THE REPRESENTATION OF SEXISM IN POOR THINGS MOVIE (2023)

REFERENCES

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LANGUAGE AND SEXISM

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year's champion'. Thus, in these two separate articles, there seems to be a clear difference between the way that male and female tennis players are represented, with the male players being represented positively in terms of their fitness and successes on court, and the female players represented as suffering from self-doubt. This differential treatment of sportswomen and sportsmen has become institutionalised; many different sports reports use the same sexist structures and verbal choices.

3.2.2. Reported speech Caldas-Coulthard (1995) argues that there is a tendency for the speech of females to be represented in news reports in indirect speech rather than in direct speech. She suggests that, because of this lack of direct quotation from women, women's statements are mediated by newspapers, which often leads to evaluative statements being made through the use of reporting words such as 'claim' or 'argued'. This can clearly be seen in the analysis of the representation of the former UK Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett, which I discuss in Chapter 5, where there is very little direct quotation of Beckett herself, rather quotation of comments about Beckett from politicians and journalists. Because of this tendency, Caldas-Coulthard views women's voices as being relatively 'unaccessed'; when they are represented, they tend to be not the professional voices which are accorded to men but rather those associated with and emanating from the private sphere, for example those of daughters, wives and mothers. She argues:

The private/public distinction is a very important feature of social organisation. If women are represented mostly speaking in their personal roles, they are marginalised in terms of public or ritual speech. (Caldas-Coulthard, 1995: 227)

This institutionalised usage is not one which many might argue constitutes overt sexism and should be considered indirect sexism.[34] However, it remains the case that there is a clear distinction in the way that women and men are reported in newspapers.

3.2.3. Jokes As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5, jokes are a complex way of constituting women as a 'minority group' without taking responsibility for that exclusion.[35] Sexist jokes allow generally unacceptable views of women to be expressed, because the person who tells the joke generally can claim that they themselves did not make up the joke. As Davies (2004)

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[34] The distinction between overt and indirect sexism is not clear-cut. There is a great deal of overlap between the two types of sexism.

[35] Often women make negative comments or jokes about males and we might argue that they must

of institutions' (2003: 31). This plays a major role in the way that individuals judge whether their language is appropriate. They go on to state that:

because certain linguistic strategies are indirectly and indexically linked with certain groups, institutions need only be organised to define, demonstrate and enforce the legitimacy and authority of linguistic strategies associated with one gender while denying the power of others to exclude one group without needing to make that exclusion explicit. (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 32)

Thus the expression of sexism is dependent on the assumption that the context is a masculinised one where the utterance of such beliefs will be acceptable.[4]

4.   Indirect sexism

Because overt sexism is something that many institutions have tried to eradicate or discourage, at least within the work environment, there is less overt sexism in the public face of organisations, for example in mission statements and general documentation intended for consumption by the general public. That is not to say that overt sexism has been eliminated in informal interaction, but at least within public discourse it is stigmatised.[5]

However, it could be argued that within the context of the media (certain newspapers, television and radio programmes), sexism is very apparent, but it is a form of sexism which has been modified because of feminist pressure and because of male responses to feminism. For example, in British men's magazines such as *GQ, loaded* and *Viz,* there is a great deal of sexism, but it is accompanied by humour and irony; it is assumed that men and women are entirely different and the discriminatory statements which are made about women are seen to be simply reflecting that 'natural' difference: women are represented largely as sexual objects.[6] A similar ironising sexism can be seen to underpin many advertisements in the UK, where products are associated with a stereotypical masculinity – for example in TV advertisements for Burger King, the chorus for a song about the 'double meat whopper' is 'I am man.' Similarly,

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[4] I recognise that it is not necessarily the case that sexist utterances depend on a masculinised environment, but, generally speaking, it would seem to be the case that utterances are made in the belief that they will not be seen as inappropriate or outlandish. Sexist remarks are sometimes made to shock or cause irritation, but they seem to make sense through their relation to an institutionalised context where they are viewed as normal and not aberrant. The aim of sexist remarks is to indicate that the addressee is considered the one who is aberrant.

[5] Nevertheless, in languages other than English, at least in languages which have grammatical gender, sexism is still overt and blatant, since the masculine form is used to refer to both males and females fairly consistently.

[6] Men are also represented in stereotypical ways. Benwell describes the content of men's magazines as drawing on working-class culture and values: they are not represented as concerned with the world of work but focus instead on drinking, partying, watching football and going on holiday, as well as addressing women only as sexual objects (Benwell, 2006: 13).

the then-general secretary of trade union NATFHE, discusses his qualities as a leader and as a person, his background and his experience, but there is no discussion whatsoever of his clothes or appearance, or whether he is a grandfather. Whilst the heading under the photograph of Baroness Blackstone reads: 'Well-suited: Baroness Blackstone, the new vice-chancellor of Greenwich is keen to attract American students', which plays on the meanings of 'wearing good clothes' and 'being a good choice for the position', the heading under Mackney's photograph simply refers to his professional qualities: 'Rabble-rousing: Paul Mackney has even been expelled from the International Socialists'. At a discourse level, texts representing men and women have a range of different discursive rules which have been internalised by journalists and writers, which constitute a form of indirect sexism.

My approach to analysis is essentially a pragmatic one, that is, one which attends to an analysis of the meaning of utterances and words in context (Christie, 2000). However, my approach allows for an analysis which is both *localised*, i.e. analysing how gender is addressed/oriented to/constructed within a particular interaction/text, and *generalised*, i.e. analysing the general and fairly regular patterns of production and interpretation of discourses. This type of analysis examines the relation between these two views of gender: gender as constructed within each particular context and gender as a variable (without assuming that this variable is fixed or static). Through focusing on context, we can see that each particular context is informed by and negotiates with notions of what is appropriate/acceptable within that community of practice. Indirect sexism therefore is a complex negotiation between participants' assessments of what is stereotypically appropriate, or what they assume is appropriate within a particular community of practice and their notion of their own gendered identity.

5.   Types of indirect sexism

5.1.   Humour

As I have shown in Chapter 2, humour often exaggerates certain features associated with a group or draws on and plays with stereotypical knowledge for comic effect. For example, humorous utterances will presuppose that men and women are different and exaggerate that supposed difference. This type of joke can help to create a sense of solidarity amongst men. As Lakoff (1990: 270) comments:

Saying serious things in jest both creates camaraderie and allows the speaker to avoid responsibility for anything controversial in the message. It's just a joke, after all – can't you take a joke? In a lite and camaraderie society worse than being racist or mean-spirited is not getting a joke or being unable to take one.

Yorkie bar. The shopkeeper tries to test whether she is a man or not by asking her to define the offside rule in football, and to decide whether stockings or tights are better. Finally, he manages to show that she is female because she responds to flattery. If this advert had been shown in the 1980s, the feminist response would have been clear – classifying the product as 'not for girls', suggesting that women are not 'man enough' to eat large chunks of chocolate would have been seen as sexist. But this advert is playing with stereotypes; the woman is not disguised convincingly as a man; the advertisement ridicules men as much as women, suggesting that men are obsessed with football and sex. So if we laugh at this advert because we think it is ironising sexism, we could be seen to be buying into sexism, that is, rejecting femininity and valuing masculinity; if we don't laugh at the advert and take it as sexist, we could be seen as humourless and unable to see the overt playfulness and critique in the advert.[13]

Thus, it is possible to make overtly sexist statements in a very knowing, 'post-modern' way, drawing attention to the ludicrous nature of such attitudes, but at the same time keeping those sexist attitudes in play. For example, on Radio 1, DJ Chris Moyles often uses overtly sexist terms such as 'tart', 'cow' and 'dippy' to his female colleagues, mocking and belittling them if he interprets them as having stereotypically feminine concerns, but he does so by framing these remarks within an ironic, playful mode. When challenged about the use of such terms, the BBC generally responds by suggesting that Moyles is adopting a persona and his use of these terms should be seen to be making fun of such sexist usage. Anyone who complains is thus seen as lacking in sophistication in that they are unable to distinguish between an assumed persona or character and a real person's beliefs. For many feminists, there is thus little possibility of contesting this type of usage without appearing puritanical, humourless and overly literal.

5.2.   Presupposition

Sexism at the level of presupposition is also much more difficult to challenge, as Christie has demonstrated, since it is necessary to make overt the assumptions upon which the sexism is based; the reason this indirectness is in fact often chosen is to mask the sexism and to give the speaker the potential for denying any intended sexism (Christie, 2001). For example, in the phrase 'So, have you women finished gossiping?' there are a number of presuppositions about

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[13] Interestingly, Yorkie bars now carry the slogan 'Not for Girls' on their wrappers with a symbol of a girl crossed out. Thus, although the TV adverts seem ironic, the bars which are for sale deploy less clear ironising. Many other advertising campaigns have chosen to use this explicitly sexist form of address to viewers, for example advertisements for men's magazines, beefburgers and for diet drinks often draw on sexist ideas in a supposedly parodic way.

and also taking it for granted that her finding a boyfriend is important. Covert or hidden messages like these often do more to create and sustain gender ideologies than the explicit messages that are overtly conveyed.

Hellinger and Bussmann (2001: 10) term this type of indirect sexism 'social gender' and argue that 'personal nouns are specified for social gender if the behaviour of the associated words can neither be explained by grammatical nor by lexical gender'. That is, social gender is the association of certain terms with stereotypical beliefs about gender. They give an illustration of social gender:

Many higher-status occupational terms such as lawyer, surgeon or scientist will frequently be pronominalised by the male-specific pronoun 'he' in contexts where referential gender is either not known or irrelevant. On the other hand, low status occupational titles such as secretary, nurse or schoolteacher will often be followed by anaphoric 'she'.
(Hellinger and Bussmann, 2001: 11)

However, they are also aware that 'even for general human nouns such as "pedestrian", "consumer" or "patient", traditional practice prescribes the choice of "he" in neutral contexts' (Hellinger and Bussmann, 2001: 11). Braun (1997) has described this as the MAN principle (Male as Norm Principle); that is, if confronted by a genderless noun, you choose the masculine, unless there are stereotypes which make you choose the feminine. This type of presupposition of stereotypical beliefs about women is much more difficult to challenge than overt sexism.

5.3.   Conflicting messages

There are many texts and situations where mixed messages are given about gender and feminism. Because of feminist pressure and general changes in representational practices, many organisations have found it necessary to adopt certain changes in the way that they present themselves to the public: these are often superficial changes and they often conflict with other messages in texts which the organisation distributes. For example, in an advertisement for Dateline dating agency which I analysed (Mills, 1998), readers are asked to complete a questionnaire and describe themselves and their 'perfect partner' using non-sexist terms – Ms is included as an alternative to Mrs, and Miss is not used. Males and females are treated equally and there is no option of listing 'housewife' as an occupation. This could be seen as a feminist victory, in that it assumes that women are in paid employment rather than confined to the home. However, within the confines of the advertisement, women who are full-time carers can only describe themselves as 'unemployed' or 'not working'. It seems that 'unemployed' is meant to be used by men and women who are not employed at present and 'not working' describes women who are full-time carers. The

only time that women can describe their work with children comes under the heading 'Interests' where 'children' and 'homemaking' are listed alongside other hobbies such as 'reading' and 'pets'. Thus, in such advertisements there is a conflict between egalitarian discourses that inform the changes which have been made in terms of the titles used for women and men, and the assumptions which underlie some of the ways in which women are represented. However, at the same time there are some profoundly sexist presuppositions about women and work which underlie this text.

5.4.   Scripts and metaphors

It is interesting also to examine the type of narrative pathways or scripts which are brought into play in new reports about women and men in the public sphere. In an article entitled 'Jilted Clara seeks suitor, Frenchman preferred', in the Business pages of the *Guardian* about Clara Furse, the London Stock Exchange chief executive, Edmond Warner chose to draw on an extended metaphor of failed relationships. The article describes the negotiations between the London Stock Exchange and the Deutsche Börse, when the Stock Exchange was considering taking over the German exchange and their offer was finally refused (Warner, 2005). The cartoon accompanying the article portrays Clara Furse as Juliet leaning out of a balcony awaiting her true love and crying because she has been spurned. The article itself draws on the language of spurned love, referring to the German exchange as a 'suitor' and, rather than seeing Furse and her board as being quite hard-headed in their negotiations, she is characterised as 'playing hard to get' and having 'only one eligible partner left'. Warner even goes on to argue that unless Furse tries to get another company 'to the altar', she will lose her job. The female executive of a very influential institution is thus portrayed as a spurned lover, whereas this type of vocabulary and script is not used to portray male chief executives in takeover negotiations. It is difficult to characterise this article as overtly sexist. However, we need to see that this is a type of institutionalised indirect sexism, where sexual or romantic scenarios or scripts are drawn on when referring to women in positions of institutional power.

5.5.   Collocation

In order to analyse the more complex way in which sexism operates at the moment I will examine the connotations of words associated with women and also the collocations of those words. Collocation, as I have indicated, is concerned with the company that words keep, so that for example a word like 'greenhouse' generally keeps company with the word 'gas'; when you hear the word 'greenhouse' in the context of debates about the environment, it sets

collocating with spinster have negative connotations. They include: gossipy, nervy, over-made up, ineffective, jealous, love/sex-starved, frustrated, whey faced' and so on (2001: 159). She argues that:

> This example shows how the connotations of words do not arise from words themselves but from how they are used in context. The meanings of words are constructed and maintained by patterns of collocation. Collocations transmit cultural meanings and stereotypes which have built up over time. (Romaine, 2001: 160)

It might be argued that Romaine has chosen a word which seems to have very negative connotations, partly because it is a word which is generally seen to be outdated, but even with more neutral words there do seem to be collocational patterns. For example, Carroll and Kowitz (1994) found that certain adjectives tended to collocate with male-referent nouns ('rich', 'poor', 'brave', 'short', 'lazy', 'important', 'famous', 'pleased', 'happy') and others with female-referent nouns ('angry', 'beautiful', 'pretty', 'busy'). They also found that 'husband' occured much less frequently than 'wife' and in subject position rather than the object position occupied by 'wife'. This analysis of collocation and subject/object position is crucial in the way that women and men are represented and perceived. Thus, not only do these contexts have an indirect impact on the meaning of these terms, they also have a wider impact on other terms referring to women and men and on the way women and men are represented generally.

5.6.   Androcentric perspective

Many feminists have remarked upon the fact that there exist a great number of words in the English language which etymologically display a male perspective at work; 'vagina', for example, derives etymologically from the word meaning 'sheath' in Latin. 'Penetration' also suggests a male active and female passive perspective. The term 'foreplay' suggests that this stimulation is not a sexual act in its own right but is only engaged in as a prelude to penetrative sex. However, it should be noted that although terms like 'screwing' and 'fucking' historically have referred to a male-oriented perspective on sex, where the male is active and the female passive, that is not necessarily the case with these verbs now; women also tend to say that they have 'fucked' or 'screwed' or 'laid' someone, despite the masculine metaphor of 'screwing', and men also may refer to 'getting laid'.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet note that reports of rape very often seem to have a male perspective. When they compared the representations in newspapers of rape cases where women teachers had raped male students and where males had raped female students, they found that the victims were described differently. The female victims were referred to as 'young women' and as 'students'

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A YouGov survey for Young Women's Trust has revealed that a third (33%) of female HR managers agree that sexist behaviour still exists in their organisation and a quarter (25%) of female HR managers agree it is harder for women to progress in their organisation than men.

The new research shows nearly 1 in 10 (9%) HR managers reporting that they were aware of young women (aged 18 to 30) being patronised or their opinions being overlooked within the last year. 45% reported that their organisation employed more men than women in management or senior roles.

A quarter (25%) of female HR managers disagreed that their organisations take proactive action to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace, compared to 17% of male HR managers. But 56% of all respondents said doing so would help bring about women's gender equality in the workplace. 1 in 10 (10%) of female respondents were aware of cases of sexual harassment that had not been reported in the past year.

These findings add to earlier research from Young Women's Trust by Yonder Data solutions in November 2020, which found that in a survey of 2,000 young women in England and Wales aged 18 to 30, 76% of young women said they thought women faced discrimination in the workplace, and 36% of young women said they would be reluctant to report sexual harassment for fear of losing their job (19% of men), an increase from 25%

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Note to editors

- Young Women's Trust commissioned YouGov to conduct a survey of HR decision-makers. All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 862 junior managers and above working within HR/ operations/ management . Fieldwork was undertaken between 11 to 17 February 2021. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of the UK business population by size and sector. The findings show that:
  - 33% of female HR managers agree sexist behaviour still exists in their organisation
  - 18% agree it is harder for women to progress in their organisation than men
  - 9%HR managers reporting that they were aware of Young women (aged 18 to 30) being patronized or their opinions being overlooked
  - 45% reporting that their organisation employed more men than women in management or senior roles
  - 25% of female HR managers disagreed that their organisations take proactive action to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace
  - 17% of male HR managers said that their organisations did not take proactive action to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace
  - 60% of female HR managers said they thought taking proactive action to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace would help bring about women's gender equality in the workplace.

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JURNAL KULTUR

Humor Seksis: Bentuk Pelecehan dalam Sudut Pandang Perempuan

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to understand and describe women's perceptions of sexist comments directed at them. Sexism is prejudice or discriminatory behavior based on one's gender, especially women who are often classified as second-class subordinates, this research explains how awareness is in line with the intentions, feelings and experiences of victims. This research uses qualitative research methods through a descriptive approach, and the stages of data collection by means of literature studies, interviews and documentation. Researchers will also conduct an in-depth interview process to deepen the research topic with informants. Sexist humor is humor that degrades, oppresses, stereotypes, and objectifies someone based on their gender. According to research, sexist humor makes women more victims. Catcalling is one of the many forms of verbal sexual harassment, usually the catcaller as the perpetrator of catcalling is male. Catcalling is still considered and only as a funny and entertaining joke, this shows that men's attitudes towards women are gender specific. The results of the research conducted show that the cognitive outcomes of adolescent girls when receiving sexist comments are influenced by several factors such as the environment in which she lives, the emotional impact and her perception of herself as a woman. There is a gap in understanding between gender roles and unethical acts of gender discrimination. Thus, the majority of male informants are in a dominant position or accept sexist humor as entertainment, while the majority of female informants are in a bargaining and oppositional position that rejects and interprets sexist humor as humor that insults, demeans, harasses and objectifies women.

Keywords: sexist humor, catcalling, gender, objectification, perception.

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini adlaah untuk memahami dan menjelaskan persepsi perempuan terhadap komentar seksis yang ditujukan kepada mereka. Seksisme adalah prasangka atau prilaku diskriminatif berdasarkan jenis kelamin seseorang, terutama perempuan yang sering digolongkan sebagai bawahan kelas dua, penelitian ini menjelaskan bagaimana kesadaran yang sejalan dengan niat, perasaan dan pengalaman korban. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif melalui pendekatan deskriptif, dan tahapan pengumpulan data dengan cara studi literatur, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Peneliti juga akan melakukan proses wawancara mendalam untuk memperdalam topik penelitian dengan informan. Humor seksis adalah humor yang merendahkan, menindas, menstereotipkan, dan mengobjektifikasikan seseorang berdasarkan jenis kelaminnya. Menurut penelitian, humor seksis membuat perempuan lebih banyak menjadi korban. Catcalling adalah salah satu dari sekian banyak bentuk pelecehan seksual verbal, biasanya catcaller sebutan pelaku catcalling adalah laki-laki. Catcalling masih dianggap dan hanya sebagai bahan lelucon yang lucu dan menghibur, hal ini menunjukkan bahwa sikap laki-laki terhadap perempuan bersifat spesifik gender. Hasil penelitian yang telah dilakukan menunjukkan bahwa hasil kognitif remaja perempuan saat menerima komentar seksis dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor seperti lingkungan tempat ia tinggal, dampak emosional dan persepsi dirinya sebagai seorang perempuan. Adanya kesenjangan pemahaman antara peran gender dan tindakan tidak etis alam bentuk diskriminasi gender. Dengan demikian, mayoritas laki-laki berada pada posisi dominan atau menerima humor seksis sebagai hiburan, sedangkan informan perempuan mayoritas berada pada posisi tawar dan oposisi yang menolak dan memaknai humor seksis sebagai humor yang menghina, merendahkan, melecehkan dan mengobjektifikasi..

Kata kunci: humor seksis, catcalling, gender, objektifikasi, persepsi.

1. PENDAHULUAN

Belakangan ini muncul istilah baru dari beberapa jenis pelecehan seksual yang ada di Indonesia, yaitu catcalling. Catcalling biasanya dilakukan oleh pria yang dengan atau tanpa maksud yang jelas melecehkan wanita tanpa sepengetahuannya, seperti menggoda, memanggil

atau bersiul untuk mendapatkan perhatian wanita. Namun, sampai saat ini istilah catcalling belum begitu dikenal di kehidupan sosial bermasyarakat. Hal ini ditunjukkan dengan minimnya media sosial dan berita yang menyoroti fenomena tersebut, serta minimnya statistik yang mendokumentasikan tingkat kekerasan yang terjadi di jalanan, karena peristiwa ini masih dianggap normal dan tidak memiliki kerugian yang pasti. Masyarakat memahami bahwa itu adalah pelecehan sosial, namun di Indonesia sebagian perempuan masih mengalami perilaku tersebut di tempat umum. Contoh tempat yang bisa kita lihat adalah terminal dan pasar. Fenomena tindakan cabul atau kekerasan seksual baik secara verbal maupun non verbal di kalangan civitas akademik kampus dapat digolongkan sebagai perilaku yang tidak wajar (Kosenko dkk., 2017)seperti Humor Seksis di kalangan mahasiswa yang dianggap sebagai hal yang lazim dan diterima serta hal yang sangat mengkhawatirkan dalam interaksi sosial karena ketidaktahuan baik dari korban maupun pelakunya.

Humor seksis diartikan sebagai humor yang meremehkan, mempermalukan, stereotip, menipu, dan mengobjektifikan seseorang berdasarkan humor seksis. Humor seksis dianggap sebagai bentuk humor yang mnghina. Humor penghinaan (disparagement humor) adalah humor yang ditujukan untuk mempermalukan kelompok sosial tertentu. Humor seksis adalah istilah modern yang mengacu pada eksploitasi sosial terhadap perempuan. Pelecehan seksual, apapun cara yang dilakukan adalah perilaku yang salah, apapun agama seseorang tentu tidak membenarkan pelecehan sosial. Bahwa humor seksis merupakan sebuah perkataan ternyata mempunyai kekuatan untuk memberikan pengaruh sikap pada orang lain atau lawan bicara. Tidak hanya situasi saja yang mendukung perubahan sikap atas sebuah tuturan, tetapi utamanya tuturan lawan tuturlah yang menyebabkan lawan tutur menunjukkan sikap atas sebuah tuturan yang di berikan pelaku kepada korban humor seksis (Naurah Nadzifah & Purwo Yudi Utomo, 2020). Analisis ini serupa dengan analisis yang dilakukan oleh (Sriharsanti & Utomo, 2020)yang sama-sama menganalisis tindak tutur untuk memberikan informasi terkait suatu hal. (Sriharsanti & Utomo, 2020) menganalisis tindak tutur lokusi untuk memberikan informasi kepada mitra tutur tentang produk kecantikan. Sementara itu, penulis melakukan analisis untuk memberikan pemahaman tentang pentingnya selalu waspada terhadap pelecehan verbal dan non-verbal di mana saja, dan berani bersuara melawan pelecehan serta melaporkannya.

Untuk sebagian orang humor seksis masih dipandang sebagai lelucon yang mneyenangkan dan menghibur serta rayuan atau godaan. Godaan dilakukan oleh laki-laki mulai dari remaja hingga dewasa dan ada juga yang sudah tua atau biasa dipanggil om-om pada umumnya, karena pada usia ini laki-laki yang melihat perempuan yang menurutnya cantik kebanyakan tertarik pada mereka, jadi oknum-oknum lelaki akan melakukan catcalling sekalipun berada di tempat umum. Kriteria perempuan yang pernah menjadi korban pelecehan misalnya perempuan yang memakai pakaian tidak senonoh di tempat umum, seperti baju ketat, celana pendek, make up berlebihan dan hal-hal lain yang membangkitkan nafsu laki-laki.

Menurut hasil dari analisis lapangan dan penelitian yang sudah pernah di lakukan oleh orang lain bahwa humor seksis memiliki berbagai bentuk baik dari fisik ataupun online , salah satu teori yang penulis temukan adalah artikel dari Rivani dengan judul "Humor seksis dan teori perkebangan nya " yang mengatakan bahwa teori yang mempengaruhi orang melakukan humor seksis adalah teori superioritas yang artinya humor yang bersumber dari penderitaan orang lain, teori ketidaksesuaian yang artinya mengarahkan pada suatu pandangan namun mengemukakan hasil yang berbeda dari ekspetasi atau bisa di sebut punchline dalam jokes, selanjutnya adalah teori pelepasan yang artinya teori yang memiliki tujuan untuk mengihlangkan stres seseorang yang berada di dalam tekanan , yang dari sini banyak di tujukan kepada gender perempuan yang memiliki hati nurani yang gampang rapuh.

Fenomena humor seksis juga bisa dirasakan di sekitar kampus penelitian. Menurut pengamatan, humor seksis biasanya disebarkan oleh pria. Artinya adalah wanita seringkali sebagai korban atau target humor seksis. Humor itu biasa digunakan sebagai pembuka percakapan untuk mencairkan dan menanggapi hal ini menunjukkan bahwa humor seksis masih menjadi masalah rasional, lucu, dan menarik. Humor seksis dalam konteks ini merupakan jenis humor yang kerap digunakan dalam perbincangan tiap hari diceritakan kepada orang lain, dan diulang berdasarkan konten yang dibagikan.

Peneliti menemukan bahwa humor seksis dibentuk dari perkembangan stereotipe gender, yang terikat dengan masyarakat. Agar bisa memahami konsep gender, seseorang harus membedakan antara kata gender dan kata gender. Pengertian jenis kelamin adalah sifat atau pembagian dua jenis kelamin yang didefinisikan secara biologis yang terkait dengan jenis kelamin tertentu. Selamanya, instrumen itu tidak berubah dan merupakan ketentuan atau sifat Tuhan. Sementara itu, konsep lain adalah konsep gender, yaitu sifat-sifat yang melekat pada pria dan wanita yang dikonstruksikan secara sosial dan budaya. Misalnya, wanita itu dikenal manis, cantik, penyayang atau keibuan. Sedangkan pria dianggap kuat, rasional, maskulin atau kuat. Sifat-sifat alam itu sendiri adalah sifat yang dapat dipertukarkan. Artinya, ada pria yang penyayang, lembut, teladan, lain hal itu ada juga wanita yang kuat, rasional, dan berkuasa. Nilai feminitas seperti kelembutan, kasih sayang, perhatian, dan kasih sayang lebih melekat pada wanita, sedangkan nilai maskulin seperti keberanian, akal, kekuatan, dan agresi lebih melekat pada pria. (Fakih & Mansour. 2016).

