct of society, like patriarchy.

IX. CONCLUSION

The dominant and established paradigm of the society's attitude towards femininity including the systematic subjugation of women, the normalization of abuse and harassment and the manifestation of everyday power that men hold has influenced social media as well. Now, Facebook has become an advocate of this attitude towards femininity in the online space. Everyone has a right to free voice and opinion, equality and equity and safeguard against discrimination. Social media like Facebook or Twitter has provided a public platform for everyone and anyone who has an opinion and/or who wants raise their voice against discrimination. But, now, social media has become an antithesis of this voice and freedom. Now, it used to strangle, abuse with a advantage of anonymity. Any woman who must be given an equal opportunity to express herself is now being zoned out systematically by the orthodox and conventional system.

The aforementioned analysis concludes that the majority of the users who commented about the #MeToo Movement in India on Facebook have an orthodox mindset. They troll and abuse women online. Thus, virtual media, too, is now used to shame women. It is important to understand that online abuse is an extension of offline abuse. In other words, a continuum of offline violence is an act of discrimination against women. Since ancient times, this behaviour has been normalised and justified by patriarchal society. To maintain equality and freedom, proper execution of cyber law in the online world must be followed.

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