Selanjutnya, muncul pertanyaan mengapa pengungkapan persoalan perempuan melalui analisis gender sering mendapat tentangan baik dari pria maupun wanita. Selain itu, mereka yang mengkritik sistem sosial yang dominan seperti kapitalisme seringkali menolak analisis gender. Untuk mengatasi masalah ini, perlu diketahui beberapa penyebab resistensi tersebut. Pertama, sebab menantang kedudukan wanita secara fundamental pada dasarnya menantang sistem dan struktur yang sudah mapan, bahkan menantang kedudukan wanita secara fundamental pada dasarnya mengguncang tatanan dan sistem ketidakadilan tertua dalam masyarakat. Kedua, banyak miskonsepsi tentang mengapa isu anita harus dipersoalkan. Ketiga, perjuangan kesetaraan gender dipandang sebagai upaya wanita untuk mendominasi pria, sehingga terdapat "ketakutan" bagi kaum laki-laki bahkan perempuan itu sendiri dalam menerima usaha-usaha kesetaraan gender. Kesulitan lain adalah bahwa diskusi tentang gender pada dasarnya adalah diskusi tentang hubungan kekuasaan yang sifatnya sangat pribadi, memengaruhi kita masing-masing secara individu dan menantang hak istimewa yang kita miliki dan nikmati saat ini. Oleh karena itu, memahami konsep gender sebenarnya merupakan pertanyaan mendasar untuk menjelaskan masalah hubungan antara wanita dan pria, atau masalah hubungan manusia dengan kita. Masalah lain adalah kata "gender" adalah kata asing dalam kehidupan, sehingga sangat sulit untuk mendeskripsikan konsep gender dalam konteks bahasa Indonesia (Liyani, W., & Hanum, F. (2020)

Melalui artikel ini, penulis tertarik ingin mempelajari lebih lanjut tentang sudut pandang perempuan terhadap humor seksis atau yang biasa disebut catcalling, khususnya di kalangan mahasiswa Universitas Negeri Semarang. Karena humor seksis dianggap lumrah dan wajar di kalangan mahasiswa dan menjadi hal yang sangat mengkhawatirkan dalam interaksi sosial karena ketidaksadaran korban dan pelaku. Peraturan kampus tentang kekerasan seksual kurang penting dan hanya sebatas formalitas belaka, yang menunjukkan bahwa sanksi terhadap pelaku kekerasan seksual di kampus baik verbal maupun nonverbal masih belum tegas dan dianggap angin lalu. Maka dari itu, tidak heran jika banyak korban yang malu untuk mengadukan kekerasan seksual yang dialaminya, karena tidak ada perlindungan dan solusi atas kekerasan terhadap korban. Maka tujuan penulis dengan adanya artikel ini adalah untuk mengingatkan para pembaca bahwa humor seksis bisa dilakukan oleh siapa pun dan dimana pun, humor seksis itu tidak keren dan terkesan merendahkan harga diri orang yang melakukannya, sehingga seseorang tersebut dapat membuat orang lain tidak nyaman dan terkesan mengganggu kenyamanan masyarakat.
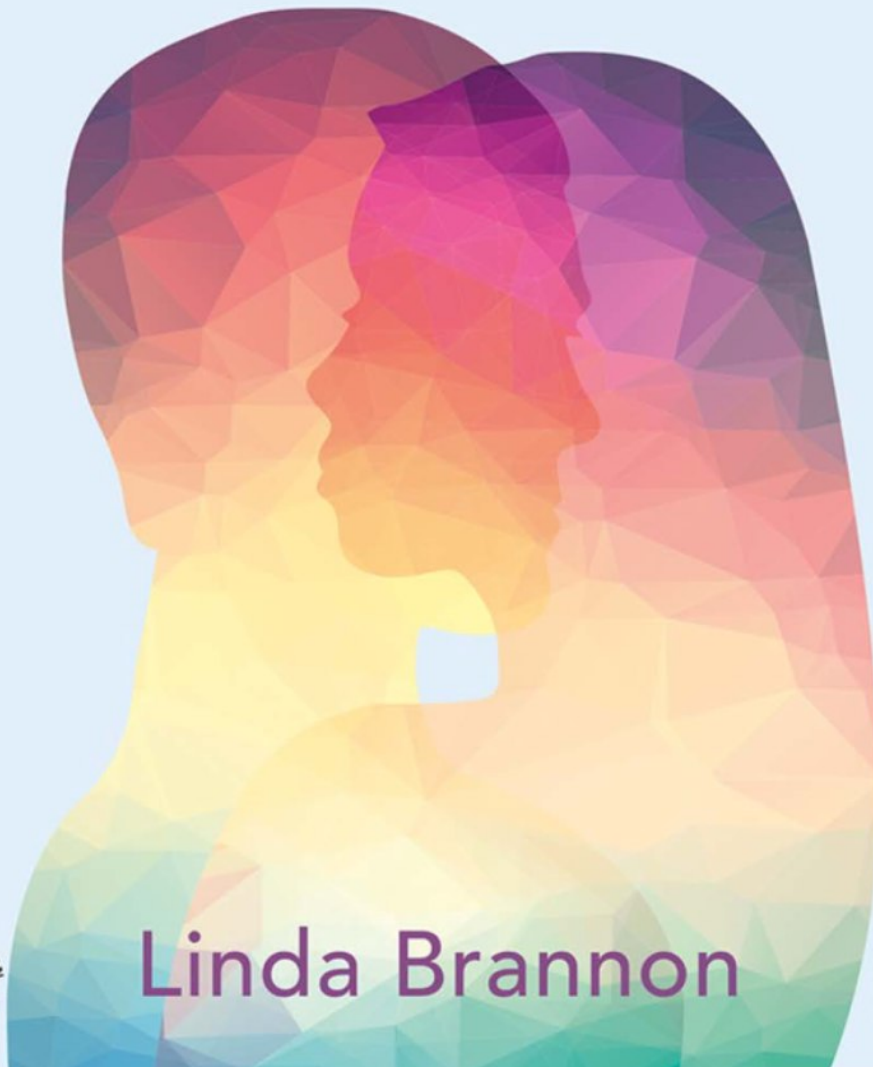
2. METODOLOGI PENELITIAN

Dalam penulisan karya ini digunakan kajian yang mendalam tentang perspektif perempuan dalam humor seksis. Menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Deskriptif kualitatatif adalah sebuah metode penelitian dengan pendekatan kualitatif yang menggunakan alur sederhana (Yuliani, 2018). Dalam kualitatif deskriptif ini memberikan sebuah tujuan yaitu untuk mendeskripsikan, menjelaskan, memberikan gambaran fenomena yang diteliti. Dalam penelitian deskriptif ini bersifat ilmiah dan menggunakan fakta bukan opini. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif yang dalam penelitian ini mencoba menyajikan rumusan masalah dengan berbasis data. Bentuk data yang dikumpulkan dapat berupa teks dan gambar (Moleonng, 2018)

SEVENTH EDITION

Gender

Psychological Perspectives

Linda Brannon

COMPANION @ WEBSITE

Sex or Gender?

With the growing interest in women's issues came concerns about how to phrase the questions researchers asked. Those researchers who have concentrated on the differences between men and women historically have used the term **sex differences** to describe their work. In some investigations, these differences were the main emphasis of the study, but for many more studies, such comparisons were of secondary importance (Unger, 1979). By measuring and analyzing differences between male and female participants, researchers have produced a huge body of information on these differences and similarities, but this information was not of primary importance to most of these researchers.

When differences between women and men began to be the focus of research, controversy arose over terminology. Some researchers objected to the term *sex differences*, contending that any differences trace back to biology (McHugh, Koeske, & Frieze, 1986). Critics also objected that the term has been used too extensively and with too many meanings, including chromosomal configuration, reproductive physiology, secondary sex characteristics, as well as behaviors or characteristics associated with women or men (Unger, 1979). Rhoda Unger proposed an alternative—the term **gender**. She explained that this term describes the traits and behaviors that are regarded by the culture as appropriate to women and men. *Gender* is thus a social label and not a description of biology. This label includes the characteristics that the culture ascribes to each sex and the sex-related characteristics that individuals assign to themselves. Carolyn Sherif (1982) proposed a similar definition of gender as "a scheme for social categorization of individuals" (p. 376). Both Unger and Sherif recognized the socially created differentiations that have arisen from the

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According to the Research . . . Feminists Are Neither of the Above

According to research conducted with feminist women, they fail to match any of the stereotypes promoted in the media. An examination of the events of the protest during the 1968 Miss American pageant failed to show any burned bras (Kreydatus, 2008). A "freedom trash can" was part of the protest, and the protesters threw in objects they associated with "female garbage," such as bras, girdles, false eyelashes, and steno pads, but they did not set the objects on fire. The bra burning was symbolic, not literal, but the image persisted.

The notion that feminists hate men is also a widespread belief, but little research has investigated and none has supported this stereotype. One study assessed women's feminism and then tested their attitudes toward men (Anderson, Kanner, & Elsayegh, 2009). The results indicated the opposite of the stereotype: Feminists had *lower* levels of hostility toward men than women who did not identify themselves as feminists.

Some feminist scholars (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006) have contended that the media focus on the more extreme issues and members of feminist groups, which has created the image of Limbaugh's "feminazis" but fails to capture the women or the issues of feminism. As feminist Courtney Martin (2007) said, "Feminism in its most glorious, transformative, inclusive sense, is not about man-hating" but about educated choices for men as well as for women, genuine equality, and a vision of gender roles that allow individuals to become their most authentic selves. This image lacks the controversy and varies from the media stereotype of feminists.

Literature & Composition

READING
WRITING
THINKING

Carol Jago

Renée H. Shea

Lawrence Scanlon

Robin Dissin Aufses

1

Thinking about Literature

In the past, most people curled up with a book, whether on a sofa on a rainy day, under a tree on a sunny one, or under the covers with a flashlight. Today, those scenes may sound downright quaint, when the very idea of "the book" is open to debate. With more and more books being digitized, people are starting to click on a screen as often as they flip a page. In fact, some believe that e-readers will supplant the physical book, and the ads make a convincing argument: "Simple to use: no computer, no cables, no syncing. Buy a book and it is auto-delivered wirelessly in less than one minute. More than 250,000 books available" (amazon.com). Plus, there's no denying that having a text online, whether on a laptop or e-reader, could make for efficient reading, with hyperlinks, access to search engines, built-in dictionaries, and other bells and whistles. Literature has also moved from the page to the stage as spoken-word poetry has become a global phenomenon, with large audiences of all ages, lively competitions, and stars with enthusiastic followings.

Yet amid stories that "the book" will become a cultural artifact, literature lives on. Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, written in the late 1800s, topped the best-seller list in 2004, thanks to Oprah Winfrey and her book club. More recently, sales of the final installment of the Harry Potter series exceeded four hundred million copies. So whether you have a paperback, an audiobook, an e-text, or the author right in front of you performing the work, what still seems to matter is, does the work hold your interest? give you a break from your day-to-day life? inform you? challenge or provoke you? or even entertain you?

There are stories or poems that don't go beyond entertaining—they're fun—and there's nothing wrong with that. But many of those works are probably not what we would call "literature." Of course, not everyone agrees on precisely what defines literature, but what we mean is a work that rewards the time, concentration, and creativity put into reading, rereading, exploring, analyzing, discussing, and interpreting it. Literary texts are ones we're likely to remember—ones that may, in fact, influence who we are, how we experience our world, and what truths guide our lives.

Many writers believe that the truth of human experience is too complex, too dazzling, to be reduced to simple facts. The poet Emily Dickinson suggests that anyone attempting to understand or explain the nature of life would do well to adopt a roundabout approach. From her perspective, "Success in Circuit lies."

1

who is in conflict with another person, called the **antagonist**. A conflict may also be internal, such as those in which a character struggles with temptation or tries to reconcile two incompatible traits. The main characters in a literary work grow or change over the course of the story or play; in fact, that change often structures the plot. The clearest example of character change structuring a plot is seen in a **coming-of-age story**, also called a **bildungsroman**, which chronicles how a young character grows from innocence to experience. For a character's growth to be believable, it must be clearly motivated by the circumstances of the story. Sometimes the change is gradual and sometimes it is sudden, as with an **epiphany**, a term Irish author James Joyce used to describe when a character suddenly realizes something significant about life.

Characters commonly fall into two categories: round (also called dynamic) or flat (also called static). The protagonist is typically a **round character**, one who exhibits a range of emotions and changes over the course of the story. Round characters have multiple personality traits and thus resemble real people. **Flat characters** embody only one or two traits and provide a background for the protagonist's actions. A common type of flat character is the **foil**, a contrasting character who allows the protagonist to stand out more distinctly. **Stock characters** may represent stereotypes, such as the absent-minded professor or the town drunk, occasionally providing comic relief.

Developing Character

Authors can reveal character either directly or indirectly. **Direct characterization** occurs when a narrator explicitly describes the background, motivation, temperament, or appearance of a character. In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, for instance, we are told directly that Mrs. Bennet "was a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper. When she was discontented, she fancied herself nervous. The business of her life was to get her daughters married." **Indirect characterization** occurs when an author shows rather than tells us what a character is like through what he or she says, does, or thinks, or what others say about the character.

Let's take a look at another excerpt from *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen. Notice the way Austen directly and indirectly characterizes Mr. Darcy.

> Mr. Bingley was good looking and gentlemanlike; he had a pleasant countenance, and easy, unaffected manners. His sisters were fine women, with an air of decided fashion. His brother-in-law, Mr. Hurst, merely looked the gentleman; but his friend Mr. Darcy soon drew the attention of the room by his fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mien; and the report which was in general circulation within five minutes after his entrance, of his having ten thousand a year. The gentlemen pronounced him to be a fine figure of a man, the ladies declared he was much handsomer than Mr. Bingley, and he was looked at with great admiration for about half the evening, till his manners gave a disgust which turned the tide of his popularity; for he was discovered to be proud, to be above his company,

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KAJSA EKIS EKMAN

ON THE MEANING OF SEX

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE NEW DEFINITION OF WOMAN

TRANSLATED BY KRISTINA MÄKI

SPINIFEX

CHAPTER 6

2007: The Order of Modernity

Despite the fact that research has failed to pin down exactly what gender identity is, gender identity theory has become enormously popular. In just a short space of time, governments and institutions throughout the western world have begun to view sex as an identity and not as material reality. In Sweden, this change has only taken ten years. It suffices to compare two government inquiries on the trans issue to see the giant leap that was taken between 2007 and 2017. In 2007, there was a government inquiry on sex reassignment conducted by special investigator and Appeal Court lawyer Lars Göran Abelson with expert assistance from senior doctors, lawyers and professors. They produced a 268-page report, 'Sex Reassignment – Proposals for a New Law', which included the view that:

> [O]bjectively speaking, it can be said that a man is an individual with external sex organs with a particular appearance, has a certain combination of chromosomes and a particular set of endocrine glands. A woman can be defined in a similar way. Another definition is the ability to become a father as opposed to a mother of a child.[91]

The report's authors went on to say that sex is something that children learn to identify early on and that they know "sex is unchanging over time and is not dependent on what activity one engages in (a boy does not become a girl if he plays with Barbie dolls)."[92] This is a material definition of sex as chromosomes, not gender roles. The inquiry clearly separated sex from gender, the latter "being/the basis of the socially constructed view of feminine and masculine."[93] In other words, sex is the body, while gender is the Barbie doll. The two are not the same thing and are not necessarily linked.

PARaDoXeS OF GENDeR

JUDITH LORBER

A second major paradox is the origin of gender and, especially, gender inequality. Because gender is ubiquitous in human society, the belief has been that it must be genetic or physiological and that gender inequality is ultimately based on procreative differences. But a close examination of females' and males' relationship to procreation reveals that it is females who are at an advantage, not males:

> Women's ability to bear babies in contrast to men's inability to do so, is a potential source of power unmatched in modern times by any physical advantages men have. . . . Usually, in civilized societies, varying degrees of compensations have been created for the deprived . . . In the case of fertility, however, instead of repairing the disabled—that is, men—they have received compensation in the form of social customs that give them power over the able—that is, over women's bodies—and fertility. (Tangri 1976, 896)

This paradox is resolved if gender is conceptualized as a social institution often rooted in conflict over scarce resources and in social relationships of power. Gender inequality structures the unequal conditions of procreation, not the other way around (Rich 1977). Where women and men are different but not unequal, women's birth-giving is not a source of subordination. Indeed, for much of human history, people worshiped goddesses of fertility; statues of these goddesses can be found in every archaeological museum.

Gender is a human invention, like language, kinship, religion, and technology; like them, gender organizes human social life in culturally patterned ways. Gender organizes social relations in everyday life as well as in the major social structures, such as social class and the hierarchies of bureaucratic organizations (Acker 1988, 1990). The gendered microstructure and the gendered macrostructure reproduce and reinforce each other. The social reproduction of gender in individuals reproduces the gendered societal structure; as individuals act out gender norms and expectations in face-to-face interaction, they are constructing gendered systems of dominance and power. [6] Gender has changed in the past and will change in the future, but without deliberate restructuring it will not necessarily change in the direction of greater equality between women and men.

Order of the Book

The usual order of most books (and courses) on gender is to start with individuals and show how they are gendered through socialization and through

LOIS TYSON

critical theory today
A user-friendly guide

THIRD EDITION

feminist criticism, African American criticism (which studies, among other things, works by African Americans within the context of African American experience, history, and literary traditions), lesbian criticism, Marxist criticism, and postcolonial criticism (which studies, among other things, works that have emerged from cultures that developed in response to colonial domination, for example, works by writers from India, which was controlled by Britain until 1947). Of course, women's issues will also be addressed in any literary criticism that focuses on women writers from a particular ethnic group: for example, to name a few we haven't mentioned, Chicanas, Latinas, Native American women, and Asian American women. Although all of these categories may address women's experience, generally speaking it is only when a feminist perspective helps guide the interpretation that a piece of criticism is referred to as feminist. Clearly, these categories easily overlap, and it is not unusual to find literary critics who consider themselves hybrids of a sort, for example, Marxist-feminist or lesbian-feminist-Chicana critics.

Gender studies and feminism

As we have seen throughout this chapter, feminist analysis focuses a good deal on the enormous role played by gender – that is, by a society's definitions of femininity and masculinity – in our daily lives. For example, our gender plays a key role in forming our individual identity: both our self-perception and the way we relate to others. And our gender strongly influences how we are treated by others and by society as a whole as it is embodied in such institutions as the medical profession, the law, the educational system, and our culture's hiring and employment practices. In addition, queer theory, which you can read about in Chapter 10 ("Lesbian, gay, and queer criticism"), has brought a good deal of attention to gender issues over the last several years by raising questions concerning our society's heterosexual assumptions about sexuality and gender, for example, its assumption that males are "naturally masculine" and that females are "naturally feminine." It seems logical, then, that gender has emerged as a field of study in its own right devoted to these and to all topics pertaining to gender. Indeed, you may already have taken a course called Gender Studies or Women and Gender Studies: the latter title is often given to courses about gender when their primary focus is the relationship between gender and the patriarchal oppression of women.

For our purposes, an understanding of some of the major issues addressed by gender studies is a useful and perhaps indispensable part of our understanding of the ways in which feminist concerns are continuing to evolve and expand. Among other issues that figure prominently in gender studies are the following overlapping topics: (1) patriarchal assumptions about gender and gender roles that continue to oppress women, (2) alternatives to the current way we conceptualize gender as either feminine or masculine, (3) the relationship between sex and gender (between

the ways our bodies are biologically constructed and the genders to which we are assigned), and (4) the relationship between sexuality and gender (between our sexual orientation and the ways in which we are viewed in terms of gender). Of course, we've discussed throughout this chapter many of the ways in which patriarchal assumptions about gender and gender roles continue to oppress women, so let's take a look now at each of the three remaining areas.

To begin, we need alternatives to the current way we think about gender because the current way we think about gender includes so many inaccuracies. Although research findings about gender, just like research findings in every field, often can be complex and contradictory, they can nevertheless alert us to the ways in which we've taken as facts too many widely held but unsubstantiated opinions and myths about gender. Let me cite just two striking examples, starting with a belief that I think most of us share about the biological operations of testosterone, or the "male hormone."

We've often said or heard it said about a male exhibiting overly or inappropriately aggressive behavior, "Oh, he just has too much testosterone." That is, aggressive behavior in males is generally considered an instinct rather than a product of such social factors as upbringing, psychological dynamics in the home, exposure to a dangerous environment outside the home, and the like. And once a behavior is considered instinctual and linked to gender, it is difficult for many of us to see it in any other light. Robert M. Sapolsky points out, however, that studies of testosterone levels in males have been limited to showing merely that increased testosterone levels *accompany* increased aggression. That is, there is no research indicating that increased testosterone levels *cause* aggression; it is merely assumed that they do so. Sapolsky's research indicates that, in fact, testosterone does not elevate aggression. Rather, "aggression elevates testosterone secretion" (16). Sapolsky observes that "[s]ome testosterone" is necessary for "normal aggressive behavior" (17), but the range of what is necessary is very wide. "[A]nywhere from roughly 20 percent of normal to twice normal" (17) produces roughly the same amount of normal aggressive behavior in males. So even if we know the testosterone level for each individual in a given group of males, we will not be able to predict their aggression because the range of what is considered a normal amount of testosterone is so wide. Excessive amounts of testosterone, Sapolsky notes, can "*exaggerat[e]* the aggression that's already there" (17, Sapolsky's italics), but it doesn't cause aggression. In other words, testosterone permits aggression to occur only if that aggression is elicited by "the social factors and environment in which [aggression] occurs" (Sapolsky 19).

Just as unsubstantiated opinion has been widely accepted as fact concerning the role of testosterone in male aggression – a role that is also associated, for many of us, with the male "instinct" to be the breadwinner and to protect the home – so has unsubstantiated opinion been widely accepted as fact concerning the role of the maternal instinct in females. Again, because caregiving, especially caregiving to

infants and young children, has been labeled a female instinct, it is difficult for many of us to consider it in any other light. As Linda Brannon notes, however, "research on ... emotion has revealed that there may be few gender differences in the inner experience of emotion. Gender differences appear in how and when emotion is displayed" (213), she observes, rather than in how and when emotion is felt. Specifically, Brannon finds that "[r]esearch on gender differences in responsiveness to babies has shown differences in self-reports, but not in physiological measures, of responses to babies" (214). Thus, "girls and women show more responsiveness to babies because they believe they should, and ... boys and men show less responsiveness for the same reasons" (214).

Of course, women are still much more involved in childcare than men, and women who take care of children report that they experience both a great deal of pleasure and a great deal of irritation in caring for them. It is interesting to note, however, that men who spend a great deal of time caring for children often report similar responses (Brannon 214). Indeed, most of us have seen the growing trend in fathers' increased involvement in the lives of their children. Moreover, Brannon points out, "research indicates that ... the concept of maternal instinct has no support as a biologically based explanation for caregiving, and both men and women have similar emotions related to nurturing" (214). While no one is trying to say that women are not good caregivers to children, a more accurate statement is that many women *and* men are good caregivers to children and enjoy that role a great deal; at the same time, however, many women and men wouldn't choose that role as their primary function in the household if they had a choice. In short, nurturing is not a role biologically linked to sex although many people long have believed it to be.

Both of the examples just given suggest that gender is socially constructed rather than a matter of biology: women and men usually behave in ways associated with their assigned gender because they are socially programmed to do so, not because it is natural for them to do so. However, if there is one dimension of gender studies that is perhaps even more capable of making us rethink our conventional way of viewing gender, it is cross-cultural studies in gender. For as Joan Z. Spade and Catherine G. Valentine point out, "The variations and fluidity in the definitions and expressions of gender across cultures illustrate that the American gender system is not universal" (5).

The American gender system is referred to as a binary system because it consists of two genders, masculine and feminine, that are based on two sexes, male and female, and because those two genders are considered polar opposites. There is no in-between: you're either masculine or feminine because you're either male or female, and if you're not one or the other of these two genders, then there must by something wrong with you. In numerous other cultures, however, there are gender systems that are not binary. Among the many that have existed in the past and

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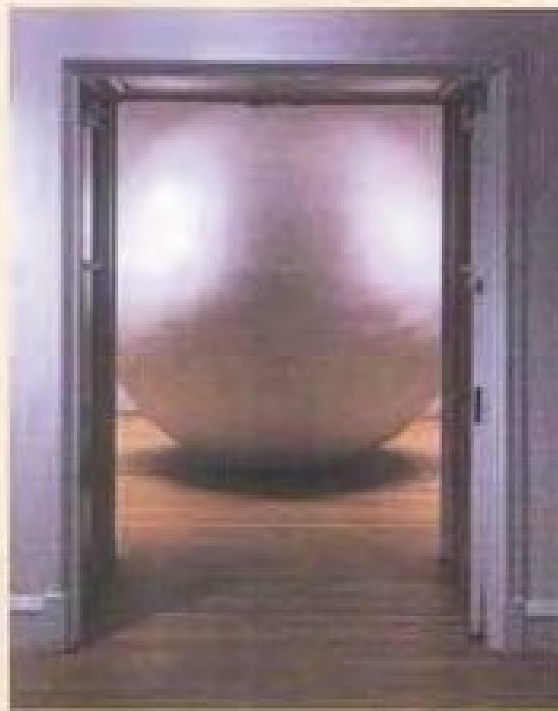
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R. G. FREY and
CHRISTOPHER HEATH WELLMAN

claims depend on truant evidence (Fausto-Sterling, 1985), and that any immediate normative implications follow from whatever differences might exist between men and women.

In what follows we proceed on the assumption that the more plausible course is to take some version of the second as true. To follow this line in investigating the ways in which women are systematically disadvantaged is to investigate sexism. We begin with a characterization of sexism. We then offer a brief history of its social recognition. We turn then to the levels at which sexism conditions human social life, and discuss some paradigm examples of sexism. We then set out the two principal types of feminist theories of sexism, and conclude with a brief discussion of three objections to struggles against sexism.

What is Sexism?

It is important to note at the outset that sexism is a highly complex notion. It is thus much easier to define conceptually, though this is no small task, than to concretely and unequivocally identify. Though there are certainly patent cases of sexism, on many definitions sexism is often only identifiable by its symptoms or consequences. We can quite readily explain that, if some distribution of opportunities systematically deprives women of what is offered to men, and there is no apparent overriding reason which justifies such a distribution, then we have a clear prima facie case of sexism. As a general claim this seems to us both undeniable and unassailable. The idea that sexism involves systematic inequality is, in short, a commonly recognized working definition. Yet those who deny that there is (much) sexism in the world, or in a particular case, often demand clear, ostensible evidence. Objective, operational criteria would be helpful here, and helpful for doing research or making policy as well. The task of finding such criteria is often quite difficult and comes from a wide array of theories covering the gamut of the social and psychological world. For sexism happens not only in explicitly institutionally structured settings, such as, for example, the denial of equal opportunity for jobs, but also in the daily and presumably much more spontaneous interactions between persons. As these latter interactions involve a wide variety of motives and causes, they may appear to be idiosyncratic and individualized rather than socially constructed. In such cases the charge of sexism might then appear less apt because less than obvious. Thus, the conceptual work of clarifying the nature of sexism is a far easier task than the practical work of showing that some particular concrete instance involving the mistreatment of women is the result of sexism or an instance of sexism. It is for this reason that much feminist work focuses on conceptual clarification and the organization of women's experience.

In its widest sense the term "sexism" can be used to refer to anything that creates, constitutes, promotes, sustains, or exploits an unjustifiable distinction between the sexes (Frye, 1983: 18). In this wide sense the term "sexism" (and its nominative "sexist") can be used to refer to any purported though mistaken difference between the sexes. This neutral descriptive use of the term, however, is deeply unsatisfactory. First, because the history of the term (brief as it is) shows it to have been intentionally

and disorienting. Women sometimes describe their first recognition of sexism as a moment of realization, a "click" in which many previously disparate experiences, problems, reports, and issues become unified. What seemed previously to be simply one's own experiences, become a woman's experiences. What seemed previously to be personal problems, become women's problems. What were reports about others, or issues concerning others, become stories and issues about women like oneself. The recognition of sexism thus involves both a new way of conceptualizing experience and an identification with other women. It is also, unsurprisingly, a bewildering recognition (Bartky, 1990). For once made it is difficult to determine which of one's reactions are, and which are not, the result of one's own idiosyncrasies. As the world of personal experience fades and the pervasiveness of sexism becomes more clear, few aspects of one's life remain in place. Fear, anger, and resentment at being insulted or threatened (however subtly) can no longer be regarded as simply personal reactions to personal affronts. They may, and often are, better apprehended as part of a system of oppression, in which individual perpetrators, perhaps even unknowingly, reaffirm the boundaries resulting from sexism.

The recognition of sexism for men is and has been both a slower and seemingly quite different process (Segal, 1990). Few men report the recognition of sexism as a "click." It is more likely to take the form of a ploddingly arduous reconstruction of their own experience, which will require that they take responsibility for participation in sexist practices, and re-evaluate many of their beliefs and desires. Forms of male social interactions (e.g. jokes, chiding) come to be recognized as a mutual devaluing of women. Aspects and images of masculinity come to be recognized as compelling yet inconsistent with an aspiration for both inclusive social justice and uncoerced interpersonal cooperation. The recognition of sexism can thus also be transformative. As it is accompanied by an awareness that by forgoing forms of power and privilege the exercise of which determines one's relative social standing, the transformation carries considerable personal risk. As it is accompanied by a realization of complicity the intentional nature of which is not always clear, it carries considerable moral risk. Different accounts of sexism will affect the degree of moral risk men face and the degree of personal risk which they ought to undertake.

Though the dynamics may be different, what is clear for both men and women is that the recognition of sexism, and its corresponding personal transformation, is a prerequisite for social transformation. Sexism, as noted above, works at a number of different levels whose interaction is, again, in need of further clarification.

Levels of Sexism

Sexism can be seen as a force responding to and molding human interactions. As a force, it can be seen, roughly, to operate at three levels: institutional sexism, which works on and through the level of social institutions; interpersonal sexism, which works on and through interactions among individuals who are not explicitly mediated by institutional structures; and unconscious sexism, which works at the personal level of the cognitive and affective processes of individuals. It is helpful to

108

sort out these levels in order to explain why some charges of sexism are relatively uncontroversial, while others are difficult to see or evidence conclusively.

Institutional sexism

Institutional sexism refers to invidious sexual inequalities in the explicit rules and implicit norms governing and structuring social institutions. Religious institutions provide a useful example of how explicit rules and implicit norms structure institutions. In the Catholic Church, for instance, it is an explicit rule that all priests are men and all nuns are women. Only priests can run the church hierarchy, and priests outrank nuns in most decision-making situations. While it is clear how explicit rules can govern and structure institutions, this example can also help us to see that implicit norms also structure Catholic experience and create sexual inequality. While it is no longer widely accepted as an explicit rule that in heterosexual marriage the man is the head of the household and the woman is the helpmeet, it is implied by the relative rank of priests and nuns in the church and by its sacred writings. This implicit norm positions men above women in marriage (as in all other social institutions in which both sexes are present), clearly an invidious sexual inequality. In addition to the more explicitly rule-governed institutions of government, religion, family, health care, and education, there are crucially important informally or implicitly structured institutions prime among them being language, and the sites of cultural and artistic production. To say that sexism is a systematic social injustice based on one's sex (Radcliff Richards, 1980), or a discriminatory sex-role differentiation (Bartky, 1990), is to speak of institutional sexism. Sexism, then, must be understood as a part of the social order, similar to the economic order of capitalism or the political order of liberalism.

Interpersonal sexism

Whereas institutional sexism involves the explicit rules and their implicit norms that sustain oppressive social institutions, interpersonal sexism involves interactions between persons that are not governed by explicit rules. Interpersonal sexism comprises actions and other expressions between persons that create, constitute, promote, sustain, and/or exploit invidious sexual inequalities.

The person who is acting in a sexist way or making a sexist expression need not intend sexism; there are intentional and unintentional forms of interpersonal sexism. Here are some examples from our experiences:

- As a child, the girl is not allowed the free play of her brothers; she is prevented by her parents and teachers from engaging in rough-and-tumble play, not included in activities involving building, transportation, etc., not encouraged to try or expected to succeed at sports, mathematics, or leadership activities, and required, unlike her brothers, to do domestic chores.
- In school the teachers require her to speak less and restrain her behavior more than boys. Teachers reward her with better grades for her passivity, but boys

exclude her from their games and begin to take the superior attitudes of their fathers.

- In sports she sees males and manhood extolled, females and womanhood ridiculed. Coaches and team-mates insult male athletes by calling them "woman" or "girl," and praise them with the term "man."
- When a man and a woman negotiate a car loan or a home loan, or buy an expensive machine, the salesperson speaks only to the man. Supermarket ads are aimed, meanwhile, at women as housewives.
- In conversations between colleagues men are routinely deferred to while women's remarks are ignored. When a male colleague repeats what a female has said, he is complimented for his good idea.

Sexism is a key motif that unifies this otherwise seemingly disparate set of personal experiences. This list could, of course, be greatly expanded, and much feminist work has been devoted to increasing our stock of example experiences. This work is important because sexism is such an integral but unspoken part of the everyday world that both men and women have a difficult time recognizing it. For society's ground of legitimacy seems to require that injustice be recognized and socially opposed. Yet the injustice of sexism is built into the very fabric of everyone's everyday experiences from infancy on.

Unconscious sexism

"Unconscious sexism" refers to the psychological mechanisms and tacit beliefs, emotions, and attitudes that create, constitute, promote, sustain, and/or exploit invidious sexual inequalities. This category will be denied by many as vague, unprovable, or too easily invoked. But there are both conceptual and empirical arguments in favor of its existence. The conceptual argument is that the statistical evidence concerning the lesser lives that women live would be completely puzzling given the legal guarantees of equality for men and women in many countries were it not for the possibility of such unconscious sexism. Institutional and interpersonal sexism cannot alone account for all the data. That implies that there are unconscious attitudes and beliefs that allow persons in positions of power unconsciously to prefer men to women when social rewards are distributed, and yet not to see themselves or be seen as applying sexist standards.

The empirical argument is widely diffused, but accessible. It consists first of all in evidence for the existence of unconscious motivations, which is vast in the psychological literature. Second, there is evidence that when the same work is attributed to a woman it is judged of less value than when attributed to a man (Valian, 1998). Third, there is evidence that women find it more painful to think of themselves as oppressed, and men find it more painful to think of themselves as the privileged gender. Thus, there is motivation for neither women nor men to think of women as oppressed and men as dominant (Branscombe, 1998). Fourth, there is a great deal of evidence from social cognitive psychology to suggest that persons make invidious distinctions among salient social categories, that we tend to amplify them well beyond the real differences between individuals in those categories, and

110

that sex is one of those categories (Tajfel, 1981). Now since it surely cannot be argued that men get the worse end of this deal, this fact constitutes evidence for the claim that such cognitive processes tend to create unconscious sexist attitudes and beliefs. There is, no doubt, a great deal more evidence that could be cited, but this much should be sufficient to make the point that unconscious sexism is a real, documented, psychological phenomenon.

Having demonstrated its reality, however, some discussion and examples will be helpful to see how unconscious sexism is manifested and how one might go about discovering it. The key to recognizing unconscious motivations, especially unsavory ones that persons are reluctant to acknowledge in themselves, is to look for decisions or actions that could not be justified by a reasonable assessment of the available evidence. What counts as "reasonable" and "available" are crucial issues here, of course. By "reasonable" we mean consistent with one's other explicitly held beliefs and widely shared, non-sexist, knowledge in the community. We insist on explicit beliefs here because, of course, if one has tacit sexist beliefs the action could be reasonable but sexist, and yet not counted as unconscious. By "available evidence" we are referring to reports that would be made by a member of the community who does not have sexist beliefs or attitudes, or whose sexist beliefs played no role in the reports, or to widely shared, non-sexist, knowledge in the community. Of course, there may be no non-sexist members of any community. The practices of sexism affect one's self-conception. Internal critique may not be enough to free oneself from identification with those practices. But we must begin to identify sexist practices somewhere. Granting that it is possible that we will not recognize all unconscious (or, indeed, all conscious) sexism, we can still begin by finding the more obvious cases. Consider the following examples:

- A philosophy department is looking to hire a new faculty member. One-third of the applicants are women. One-third of the interview list is made up of women. In the interviews the women are judged as doing worse than the men. The comments afterwards are that they don't seem "as polished" or "professional" as the men. The fact is that the women do not meet the interviewers' expectations of what a philosopher or a faculty member is supposed to look like, a stereotype that includes being a man.

- A department is considering how to advise a female colleague and a male colleague concerning their chances for tenure. They have equal but modest publishing records, and roughly equal but modest teaching records. However, the female colleague has far more service. Both colleagues have been active participants in the departmental politics and have voiced strong opinions in departmental meetings. The male is judged to be an excellent colleague, while the female is judged to be uncollegial. They give the male colleague a very positive report for his tenure prospects, and the female is warned that she must publish more and improve her teaching to get tenure. In fact, the department has judged her to be worse because they feel uncomfortable with a strong, active woman, while the man is judged to have leadership qualities.

- A drug is being tested for its effectiveness in preventing heart disease. All the research subjects are men. When asked to account for this the research team

leader responds that women's hormones would interfere with the study. While it is surely true that the drug could affect women differently from men as a result of female hormones, it is equally true that it could affect men differently from women as a result of male hormones. This symmetry is lost on the research team, who, like most of us, tend to think of women as the ones with the "interfering" or abnormal hormones.

Unconscious sexism often seems to be innocent, in the sense that the beliefs or feelings that make it up are never voiced, and often based on widely shared stereotypes. Whether or not it is innocent surely depends on the degree to which the individual has access to information that counters the unconscious sexist beliefs and attitudes, a condition that depends on larger social factors. Although we do believe that "sexism" names not only a mistake but a prima facie wrong, there are cases where one can commit this wrong and yet not be culpable.

These levels of sexism are, of course, interrelated. Understood as institutional discrimination, sexism concerns the interactions between men and women only as symptoms of a more pervasive problem. Social institutions guide, and on some accounts cause, our interpersonal attitudes. Our self-conceptions and our conception of others are at least partially a product of the social structures through which we interact with one another. How they are interrelated is a central question within feminism, feminist philosophy, and feminist social science. Different ways of understanding the interrelations between these levels result in different, and sometimes quite divergent, accounts. Two types of account are prominent in the feminist literature. In the next section we discuss these two types.

Two Feminist Views of Sexism

Though feminists agree that sexism structures our very experience of the world, feminist theories of sexism vary considerably. None the less, they can be very roughly divided into two categories. First, what can be labeled "equality feminism" maintains that social institutions are the primary medium of sexism. Men and women do not differ markedly in their potential capacities, interests, and abilities. Given similar training, men and women would develop fairly similar talents, at least as similar as those between men or between women. Thus if we are to transform society it will require that we resist and undermine those institutions that enforce sex differences and disproportionately deprive women of opportunities to develop highly valued social skills. Equality feminists need not accept what we have above called "the man standard." Rather, most contemporary equality feminists employ measures of social value such as utility, respect for human rights, or hypothetical agreement in order to develop gender-neutral standards by which to judge the opportunities, activities, and proclivities of men and women.

Alternatively, "difference feminists" maintain that unconscious desires are the primary medium of sexism. Accordingly, social institutions are the result, rather than the cause, of sexism. Recently a variety of feminists holding this view have attempted to both articulate the differences between men and women

112

Language and Woman's Place

TEXT AND COMMENTARIES

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of an utterance, indicate the relationship the speaker feels between himself and his addressee, between himself and what he is talking about.

As an experiment, one might present native speakers of standard American English with pairs of sentences, identical syntactically and in terms of referential lexical items, and differing merely in the choice of "meaningless" particle, and ask them which was spoken by a man, which a woman. Consider:

(3) (a) Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.
     (b) Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.

It is safe to predict that people would classify the first sentence as part of "women's language," the second as "men's language." It is true that many self-respecting women are becoming able to use sentences like (3) (b) publicly without flinching, but this is a relatively recent development, and while perhaps the majority of Middle America might condone the use of (b) for men, they would still disapprove of its use by women. (It is of interest, by the way, to note that men's language is increasingly being used by women, but women's language is not being adopted by men, apart from those who reject the American masculine image [for example, homosexuals]. This is analogous to the fact that men's jobs are being sought by women, but few men are rushing to become housewives or secretaries. The language of the favored group, the group that holds the power, along with its nonlinguistic behavior, is generally adopted by the other group, not vice versa. In any event, it is a truism to state that the "stronger" expletives are reserved for men, and the "weaker" ones for women.)

Now we may ask what we mean by "stronger" and "weaker" expletives. (If these particles were indeed meaningless, none would be stronger than any other.) The difference between using "shit" (or "damn," or one of many others) as opposed to "oh dear," or "goodness," or "oh fudge" lies in how forcefully one says how one feels—perhaps, one might say, choice of particle is a function of how strongly one allows oneself to feel about something, so that the strength of an emotion conveyed in a sentence corresponds to the strength of the particle. Hence in a really serious situation, the use of "trivializing" (that is, "women's") particles constitutes a joke, or at any rate, is highly inappropriate. (In conformity with current linguistic practice, throughout this work an asterisk [*] will be used to mark a sentence that is inappropriate in some sense, either because it is syntactically deviant or used in the wrong social context.)

(4) (a) *Oh fudge, my hair is on fire.
     (b) *Dear me, did he kidnap the baby?

As children, women are encouraged to be "little ladies." Little ladies don't scream as vociferously as little boys, and they are chastised more severely for throwing tantrums or showing temper: "high spirits" are expected and therefore tolerated in little boys; docility and resignation are

44

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the corresponding traits expected of little girls. Now, we tend to excuse a show of temper by a man where we would not excuse an identical tirade from a woman: women are allowed to fuss and complain, but only a man can bellow in rage. It is sometimes claimed that there is a biological basis for this behavior difference, though I don't believe conclusive evidence exists that the early differences in behavior that have been observed are not the results of very different treatment of babies of the two sexes from the beginning; but surely the use of different particles by men and women is a learned trait, merely mirroring nonlinguistic differences again, and again pointing out an inequity that exists between the treatment of men, and society's expectations of them, and the treatment of women. Allowing men stronger means of expression than are open to women further reinforces men's position of strength in the real world: for surely we listen with more attention the more strongly and forcefully someone expresses opinions, and a speaker unable—for whatever reason—to be forceful in stating his views is much less likely to be taken seriously. Ability to use strong particles like "shit" and "hell" is, of course, only incidental to the inequity that exists rather than its cause. But once again, apparently accidental linguistic usage suggests that women are denied equality partially for linguistic reasons, and that an examination of language points up precisely an area in which inequity exists. Further, if someone is allowed to show emotions, and consequently does, others may well be able to view him as a real individual in his own right, as they could not if he never showed emotion. Here again, then, the behavior a woman learns as "correct" prevents her from being taken seriously as an individual, and further is considered "correct" and necessary for a woman precisely because society does not consider her seriously as an individual.

Similar sorts of disparities exist elsewhere in the vocabulary. There is, for instance, a group of adjectives which have, besides their specific and literal meanings, another use, that of indicating the speaker's approbation or admiration for something. Some of these adjectives are neutral as to sex of speaker: either men or women may use them. But another set seems, in its figurative use, to be largely confined to women's speech. Representative lists of both types are below:

neutral	women only
great	adorable
terrific	charming
cool	sweet
neat	lovely
	divine

As with the color words and swear words already discussed, for a man to stray into the "women's" column is apt to be damaging to his reputation, though here a woman may freely use the neutral words. But it should not be inferred from this that a woman's use of the "women's" words is without

45

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its risks. Where a woman has a choice between the neutral words and the women's words, as a man has not, she may be suggesting very different things about her own personality and her view of the subject matter by her choice of words of the first set or words of the second.

(5) (a) What a terrific idea!
     (b) What a divine idea!

It seems to me that (a) might be used under any appropriate conditions by a female speaker. But (b) is more restricted. Probably it is used appropriately (even by the sort of speaker for whom it was normal) only in case the speaker feels the idea referred to to be essentially frivolous, trivial, or unimportant to the world at large—only an amusement for the speaker herself. Consider, then, a woman advertising executive at an advertising conference. However feminine an advertising executive she is, she is much more likely to express her approval with (5) (a) than with (b), which might cause raised eyebrows and the reaction: "That's what we get for putting a woman in charge of this company."

On the other hand, suppose a friend suggests to the same woman that she should dye her French poodles to match her cigarette lighter. In this case, the suggestion really concerns only her, and the impression she will make on people. In this case, she may use (b), from the "woman's language." So the choice is not really free: words restricted to "women's language" suggest that concepts to which they are applied are not relevant to the real world of (male) influence and power.

One may ask whether there really are no analogous terms that are available to men—terms that denote approval of the trivial, the personal; that express approbation in terms of one's own personal emotional reaction, rather than by gauging the likely general reaction. There does in fact seem to be one such word: it is the hippie invention "groovy," which seems to have most of the connotations that separate "lovely" and "divine" from "great" and "terrific" excepting only that it does not mark the speaker as feminine or effeminate.

(6) (a) What a terrific steel mill!
     (b) *What a lovely steel mill! (male speaking)
     (c) What a groovy steel mill!

I think it is significant that this word was introduced by the hippies, and, when used seriously rather than sarcastically, used principally by people who have accepted the hippies' values. Principal among these is the denial of the Protestant work ethic: to a hippie, something can be worth thinking about even if it isn't influential in the power structure, or moneymaking. Hippies are separated from the activities of the real world just as women are—though in the former case it is due to a decision on their parts, while this is not uncontroversially true in the case of women. For both these

46

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groups, it is possible to express approval of things in a personal way—though one does so at the risk of losing one's credibility with members of the power structure. It is also true, according to some speakers, that upper-class British men may use the words listed in the "women's" column, as well as the specific color words and others we have categorized as specifically feminine, without raising doubts as to their masculinity among other speakers of the same dialect. (This is not true for lower-class Britons, however.) The reason may be that commitment to the work ethic need not necessarily be displayed: one may be or appear to be a gentleman of leisure, interested in various pursuits, but not involved in mundane (business or political) affairs, in such a culture, without incurring disgrace. This is rather analogous to the position of a woman in American middle-class society, so we should not be surprised if these special lexical items are usable by both groups. This fact points indeed to a more general conclusion. These words aren't, basically, "feminine"; rather, they signal "uninvolved," or "out of power." Any group in a society to which these labels are applicable may presumably use these words; they are often considered "feminine," "unmasculine," because women are the "uninvolved," "out of power" group par excellence.

Another group that has, ostensibly at least, taken itself out of the search for power and money is that of academic men. They are frequently viewed by other groups as analogous in some ways to women—they don't really work, they are supported in their frivolous pursuits by others, what they do doesn't really count in the real world, and so on. The suburban home finds its counterpart in the ivory tower: one is supposedly shielded from harsh realities in both. Therefore it is not too surprising that many academic men (especially those who emulate British norms) may violate many of these sacrosanct rules I have just laid down: they often use "women's language." Among themselves, this does not occasion ridicule. But to a truck driver, a professor saying, "What a lovely hat!" is undoubtedly laughable, all the more so as it reinforces his stereotype of professors as effete snobs.[10]

When we leave the lexicon and venture into syntax, we find that syntactically too women's speech is peculiar. To my knowledge, there is no syntactic rule in English that only women may use. But there is at least one rule that a woman will use in more conversational situations than a man. (This fact indicates, of course, that the applicability of syntactic rules is governed partly by social context—the positions in society of the speaker and addressee, with respect to each other, and the impression one seeks to make on the other.) This is the rule of tag-question formation.[11] [12]

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[a]Within the lexicon itself, there seems to be a parallel phenomenon to tag-question usage, which I refrain from discussing in the body of the text because the facts are contro-

47

PEMIKIRAN GENDER MENURUT PARA AHLI:
Telaah atas Pemikiran Amina Wadud Muhsin, Asghar Ali Engineer, dan Mansour Fakih

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Abstrak

Ajaran agama memiliki potensi dominan dalam penerapan ideologi gender yang bias. Dalam konteks itu pula, agama bisa memberikan inspirasi dan dorongan munculnya ketidakadilan gender. Bagaimana mungkin agama bisa berpotensi menimbulkan ketidakadilan? Tentu saja potensi ketidakadilan itu bukan bersumber dari prinsip agama, melainkan karena proses perkembangan agama yang didominasi oleh budaya patriarkhat. Untuk itu, ajaran agama harus ditinjau kembali dan dianalisis secara krisis, terutama ajaran tentang faktor kodrati atau ilahi dan faktor yang bukan kodrati. Pada dasarnya, setiap agama mengajarkan bahwa manusia diciptakan sama derajatnya, baik laki-laki maupun perempuan.[1] Terdapat beberapa pemikir yang memiliki perhatian besar atas persoalan gender telah mengupas secara teoretis, dan metodologis, diantaranya Amina Wadud Muhsin, Asghar Ali Engineer, dan Mansour Fakih.

Kata Kunci: pemikiran gender; Amina Wadud Muhsin; Asghar Ali Engineerr; Mansour Fakih

A. Pendahuluan

Gender adalah suatu konsep yang digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi perbedaan laki-laki dan perempuan dari sudut non-biologis. Hal ini berbeda dengan sex yang secara umum digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi perbedaan laki-laki dan perempuan dari segi anatomi biologi. Istilah sex lebih banyak berkonsentrasi pada aspek biologis seseorang yang meliputi perbedaan komposisi kimia dan hormon dalam tubuh, anatomi fisik, reproduksi dan karakteristik biologis lainnya. Sementara itu, gender lebih banyak berkonsentrasi pada aspek sosial, budaya, psikologis dan aspek-aspek non-

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[1] Nunuk P. Murniati, *Getar Gender*, (Magelang: Indonesiatera, 2004) h. 3.

Perbedaan gender *(gender differences)* pada proses berikutnya melahirkan peran gender *(gender role)* dan dianggap tidak menimbulkan masalah, maka tak pernah digugat. Jadi secara biologis *(kodrat)* kaum perempuan dengan organ reproduksinya bisa hamil, melahirkan, menyusui dan kemudian mempunyai peran gender sebagai perawat, pengasuh dan pendidik, se-sungguhnya tidak ada masalah dan tidak perlu di gugat. Akan tetapi yang menjadi masalah dan perlu di gugat oleh mereka yang menggunakan analisis gender adalah struktur "ketidakadilan" yang ditimbulkan oleh peran gender dan perbedaan tersebut. Dari studi yang dilakukan dengan meng-gunakan analisis gender ini ternyata banyak ditemukan pelbagai manifestasi ketidakadilan seperti dalam uraian berikut:

a. Marginalisasi *(pemiskinan ekonomi)* terhadap kaum perempuan. Meski-pun tidak setiap marginalisasi perempuan disebabkan oleh ketidak-adilan gender, namun yang dipersoalkan dalam analisis gender adalah marginalisasi yang disebabkan oleh perbedaan gender. Misalnya, banyak perempuan desa tersingkirkan dan menjadi miskin akibat program pertanian yang hanya di fokuskan kepada kaum laki-laki. Hal ini karena asumsinya bahwa petani itu identik dengan petani laki-laki.

b. Subordinasi pada salah satu jenis kelamin, umumnya kepada kaum perempuan. Dalam rumah tangga, masyarakat, banyak kebijakan dibuat tanpa menganggap penting kaum perempuan. Misalnya, perempuan hanya pantas di dapur atau hanya sebatas *konco wingking*.

c. *Stereotype* (pelabelan negatif) terhadap jenis kelamin tertentu dan akibat dari stereotype itu terjadi terjadi diskriminasi serta berbagai ketidak-adilan lainnya. Dalam masyarakat banyak sekali pelabelan negative yang diletakkan kepada kaum perempuan yang berakibat membatasi, menyulitkan, memiskinkan dan merugikan kaum perempuan. Karena adanya keyakinan masyarakat bahwa laki-laki adalah pencari nafkah utama. Tapi jika perempuan bekerja itu hanya dinilai sebagai tambah-an dan dibayar lebih rendah.

d. *Violence* (kekerasan) terhadap jenis kelamin tertentu, umumnya per-empuan, karena perbedaan gender. Kekerasan ini mencakup kekerasan fisik seperti pemerkosaan dan pemukulan, sampai kekerasan secara halus seperti pelecehan. Banyak sekali kekerasan yang dilakukan terhadap perempuan yang diakibatkan karena adanya stereotype gender.

e. *Burden* (beban ganda*)*, adanya anggapan bahwa kaum perempuan memiliki sifat memelihara dan rajin, serta tidak cocok untuk menjadi kepala rumah tangga, berakibat bahwa semua pekerjaan domestic rumah tangga menjadi tanggung jawab kaum perempuan. Misalnya, di kalangan keluarga miskin beban yang sangat berat ini harus ditanggung oleh perempuan sendiri. Terlebih-lebih jika si perempuan terus bekerja, maka ia memikul beban kerja ganda.

Semua manifestasi ketidakadilan gender tersebut saling terkait dan saling mempengaruhi. Manifestasi ketidakadilan itu tersosialisasi kepada kaum laki-laki dan perempuan secara mantap, yang lambat laun akhirnya baik laki-laki maupun perempuan menjadi terbiasa dan akhirnya dipercaya bahwa peran gender itu seolah-olah merupakan kodrat. Lambat laun terciptalah suatu struktur dan system keadilan gender yang bisa diterima oleh masyarakat.[18] Menurut Mansour Fakih, ketidakadilan gender harus dihentikan dengan dua cara, diantaranya ialah:

a. Jangka Pendek, dapat dilakukan upaya-upaya program aksi yang melibatkan perempuan agar mereka mampu membatasi masalahnya sendiri.Misalnya dalam hal mengatasi marginalisasi perempuan di pelbagai objek peningkatan pendapatan, perlu melibatkan perempuan dalam program pengembangan masyarakat serta berbagai kegiatan yang memungkinkan kaum peempuan bisa mendapatkan akses dalam mendapatkan penghasilan tambahan. Akan halnya dalam subordinasi perempuan, perlu diupayakan pelaksanaan pendidikan dan mengaktifkan berbagai organisasi atau kelompok. Untuk menghetikan maslah kekerasan, pelecehan dan stereotype kaum perempuan. Kaum perempuan sendiri harus mulai memberikan pesan penolakan secara tegas kepada mereka yang melakukan kekerasan dan pelecehan agar tindakan tersebut bisa terhentikan.

b. Jangka Panjang. Strategis jangka panjang perlu dilakukan untuk memperkokoh usaha praktis jangka pendek.Misalnya dengan melancarkan kampanye kesadaran kritis dan pendidikan umum masyarakat untuk menghentikan ketidakadilan gender. Upaya strategis itu perlu dilaku-kan dengan beberapa pendukung seperti melakukan studi tentang

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[18]Mansour Faqih, *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial,* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010) h.72-77.

SOCIAL COGNITION

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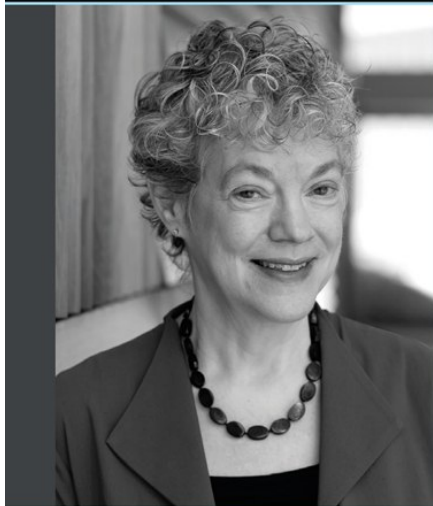
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6   The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory
Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism

Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske

Is sexism a form of prejudice? Although the question might appear absurd, consider Allport's (1954) influential definition of ethnic prejudice. Prejudice, Allport wrote, "is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 9). The existence of prejudice is commonly indexed by measures of antipathy, such as social distance (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980) and negative stereotypes (e.g., Sigall & Page, 1971). Relationships between men and women, however, do not easily fit the mold of ethnic prejudice, at the very least because no other two groups have been as intimately connected (S. T. Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Furthermore, cultural images of women from ancient to modern times are not uniformly negative; women have been revered as well as reviled (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984). Sexism is indeed a prejudice, but in this article we argue that it is, and probably always has been, a special case of prejudice marked by a deep ambivalence, rather than a uniform antipathy, toward women. Our goals are to: (a) reveal the multidimensional nature of sexism, (b) offer a theoretical and empirical analysis of the sources and nature of men's ambivalence toward women, (c) compare our conception of ambivalent sexism with other theories of ambivalence (including ambivalent racism), and (d) provide a validated measure of ambivalent sexism.

Hostile and benevolent sexism

Sexism has typically been conceptualized as a reflection of hostility toward women. This view neglects a significant aspect of sexism: the subjectively positive feelings toward women that often go hand in hand with sexist antipathy. We view sexism as a multidimensional construct that encompasses two sets of sexist attitudes: hostile and benevolent sexism. *Hostile sexism* needs little explanation; by it we mean those aspects of sexism that fit Allport's (1954) classic definition of prejudice. We define *benevolent sexism*[1] as a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as

prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy-seeking (e.g., self-disclosure). We do not consider benevolent sexism a good thing, for, despite the positive feelings it may indicate for the perceiver, its underpinnings lie in traditional stereotyping and masculine dominance (e.g., the man as the provider and woman as his dependent), and its consequences are often damaging. Benevolent sexism is not necessarily experienced as benevolent by the recipient. For example, a man's comment to a female coworker on how "cute" she looks, however well-intentioned, may undermine her feelings of being taken seriously as a professional. Nevertheless, the subjectively positive nature of the perceiver's feelings, the prosocial behaviors, and the attempts to achieve intimacy that benevolent sexism generates do not fit standard notions of prejudice.

Evidence for benevolent sexism can be gleaned from a variety of research areas. Research on helping behavior shows that female targets are more likely to elicit help than male targets are (see Eagly & Crowley, 1986 for a meta-analysis of this effect). Both men and women are more likely to seek intimacy with female than with male strangers, as indexed by interpersonal distance (Riess & Salzer, 1981), touching (Major, Schmidlin, & Williams, 1990), and self-disclosure (Cozby, 1973; Morton, 1978).[2] Even the commonly accepted notion among social scientists that stereotypes of women are more negative than those of men has been called into question by Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991), who have found evidence for more positive stereotypes of women than men, on certain dimensions.

To balance the picture, however, it is important to note the prevalence of hostile sexism. In nearly all cultures and time periods for which information is available, women have been restricted to social roles with less status than those of men (Tavris & Wade, 1984). In our own society, there is evidence that women still face discrimination in gaining employment (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Glick, 1991) and sexual harassment on the job (Gutek, 1985) and are perceived less favorably than men when enacting leadership roles in a masculine manner or domain (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Even though stereotypes of women contain many positive traits, the positive traits relate to social–emotional, not agentic dimensions, so women are portrayed as being nice but incompetent at many important tasks (e.g., analytical thinking). Finally, there is ample evidence that sexual violence toward women is disturbingly frequent (Unger & Crawford, 1992).

Sources of hostile and benevolent sexism

We propose that hostile and benevolent sexism have their roots in biological and social conditions that are common to human groups. Although "anthropologists do not totally agree on whether male dominance characterizes all human cultures" (Stockard & Johnson, 1992, p. 89), they do agree that patriarchy (men possessing structural control of economic, legal, and political institutions) is prevalent across cultures. Furthermore, "virtually all anthropologists doubt the existence of matriarchies at any phase of cultural evolution"

(Harris, 1991, p. 10). The bias toward patriarchy is probably due to several factors related to the biology of sexual reproduction: sexual dimorphism (men's greater size and strength may be one factor that typically allowed men to dominate preindustrial societies; Harris, 1991), the tendency for men to have a stronger social dominance orientation than women (as a result of sexual selection; Pratto, Sidanius, & Stallworth, 1993), and gender-based role divisions in which women perform the bulk of domestic duties (the mother carrying the fetus to term and providing nourishment for infants precipitated the traditional division of labor that restricted women to domestic roles; Stockard & Johnson, 1992).

Although hostility between groups that differ in physical appearance is an all-too-human condition, the biology of sex creates a situation that is uniquely different from other in-group–out-group distinctions. As Guttentag and Secord (1983) pointed out, sexual reproduction lends women "dyadic power" (power that stems from dependencies in 2-person relationships) in that it compels men to rely on women as bearers of children and, generally, for the satisfaction of sexual needs. In addition, men may seek to fulfill needs for psychological intimacy with women (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter; 1985), perhaps because such needs are not as easily met with other men, who typically are competitors for status and resources (Harris, 1991). Cross-cultural and historical evidence gathered by Guttentag and Secord (1983) shows that, within patriarchal societies, women's dyadic power is reflected in a particular form of social ideology: protective attitudes toward women, a reverence for the role of women as wives and mothers, and an idealization of women as romantic love objects. These are precisely the attitudes we define as characterizing benevolent sexism.

The degree of hostile as compared with benevolent sexism may vary widely among societies (from those in which women are treated as chattel to those dominated by an ideology of chivalry), depending on factors such as sex ratios (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). However, the balance of power between the sexes is typically complex, reflecting the coexistence of male structural power and female dyadic power (see Harris, 1991; Stockard & Johnson, 1992). Furthermore, even though benevolent sexism suggests a subjectively positive view of women, it shares common assumptions with hostile sexist beliefs: that women inhabit restricted domestic roles and are the "weaker" sex. Indeed, both hostile and benevolent sexism serve to justify men's structural power. Hostile sexist beliefs in women's incompetence at agentic tasks characterize women as unfit to wield power over economic, legal, and political institutions, whereas benevolent sexism provides a comfortable rationalization for confining women to domestic roles. Similar ideologies (e.g., the "White man's burden") have been used in the past to justify colonialism and slavery (see Tajfel, 1969). Like hostile and benevolent sexism, these ideologies combine notions of the exploited group's lack of competence to exercise structural power with self-serving "benevolent" justifications ("We must bear the burden of taking care of them") that allow members of the dominant group to view their actions as

not being exploitative. Thus, benevolent sexism may be used to compensate for, or legitimate, hostile sexism ("I am not exploiting women; I love, protect, and provide for them"). Although the ideology of "the White man's burden" seems archaic, the "man's burden" as protector and provider still provides a positive image for men that subtly reinforces notions of dominance over women (Nadler & Morrow, 1959).[3]

The above analysis suggests that both hostile and benevolent sexism revolve around issues of social power, gender identity, and sexuality. We propose that HS and BS are composed of three shared components: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality. Each component reflects a set of beliefs in which ambivalence toward women is inherent (i.e., each construct has a hostile and a "benevolent" aspect) and which serves to justify or explain the underlying social and biological conditions that characterize relationships between the sexes. Together, these three components form the core of our theory.

Paternalism

In common discourse, *paternalism* and *sexism* are often used synonymously, yet the former term, surprisingly, is not indexed in PsycLit, despite many references to the latter. *Paternalism* literally means relating to others "in the manner of a father dealing with his children" (*Random House College Dictionary*, 1973). This definition meshes well with the view that sexism is a form of ambivalence, for it includes connotations of both domination (*dominative paternalism*) as well as affection and protection (*protective paternalism*). Advocates of dominative paternalism justify patriarchy by viewing women as not being fully competent adults, legitimizing the need for a superordinate male figure. Yet protective paternalism may coexist with its dominative counterpart because men are dyadically dependent on women (because of heterosexual reproduction) as wives, mothers, and romantic objects; thus, women are to be loved, cherished, and protected (their "weaknesses" require that men fulfill the protector-and-provider role). Research on power in heterosexual romantic relationships confirms that dominative paternalism is the norm (see Brehm, 1992, chapter 9; Peplau, 1983). In its most extreme form, the traditional marriage (see Peplau, 1983), both partners agree that the husband should wield greater authority, to which the wife should defer. Protective paternalism is evident in the traditional male gender role of provider and protector of the home, with the wife dependent on the husband to maintain her economic and social status (Peplau, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984).

Gender differentiation

All cultures use physical differences between the sexes as a basis for making social distinctions, which are manifested as notions about gender identity (Harris, 1991; Stockard & Johnson, 1992). Developmentally, gender is one of the earliest and

strongest forms of group identity to be internalized (Maccoby, 1988), and people are more likely to categorize others on the basis of gender than on the basis of race, age, or role (A. P. Fiske, Haslam, & Fiske, 1991; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992). Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) suggests that the tendency to differentiate between groups will be strong when social status is bound up with group membership, helping to create social ideologies that justify the status differences. Like dominative paternalism, *competitive gender differentiation* presents a social justification for male structural power: Only men are perceived as having the traits necessary to govern important social institutions. This creates downward comparisons, in which women serve, in Virginia Woolf's (1929/1981) words, as "looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of a man at twice its natural size" (p. 35), allowing individual men to enhance their self-esteem by association with a male social identity (Tajfel, 1981). Alongside the competitive drive to differentiate, however, the dyadic dependency of men on women (as romantic objects, as wives and mothers) fosters notions that women have many positive traits (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Peplau, 1983) that complement those of men (*complementary gender differentiation*). Just as the traditional division of labor between the sexes creates complementary roles (men working outside the home, women within), the traits associated with these roles (and hence with each sex) are viewed as complementary. The favorable traits ascribed to women compensate for what men stereotypically lack (e.g., sensitivity to others' feelings). Hence a man may speak of his "better half"; for the benevolent sexist, the woman completes the man.

Heterosexuality

Virginia Woolf (1929/1981) hazarded her own answer about the reasons for polarized images of women in literature: "the astonishing extremes of her beauty and horror; her alternations between heavenly goodness and hellish depravity" are as "a lover would see her as his love rose or sank, was prosperous or unhappy" (p. 83). Heterosexuality is, undoubtedly, one of the most powerful sources of men's ambivalence toward women. Heterosexual romantic relationships are ranked by men (and women) as one of the top sources of happiness in life (see Berscheid & Peplau, 1983; Brehm, 1992), and these relationships are typically nominated as the most psychologically close and intimate relationships men have (Berscheid et al., 1989). Men's sexual motivation toward women may be linked with a genuine desire for psychological closeness (heterosexual intimacy). Although, at their best, heterosexual relationships are the source of euphoric and intimate feelings (Hatfield, 1988), romantic relationships between men and women also pose the greatest threat of violence toward women (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Men's dyadic dependency on women creates an unusual situation in which members of a more powerful group are dependent on members of a subordinate group. Sex is popularly viewed as a resource for which women act as the gatekeepers (Zillmann & Weaver, 1989).

This creates a vulnerability that men may resent, which is reflected in the frequency with which women are portrayed in literature as manipulative "temptresses," such as Delilah, who can "emasculate" men. The belief that women use their sexual allure to gain dominance over men (who would, in vulgar parlance, be called "pussy-whipped") is a belief that is associated with hostility toward women (Check, Malamuth, Elias, & Barton, 1985). As Bargh and Raymond (1995) and Pryor, Giedd, and Williams (1995) demonstrated, for some men sexual attraction toward women may be inseparable from a desire to dominate them (*heterosexual hostility*).

The nature of sexist ambivalence

We have suggested that sexist ambivalence stems from simultaneously holding two sets of related sexist beliefs: hostile and benevolent sexism. We label this *ambivalent sexism* because we believe that these two constructs subjectively entail opposite evaluative feeling tones toward women (a claim for which we offer supportive data in the studies that follow). However, the present conception of ambivalence proposes that hostile and benevolent sexism may be positively correlated, whereas other ambivalence theorists have assumed (and have found) that beliefs associated with ambivalence are typically conflicting (and therefore negatively correlated) or, at best, are unrelated (Cacioppo & Bernston, 1994; Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995). This raises the question: If the two sets of beliefs are positively correlated, can they be called "ambivalent"? We characterize them as ambivalent because, even if the beliefs about women that generate hostile and benevolent sexism are positively related, they have opposing evaluative implications, fulfilling the literal meaning of ambivalence ("both valences"). Eagly and Chaiken (1993) and Thompson et al. (1995) suggested that many different forms of ambivalence are possible because of the multidimensional nature of attitudes. For example, a man may hold two beliefs about women that he views as entirely consistent with each other (e.g., "Women are incompetent at work" and "Women must be protected"), yet these beliefs could yield opposing evaluations. Thus, a measure that focuses on beliefs about women, as ours does, could show a positive correlation between beliefs that are, nevertheless, diagnostic of opposing valences toward women.

Another reason why sexist individuals may, in our terms, be ambivalent toward women without experiencing any sense of confusion, conflict, or tension about these attitudes is that sexist ambivalence may generally take the form of dividing women into favored in-groups—consisting of women (e.g., homemakers) who embrace traditional roles that fulfilled paternalistic, gender identified, and sexual motives of traditional men—versus disliked out-groups—consisting of women (e.g., feminists) who challenge or threaten these needs and desires. Many researchers (e.g., Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Taylor, 1981) have argued that women are typically classified in terms of such subtypes. Ambivalent sexism may be most evident in polarized views of these different types (e.g., the notion of women as "saints" or "sluts"). It is worth

noting that it is precisely this form of ambivalence (polarized reactions toward different target individuals who arouse either the positive or the negative aspect of ambivalent attitudes) that is typically demonstrated in research on racial ambivalence (e.g., Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981).

By differentiating women in this manner, men could maintain a sense of attitudinal consistency ("I hate some women but love others"), even though they are quite ambivalent toward women as a whole. Furthermore, this differentiation into subtypes may help ambivalent sexists justify their attitudes as not prejudicial toward women overall because it is only certain types of women whom they dislike. This "unconflicted" form of ambivalence is not mutually exclusive with the possibility that particular female targets might arouse consciously conflicting feelings in ambivalent sexists. Women who simultaneously fit into a desired subtype on one dimension but fit into a hated subtype on another may arouse a conflicted form of ambivalence. Imagine, for instance, a sexist man's attitudes toward a daughter who is a radical feminist. Or consider sexist men's attitudes toward sexy women. We have argued above that such women may arouse conflicting feelings among sexist men, who find them sexually attractive but potentially dangerous as "temptresses" who can use their allure to dominate men. Thus, ambivalence may be evident in both an unconflicted form, in which different subtypes of women elicit either extremely positive or extremely negative reactions, as well as a conflicted form, in which particular female targets activate both hostile and benevolent motives.

Ambivalent sexism and ambivalent racism

Because recent theories of racism emphasize ambivalence, it is important to consider how these theories compare with our approach. Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) theory of aversive racism postulates that White hostility toward Blacks is well learned and automatic. A desire to be egalitarian conflicts with these feelings, leading aversive racists to bend over backward to demonstrate their egalitarianism but to exhibit hostility whenever the target or situation provides attributional ambiguity. A related approach is the construct of symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986). Advocates of this theory view racism as emerging covertly in policy-related attitudes (e.g., opposition to affirmative action) for reasons similar to Gaertner and Dovidio's (the individual can attribute the attitude to non-racial motives). Readers interested in how this approach may extend to sexism should refer to Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) Modern Sexism scale and to Tougas, Brown, Beaton, and Joly's (1995) Neo-Sexism scale, which examine gender-related policy attitudes.

Our ambivalent sexism approach shares some similarities with these theories. We believe that sexist attitudes also become automatic and that sexist ambivalence polarizes responses to different members of the target group. Unlike the two racism theories, however, we propose that sexist men have genuinely positive feelings, as well as hostile attitudes, toward women and that the desire to project and protect an egalitarian image is much less relevant to explaining

ABOUT THE ANTIBIGOTRY CONVENING REPORT

The Boston University Center for Antiracist Research's Antibigotry Convening took place in the Fall of 2021 and Winter of 2022. This report includes an introduction and contribution from the Center faculty and staff who facilitated the Convening, as well as contributions from the scholars and advocates who participated in the Convening. For more on the Convening process, please see the introduction to this report. The report is available as a PDF and may be accessed through the Center's website at https://www.bu.edu/antiracism-center/policy/ antibigotry-convening/.

SEXISM

Jioni A. Lewis, Ph.D. and Ria Tabacco Mar, Esq.[1]

"Sexism feels like this big heavy weight that is everywhere . . . Sometimes, I don't even notice and then, when I see it, it's like another little bit of weight sitting on me that I didn't even know that I had..." – *28-year-old South Asian woman conversation group participant*

The COVID-19 pandemic has put women at the center of the most unequal recession in modern American history.[2] In addition, women of color are more likely to work in frontline service jobs that lack the ability to work from home, which has put them at increased risk of COVID-19, and in turn are more likely to lack paid sick leave when they do contract the virus.[3] Yet the unique experiences of women with intersecting forms of marginalization have often been invisible throughout this pandemic.

For this report, we have chosen to apply an intersectionality lens to sexism as a form of structural bigotry to better illuminate the role of interlocking systems of oppression on the lives of women and girls. We highlight the various manifestations of sexism, including institutional, cultural, and individual forms of sexism. We describe the interaction between these levels of sexism to highlight the systemic nature of sexism and patriarchy in society. We focus on the impact of sexism on the lives of women and girls in the areas of employment, housing, education, healthcare and reproductive justice, family integrity, and police violence. Finally, we share solutions to dismantle sexism, patriarchy, and interlocking systems of oppression for the liberation of all women, girls, transgender, and gender expansive individuals in society.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a term coined by critical legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her critique of antidiscrimination law, which often excluded Black women's experiences at the intersection of racial and gender discrimination. Crenshaw asserted that Black women typically "experience discrimination as Black women—not the sum of race or sex discrimination, but as Black women."[4]

Intersectionality situates the marginalization of women within a historical context of patriarchy, white supremacy, and class exploitation.[5] For example, one 29-year-old Black participant mentioned their

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[2] Claire Ewing-Nelson, "All of the Jobs Lost in December Were Women's Jobs," *National Women's Law Center*, January 2021, https://nwlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/December-Jobs-Day.pdf.

[3] Whitney N. Laster Pirtle and Tashelle Wright, "Structural Gendered Racism Revealed in Pandemic Times: Intersectional Approaches to Understanding Race and Gender Health Inequities in COVID-19," *Gender & Society* 35, no. 2 (March 2021): 168-179, https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432211001302.

[4] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (1989): 149.

[5] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 75-77, 95-96.

grandmother's experience at the intersection of multiple forms of marginalization and shared that it was impossible to separate the discrimination she faced based on gender from discrimination based on race, immigrant status, and as a domestic worker. In addition, a 57-year-old Black participant stated, "My experiences with sexism cannot be parceled out from being a Black woman." Intersectionality highlights the limitations of framing gender inequality as *only* sexism since this erases the intersectional effects of discrimination experienced by women of color and other marginalized women.[6] An intersectionality lens illuminates interlocking systems of power and social inequality that negatively impact the lives of women and girls. Thus, applying intersectionality to a historical, legal, sociological, and psychological understanding of structural bigotry provides a nuanced framework to elucidate the impact of sexism on employment, housing, education, healthcare and reproductive rights, family integrity, and police violence against women and girls.

Manifestations of Sexism

Drawing on interdisciplinary scholarship, sexism manifests in all aspects of everyday life, from structural/institutional-level sexism to individual-level sexism. Throughout history, laws excluded women from an equal share of resources and power. For example, in the United States, women were not allowed to vote until the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920. As a result, patriarchal policies, practices, and structures have granted men power over women. In addition, historical and contemporary systematic practices have created a hierarchical society in which men have unearned privileges and women experience disadvantage.

Structural sexism has been defined as "systematic gender inequality at the macro level (U.S. state), meso level (marital dyad), and micro level (individual)."[7] In addition, according to psychology scholar Jioni Lewis, sexism includes two interlocking components: (a) a structural mechanism of domination; and (b) a corresponding ideological belief that justifies the oppression of women based on their gender.[8] This definition provides a framework to highlight the interlocking nature between the structure of sexism and the ideology of patriarchy. Moreover, Lewis described three manifestations of sexism: institutional, cultural, and individual (interpersonal and internalized).

Institutional sexism includes policies, practices, and norms that perpetuate inequality by restricting opportunities for women. For example, in the last several years, there have been several anti-abortion bills passed in various states that would severely limit access to reproductive healthcare, autonomy, self-determination, and economic security.[9] Several participants identified attacks on reproductive healthcare as a form of systemic sexism, though the two concepts are often viewed legally and socially as distinct. In addition, the lack of legal protections for domestic workers or the sentencing disparity for sexual assault and rape represent institutional sexism.

[6] Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing."

[7] Patricia Homan, "Structural Sexism and Health in the United States: A New Perspective on Health Inequality and the Gender System," *American Sociological Review 84*, no. 3 (2019): 486, https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419848723.

[8] Jioni A. Lewis, "From Modern Sexism to Gender Microaggressions: Understanding Contemporary Forms of Sexism and Their Influence on Diverse Women," in *APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and battlegrounds*, eds. Jacquelyn W. White et al. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2018): 382, https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-019.

[9] Jessica Arons, "Beyond the Bans: State Attacks on Abortion in 2021," *American Civil Liberties Union*, March 12, 2021, https://www.aclu.org/news/reproductive-freedom/beyond-the-bans-state-attacks-on-abortion-in-2021/.

Cultural sexism includes symbols and practices that are used to reinforce the notion that women are inferior to men. In addition, the societal messages, images, and media messages that assume women are naturally better caretakers, cooks, or house cleaners, represent cultural forms of sexism. For example, as one participant noted, the notion that feminism is "cute" and not to be taken seriously is a particularly ironic form of cultural sexism.

Individual sexism is the manifestation of institutional and cultural sexism in individual biases and prejudicial attitudes that denigrate women and view them as inferior to men in society.[10] For example, the belief that only men could be competent CEOs of a large corporation or President of the United States. In addition to such overt sexist attitudes and biases, individual sexism can also include benevolent sexism, which includes stereotyping women as naturally suited for domestic work and caretaking or as needing protection.[11] It is also possible for women to internalize these sexist beliefs and prefer men as bosses or assume women are less competent as bosses. For example, a 47-year-old white woman participant described *internalized sexism* by discussing "how amazingly good the patriarchy is at maintaining itself and the internalized misogyny that women take on." Interpersonal sexism includes communicating one's biases or prejudicial attitudes (verbally or nonverbally) to a woman in an interpersonal interaction. This has also been described as everyday sexism (i.e., incidents that occur in daily life that represent interpersonal forms of discrimination)[12] or gender microaggressions (i.e., sexist slights and insults directed towards women).[13]

Taken together, much of the interdisciplinary research on sexism highlights the ways that sexism operates at multiple levels within society. Thus, it is important to better understand the systemic nature of sexism and patriarchy. Despite U.S. laws that make discrimination based on sex illegal, sexism is still structurally embedded within our institutions, organizations, policies, and practices.

Institutional Policies that Perpetuate Sexism

The late Ruth Bader Ginsburg is credited with dismantling laws that expressly required discrimination against women (and men), such as the rule that widows (but not widowers) could receive Social Security survivor benefits after the death of a spouse, during the 1970s. In the process, she also generated a new norm of constitutional review for sex-based laws, a heightened level of judicial scrutiny more demanding than applied to nearly all laws save those that discriminate based on race and few other characteristics. And, today, federal civil rights laws expressly bar sex discrimination at work, at school, and in housing, credit, and other public contexts.

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[10]Lewis, "Modern Sexism to Gender Microaggressions," 382.

[11]Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske, "An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality," *American Psychologist* 56, no. 2 (2001): 109-118, https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109.

[12]Janet K. Swim et al., "Everyday Sexism: Evidence for Its Incidence, Nature, and Psychological Impact From Three Daily Diary Studies," *Journal of Social Issues* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 31-32, https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00200.

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BAHASA DAN GENDER; BIAS KOMUNIKASI SEKSIS "BAHASA ASING" MASYARAKAT PESANTREN

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Abstract: *The purpose of this study is to represent the sexuality of foreign languages (Arabic and English) spoken by the pesantren community as L2 speech community. This research uses descriptive-qualitative method. Language differences between men and women are caused by the separation among them at important stages in their lives (Shan Wareing; 1999). Sexist language is a language that represents men and women unequally where members of one sex group are considered to be inferior to humanity, simpler, and have fewer rights than another group. This language usually presents stereotypes about men and women which sometimes hurt both but more often harm women. The results of this study are that the pesantren community that communicates with L2 appears to experience differences, especially in language sexism. The differentiation and sexism of the language of the pesantren speech community enters various dimensions; 1). Dimension of discourse. The pesantren speech community which dominates L2 in language learning and language community especially when studying the religious book (kitab kuning). 2). Dimension of accents. The pesantren community requires foreign-speaking speeches to communicate. In this case, it appears when the pesantren community speaks in Arabic. Arabic has hierarchies of masculinity-femininity in its various variants. 3). Mitigated form. In this locus, the sexism of the pesantren language community when attending extracurricular activities (muhadarah). 4). Aggravated form. L2 sexism in pesantren communities is encountered when there is punishment for language violations. 5). Iconicity. Language sexism in the iconic model appears in the form of icons installed in places and public facilities in boarding schools.*
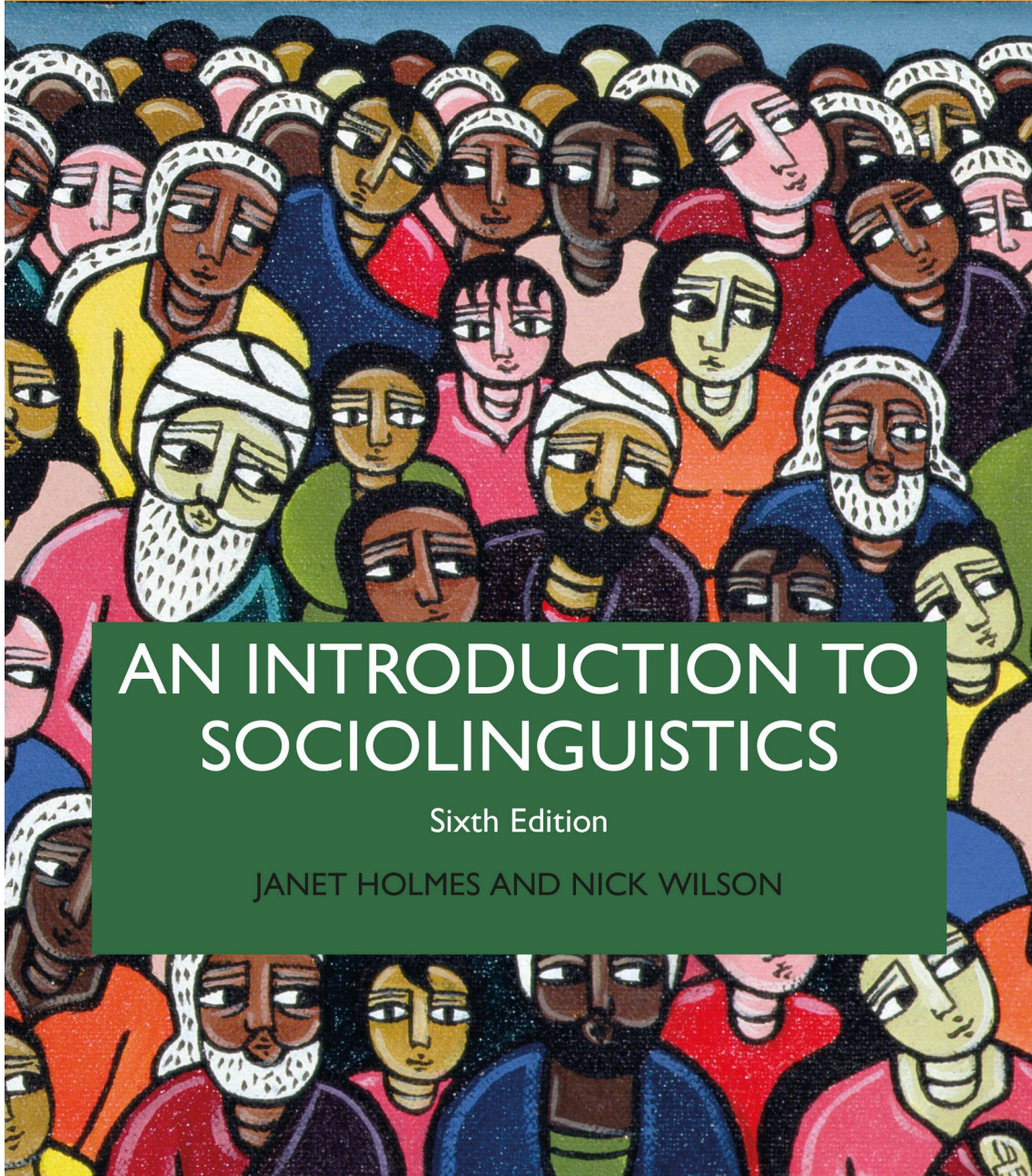
Keywords: *Sexism, Language, Pesantren*

Abstrak: Tujuan penelitian ini adalah merepresentasikan seksualitas bahasa asing (bahasa Arab dan bahasa Inggris) yang dituturkan oleh masyarakat pesantren sebagai komunitas masyarakat tutur B2. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah deskriptif-kualitatif. Perbedaan bahasa antara pria dan wanita disebabkan karena pemisahan antara pria dan wanita pada tahapan-tahapan penting dalam kehidupan mereka (Shan Wareing; 1999). Bahasa yang seksis adalah bahasa yang merepresentasikan pria dan wanita secara tidak setara dimana anggota dari kelompok seks yang satu dianggap lebih rendah kemanusiaannya, lebih sederhana, dan lebih sedikit hak-haknya daripada anggota kelompok seks yang lain. Bahasa seksis biasanya menyajikan stereotip-stereotip tentang pria dan wanita yang kadang merugikan keduanya tetapi lebih serimg merugikan wanita. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah masyarakat tutur pesantren yang berkomunikasi dengan B2 tampak mengalami perbedaan terutama dalam seksisme bahasa. Pembedaan dan seksisme bahasa masyarakat tutur pesantren memasuki berbagai dimensi; 1). Dimensi wacana. Masyarakat tutur pesantren yang mendominasi B2 dalam pembelajaran bahasa dan komunitas bahasa terutama saat belajar kitab kuning. 2). Dimensi aksen. Komunitas pesantren yang mewajibkan masyarakat tutur berbahasa asing saat berkomunikasi. Dalam hal ini, tampak ketika masyarakat tutur pesantren berkomunikasi bahasa Arab. Bahasa Arab memiliki hierarki maskulinitas-feminitas dalam berbagai variannya. 3). Mitigated form. Dalam lokus ini, seksisme bahasa masyarakat tutur pesantren disaat mengikuti kegiatan ekstrakurikuler (muhadarah). 4). Aggravated form. Seksisme B2 masyarakat pesantren ditemui saat ada pelanggaran bahasa. 5). Ikonitas. Seksisme bahasa dalam model ikonitas tampak dalam bentuk ikon-ikon yang dipasang di tempat dan fasilitas umum yang ada di pesantren.

Kata Kunci: Seksisme, Bahasa, Pesantren

PENDAHULUAN

Jalinan bahasa dengan realita sosial kian menunjukkan identitas bahasa sebagai media penunjuk individu, kelas sosial, stratifikasi sosial, deferensiasi sosial, dan gender. Reposisi maskulinitas dan feminitas dalam narasi bahasa yang pada ujungnya menjadi diskursus bahasa dan gender mendapat perhatian penting oleh para linguis. Tema yang menarik, bahasa dan gender telah

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sixth Edition

JANET HOLMES AND NICK WILSON

Exercise 14

When I am good I am very good. But when I am bad I am better.

Mae West

This quotation has been described as an example of "camp talk". In what ways does this quotation conform to the description above and in what ways does it challenge it?

Answer in next paragraph

The quotation in exercise 14 is clever and funny and involves a double entendre with a sexual innuendo. It also involves a subversion of the predictable pattern in the unexpected choice of last word. These are typical features of camp talk. However, camp talk has often been associated with gay men's talk while Mae West is a very feminine sexual icon. Including Mae West's comedy style as an example of camp talk recognises that we are discussing a style of talk, not a variety restricted to a particular social group with a particular sexual orientation. Linguistic resources are available to everyone to use for a range of social effects. This approach encourages us to view every linguistic (and nonlinguistic) choice as meaningful. As noted above, every time we speak, we either reinforce existing norms or we contest them. This belief explains why feminists object to sexist language.

Example 27

More Mae West quotes:

A dame that knows the ropes isn't likely to get tied up.
Anything worth doing is worth doing slowly.
Between two evils, I always pick the one I never tried before.
Don't keep a man guessing too long – he's sure to find the answer some-
    where else.

Sexist language

In 1980, an American linguist, Dwight Bolinger, published a book called *Language: The Loaded Weapon.* In it he explored the wide variety of ways in which the English language provides categories and ways of encoding experience which could be regarded as "loaded" – in other words, carrying an implicit value judgement or manipulating responses. Alongside discussions of the language used in advertising and politics, he also considered the area of sexist language. Sexist language is one example of the way a culture or society transfers its values from one group to another and from one generation to the next.

Language conveys attitudes. Sexist attitudes stereotype a person according to gender rather than judging on individual merits. Sexist language encodes stereotyped attitudes to women and men. In principle, then, the study of sexist language is concerned with the way language expresses both negative and positive stereotypes of both women and men. In practice, most research in this area has concentrated on the ways in which language conveys negative attitudes to women.

Can a language be sexist?

Feminists have claimed that English is a **sexist language**. At first sight, it may seem odd to suggest that a language, rather than its speakers, are sexist. Sexism involves behaviour which maintains and reinforces social inequalities between women and men. Can a language contribute to the maintenance of social inequalities between women and men?

There are a number of ways in which it has been suggested that the English language discriminates against women. Most obviously, perhaps, in the semantic area, are the English metaphors available to describe women which include an extraordinarily high number of derogatory images compared to those used to describe men.

Example 28

The chicken metaphor tells the whole story of a girl's life. In her youth she is a *chick*, then she marries and begins feeling *cooped up,* so she goes to *hen parties* where she *cackles* with her friends. Then she has her *brood* and begins to *hen-peck* her husband. Finally, she turns into an *old biddy*.

Animal imagery is one example of an area where the images of women seem considerably less positive than those for men. Consider the negativity of *bitch, old biddy, old bat, dog* and *cow*, compared to *stud* and *wolf*. Animal imagery which refers to men often has at least some positive component (such as wiliness or sexual prowess). *Birds* are widely regarded as feather-brained and flighty! Even the more positive *chick* and *kitten* are sweet but helpless pets.

Women may also be described or referred to in terms of food imagery, which is equally dehumanising and insulting. Saccharine terms, such as *sugar, sweetie, honey,* are mainly, though not exclusively, used for addressing women. Less complimentary terms such as *crumpet* and *tart*, however, are generally restricted to female referents. They illustrate a common evolutionary pattern in the meaning of words referring to women. Terms which were originally neutral or affectionate eventually acquire negative connotations as they increasingly refer only to women and as their meanings focus on women as sexual objects. By contrast,

453

THE

SECOND

SEXISM

Discrimination
Against Men
and Boys

DAVID BENATAR

WILEY-BLACKWELL

Preface

Sexism negatively affects not only women and girls, but also men and boys. While the former manifestation of sexism is widely acknowledged, few people recognize or take seriously the fact that males are the primary victims of many and quite serious forms of sex discrimination. The central purpose of this book is to draw attention to this "second sexism" and to respond to those who would deny that it exists.

It is worth pre-empting the joke that a book about discrimination against males must be a very short book. Although this *is* a relatively short book, this is not because the scope or seriousness of the problem it discusses is limited. Instead it is (partly) because a longer book is not required to show that there is an extensive and dangerous second sexism.

That said, the book develops, at much greater length, the arguments I advanced in an earlier paper on this topic. The editors of *Social Theory and Practice*, to which I had submitted that paper, invited four responses. These were published alongside my original article as well as my rejoinder in the April 2003 (vol. 29, no. 2) issue of the journal. I am grateful to the editors of the journal for permission to draw on those earlier papers of mine in writing this book. I also acknowledge the use of material used in Chapter 6 that is drawn but significantly adapted from two other previous works of mine: "Diversity limited," in Laurence Thomas (ed.), *Contemporary Debates in Social Philosophy*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2008, pp. 212–225; and "Justice, diversity and racial preference: a critique of affirmative action," *South African Law Journal*, 125(2), 2008, pp. 274–306.

The first draft of this book was written while I was a Laurence S. Rockefeller Visiting Fellow at Princeton's University Center for Human Values for the (northern hemisphere) 2009/2010 academic year. I want to thank the director, faculty and staff of the Center, both for awarding me this fellowship and for making my visit such an agreeable one. I could not have asked for a more stimulating environment in which to conduct my research and do my writing. The Princeton University libraries were also an invaluable resource and I appreciate the assistance provided by the library staff.

My thanks also go to the University of Cape Town for the period of sabbatical leave that enabled me to take up the fellowship and write the book.

Leo Boonzaier, Meghan Finn and Andrew Fisher provided very able research assistance. Jessica du Toit compiled the list of bibliographic references from my endnotes, and detected some typographical errors in the process. I am grateful to have had such excellent assistants.

I presented an overview of the book as the Morris Colloquium Speaker at the University of Colorado at Boulder. At a Laurence S. Rockefeller Fellows Seminar at the University Center for Human Values in Princeton, I presented parts of Chapter 5. In the Admiral Anderson Speaker Series at the United States Naval Academy, I presented the material on women and combat. I am grateful to those who attended these events for their comments.

Kingsley Browne kindly commented on my response (in Chapter 4) to his *Co-Ed Combat*. He and I still disagree on the question of women in combat, but his critical comments were most welcome. Nannerl Keohane provided helpful written comments on parts of Chapter 5.

I am especially grateful to Don Hubin and Iddo Landau, the two reviewers for Wiley-Blackwell, for their extensive and extremely helpful comments.

Finally, my thanks go to members of my family. The book is dedicated to my brothers.

Disadvantage

So unrecognized is the second sexism that the mere mention of it will appear laughable to some. Such people cannot even think of any ways in which males are disadvantaged, and yet some of them are surprised, when provided with examples, that they never thought of these before. Male disadvantages include the absence of immunity, typically enjoyed by females, from conscription into military service. Men, unlike women, are not only conscripted but also sent into combat, where they risk injury, both physical and psychological, and death. Men are also disproportionately the victims of violence in most (but not all) non-combat contexts. For example, most victims of violent crime are male, and men are often (but again not always) specially targeted for mass killing. Males are more likely than females to be subject to corporal punishment. Indeed, sometimes such punishment of females is prohibited, while it is permitted, if not encouraged, for males. Although males are less often victims of sexual assault than are females, the sexual assault of males is typically taken less seriously and is thus even more significantly under-reported. Fathers are less likely than mothers to win custody of their children in the event of divorce. These and other examples will be presented in some, but by no means exhaustive detail, in Chapter 2.

However, demonstrating the existence of male disadvantage is, by itself, insufficient to show that males are the victims of sexism. Not all disadvantages somebody suffers on the basis of his or her sex amount to sexism. By way of illustration, consider the following. The disease called hereditary haemochromatosis is a genetic condition in which the body gradually absorbs too much iron, storing it in major organs. If the condition is not detected in time, serious organ damage and failure can result, often resulting in death. The treatment, if the condition is detected sufficiently early, is regular blood-letting. [4] Although both males and females can have this genetic condition, males are more likely to suffer from the resultant disease. This is because females, during their reproductive years, regularly lose blood, and thus iron, during menstruation. [5] It thus transpires that menstruation is an advantage for those females with haemochromatosis. But menstruation can also be a disadvantage. Because younger women do lose blood and iron, they are more prone than are men to iron deficiency anemia. Menstruation is thus an advantage for women with haemochromatosis, but a disadvantage for women who are susceptible to iron deficiency anemia. Similarly, the absence of menstruation is a health disadvantage for men with haemochromatosis, but an advantage for men who might otherwise be susceptible to iron deficiency.

The presence or absence of these disadvantages does not demonstrate that males with symptomatic haemochromatosis and females with iron deficiency anemia are the victims of *sexism*.

BMA

Sexism in medicine

British Medical Association
bma.org.uk

Introduction

This report presents the findings from the sexism in medicine survey, circulated in April 2021. The survey was circulated to gather evidence on the experiences, if any, of sexism experienced by doctors working in the NHS. We wanted to understand more about the individual impact that sexism was having on doctor's day-to-day working lives and on career opportunities. We received 2,458 eligible responses, 82% of respondents were women and 16% were men. 0.5% were non-binary and 0.3% preferred to self-describe. 29.6% of respondents worked less than full time (LTFT). LTFT is an acronym used throughout the report and it refers to a working pattern for doctors similar to part-time in other industries and professions. More detail on the demographics of respondents are in appendix I.

This was a collaborative piece of work between the BMA and Dr Chelcie Jewitt who founded the Sexism in Medicine campaign following on from her experiences as a trainee.[1] At the BMA we are aware from our members that women do face discrimination and gender bias and were keen to do more to investigate the extent of these experiences so we can do more to support our members and contribute to eradicating gender inequality in the profession. This report is a piece of qualitative research as it is based on a survey that was self-selecting and open to anyone who met the criteria rather than a specific representative sample.

I often wondered as a junior, why female consultants could be so easily provoked by what seemed at the time to be insignificant misnomers. Now I realise it's the cumulative effect this has over the course of years, compounded by the fact that it does not cease as you advance in your career. I often talk to my juniors about this and hope that in the future, this becomes less of a reality for them.
Woman, junior doctor, Asian, full-time

The survey did find a concerning level of sexism in the medical profession, stemming from patients, fellow doctors, and other NHS staff. These experiences of sexism present in a variety of forms in the institutions and structures that doctors work in.

The survey focused on sexism and gender-based discrimination; however, it is important to recognise that sexism will not be the same for each person and may be experienced differently for those who share other protected characteristics such as disability and race. There is still much more work to be done to understand the experiences of people who can receive multiple forms of discrimination. We did find some helpful information on how sexism may impact doctors who share other protected characteristics.

1   https://www.bma.org.uk/news-and-opinion/i-still-experience-sexism-at-work-how-about-you

Experiences in the workplace

A key finding from this survey is that for many doctors, the perceptions that colleagues and wider society have about their gender is having an impact on the way they are treated and viewed at work. According to this survey, it appears that women are significantly more likely to say that their gender plays a negative role in how they are treated and leads to them being subject to more negative or inaccurate assumptions about their competency, seniority and value as a doctor.

How often had doctors experienced sexism?

Within the last two years, how frequently on average have you personally experienced sexism at work? (n=2136)
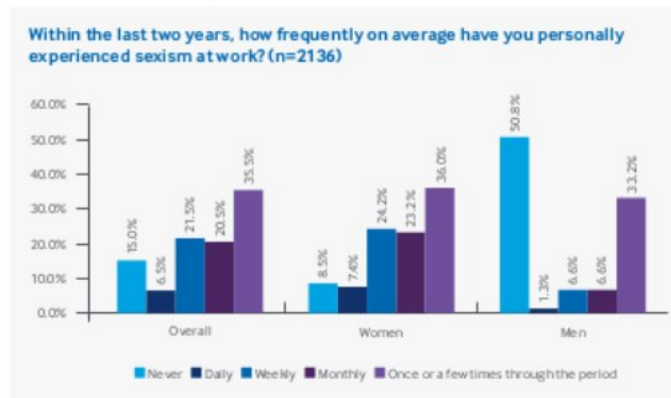
Respondents, of all genders, reported unacceptable levels of sexist experiences at work. However, there is a significant gender difference among respondents. Just 9% of women respondents said that they had never experienced sexism at work over the past two years in comparison to 51% of men.

> *Male colleagues speaking over me, my reproductive choice being discussed and questioned at work; being told 'Not to worry, I will get there' when stating I do not want any children. Being called sweetheart, darling, honey, babe, by patients and colleagues; being labelled nurse daily despite telling patients I'm their doctor.* Woman, junior doctor

The age of respondents also had a significant impact on their likelihood of experiencing sexism at work. For example, 91% of respondents in the 26-35 age band said they had at least one sexist experience within the last two years.

> *I am a young female doctor and look younger than my age – I see sexism in play at work almost daily. This can be in the form of comments from patients, on occasion inappropriate advances based on my gender and age. I also notice engrained differences in the way my male colleagues are respected by nurses and other healthcare professionals. I often feel belittled by junior male colleagues who are able to confidently relay a point and I feel less heard.*
> Woman, junior doctor, White, full-time

The picture around specialties is very mixed: doctors in general practice are more likely to report never having experienced sexism than doctors overall (20% versus 1% overall). There are some significant differences between grades: consultants and GPs are more likely to report they have never experienced sexism within the last two years (19% consultant, 26% GP contractor, 18% salaried GP versus 15% overall). Conversely, junior doctors are more likely to have experienced sexism in the last two years: combining daily and weekly experiences we see 37% of trainees reporting experience of sexism versus 28% for survey respondents overall.

GENDER DISCRIMINATION: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Kendall Oswald

GENDER DISCRIMINATION: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Kendall Oswald, University of Warwick

ABSTRACT

This research article provides an overview of gender discrimination, including its historical roots and contemporary manifestations. Discrimination based on gender has been a pervasive issue throughout history, with women facing barriers to education, employment, and political participation. Although progress has been made towards gender equality, gender discrimination still persists in many forms today. Gender-based violence, workplace inequality, legal barriers, and poverty are among the contemporary issues that disproportionately affect women. This article highlights the importance of addressing the root causes of gender discrimination and working towards the creation of a society that values and respects individuals regardless of their gender identity or expression. Education, policy reform, and advocacy efforts aimed at promoting gender equality can help create a more just and equitable world for all.

INTRODUCTION

Gender discrimination has been a prevalent issue throughout history, and despite progress towards gender equality, it still persists in many forms today. Discrimination based on gender refers to the unequal treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender identity or expression. This research article examines the history of gender discrimination and how it manifests in contemporary society.

Historical Overview of Gender Discrimination

Gender discrimination has been a significant issue throughout history. Women have been denied the right to education, employment, and political participation based solely on their gender. For example, in the United States, women were not allowed to vote until 1920, and it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that women began to achieve greater social and economic equality. In many parts of the world, gender discrimination is still prevalent. Women continue to face barriers to education and employment, and they are often paid less than men for performing the same job. In some countries, women are not allowed to drive, own property, or even leave their homes without male supervision.

Contemporary Forms of Gender Discrimination

Despite progress towards gender equality, gender discrimination still manifests in many forms in contemporary society. One of the most significant forms of gender discrimination is gender-based violence, including sexual assault and domestic violence. Women are

disproportionately affected by gender-based violence, with an estimated one in three women experiencing some form of violence in their lifetime.

Gender discrimination also manifests in the workplace, where women often face barriers to career advancement and are paid less than men for performing the same job. Women are also underrepresented in leadership positions, with only a small percentage of CEOs and board members being female.

In many countries, women still face legal barriers to equality, such as laws that prevent them from inheriting property or require them to have a male guardian. Women are also disproportionately affected by poverty, with many working in low-wage jobs without access to basic benefits such as healthcare and paid leave.

CONCLUSION

Gender discrimination has been a pervasive issue throughout history, and while progress towards gender equality has been made, it still persists in many forms today. Discrimination based on gender is a violation of human rights and has significant social and economic consequences. To achieve gender equality, it is crucial to address the root causes of gender discrimination and to work towards the creation of a society that values and respects individuals regardless of their gender identity or expression. This can be achieved through education, policy reform, and advocacy efforts aimed at eliminating gender-based violence, promoting workplace equality, and ensuring legal protections for all individuals. By working towards gender equality, we can create a more just and equitable world for all.

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Sociology

Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life
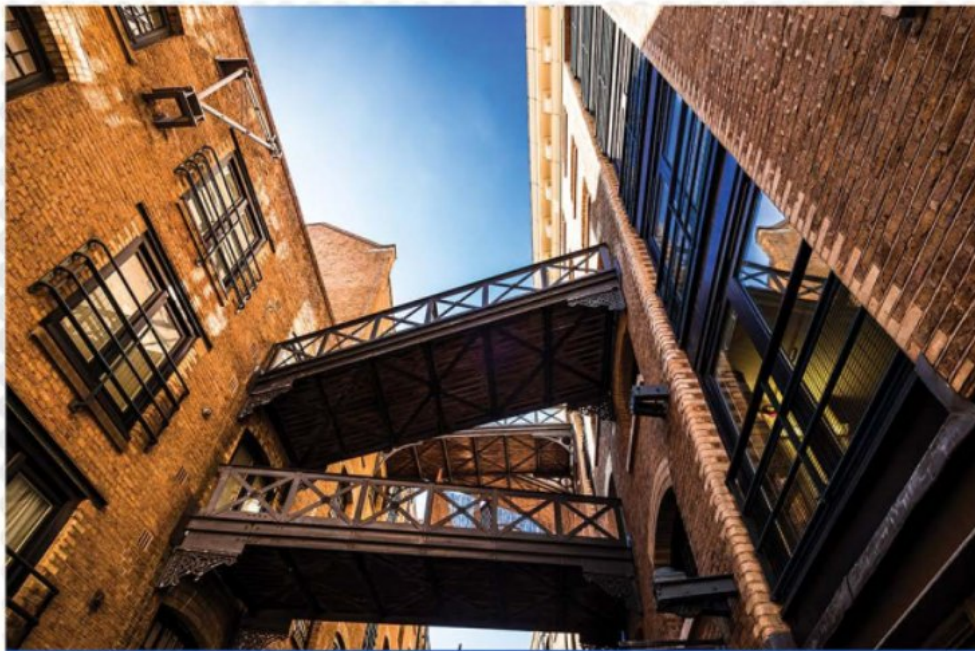
TWELFTH EDITION

David M. Newman

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men and women within the appropriate social and cultural contexts. Being placed in a gender category affects everything we do in life. But gender is more than just a source of personal identity that sets societal expectations; it is a location in the stratification system and a major criterion for the distribution of important resources in most societies.

In this chapter, I will address several important questions: What are sexism and gender discrimination? How are they expressed and felt at the personal level? How is inequality based on sex and gender supported by cultural beliefs and symbols? At the institutional level, how is inequality related to family and work roles? What are its legal and economic consequences? And finally, how pervasive is gender inequality around the world?

Sexism at the Personal Level

What do you think of when you hear the word *sexism*? The husband who won't let his wife work outside the home? The construction worker who whistles and shouts vulgar comments at female passersby? The presidential candidate who brags about grabbing women's genitals? Perhaps you think of the woman who consistently mocks men's interpersonal skills or their clumsy attempts at romance? Sexism is all those things, to be sure. But sociologically speaking, **sexism** refers to a system of beliefs that assert the inferiority of one sex and that justify discrimination based on gender—that is, on feminine or masculine roles and behaviors. At the personal level, sexism refers to attitudes and behaviors communicated in everyday interaction.

In male-dominated societies, or **patriarchies**, which exist in every quadrant of the globe, cultural beliefs and values typically give higher prestige and importance to men than to women. Throughout such societies, inequality affects girls and women in everything from the perceptions, ambitions, and social interactions of individuals to the organization of social institutions. Above all, gender inequality in a patriarchy provides men with privileged access to socially valued resources and furnishes them with the ability to influence the political, economic, and personal decisions of others. **Matriarchies**, societies that give preference to women, are rare in the contemporary world. Anthropologists have identified some small societies in China, Indonesia, Ghana, Costa Rica, and India where women hold all positions of authority (Garrison, 2012).

Even the most democratic societies tend to be male dominated to some degree, thereby influencing the types of gender beliefs people have. Research on U.S. gender stereotypes, for instance, has shown that they haven't changed all that much over the years (D. L. Berger & Williams, 1991; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fine, 2010; C. L. Martin & Ruble, 2009; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Some researchers have shown that women are consistently perceived as more passive, emotional, easily influenced, and dependent than men (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Deaux & Kite, 1987; Tavris & Offir, 1984). Others have noted the myriad ways personal sexism is expressed in U.S. society, both overtly and subtly, through physical domination, condescending comments, sabotage, and exploitation (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1993). One study found that although some forms of personal sexism are motivated by hostility, others are motivated by benevolence, as when men assume women are helpless and thus feel compelled to offer assistance (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Such attitudes and behaviors not only place women in a lower-status position compared with men but also channel them into less advantageous social opportunities.

Men, of course, aren't the only ones who can be personally sexist. Certainly, some women dislike men, judge them on the basis of stereotypes, hold prejudiced attitudes toward them, objectify them sexually, consider them inferior, and even discriminate against them socially or professionally. We must keep in mind, though, that male sexism occupies a very different place in society from female sexism. The historical balance of power in patriarchal societies has allowed men as a group to subordinate women socially and sometimes legally to protect male interests and privileges. Because men still tend to hold most positions of power, their prejudice and discrimination have more cultural legitimacy, are more likely to be reflected in social institutions, and have more serious consequences than women's sexism.

Sexism and Social Interaction

Everyday social life is fraught with reminders of gender imbalances. Men and women interact with each other a lot, but rarely do these interactions occur between two people who are of equal status (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). The average woman is reminded frequently of her inferior position, through subtle—and sometimes not so subtle—ways. Men often have a hard time understanding women's reactions to uncomfortable personal encounters between the sexes, which might explain why men are less likely than women to believe that going out for a drink or having dinner with a coworker of a different sex is inappropriate (C. C. Miller, 2017d). So just as white people enjoy racial transparency (see Chapter 11), members of the dominant sex take for granted the social arrangements that serve their interests. For example, consider the following tongue-in-cheek quote from a female newspaper columnist:

> By whistling and yelling at attractive but insecure young men, we women may actually help them feel better about themselves, and give them new appreciation of their bodies. Some might say women were descending to the level of male street-corner oafs, but I'm willing to take that risk. If, with so little effort, I can bring joy to my fellow man, then I am willing to whistle at cute guys going down the street. (Viets, 1992, p. 5)

If you're a man, you may wonder why the columnist is bothering to make fun of "wolf whistles." The answer simply is that this behavior means different things when directed at men versus women. Unsolicited sexual attention may be an enjoyable, esteem-enhancing experience for men, but it doesn't have the weight of a long tradition of subordination attached to it, nor is it linked in any way to the threat of violence. One female distance runner, describing the inevitable lewd catcalls she gets from men when she runs, put it this way: "Men are in danger of, at worst, being laughed at by a woman. Women are in danger of being *killed* by men" (quoted in Sagal, 2015, p. 30).

More generally, men aren't subjected to **objectification**—that is, to being treated like objects rather than people— in the same way that women are. Sure, women gawk at and swoon over good-looking men from time to time (just watch old reruns of *Sex and the City* sometime). But men's entire worth is not solely determined by a quick and crude assessment of their physical appearance. For women, who must often fight to be taken seriously in their social, private, and professional lives, whistles and vulgar comments serve as a reminder that their social value continues to be based primarily on their looks. In 2016, the *Harvard Crimson*, the student newspaper at venerable Harvard University, revealed that for several years the men's soccer team had been keeping a "scouting report" in which they rated the school's female soccer players on a scale of 1 to 10 and provided descriptions of their physical traits and musings about their preferred sexual positions (Seelye & Bidgood, 2016).

Communication patterns also show the effects of unconscious personal sexism. Research in the symbolic interactionist tradition suggests that women and men converse in different ways (Parlee, 1989; Tannen, 1990). For instance, women are more likely than men to use a tag question at the end of a statement ("She's a good professor, *don't you think?*") and modifiers and hedges such as *sort of* and *kind of* (Lakoff, 1975). But such techniques may make the speaker sound less powerful and therefore challenge her credibility and qualifications. Imagine if your math professor always said things like, "The answer to the problem is $3x + y$, *isn't it?*" Or if your boss said, "We're going to pursue the Johnson account; *is that OK?*" As one columnist recently noted, the increasingly popular use of *kind of* and *sort of* makes for "wishy-washy . . . speech that lacks clarity, confidence, and authority" (Kurutz, 2014, p. 12).

Thomas Linneman: What can "Uptalking" Tell us about Gender?

People ask questions both by the inclusion of certain words (what, when, who, where, how, why) and by a rising intonation at the end of a sentence, known as "uptalking." In the last several decades, uptalking has moved beyond simply signaling a question to become a common component of everyday communication, particularly among young people. Maybe you know someone who consistently (and annoyingly) expresses statements that sound like questions.

Researchers who study language generally agree that uptalking is more common among female speakers than male speakers.

However, they disagree as to the meaning of such patterns. Some (e.g., Lakoff, 1975) argue that uptalking is an indicator of female submissiveness that signals uncertainty and lack of conviction in what one is saying. Others, however, argue that uptalking establishes common ground between speaker and listener or acts as a way to make sure listeners are keeping up with a particular story (see Linneman, 2012).

Sociologist Thomas Linneman (2012) decided to examine the relationship between gender and uptalking empirically. Like me, Linneman is a fan of the TV game show, *Jeopardy!* The show's been on TV for decades, so you probably know the format: Six categories with five clues each appear on a board. The clues have different dollar values. Contestants select a category and dollar value (e.g., "20th Century Authors for $600") and the corresponding clue is revealed. The first person to ring in can provide a response. The twist is that the clues are "answers" and the contestant must provide his or her response in the form of a question. While watching the show one night, Linneman noticed that some contestants uptalked exclusively, others did so occasionally, and still others never uptalked, instead providing their responses with flat, statement-like intonation.

To see whether gender could explain these different uptalking tendencies, Linneman designed a content analysis study in which he coded the intonation of 5,473 responses provided by 300 contestants over the span of 100 episodes. He found that, indeed, uptalking signals uncertainty. When both male and female contestants gave an incorrect response (that is, when they were uncertain), they were significantly more likely to uptalk than when they gave a correct response.

But when gender was included in the analysis, some interesting patterns emerged. Women uptalked nearly twice as often as men. Furthermore, women were actually more likely to uptalk when they were winning on the show than when they were doing poorly. The opposite was the case for men. Linneman speculates that perhaps successful women use uptalking as a "compensatory strategy" to conform their gender performance to traditional expectations. Women who show their knowledge brashly are typically considered unfeminine and unlikeable. By the way, this phenomenon exists beyond TV game shows. In a different study, both male and female subjects rated female executives who voiced their opinions as significantly less competent than their more reserved peers; talkative male executives, though, were seen as more competent (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008).

On the other hand, men are much less likely to uptalk when competing against other men than when their opponents are women. Here, too, gender may play a role. Norms of masculine certainty are especially pronounced when men compete with other men. When competing against women, however, they raise their use of uptalking perhaps "as a chivalrous effort to 'protect' women contestants" (Linneman, 2012, p. 101).

Although this study focused on the artificial environment of a television game show, it does illustrate how gender imbalances can be reinforced not only by what we say but also by the way we say it.

The implicit, nonverbal messages of social interaction—body movements, facial expressions, mannerisms, posture—also have more serious implications and consequences for women than for men. For example, femininity is typically gauged by how little space women take up; masculinity is judged by men's expansiveness and the strength of their gestures. Women's bodily demeanor tends to be restrained and restricted (Henley, 1977). What is typically considered "ladylike"—crossed legs, folded arms—is also an expression of submission. Men's freedom of movement—feet on the desk, legs spread, straddling a chair—conveys power and dominance. Such interactional norms place women who are in authoritative positions in a no-win situation. If, on the one hand, they meet cultural definitions of femininity by being passive, polite, submissive, and vulnerable, they fail to meet the requirements of authority. If, on the other hand, they exercise their authority by being assertive, confident, dominant, and tough, their femininity may be called into question (J. L. Mills, 1985).

Nonverbal cues can also play an important role in providing people with information about their social worth. Thus, they sometimes serve to keep women "in their place." It is the rare female subway traveler in New York who hasn't been groped on a crowded train. Preparing for these unwanted encounters is as taken for granted as making sure you have the proper fare:

> Women know the drill. . . . Pull in your backside. . . . Wedge a large bag for protection between yourself and the nearest anonymous male rider. . . . Put on your fiercest face, and brace yourself for contact. (Hartocollis, 2006, p. B11)

The fact that men can more freely touch women than vice versa serves as a reminder that women's bodies are not considered entirely their own. In several countries—Japan, India, Egypt, Iran, Brazil, Indonesia, the Philippines,

ACT/EMP
Research note

Breaking barriers: Unconscious gender bias in the workplace
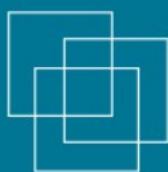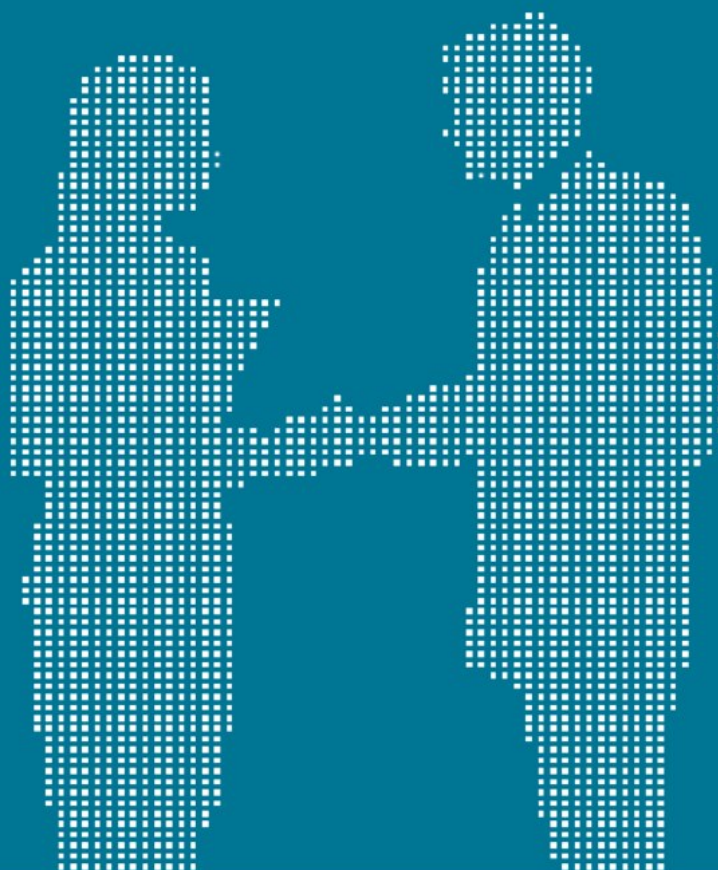
ACT/EMP
Research note

August 2017

Breaking barriers: Unconscious gender bias in the workplace

Unconscious gender bias remains a significant barrier to women's career advancement. It is also difficult to identify and prevent. This research note provides a review of unconscious gender bias and its role in impeding women's career advancement before discussing how to mitigate and overcome unconscious gender bias in the workplace.

networking and career growth, but more can be done to identify and overcome unconscious gender bias to truly give women and men an equal chance to advance into leadership positions.

1.1   Gender bias in company practices and structures

In recent years women have gained significant ground in the world of work. They have entered many sectors and excelled in fields that were once the exclusive domain of men. Despite the progress that has been made toward gender equality, women are sometimes held back by company practices and structure that are biased toward men. This section provides an overview of human resources practices and other factors in which unconscious bias may hinder the career advancement of women.

Performance evaluation

Processes and programmes that reflect stereotypically masculine criteria naturally place women in worse positions and negatively impact their opportunities. Talent management documents may have pro-male definitions of leadership, and some talent management criteria and competencies included in performance review documents have a masculine bias. For instance, the McKinsey report *Women Matter* cited one company's performance indicator "unfailing availability and total geographical mobility" as a leadership criterion. In general, the reduced domestic obligations of men make it easier for them to be available and geographically mobile. Thus, this criterion has a pro-male, pro-childless bias, and thus penalizes women, particularly working mothers.[4]

Project assignments

Leading or participating in an important project increases an employee's visibility and competitiveness for promotion. Staff are generally assigned to projects in one of two ways. Senior executives or teams of employees were often involved in the assignment decision for projects with high visibility, high consequences, significant responsibilities, and/or requiring highly specific skill sets or competencies. Assignments to lower profile projects are often made selectively by business unit managers or designated employees.[5] In either case, the decision about who should be assigned to a project may be impacted by stereotypes and unconscious biases. In the absence of first-hand knowledge of the staff and experience or training to minimize the impact of gender bias these decisions may rely heavily on perceptions that result from stereotypic impressions rather than on the employee's skills and merit.

Meritocracy

Companies tend to prioritize and focus on performance. However, the "paradox of meritocracy" is that the rewards of strong performance may accrue to the employees that already enjoy significant advantages.[6] Where women incur social or cultural disadvantages, a purely merit-based performance appraisal may simply reinforce those inequalities. Furthermore, managers may be over-confident in their capacity to make impartial judgements and may be unaware of the gender stereotypes they hold. In contexts that emphasize meritocracy, safeguards are needed to minimize managerial discretion and ensure accountability. Compensation and promotions committees should consider the possibility of

4   McKinsey & Company: *Women Matter: Gender diversity, a corporate performance driver* (2007).

5   A.K. Warren: *Cascading gender biases, compounding effects: An assessment of talent management systems* (Catalyst, 9 Feb. 2009).

6   I. Bohnet: *What works: Gender equality by design* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

unconscious bias if the performance management policy and procedure allows the manager a high degree discretion, as this could work against female employees.

Leadership development programmes

Men and women rarely have equal access to participation in leadership development programmes, even though this is critical for progression up the corporate hierarchy. Programmes are primarily offered for senior leaders or those thought to have high potential. Employees do not have equal access to these opportunities. Women reported far fewer interactions with a senior leader than their male counterparts and this gap widens with career advancement. At the senior management level, only 51 per cent of women compared to 62 per cent of men reported that they interacted with a company leader at least once a week.[7]

Norms

Workplace norms may hinder women's careers. For example, when senior leadership positions are held exclusively by men (which is indeed the typical phenomenon), it perpetuates the "think-manager-think-male" perspective. Companies should be mindful of the visibility of minorities and the impact it has on the stereotyping of social groups.[8] Furthermore, policies such as quotas may also (but not always) create the impression that women's token presence is sufficient progress toward gender equality, doing away the need to continue to work to overcome the fundamental issue of gender bias.

1.2 Assessing unconscious bias against women at work

To overcome the obstacles outlined in the foregoing section, the first step is for organizations to assess unconscious gender bias in their operations and measure its impact on staff. Organizations can use a variety of methods, including perceptions surveys, language analysis, analysis of gender gaps in pay and career advancement, and they can even run experiments. Each of these methods is described below.

Perception surveys

One of the most common methods of assessing unconscious gender bias at work is to gather data on people's experiences. Indeed, the global report on *Women in Business and Management*, as well as the reports from the regional level, used this approach. Companies were asked to list barriers to women's advancement into leadership roles. Another perception survey of women professionals in science, technology, engineering and mathematics in Australia found that 70 per cent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that unconscious bias had negatively impacted their career advancement, and 60 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that it had negatively impacted their earnings.[9] Ernst and Young conducted a perception survey of 400 managers from a cross-section of industries globally (40 per cent from Europe, the Middle East, India and Africa; 30 per cent from North America; and 30 per cent from

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7   McKinsey & Company: *Women in the workplace, 2016*. The survey sample included more than 34,000 employees of companies across North America. Each participating company submitted data through 31 Dec. 2015 on the gender diversity talent pipeline, policies and programmes. Pipeline data included the current gender balance (overall and by race/ethnicity), distribution of line and staff roles, number of hires, promotions, and employees who left the company by gender. Reporting on the employee experience is based on a survey from 39 companies. Survey comprised 83 questions.

8   I. Bohnet: *What works: Gender equality by design* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

9   Professionals Australia: *Unconscious gender bias in the STEM professions* (Melbourne, 2015).
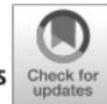
Ambivalent sexism and sexual objectification of women as predictors of rape myth acceptance among male college students in Greater Jakarta

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Abstract

Sexual violence against women, particularly in the form of rape, is a serious issue that must be addressed in Indonesia. However, victims of sexual violence are not enveloped by a supportive atmosphere due to the pervasive acceptance of rape myths in society. This study examined the role of ambivalent sexism and sexual objectification of women in predicting the acceptance of rape myths among male college students in Greater Jakarta, Indonesia. A sample of 275 male college students completed the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Short Form, Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, and Women Are Sexual Objects subscale from the Attitude Toward Dating and Relationship Measure Revised. The results of multiple regression analysis showed that ambivalent sexism and sexual objectification of women significantly predicted rape myth acceptance, with sexual objectification of women tends to have more contribution. This finding explains that to develop and conduct prevention and treatment, both variables need to be addressed, with more attention given to the sexual objectification of women.

Keywords Rape myth acceptance · Ambivalent sexism · Sexual objectification · Male students · Indonesia

Background

Sexual violence against women is a severe problem in Indonesia. According to the *Yearly review* (*Catatan tahunan* or *Catahu*) of Komnas Perempuan (the National Commission on Violence Against Women, a state institution set up by presidential decree in 1998 that combines data from various service institutions, police departments and courts), there have been increases in sexual assault cases both in the personal sphere (whereby the perpetrator is related to the victim by blood, marriage, or intimate relations) and at the community level (cases in which there is no close relationship between the victim and the perpetrator) (Komnas Perempuan 2015, 2016,

2017, 2018). The most recent data from 2018 showed that sexual assaults comprised 31% of the total violence reported within family or other close personal relationships (husband and wife, couples living together, or man and woman dating). In addition, sexual assaults comprised 76% the 3528 cases of violence against women recorded as having occurred in the public and community domains (Komnas Perempuan 2018).

Some case illustrations can provide an overview of the seriousness of this problem in the country:

BN is a woman who was a victim of sexual harassment committed by the school principal where she worked. To save evidence, BN kept a record of her conversation with the school principal on her cellphone. This recording was disseminated by BN's co-workers, that the principal reported her to the police as conducting a disrespectful or abusive act in front of the public under the Law No. 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions. She was sentenced guilty by the court. (Komnas Perempuan 2018, p. 43).

Deli Serdang District Court in North Sumatra released someone who was reported as committed rape following the court decision that the report was unproven. The victim has died that she cannot be questioned anymore. She killed herself by drinking poison after the incident because her confession was not trusted by her surrounding environment. (Komnas Perempuan 2018, p. 42).

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For years, Indonesian women's groups and other members of civil society have been urging the ratification of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, which has received challenges from many parties for various reasons, including that the draft of the law was perceived as promoting values that are not in line with prevailing religious teachings or national culture.

As indicated by the above examples, despite the high prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual violence in Indonesia, the community at large has not created a supportive atmosphere for victims. Rather, certain sociocultural conditions contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance for sexual violence, such that victims are negatively labelled as 'a disgrace to the family' and are often targets of blame for the assaults. Responsibility is attributed to victims based on factors such as the clothing they were wearing, their level of consciousness at the time of the assault (whether or not they were under the influence of alcohol), or whether they were alone or accompanied by others when the sexual violence occurred.

The widespread nature of victim-blaming demonstrates an acceptance of myths or misperceptions about rape, such as when a woman's clothing is regarded as a cause. Such beliefs are misguided because women can be targeted for rape even while wearing modest clothing, as was the case in an assault in the South Jakarta region that was perpetrated by a public transport driver against an employee who was wearing a hijab (Syarif and Purnama 2015). Such examples show how rape myths are often not reality-based, and are frequently even contradictory to actual situations.

The Underreporting of Rape Cases

Data demonstrates that cases of sexual violence are underreported not only in Indonesia, but also in other parts of the world. When sexual assaults are reported, they are under-prosecuted, and when prosecuted, they are under-convicted. Fitzgerald (2006) analysed data on cases of sexual violence recorded in New South Wales, Australia and found that from cases that had been reported, less than 20 % of them were proceeded to the court, with a low of conviction rate. Many barriers hinder the ability of women victims to disclose or report sexual assaults. They often experience confusion, guilt, shock, or shame, or they fear retaliation from the perpetrator and worry if their reports will be believed. The tendency to blame victims might make it difficult for women to recognise or admit that they have experienced sexual violence, and they might even blame themselves for what has been done. In addition to the above, related legal processes bring further challenges. Pursuing justice is difficult, stressful, time-consuming and expensive, with a risk that the woman victim is blamed (Commonwealth of Australia 2017).

Allen (2007) conducted a study on the underreporting of rape in the United States (US) in which it was revealed that according to US Department of Justice data for the period of 1994–1995,

only an estimated one-third of rape victims reported their cases to police. One reason cited for the low reporting rate is that rape victims feared incurring consequences such as the loss of privacy as well as recriminations and reprisals. Prochuk's (2018) investigation of sexual violence cases in Canada cited that very few sexual assaults cases (only about 5 %) there are reported to the police and only approximately 11 % of reported cases lead to a conviction. Barriers to disclosure include the risk of being blamed or disbelieved, as well as the drain of time, material resources and energy involved in reporting. The emotional and physical burdens that are incurred may bring unbearable consequences for women who are already struggling for their daily survival. Palermo et al. (2014) reporting on demographic and health survey data concerning gender-based violence impacting 284,281 women in 24 developing countries collected between 2004 and 2011. They found that only 7 % of the victims had reported their assaults to formal authorities such as local authorities or the police. There was regional variation in reporting rates; for example, only 2% of women in India and East Asia had reported their assaults compared with 14% of women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Palermo et al. 2014).

Rape Myths and their Acceptance

The term 'rape myths' began to be more widely discussed after Brownmiller (1975) shared her insights on society's misled beliefs about sexual violence. Similarly, Estrich (1976) observed how people considered some rapes as more 'real' than others. Burt (1980) later developed a scaled-questionnaire on the acceptance of rape myths (Smith and Skinner 2017, p. 2).

A community's acceptance of rape myths has multiple negative repercussions, most notable of which are the denial of rape and the assumption that rape is not a severe issue due to the shift of blame from the perpetrator to the victim (Lonsway and Fitzgerald 1994). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) refined the theoretical basis of the term 'rape myth' by differentiating it from stereotypes. Rape myths not only encompass stereotypical attitudes and assumptions, but also have a cultural function to maintain the status quo. According to Gerger et al. (2007), the term 'rape myths' refers to descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about rape that serve to deny, downplay or justify sexual violence that men commit against women. Further, rape myth acceptance increases men's tendency to commit rape because it serves as a justification for sexual violence (Bohner et al. 2005) and leads to decrease reports of such incidents (Bohner et al. 2005; Frese et al. 2004).

Studies about sexual violence and rape myths acceptance have been conducted in different cultures worldwide. Research from Bohner et al. (2009) examined the cognitive, affective and behavioural effects of rape myth acceptance. they found that it would affect people's perception of the

seriousness of the report regarding sexual violence. Those who are hight in rape myth acceptance tend to blame the victims more, are less convinced that the victims are truly traumatized, and do not see the perpetrators as the main agents of sexual violence (Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Siebler, and Viki 2009). Martinez et al. (2018) examined sexual assault perpetrators and rape myths among college students in Greece, and found that men expressed more tolerance of sexual harassment, were more likely to accept rape myths, and some even admitted that they might sexually assault someone under some circumstances. Fraternity men were overrepresented among sexual assault perpetrators and sorority women were at increased risk for victimisation of sexual assault.

Barn and Powers (2018) contributed to the understanding of the phenomena of rape and victim blaming with a study using data from 693 students in India and the United Kingdom. Their findings suggest that participants in India tended to endorse rape myths more than students in the UK. Barn and Powers (2018) also recognised that different myths were prevalent in the two country contexts, such that Indian students were more likely to endorse the myth of 'monster rapists', whereas British students adhered to the idea of the 'promiscuous female victim'. They argued that both types of myths are dangerous and risk normalising such perceptions in society.

Meanwhile, Nilsson (2018) examined narratives of rape in Swedish newspapers and pointed out the perpetuation of myths and stereotypes with diverse narratives, such as 'celebrity rape' or 'the lonely pervert rape', which obscure the influence of patriarchal structures by questioning the existence of the incidents, or 'monstering' the perpetrators. Nilsson (2018) proposed that attention to patriarchal dynamics might be diverted by focusing attention on other structural problems.

The negative influence of rape myth acceptance also affects elements of legal institutions. Page (2008) showed that rape myths influence interactions between law enforcement officers and rape victims, whereby police tend not to believe victims whose characteristics are inconsistent with their stereotypes (for instance, if the victim is not a virgin or has had a relationship with the suspect). Krahe et al. (2008) study of undergraduate law students who had practical experience through internships found that participants who tended to accept rape myths were less likely to conclude that rape was the responsibility of the offender and more likely to blame the victims and/or recommend shorter sentences for the perpetrators.

Barn and Kumari (2015) investigated court judgements and conducted interviews with high court judges in India and described the infusion of rape mythology into the court process during rape trials. Similarly, Smith and Skinner (2017) observed court proceedings of rape and other sexual assault trials and found that defence attorneys routinely employed rape myths, such as by focusing on inconsistencies in witness testimonies and promoting a dichotomy of wholly truthful vs. untruthful witnesses. They proposed that courts and juries conceptualise 'rational' behaviour as the 'normal' way to act, and women who are deemed as not acting rationally are not considered to be credible. However, Smith and Skinner (2017) also identified resistance to rape myths in judicial directions or prosecutors' comments.

Ambivalent Sexism

In the first published empirical study on rape myth acceptance, Burt's research (1980) found that among attitude, personality, experience and background, the former was the strongest predicting variable. The attitude variables in Burt's study included 1) sex-role stereotyping, or the perception of the appropriateness of female and male roles; 2) adversarial sexual beliefs, or the expectation that sexual relations are exploitative at their core and rape is the most extreme form of such exploitation and 3) acceptance of interpersonal violence, or the perception that forcing is a legitimate measure to gain obedience in a relationship (Burt 1980).

In addition to the variables discussed in Burt's (1980) study, sexism has an important connection to rape myth acceptance (Aosved and Long 2006; Lonsway and Fitzgerald 1994). According to Glick and Fiske (1996), sexism is comprised of two dimensions, namely hostile sexism, which embodies actively negative attitudes toward women and benevolent sexism, whereby a person subjectively deems their sexist attitudes as positive. This two-pronged construct is called ambivalent sexism due to the two evaluatively contradicting aspects (Glick and Fiske 1996). Ramos et al. (2016) demonstrated that both benevolent and hostile sexist messages communicate that women are and should be less competent than men.

Chapleau et al. (2007) identified a positive correlation between hostile sexism and rape myth acceptance, and findings from Suarez and Gadalla's (2010) meta-analysis confirmed the existence of a strong positive association between rape myth acceptance and sexual aggression as well as hostile sexism and/or aggressive behaviour toward women. Renzetti et al. (2015) study examined the moderating effects of ambivalent sexism (both hostile and benevolent sexism) on the relationship between alcohol use and intimate partner violence perpetration among a community-based sample of 255 men, and their findings indicate that greater alcohol consumption and higher levels of hostile sexism lead to an increased prevalence of intimate partner violence. Erdem and Sahin's (2017) *research identified a significant correlation between* participants' attitudes toward *dating violence and ambivalent sexism* among a sample of 1171 undergraduates.

Lila et al. (2013) conducted an important study in which they examined the roles of ambivalent sexism and empathy in attitudes toward violence against women among a sample of

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Hostile, Benevolent, Implicit: How Different Shades of Sexism Impact Gendered Policy Attitudes

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Advances in gender equality and progressive policies are often stymied by cultural sexist systems and individual-level sexist attitudes. These attitudes are pervasive but vary in type—from benevolent to hostile and implicit to explicit. Understanding the types of sexism and their foundations are important for identifying connections to specific social and political attitudes and behaviors. The current study examines the impact of various manifestations of sexism on attitudes regarding policies and public opinion issues that involve gender equality or have gendered implications. More specifically, we look at attitudes on reproductive rights, support for the #MeToo Movement, equal pay, and paid leave policies. In Study 1 we use data from a high-quality web panel ($n = 1,400$) to look at the relationship between hostile, benevolent, and implicit sexism, and reproductive rights attitudes, as well as support for the #MeToo Movement. In Study 2 we use data from the American National Election Study ($n = 4,270$) to examine the relationship between hostile and modern sexism and attitudes on abortion, equal pay, and paid family leave. Overall, these results reveal a complicated relationship between different conceptualizations of sexism and gendered attitudes, underscoring the need to consider how different forms of sexism shape broader social and political views, from both a normative perspective for societal change and a measurement approach for research precision.

Keywords: sexism, policy attitudes, measurement, gender, ambivalent sexism, gender equality

INTRODUCTION

Politics can be a masculine enterprise, both historically and presently around the world. For many decades, feminist scholars and activists have identified and criticized the gendered structures and attitudes that lead to sexist policies and exclusion of women from political spaces. After the U.S. election of Donald Trump, an election that featured the first major party woman nominee and a candidate that frequently made sexist remarks, and the advent of social movements like #MeToo, more researchers began exploring the role of sexism and gender attitudes in American politics. Sexism batteries became more commonly included in large surveys like the American National Election Study (ANES) and the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). Prior to 2016, these surveys had inconsistently included survey questions tapping sexist attitudes (Schaffner, 2021). The focus of much of the empirical research was the impact of sexism on vote choice. Even when controlling for partisanship, sexism is a powerful predictor of vote choice (Valentino et al., 2018), and hostile sexism, in particular, is connected to Trump support in 2016

(Ratliff et al., 2017; Cassese and Holman, 2019). We know less about the implications of different forms of sexism on public opinion and policy attitudes, particularly those that are explicitly and implicitly gendered. Moving beyond the electoral context and candidate support, we consider how different manifestations of sexism impact political attitudes and demonstrate that parsing out benevolent, hostile, modern, and implicit sexism may help us better understand why the connection between gender attitudes and issues like abortion have been mixed (Strickler and Danigelis, 2002; Jelen, 2015).

We build on an area of research that conceptualizes sexism and the opposition to gender equality as a way of justifying male dominance and maintaining existing gender relations (Jost and Kay, 2005; Cassese and Holman, 2019). All forms of sexism contribute to the maintenance of the gender status quo, but variation in these types of attitudes result in varying support for gender-related policies. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory delineates hostile and benevolent sexism as distinct forms of prejudice (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Additionally, we explore the role of implicit sexism, prejudiced attitudes held at the nonconscious level (Jost et al., 2004). Because of the social desirability some people may exhibit in the presentation of sexist survey items, implicit tests of gender stereotypes can influence people's attitudes toward female candidates above and beyond their explicitly stated gender preferences (Mo, 2015).

The connection between sexism and gender attitudes and policy positions seems straightforward. We would expect that those who hold sexist attitudes would be less likely to support progressive policies with expressly gendered implications. In some policy areas, this direct connection appears to exist. However, in the gender-salient domain of reproductive rights, the association between sexism and gender attitudes is less clear and has only been somewhat elucidated by separating *hostile* from *benevolent* forms of sexism (Begun and Walls, 2015; Huang et al., 2016; Hodson and MacInnis, 2017; Petterson and Sutton, 2018).

Using an original survey and data from the ANES, we test whether and when hostile, benevolent, modern, and implicit sexism predict attitudes toward gendered public opinion issues and policy attitudes. We argue that all forms of sexism contribute to the subjugation of women in society. However, there are important nuances in different manifestations of sexism that have implications for public opinion and policy attitudes. Our results across the studies are considerable to unpack but the biggest takeaway is that sexism is not a uniformly negative predictor of progressive gender attitudes. We find that benevolent sexism was positively related to support for the #MeToo Movement whereas hostile sexism was a strong negative predictor. This reflects the fact that hostile sexism uncovers antipathy toward women while benevolent sexism taps the idea that women are morally superior and purer than men and should therefore be protected. We find that hostile sexism predicts less support for abortion and birth control access, as well as funding for Planned Parenthood. In our second study, we replicate these findings on abortion but find that modern sexism, not hostile, is related to less support for equal pay and paid leave policies. We also argue that sexism researchers should consider that the relationship between sexism and different political outcomes may be conditional on gender.

We see in our data that for men, benevolent sexism does not always predict less progressive gendered policy attitudes, but it does for women. Although our data cannot speak to the exact mechanisms that connect different forms of sexism to policy and public opinion attitudes, we show that this connection does exist but is conditional on the type of sexism measured. Our results also underscore the need for more research aimed at understanding the antecedents and consequences of different forms of sexist attitudes.

THEORY

How We Measure Sexism

Though empirical research on sexism and political outcomes like vote choice has proliferated in recent years, particularly after the U.S. election of Donald Trump, feminist activists and theorists have long discussed the role of sexist institutions and attitudes in stymying gender equality in education, pay, healthcare, and in politics. Feminist theorists have highlighted the ways in which sexism exists in institutionally structured settings, such as when women are paid less than men for the same labor, but also sexism in interpersonal interactions and even in the private sphere of the home (Okin, 1989; Nussbaum, 1998; Swim et al., 2001). Both forms of sexism reinforce existing gendered systems of dominance and subordination. Gender inequalities are often the result of sexism, but sexism also constitutes tacit beliefs and attitudes that individuals hold. Research in the social sciences in the 1980s and 90s began to try and measure these attitudes. We constructed **Table 1** to define the main types of sexism measures used in social science research.

According to Glick and Fiske (1996), sexism is an ambivalent form of prejudice in which antipathy toward women who seek to undermine male dominance coexists with the idealization of women who occupy the roles carved out for them in the patriarchal system—wives, mothers, and homemakers in need of male protection (Glick and Fiske, 2001). Glick and Fiske (1996) introduced the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory that captured the way in which negative gender attitudes can be actively hostile but also paternalistic and patronizing. This measure reflects the fact that cultural representations of women, throughout history, have not always been strictly negative (Eagly and Mladinic, 1994). Women are represented as caregivers and housewives whose role is primarily within the domestic sphere. However, women are also subject to negative stereotypes and bias, particularly when they step outside of domestic roles. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory reflects the duality of these cultural representations and stereotypes. The first dimension, *hostile sexism*, defines women as a group in competition with men, vying for social dominance. Someone who holds strong hostile sexist attitudes believes that women are inferior to men and, thus, incapable, and unworthy of power. As a result, this person is hostile toward women who do not accept their assigned roles in the patriarchy and perceive calls for gender equality as a ploy to usurp men's power and assert dominance over men. In contrast, the second dimension, *benevolent sexism*, adopts a more positive, but ultimately patronizing and paternalistic view of women. It shares with hostile sexism the notion that women are not capable of

TABLE 1 | Measures of sexism used in social science research.

	Definition	References
Modern sexism	Involves the denial of gender-based discrimination and a resentment or disapproval of policies to address inequalities between men and women	Swim et al., 1995; Swim and Cohen, 1997
Old-fashioned sexism	Belief that women are generally inferior to men, less logical, and traditional gender roles should be adhered to	Swim et al., 1995; Morrison et al., 1999
Hostile sexism (ASI)	Part of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory- support for traditional gender roles, sees women in competition with men for social dominance	Glick and Fiske, 1996
Benevolent sexism (ASI)	Part of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory- involves belief that women should be protected and cherished by men; women are morally superior, but men should still generally wield power	Glick and Fiske, 1996; Chaiken and Trope, 1999; Mo, 2015
Implicit Sexism	Builds off of the dual process model — the idea that our actions, thoughts, attitudes, and decisions are influenced by conscious and non-conscious processes that occur simultaneously. These are sexist attitudes that are at the unconscious level of awareness.	

wielding power, and because of this, they require protection by men. As separate dimensions of sexism, individuals can be low on both (non-sexists) and high on both (ambivalent sexists), but they can also be high on one dimension and low on another. Hostile sexists are those who only see women as a threat to men's power, while benevolent sexist tend to simply see women as fragile, precious, and possessing moral superiority (Glick and Fiske, 1996).

The modern sexism measure was specifically constructed to capture attitudes that deny the existence of systematic discrimination against women (Swim et al., 1995). The development of this measure coincided with discussions in popular culture and feminist discourse about backlash against modern feminism (Banet-Weiser et al., 2019). Many critics of feminist movements hold the belief that we live in a post-feminist world in which equality has already been achieved (Anderson, 2015). These beliefs resulted in a cultural backlash against many of the advances achieved by feminism in the 1970s (Faludi, 1991). Contrary to traditional sexism, which openly endorses the idea that women are inferior to men, modern sexism is a subtler form of prejudice that involves a resentment toward demands for gender inequality. Individuals who hold modern sexist attitudes often feel negatively about the shifting roles of women in society. In analyses of the comparability of different sexism measures, the items on the modern sexism scale have been found to load together with hostile sexism items, although modern sexism items tapping antagonism and resentment more closely mapped onto hostile sexism than the items tapping denial of gender discrimination (Schaffner, 2021). A less frequently used scale is the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale, also constructed by Swim et al. (1995). Modeled after the Old-Fashioned Racism scale, this scale measures blatant expressions of sexism like believing that men are smarter and more logical than women.

These varying patterns of sexist attitudes often have different attitudinal and behavioral implications. For example, hostile sexism is correlated with negative attitudes toward women in managerial positions whereas benevolent sexism is not (Masser and Abrams, 2004; Eagly and Carlie, 2007). Hostile sexists are more likely to condone violence toward women, including rape (Begany and Milburn, 2002; Masser et al., 2006), whereas benevolent sexists react negatively toward overtly crude,

hostile treatment of women (Cassese and Holman, 2019). This is not surprising given that some studies have found only a weak positive correlation or no correlation between these two measures (Glick and Fiske, 2011). However, the mixture of negatively putatively positive stereotypes that make up hostile and benevolent sexism create "complementary gender stereotypes" that offer a justification for gender inequality (Jost and Kay, 2005). In addition, individuals need not be fully aware that they hold sexist stereotypes. Notions that women's roles are confined to being homemakers and mothers can be internalized and held at the nonconscious "implicit" level (Jost et al., 2004). When people formulate an attitude or a behavioral intention, their minds first draw on a network of nonconscious processes that serve as a starting point for conscious thought (Bargh and Chartrand, 1999; Lodge and Taber, 2013). Sometimes these intuitions are incorporated into people's attitudes and behavior without much consideration and guide people's political decisions outside of people's awareness (Arceneaux and Vander Wielen, 2017).

Sexism in American Politics

Much of the literature on sexism in American politics has focused on the ways in which sexist attitudes and stereotypes impact women political candidates (Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Bauer, 2015; Mo, 2015; Cassese and Holman, 2017). Though our main focus is on attitudes toward gendered policies, understanding the prevalence of sexism aimed at women in public life is helpful for investigating how else this prejudice is likely to spill over into policy preferences. Because partisanship is the strongest lever in American political behavior, there is a complicated relationship between sexism and candidate evaluation and vote choice, but ultimately research shows that when women run for office, particularly at higher levels, they face gender bias (Lawless, 2004; Paul and Smith, 2008). Vote choice chiefly comes down to incumbency and partisanship (Dolan, 2014), but gender stereotyping and sexism still play a role in electoral politics (Schneider and Bos, 2014) and often lead voters to have different standards of evaluation for men and women politicians (Barnes and Beaulieu, 2014; Barnes et al., 2020). Cassese and Barnes (2018) find that despite the blatant sexism present in the 2016 presidential race, many

white women endorsed sexist beliefs, and these beliefs informed their vote choice. Both modern and traditional sexism were significant predictors of an individual's presidential vote in 2016 (Knuckey, 2019), and both hostile and benevolent sexists punish women politicians involved in sex scandals more than non-sexists (Barnes et al., 2020). Relatedly, concerns about gender discrimination predict support for a woman president (Huddy and Carey, 2009), and denials of this discrimination are associated with opposition to women politicians like Hillary Clinton (Sulfaro, 2007; Tesler and Sears, 2010; McThomas and Tesler, 2016) and the gender gap in partisanship (Simas and Bumgardner, 2017).

Indeed, women in the electorate are not immune from the influence of sexism in their politics. Personal experiences of sexism and sexual harassment can actually motivate political engagement (Bankert, 2020). Similarly, Hansen and Dolan (2020) find that women who reported being sexual harassed at work were more likely to mobilize. The broader #MeToo Movement, in which issues of sexual harassment and assault were brought to the forefront of American politics, also may have influenced increased participation among women (Dittmar, 2020). Sexism, in women's public and private lives, has also contributed to the gender gap in political interest and engagement (Carroll, 1989; Burns et al., 2001).

Importantly for our purposes, the type of sexism exposure matters. Experiencing hostile sexism can motivate engagement in collective action whereas benevolent sexism seems to decrease this interest (Becker and Wright, 2011). For those who *hold* sexist attitudes, hostile sexists who were exposed to sexist attacks against Hillary Clinton showed increased support for Trump and decreased support for Clinton, while benevolent sexists exposed to the same attack responded with increased support for Clinton (Cassese and Holman, 2019).

The Impact of Sexism on Policy Attitudes

Sexism not only impacts outcomes like vote choice and evaluations of political candidates, but it can impact attitudes, particularly political opinions that are gender salient. For example, modern sexism is associated with a denial of discrimination against women and a lack of support for policies designed to help women in the domains of education and the workplace (Swim et al., 1995). Hideg et al. (2016) find that benevolent sexism is associated with more support for employment equity policies supporting women, but this support did not extend into more stereotypically masculine workplace settings. Hostile sexists are less likely to support the adoption of gender quotas to increase women's representation in politics, whereas benevolent sexists are more likely to support these policies even though they do not support gender equality generally (Beauregard and Sheppard, 2021). Hostile sexism predicts victim-blaming attributions for the gender gap in income inequality (Connor and Fiske, 2019) as well as opposition to breastfeeding in public (Huang et al., 2020) and tolerance for sexual harassment (Russell and Trigg, 2004). Modern sexist attitudes are related to the belief that sexual harassment is not pervasive, the notion that the #MeToo Movement has gone too far, and opposition to workplace harassment training (Archer

and Kam, 2021). Recent research even shows that sexism can impact compliance with public health measures, with higher levels of benevolent sexism actually increasing compliance (Chen and Farhart, 2020). This work is all in contrast to earlier research that failed to find definitive connections between sexism and gender-salient policy attitudes (Twenge, 1997), likely because measures of sexism now capture more subtle forms of gender-based prejudices.

Within the domain of reproductive rights, one of the most gender-salient policy areas, the connection between gender attitudes, sexism, and support for access to abortion and birth control is inconsistent (Jelen and Wilcox, 2003; Patel and Johns, 2009; Barkan, 2014). Some scholars find a positive correlation between opposition to abortion and both forms of ambivalent sexism, hostile and benevolent (Hodson and MacInnis, 2017), while others find only evidence for a correlation between abortion attitudes and benevolent sexism (Huang et al., 2016) or hostile sexism (Petterson and Sutton, 2018). These inconclusive findings may arise from the fact that most of these studies come from small convenience samples collected on college campuses, and they all focus on a relatively limited definition of reproductive rights—namely, abortion. People's attitudes about abortion tend to be relatively crystalized and heavily linked to moral absolutes (Wilcox and Norrander, 2002; Jelen and Wilcox, 2003; Mooney and Schuldt, 2008; Jelen, 2014; Ryan, 2014), whereas broader policy attitudes about women's reproductive rights, such as access to birth control, may be more malleable (Arceneaux and Kolodny, 2009).

Furthermore, gender identity and sexist attitudes may not supersede other identities like race and ethnicity. Women feel closer links to men of their race than their women peers of other groups (Junn, 1997; Gay and Tate, 1998). Compared to other groups, women's levels of group consciousness tend to be lower (Clayton and Crosby, 1992), which in part explains why they lack the political cohesion that other historically marginalized groups display (Cassese and Barnes, 2018). In U.S. politics, accounting for racial identity demonstrates that the supposed "gender gap" in women preferring Democratic to Republican candidates disappears, with white women selecting Republican presidents in an overwhelming majority of previous elections (Junn and Masuoka, 2020). White women are more likely to vote and prefer policies connected to their race and partisanship over their gender (Cassese and Barnes, 2018), and Black women also politically engage in ways more consistent with linked fate toward their racial rather than gender group (Stout and Tate, 2013). Thus, an intersectional lens is necessary to fully understand the experiences and preferences of women, particularly of Black American women (Crenshaw, 1989; Hancock, 2007; Brown, 2014). Indeed, attitudes on reproductive rights in the U.S. differ across racial/ethnic groups as well as religious affiliations (Smith, 2013; Jelen, 2014; Lizotte, 2015; Holman et al., 2020). The rich body of literature on intersectionality is necessary to understand how sexism operates in society, but there is less work on empirically connecting measures of sexism to intersectionality (see Junn and Masuoka, 2020 for discussion on how variation in socioeconomic and religious indicators matter more for the white woman vote). One of the challenges is

the small sample problem—that most "representative" samples of American adults do not include enough participants from minority racial/ethnic groups to conduct meaningful analyses. Of course, this is the limitation of quantitative work that attempts to wedge intersectional theory into a model (Hancock, 2007). Nevertheless, there has been some recent research demonstrating that Black men and women are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism attitudes, as compared to white men and women (Davis et al., 2022), but we do not know how this plays out in public opinion of policy issues.

Previous literature in psychology and sociology has shed light on the relationship between sexism and a range of attitudes. Political science research, particularly since the 2016 U.S. election, has increasingly considered the role of sexism in shaping both vote choice and public opinion with a notable uptick in the number of articles in political science journals focusing on sexism (Schaffner, 2021). However, the scales used across studies often differ with some scholars using the full ASI scale (Cassese and Holman, 2019) while other studies rely on only the hostile sexism items from the ASI (Schaffner et al., 2018; Valentino et al., 2018). Furthermore, much of this literature describes the role of sexism in shaping vote choice. Our contribution is three-fold: First, we expand the dependent variables to consider how sexism may correlate with public opinion. We look at not only abortion, but also birth control, support for #Me Too, equal pay, and paid leave. Second, we do not assume that there is one pattern of sexist attitudes that can shape social and political views and instead look at how different measures of sexism predict gendered political attitudes. We utilize the measures of sexism that are most commonly used in political science: hostile, benevolent, and modern as well as an implicit measure of sexism to capture sexist attitudes that may exist outside of one's conscious awareness. Finally, we improve on previous research by leveraging two large representative samples.

Expectations

All manifestations of sexism, in some way, contribute to the maintenance of the gender status quo. However, sexism takes many different forms, and there are reasons to expect that different sexist attitudes may have differential impacts on public opinion and policy attitudes, particularly those that are expressly gendered. Hostile sexism is perhaps the least subtle form of sexism as it involves open hostility and resentment toward women and gender equality. Modern sexism, which also involves antagonistic attitudes toward women and demands for equality, is closely related to hostile sexism and sometimes characterized as comparable scales (Valentino et al., 2018; Schaffner, 2021). Therefore, we expect:

H_1: Hostile and modern sexism will have a significant and negative effect on support for gendered policy attitudes.

A fundamental feature of hostile sexism is the desire to maintain men's power (Cross et al., 2019). Hostile sexists express antagonistic and aggressive views about women and gender equality, positing that women are constantly vying for the social advantages, resources, and privileges that men have (Glick et al., 2000). Research has shown that hostile sexism is associated

with negative evaluations of women in managerial positions, feminists, and in other roles that are deemed "non-traditional" (Glick et al., 1997; Masser and Abrams, 2004). We expect hostile sexism to be negatively correlated with expanded reproductive rights, including increased access to birth control and abortion, because the ability for women to have more control over their reproductive lives directly contradicts hostile sexist beliefs about women's subordinate status in society and affirms the belief that women are out to compete against men and vie for social dominance. Similarly, we theorize that hostile sexism will be negatively related to policies like paid leave and equal pay because of the antagonistic views about women that undergird hostile sexism.

Modern sexism is correlated with hostile sexism, though notably the modern sexism items that tap antagonistic and resentful attitudes toward women more closely map onto hostile sexism than the items focused on the denial of gender discrimination (Schaffner, 2021). We also expect that modern sexism will be associated with lower levels of support for reproductive rights, paid leave, and equal pay. Although these issues differ, they all involve pushing back against gender discrimination in some facet and the assumption that women face unequal conditions. Modern sexists do not believe that any gender inequalities stem from systemic discrimination and therefore would be unlikely to believe women deserve "special treatment" in the form of expanded reproductive rights or government intervention into ensuring equal pay and paid leave.

On the other hand, while benevolent sexist attitudes still ultimately uphold the gender status quo and male dominance, it is possible that these attitudes create cross pressures and competing considerations as it relates to gendered policy attitudes. For example, Hideg et al. (2016) find that benevolent sexism was associated with more support for employment equity policies for women, but this support disappeared when the workplace domain was stereotypically masculine, and those with high levels of benevolent sexist attitudes are more likely to support gender quota policies to increase women's presence in politics than those with low levels of benevolent sexism (Beauregard and Sheppard, 2021). This support stemmed from the belief that women need the help and protection of gender quotas to achieve success in politics and not from a belief in gender equality. Overall, benevolent sexism is associated with support for gender-based affirmative action in the workplace, but this association is based in the belief that women need assistance to be successful (Sibley and Perry, 2010). With certain topics, the desire to "protect" women may clash with the desire to maintain male dominance and uphold traditional gender roles. Therefore, we expect:

H_2: Benevolent sexism will have a significant and negative effect on support for gendered policy attitudes.

Ultimately, we still expect benevolent sexism to be negatively related to support for abortion, birth control access, Planned Parenthood funding, and the #MeToo Movement, even though cross pressures may exist. Though benevolent sexist attitudes are putatively positive in tone, these attitudes still serve to restrict women to traditional roles like caregivers
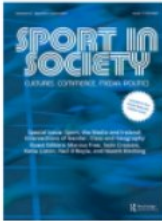
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'Smile more': women's experiences of sexism while working in sport from a socio-ecological perspective

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to all settings because such assumptions do not allow for a nuanced understanding of the ways in which women working in sport *experience* and are *impacted* by sexism. In this study, we address the aforementioned disparities by undertaking the following research objectives:

1. Explore women's experiences of sexism while working in a sporting context.
2. Gain an understanding of how multiple ecological layers intertwine to influence women's experiences of sexism in sport.

Before critically discussing more recent literature on sexism in sport, we provide a short historical context of gender stereotypes and sexism; a contextual understanding of how heteronormative patriarchy impacts women, and society more broadly, is essential in providing a background to why this research is necessary as well as how the key findings are analysed and presented.

Many elements of gender stereotypes are learned in childhood and subsequently used to make lifelong inferences about others (e.g. men are stronger and more authoritative than women; Martin and Dinella 2002). Such stereotypes carry 'cultural meanings, practices and expectations which serve to shape and influence people's beliefs, feelings, attitudes and behaviours' (Mastari, Spruyt, and Siongers 2019, 1). Men are often expected to display traits such as assertiveness, competitiveness, and ambition, whereas women are expected to be sensitive, nurturing, and caring (Saint-Michel 2018). 'Masculine' traits have been perceived as congruent with sporting culture, described by Champ et al. (2018) as ruthless, volatile, and hierarchical. Therefore, we argue that the culture of sport not only allows for gender inequality to be hidden in plain sight (Fink 2016), but contributes to and maintains societal gender order (Anderson 2008).

Although we are speaking about sexism as a 'universal experience based on gendered expectations,' (Fink 2016, 2), there are other marginalised characteristics that intersect with gender (e.g. race, sexual orientation, social class, disability); any combination of these identities can multiply the impact of sexism and other societal challenges (Crenshaw 1989). In the present paper, we broadly delineate women's experiences of sexism in sport.

Sexism

Sexism is prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender and is evident through behaviours, words, images, policies, laws, attitudes, and more. More specifically, sexism entails a complicated combination of animosity and perceived benevolence, also known as Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick and Fiske 1997). Hostile sexism aims to preserve men's dominance over women through restricting women's roles to conform to gender norms, and more generally involves antipathic attitudes towards women, particularly those who pose a threat to the gender hierarchy (Connor, Glick, and Fiske 2016; Mastari, Spruyt, and Siongers 2019). One common example of hostile sexism is using sexist language or insults, or challenging an individual when they step outside of traditional gender roles. Hostile sexism is overt and often acts as a precursor for sexual harassment, violence, and abuse towards women (Mastari, Spruyt, and Siongers 2019). In contrast, benevolent sexism is a subtle and socially accepted form of sexism often expressed in a manner that is perceived as positive (e.g. Ashburn-Nardo et al. 2014). Benevolent sexism 'protects' and demonstrates fondness toward women who embrace traditional gender roles despite their limitations,

therefore reinforcing women's inferior status within society (Connor, Glick, and Fiske 2016). Albeit positive in tone (e.g. women should be protected and cherished), benevolent sexism implies that women are inferior to men and assumes that their value and/or roles should be based on typical gender expectations.

Within the workplace, sexism has been shown to negatively impact employees' performance, satisfaction, sense of belonging, and well-being (Hindman and Walker 2020). Additionally, women are often viewed as either incompetent but liked, or competent but disliked (e.g. Player et al. 2019). Subsequently, gender stereotypes influence women individually, socially, and professionally, resulting in men being disproportionately ranked at the top of professional hierarchies.

Sexism in sport

Historically, a primary function of the inception and development of organised sport was to maintain the white male heterosexual power structure (Anderson 2009). Sport is a powerful societal contributor (Kane and Maxwell 2011) and central to promoting and preserving patriarchal power structures (Bourdieu 2001). For example, throughout much of sporting history, sport has traditionally allowed men to demonstrate their 'right' to power through their 'sporting prowess' (Connell 1995, 4), despite the significant reason for men's uncontested domination of sport being the formal exclusion of women and cultural exclusion of gay men (Bourdieu 2001).

Heteropatriarchal ideology is so deeply engrained in sport that it is 'accepted' as normal practice (e.g. Goldman and Gervis 2021), a notion that leaves us questioning *how* we can break the cycle to create a better future for women in sport. In 2016, 'Women in Football' distributed a survey to women working in the football industry in the UK. A total of 61.9% of respondents reported that they had been the recipient of sexist 'banter', and 14.8% had been sexually abused. More broadly, 40% of women working in leadership roles reported feeling less valued than their male counterparts due to gender, and 30% reported experiencing inappropriate behaviour from men (Women in Football 2016). Furthermore, Goldman and Gervis (2021) explored 11 women sport psychologists' experiences of sexism. Findings revealed that women who worked in mixed-gender Olympic sports felt their environment was more positive and accepting of them compared to male-dominated environments. Participants believed that sport culture, which has frequently been compared to a 'boys' club', privileged masculinity and gave examples of experiencing benevolent and hostile sexism such as challenges with being taken seriously, lack of access to basic facilities (e.g. women's restroom), and being treated with inappropriate familiarity. These findings were echoed in Lafferty et al. (2022) narrative exploring women psychologists' experiences in sport.

In recognising that sexism is experienced differently by individuals depending on a range of characteristics and identities, it is important that researchers take a wider view of individual and societal perceptions and influences. For example, LaVoi and Dutove (2012) adopted Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory as one way to make sense of the multiple barriers facing female coaches across each level. Ecological models move beyond the individual to explore their intrapersonal (e.g. personal, biological, and psychological factors), interpersonal (e.g. socio-relational influences), organisational (e.g. organisational policies, job descriptions, professional practices, use of space, and opportunities,

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Ambivalent sexism, empathy and law enforcement attitudes towards partner violence against women among male police officers

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Police attitudes towards partner violence against women (PVAW) can play an important role in their evaluation and responses to this type of violence. The present study aims to examine ambivalent sexism and empathy as determinants of male police officers' law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW. The study sample was composed by 404 male police officers. Results suggested that male police officers scoring low in benevolent sexism expressed a general preference for unconditional law enforcement (i.e. regardless of the victim's willingness to press charges against the offender), whereas those scoring high in benevolent sexism expressed a preference for conditional law enforcement (i.e. depending on the willingness of the victim to press charges against the offender). Results also showed that police officers scoring high in empathy and low in hostile sexism were those who expressed a general preference for unconditional law enforcement. The presence of sexist attitudes and low levels of empathy among some police officers, and their influence on law enforcement attitudes, highlights not only the importance of specific training, but also the need to pay attention to the selection process of police officers dealing with PVAW.

Keywords: attitudes; empathy; partner violence; police; sexism

The police play an important role in the prevention, detection and intervention in cases of partner violence against women (PVAW; Jordan, 2004; Rebovich, 1996; Smeenk & Malsch, 2005). Their attitudes and responses send a message to victims, offenders and the wider society, concerning the level of social disapproval and reprobation that PVAW deserves (e.g. Brown, 1984; Gracia, García, & Lila, 2008; Holder, 2001; Logan, Shanon, & Walker, 2006). Police attitudes can have an important influence on PVAW victims' attitudes, perceptions and behaviour towards the legal system (Apsler, Cummins, & Carl, 2003; Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers, & Alfonso, 1999; Stephens & Sinden, 2000; Stover, Berkman, Desai, & Marans, 2010). Police attitudes can also determine officers' evaluation and responses to PVAW incidents (Belknap, 1995; DeJong, Burguess-Proctor, & Elis, 2008; Logan et al., 2006; Robinson & Chandek, 2000). Although some studies have examined the influence of victims' and assailants variables (e.g. gender, mental state), as well as police officers' variables (e.g. stereotypes, officers experience and previous knowledge), on officers interpretations (e.g. credibility, responsibility, dangerousness, control) and decision-making in cases of PVAW (for a review, see Finn & Stalans, 1997;

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assigning women a low status in both family and society (Chen, Fiske, & Lee, 2009). As noted by Bosson, Pinel, & Vandello (2010):

> regardless of whether sexism assumes a hostile or benevolent form, it always conveys (at least) two messages to its recipients. The first message is communicated by the emotional tone of the sexism, and it corresponds directly to sexism type: whereas hostile sexism conveys an angry, rude message, benevolent sexism conveys a kind-hearted, patronizing message. The second message, however, remains constant across sexism type -this is the message that, as a woman, the victim is a "lesser" sort of being than a man. (p. 528)

Thus, benevolent and hostile sexism would be relevant correlates of police officers' law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW.

Empathy and police officers' attitudes towards PVAW

One of the key elements in the study of prosocial behaviour is *empathy* (Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch, 1981; Batson & Oleson, 1991; Penner, Fritzsche, Craig, & Freifeld, 1995). According to Batson et al. (1997), when someone feels empathy for another person increases the value that is given to the welfare of that person. Also, several experimental studies have pointed to the role of empathy as a prejudice reduction variable (Bäckström & Björklund, 2007; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Moreover, empathy is seen as an important predictor of attitudes towards victims of violence, because it can influence attributional perceptions in relation to the victim and aggressor (e.g. Deitz, Littman, & Bentley, 1984; Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007; Smith & Frieze, 2003). For example, a study by Deitz et al. (1984) found that participants who felt more empathy for a woman victim of sexual assault, expressed more positive feelings towards the victim and more negative feelings towards the offender. Also, Smith & Frieze (2003) have shown that in rape cases, the degree of responsibility attributed to the victim is negatively related to the empathy felt towards her. Empathy can, therefore, be a significant correlate of police officers law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW.

The present study

Based on the above ideas, this article examines the influence of ambivalent sexism and empathy on police officers' law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW. Several studies suggest that, despite policies aiming to limit police discretion (e.g. mandatory, preferred arrest policies), in practice, their implementation is far from consistent and uniform (Sherman, 1998). Research has found that while some police officers consider appropriate to apply the law regardless of the degree of cooperation of the victim or his willingness to report incidents, other officers disagree or refuse to engage in cases of violence against women because the victim does not cooperate or is unwilling to report their aggressor (DeJong et al., 2008; Jordan, 2004). In this study, we will consider two law enforcement attitudes regarding PVAW among male police officers: (1) a general preference for conditional law enforcement – i.e. depending on the willingness of the victim to press charges against the offender – and (2) a general preference for unconditional law enforcement – i.e. regardless of the victim's willingness to press charges against the offender. Our main objective is to

sexism groups. For the high empathy condition, however, significant differences ($\alpha = .05$) were found between low (M = 5.32, SD = 3.03) and high (M = 4.08, SD = 2.90) hostile sexism groups. This suggests that only under a high empathy condition, levels of hostile sexism become a relevant influence on police officers' law enforcement attitudes. According to these results, male police officers scoring high in empathy and low in hostile sexism are those who showed a general preference for unconditional law enforcement in cases of PVAW (i.e. regardless of the victim's willingness to press charges against the offender).

Discussion

The main aim of this study was to analyse the influence of empathy and ambivalent sexism on male police officers' law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW. Results yielded main effects of benevolent sexism on police officers law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW. Second, when considering empathy and hostile sexism in relation to male police officers' law enforcement attitudes towards PVAW, our results yielded a significant interaction between both variables. Furthermore, our analyses ruled out the possibility that these results were reflecting a response bias as social desirability was not related to police responses regarding their law enforcement attitudes.

Our results suggest that, regardless the level of empathy, police officers who score high in benevolent sexism – i.e. those who held stereotypical ideas about women, linked to traditional female roles – were those with a stronger preference for conditional law enforcement (i.e. depending on the willingness of the victim to press charges against the offender). A possible explanation for these results is that higher levels of benevolent sexism could be associated to increased levels of tolerance for PVAW (e.g. if a woman does not wish to report is because the incident 'was not a big deal', or 'despite all, she wants to be with him'), and beliefs that partner violence is a more an interpersonal problem rather than a criminal activity (DeJong et al., 2008; Gracia et al., 2011; Logan et al., 2006). These results are also in line with several studies indicating the importance of benevolent sexism as a possible facilitator of certain attitudes legitimizing violence against women when they are perceived as not fulfilling the roles and standards of conduct that have been traditionally assigned to them (Bohner et al., 2010; Bosson et al., 2010; Chen et al., 2009; Expósito & Herrera, 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007).

Regarding the interactive effect between empathy and hostile sexism, our results suggest that those police officers who scored low on hostile sexism and high in empathy were clearly different from the rest of the subjects in our sample, showing a strong preference for unconditional law enforcement (i.e. regardless of the victim's willingness to press charges against the offender). Interestingly, for hostile sexism, the level of empathy matters, as it makes a difference among police officers depending on the levels of hostile sexism. It is possible that police officers with high levels of empathy tend to be more aware of potential barriers and obstacles that many women face when deciding to press charges against their offenders (for e.g. fear of reprisals, or the difficulties of making a rational and appropriate decision given the victim's emotional state) (Robinson & Chandek, 2000). On the other hand, high levels of hostile sexism may prevent an empathic response, as battered women may not be considered as 'real' victims. From this viewpoint, our results suggest that, in PVAW scenarios, empathy does not always acts as a prejudice-reducing factor, as some

Article

Hostile and benevolent sexism: The differential roles of human supremacy beliefs, women's connection to nature, and the dehumanization of women

Alina Salmen [ID] and Kristof Dhont

Abstract

Scholars have long argued that sexism is partly rooted in dominance motives over animals and nature, with women being perceived as more animal-like and more closely connected to nature than men. Yet systematic research investigating these associations is currently lacking. Five studies ($N = 2,409$) consistently show that stronger beliefs in human supremacy over animals and nature were related to heightened hostile and benevolent sexism. Furthermore, perceiving women as more closely connected to nature than men was particularly associated with higher benevolent sexism, whereas subtle dehumanization of women was uniquely associated with higher hostile sexism. Blatant dehumanization predicted both types of sexism. Studies 3 and 4 highlight the roles of social dominance orientation and benevolent beliefs about nature underpinning these associations, while Study 5 demonstrates the implications for individuals' acceptance of rape myths and policies restricting pregnant women's freedom. Taken together, our findings reveal the psychological connections between gender relations and human–animal relations.

Both women and animals are identified with nature rather than culture by virtue of biology. Both are imagined in male ideology to be thereby fundamentally inferior to men and humans. (C. A. MacKinnon, 1989, p. 264)

Social psychologists have become increasingly aware that our thinking about animals[1] and nature also informs our understanding of human intergroup relations (Dhont & Hodson, 2014; Hodson

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et al., 2020; Milfont & Sibley, 2014; Plous, 2003). For instance, people expressing stronger support for animal exploitation tend to hold more prejudiced attitudes toward ethnic outgroups (Caviola et al., 2019; Dhont et al., 2016, 2020).

Yet, as illustrated by the opening quote, feminist scholars have also long proposed that beliefs in human supremacy over animals and nature are associated with subordinating views of women (Adams, 1990/2015; Adams & Gruen, 2014; C. A. MacKinnon, 1989, 2004; Wyckoff, 2014). Systematic research addressing whether and how people's views about animals and nature may be implicated in gender-based prejudice (i.e., sexism) is currently lacking and is the focus of the present research.

Sexism and Beliefs in Human Supremacy over Animals and Nature

The idea that the exploitation of women and animals are two connected forms of oppression driven by group-based dominance motives has received ample attention outside psychological science. In her seminal work "The Sexual Politics of Meat," Adams (1990/2015) argued that women are animalized in order to justify their lower status and, in extreme cases, their victimization through sexual violence. Indeed, women are often portrayed as closer to nature and animals because of their role in natural reproduction and their "maternal instincts." By endorsing beliefs in human superiority over nature and animals and putting women on this lower "animal status," women are considered inferior to men, and become targets of sexism (C. A. MacKinnon, 2004; Ortner, 1974). Theoretically, human supremacy beliefs are thus assumed to be connected to biases toward women, both entrenched in group dominance motives.

Along similar lines, studies found that beliefs in a greater human–animal divide and human supremacy are related to heightened ethnic prejudice (Costello & Hodson, 2010, 2014), indicating that hierarchically dividing animals and humans organizes our social perception and evaluation of both animals and human groups. Furthermore, recent studies demonstrated the interconnected nature of dominance motives in human intergroup relations and human–animal relations (see Dhont et al., 2020). The Social Dominance Human–Animal Relations model (SD-HARM, Dhont et al., 2016) proposes that preferences for hierarchy and group-based dominance, indicated by social dominance orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), represent the common ideological motive underpinning biases in both human intergroup relations and human–animal relations and explain why these biases are connected (see also Caviola et al., 2019; Dhont et al., 2014). Dhont et al. (2016) showed that greater ethnic prejudice was related to greater acceptance of animal exploitation. Yet, as predicted by SD-HARM, these associations became weaker or non-significant after accounting for SDO, modeled as the common factor linking prejudicial tendencies in human–human and human–animal relations.

To date, research in this area has largely focused on ethnic prejudice, but no published study has tested whether human supremacy beliefs are related to gender-based prejudice (i.e., sexism). Integrating theorizing on gender relations and human–animal relations, our first hypothesis states that those holding stronger human supremacy beliefs also show higher levels of sexism (paths B and C in Figure 1). Furthermore, given that SDO is a robust predictor of both human supremacy beliefs (Dhont & Hodson, 2014; Graça et al., 2018; Milfont et al., 2013) and sexism (e.g., Kteily et al., 2015; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015; Sibley et al., 2007), SDO likely represents a key ideological motive underpinning both human supremacy beliefs and sexism.

Further extending this framework, we also hypothesized that sexism would be related to views of women as more closely connected to nature (i.e., women's connection to nature) and more animal-like (i.e., dehumanization) than men. Critically, however, these constructs likely show differential relations with different dimensions of sexism, making it important to differentiate between hostile and benevolent sexism.

Ambivalent Sexism

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2011) proposes that sexism is a multidimensional
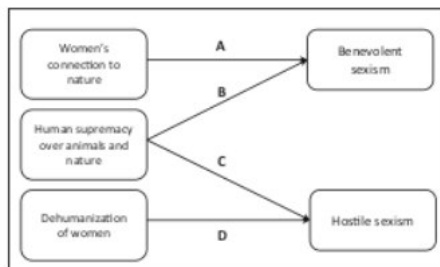
Figure 1. The key hypothesized common and distinct correlates of benevolent and hostile sexism.

construct reflecting, on the one hand, antipathy towards women, termed hostile sexism. On the other hand, it reflects evaluations of women that are subjectively positive, yet encompassing beliefs that women are weak, in need of protection, and crucial to making men complete and fulfilling their desires (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). This latter dimension has been labeled benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is, thus, an antagonistic type of prejudice closely fitting classic conceptualizations of prejudice (Allport, 1954), and its expressions are, arguably, easy to identify. Benevolent sexism is, however, often expressed in language and behaviors that can be subjectively perceived as positive, yet are patronizing, rooted in traditional female stereotypes, and legitimize the restriction of women's autonomy (e.g., Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019; Sutton et al., 2011).

Glick and Fiske (1996) argued that ambivalent sexism is partly rooted in women's role in natural reproduction. This role renders women a certain power over men, who depend on them to satisfy their sexual needs and bear their children (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). This dependency paves the way for hostile sexist views, as men resent women for ostensibly being able to gain power over them using their sexual attractiveness (Glick & Fiske, 2001). At the same time, men's dependency on women for reproduction also fosters paternalistic, benevolently sexist attitudes toward women, who, as the current or future bearers of men's children, need to be protected (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2000; Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Smuts, 1992). Critically, this dynamic suggests that women's role in natural reproduction is associated with both hostile and benevolent sexism.

Benevolent Sexism and Women's Connection to Nature

While men are often stereotypically perceived as separate from nature, women are stereotyped as part of nature (C. A. MacKinnon, 2004; Ortner, 1974). From this perspective, women are portrayed as being more "in tune" with nature, and assumed to show a stronger connection with nature than men. Given the positive valence associated with nature (e.g., Berman et al., 2008; Van den Berg et al., 2003), viewing women as closely connected to nature likely colors the evaluation of women in a subjectively positive way. Consistent with this idea, Reynolds and Haslam (2011) demonstrated that women who associated themselves with nature were evaluated as more likable than women who did not, and also as more likable than men who associated themselves with nature.

However, views of women's connection to nature might come with aversive consequences. Indeed, nature itself is viewed as delicate and in need of conservation (Plumwood, 1993), while benevolent metaphors of *Mother Nature* also portray nature as nurturing and crucial to human thriving (Roach, 2003). Given these benevolent beliefs about nature, the perceived ties between women and nature may also shape perceptions of women as fragile and in need of protection. Such views fit with the ideology that shapes benevolent sexism and constitute legitimizing beliefs for the dominant role of men in social relationships (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019).

To date, no published studies have directly tested the association between the perceived connection of women with nature and sexist attitudes. We hypothesized that the extent to which people perceive women to be more connected to nature than men is primarily and positively associated with benevolent sexism (path A in Figure 1). Moreover, we expected that this association would

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A Companion to
Literature
and Film

Chapter 6

Adaptation and Mis-adaptations
Film, Literature, and Social Discourses

Francesco Casetti

Film and Literature: From Modes of Expression to Spheres of Discourse

The relationship between literature and film has been the subject of numerous reflections and analyses. Despite their diversity, most of these researches have a common starting-point. Both literature and cinema have been regarded essentially as *modes of expression*, sites and ways of manifestation of an ability to give shape to ideas, feelings, and personal orientations; in other words, as sites in which an individual's perceptions are combined with the person's will/necessity to offer an image of him or herself and of his or her own world. As a consequence, many of these contributions employ, as their key concepts, notions such as "work," "author," "poetics," and "intention." These notions focus on the presence of an individual's work and, simultaneously, on the fact that a text testifies to it; they emphasize the unfolding of personal actions and a personal universe, and the additional idea of being the repository of the text's deepest identity.

Among the reasons that have permitted this approach to become dominant, one in particular stands out: the desire to "valorize" cinema as an art form and as an object of inquiry; that is, the recognition of its "artistic value," a privilege that other fields, and in particular literature, have had for a long time. This desire, which is apparent in critical writings from the 1920s to the 1980s, has led to the application of categories used in literary studies – such as author, work, poetics, and so on – and in aesthetic theory to the cinema. Such an approach has contributed to the partial disregard of some of cinema's specificities; for instance, the fact that it is a mass-communication medium. Conversely, film studies have failed to extend the application of some peculiarly cinematic

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influence of linguistics. Texts which cannot be categorized under the canonical genres of fiction, drama, and poetry are now often dealt with in modern linguistics. Scholars are looking at texts which were previously regarded as worthless or irrelevant for textual analysis. The term text type refers to highly conventional written documents such as instruction manuals, sermons, obituaries, advertising texts, catalogues, and scientific or scholarly writing. It can, of course, also include the three main literary genres and their sub-genres.

A further key term in theoretical treatises on literary phenomena is **discourse**. Like text type, it is used as a term for any kind of classifiable linguistic expression. It has become a useful denotation for various linguistic conventions referring to areas of content and theme; for instance, one may speak of male or female, political, sexual, economic, philosophical, and historical discourse. The classifications for these forms of linguistic expression are based on levels of content, vocabulary, syntax, as well as stylistic and rhetorical elements. Whereas the term text type refers to written documents, discourse includes written and oral expression.

In sum, genre is applied primarily to the three classical forms of the literary tradition; text type is a broader term that is also applicable to "non-canonical" written texts, i.e., those which are traditionally not classified as literature. Discourse is the broadest term, referring to a variety of written and oral manifestations which share common thematic or structural features. The boundaries of these terms are not fixed and vary depending on the context in which they appear.

2
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Traditional literary studies distinguish between the artistic object, or primary source, and its scholarly treatment in a critical text, or secondary source. **Primary sources** denote the traditional objects of analysis in literary criticism, including texts from all literary genres, such as fiction, poetry, or drama.

The term **secondary source** applies to texts such as **articles** (or essays), book reviews, and **notes** (brief comments on a very specific topic), all of which are published primarily in scholarly journals. In Anglo-American literary criticism, as in any other academic

strong connections with the traditional performing arts and its links with fiction's textual features.

4
FILM

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is impossible to neglect **film** as a semi-textual genre both influenced by and exerting influence on literature and literary criticism. Film is predetermined by literary techniques; conversely, literary practice developed particular features under the impact of film. Many of the dramatic forms in the twentieth century, for example, have evolved in interaction with film, whose means of photographic depiction far surpass the means of realistic portrayal in the theater. Drama could therefore abandon its claim to realism and develop other, more stylized or abstract forms of presentation. Photography and film have also had a major influence on the fine arts; novel, more abstract approaches to painting have been taken in response to these new media. The same can be said for post-modern fiction, which also derives some of its structural features from film.

Film's idiosyncratic modes of presentation—such as camera angle, editing, montage, slow and fast motion—often parallel features of literary texts or can be explained within a textual framework. Although film has its own specific characteristics and terminology, it is possible to analyze film by drawing on methods of literary criticism, as film criticism is closely related to the traditional approaches of textual studies. The most important of these methodologies coincide with the ones that will be discussed in the next chapter on literary theory. There are, for example, approaches similar to text-oriented literary criticism which deal with material aspects of film, such as film stock, montage, editing, and sound. Methodologies which are informed by *reception aesthetics* focus on the effect on the spectator, and approaches such as psychoanalytical theory or feminist film theory regard film within a larger contextual framework. The major developments of literary theory have therefore also been borrowed or adapted by film studies.

In spite of their differing forms and media, drama and film are often categorized under the heading **performing arts** because they use

a)
Plot

Plot is the logical interaction of the various thematic elements of a text which lead to a change of the original situation as presented at the outset of the narrative. An ideal traditional plot line encompasses the following four sequential levels:

> exposition—complication—climax   or   turning   point—resolution

The **exposition** or presentation of the initial situation is disturbed by a **complication** or **conflict** which produces suspense and eventually leads to a climax, crisis, or turning point. The **climax** is followed by a resolution of the complication (French **denouement**), with which the text usually ends. Most traditional fiction, drama, and film employ this basic plot structure, which is also called linear plot since its different elements follow a chronological order.

   In many cases—even in linear plots—**flashback** and foreshadowing introduce information concerning the past or future into the narrative. The opening scene in Billy Wilder's (1906–2002) *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) is a famous example of the **foreshadowing** effect in film: the first-person narrator posthumously relates the events that lead to his death while drifting dead in a swimming pool. The only break with a linear plot or chronological narrative is the anticipation of the film's ending—the death of its protagonist—thus eliminating suspense as an important element of plot. This technique directs the audience's attention to aspects of the film other than the outcome of the action (see also Chapter 2, §4: Film).

   The *drama of the absurd* and the *experimental novel* deliberately break with linear narrative structures while at the same time maintaining traditional elements of plot in modified ways. Many contemporary novels alter linear narrative structures by introducing elements of plot in an unorthodox sequence. Kurt Vonnegut's (1922–) postmodern novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) is a striking example of experimental plot structure which mixes various levels of action and time, such as the experiences of a young soldier in World War II, his life in America after the war, and a science-fiction-like dream-world in

narratological changes when Marian says: "Now that I was thinking of myself in the first person singular again I found my own situation much more interesting" (ibid.: 290). Atwood's novel is an obvious example of how thematic aspects of a text, in this case the protagonist's loss of identity, can be emphasized on a structural level by means of narratological techniques such as point of view.

d)
Setting

Setting is another aspect traditionally included in analyses of prose fiction, and it is relevant to discussions of other genres, too. The term 'g' "setting" denotes the location, historical period, and social surroundings in which the action of a text develops. In James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), for example, the setting is clearly defined as Dublin, 16 June 1904. In other cases, for example William Shakespeare's (1564–1616) *Hamlet* (*c.* 1601), all we know is that the action takes place in medieval Denmark. Authors hardly ever choose a setting for its own sake, but rather embed a story in a particular context of time and place in order to support action, characters, and narrative perspective on an additional level.

In the gothic novel and certain other forms of prose fiction, setting is one of the crucial elements of the genre as such. In the opening section of "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1840), Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49) gives a detailed description of the building in which the uncanny short story will evolve. Interestingly, Poe's setting, the House of Usher, indirectly resembles Roderick Usher, the main character of the narrative and lord of the house.

> I know not how it was—but, with the first glimpse of the building, a sense of insufferable gloom pervaded my spirit. [...] I looked upon the scene before me—upon the mere house, and the simple landscape features of the domain—upon the bleak walls—upon the vacant eye-like windows—upon a few rank sedges—and upon a few white trunks of decayed trees—with an utter depression of soul which I can compare to no earthly sensation [...]. Perhaps the eye of a scrutinising observer might have discovered a barely perceptible fissure, which, extending

the facade of his characters by dwelling solely on exterior aspects of dialogue and actions without further commentary or evaluation. Dramatic presentation, however, only pretends to represent objectively while it always necessarily remains biased and perspectival.

As shown above, one can distinguish between two basic kinds of characters (round or flat), as well as between two general **modes of presentation** (showing or telling):

Kinds of characters

typified character	*individualized character*
flat	round

Modes of presentation

explanatory method	*dramatic method*
narration	dialogue—monologue

Similar to typification and individualization, explanatory and dramatic methods hardly ever appear in their pure forms, but rather as hybrids of various degrees, since the narrator often also acts as a character in the text. Questions concerning character presentation are always connected with problems of narrative perspective and are therefore hard to isolate or deal with individually. The following section on point of view thus inevitably touches upon aspects already mentioned.

c)
Point of view

The term **point of view,** or narrative perspective, characterizes the way in which a text presents persons, events, and settings. The subtleties of narrative perspectives developed parallel to the emergence of the novel and can be reduced to three basic positions: the action of a text is either mediated through an exterior, unspecified narrator (omniscient point of view), through a person involved in the action (first-person narration), or presented without additional commentary (figural narrative situation). This tripartite structure can

FILM

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ROUTLEDGE

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to

- ✔ define mise-en-scène overall and in terms of its constituent parts.
- ✔ describe the role of the production designer and the other personnel involved in designing a movie.
- ✔ understand the importance of design elements to our sense of a movie's characters, narrative, and themes.
- ✔ describe some of the major historical movements in film design.
- ✔ explain how composition is different from, but complementary to, design.
- ✔ describe how framing in movies is different from framing of static images such as paintings or photographs.
- ✔ describe the relationship between onscreen and offscreen space, and explain why most shots in a film rely on both.
- ✔ understand the difference between open and closed framing.
- ✔ accurately distinguish between the two basic types of movement—that of figures within the frame and that of the frame itself—in any film you watch.
- ✔ describe not only the details of any movie's mise-en-scène, but also the effects that the mise-en-scène has on the movie's characters, narrative, and themes.

What Is Mise-en-Scène?

The French phrase **mise-en-scène** (pronounced "meez-ahn-sen") means literally "staging or putting on an action or scene" and, thus, is sometimes called *staging*. In the critical analysis of movies, the term refers to the overall look and feel of a movie—the sum of everything the audience sees, hears,[1] and experiences while viewing it. A movie's mise-en-scène subtly influences our mood as we watch,

much as the decor, lighting, smells, and sounds can influence our emotional response to a real-life place.

The two major visual components of mise-en-scène are design and composition. **Design** is the process by which the look of the settings, props, lighting, and actors is determined. Set design, décor, prop selection, lighting setup, costuming, makeup, and hairstyle design all play a role in shaping the overall design. **Composition** is the organization, distribution, balance, and general relationship of actors and objects within the space of each shot. The visual elements of mise-en-scène are all crucial to shaping our sympathy for, and understanding of, the characters shaped by them. As you consider how a movie's mise-en-scène influences your thoughts about it, ask yourself if what you see in a scene is simply appealing decor, a well-dressed actor, and a striking bit of lighting, or if these elements have a distinctive significance to your understanding of the narrative, characters, and action of the movie. Keep in mind that the director has a reason—related to the overall vision for the movie—for each thing (figures, objects, decor, landscaping, etc.) put into a shot or scene, but that each of these things does not necessarily have a meaning in and by itself. It is the combination of elements within the frame that provide the overall meaning to the shot or scene.

Although every movie has a mise-en-scène, in some movies the various elements of the mise-en-scène are so powerful that they enable the viewer to experience the aura of a place and time. A list of such films, chosen at random, might include historical spectacles such as Sergei Eisenstein and Dmitri Vasilyev's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) or Andrei Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev* (1966); conventional dramas such as Stephen Frears's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985) or John M. Stahl's *Leave Her to Heaven* (1945); or the evocation of an unfamiliar place or culture, such as Satyajit Ray's *The Music Room* (1958), Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* (1987), Lars von Trier's *Dogville* (2003), or

[1] As a scholarly matter, some critics and instructors, including us, consider sound to be an element of mise-en-scène. Other scholars consider mise-en-scène to be only the sum of *visual* elements in a film. Because of its complexity, we will discuss

sound separately in Chapter 9. In this chapter, we will focus on the wholly visual aspects of mise-en-scène: on those filmmaking techniques and decisions that determine the placement, movement, and appearance of objects and people onscreen.

M.H. **Abrams**
Geoffrey Galt **Harpham**

A Glossary of Literary Terms

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Him /Her / Self: Sex Roles in Modern America (rev. 1986); Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (1987); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (1988); Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (1995). Consult also the essays in Michael Roper and James Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (1991); Rachel Adams and David Savran, eds., *The Masculinity Studies Reader* (2002). See also Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Gender Criticism: What Isn't Gender," in Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn, eds., *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies* (1992).

gender studies: 147.

generative linguistics: 199.

Geneva School (of criticism): **289**.

genre: A term, French in origin, that denotes a type or class of *literature*. The genres into which literary works have been grouped at different times are very numerous, and the criteria on which the classifications have been based are highly variable. Since the writings of Plato and Aristotle, however, there has been an enduring division of the overall literary domain into three large classes, in accordance with who speaks in the work: *lyric* (uttered throughout in the first person), *epic* or *narrative* (in which the narrator speaks in the first person, then lets the characters speak for themselves); and *drama* (in which the characters do all the talking). A similar tripartite scheme, elaborated by German critics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was echoed by James Joyce in his *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), chapter 5, and functions still in critical discourse and in the general distinction, in college catalogues, between courses in poetry, prose fiction, and drama.

Within this overarching division, Aristotle and other classical critics identified a number of more specific genres. Many of the ancient names, including *epic*, *tragedy*, *comedy*, and *satire*, have remained current to the present day; to them have been added, over the last three centuries, such relative newcomers as *biography*, *essay*, and *novel*. A glance at the genres in prose and verse listed at the end of this entry will indicate the crisscrossing diversity of the classes and subclasses to which individual works of literature have been assigned.

Through the Renaissance and much of the eighteenth century, the recognized genres—or poetic **kinds** as they were then called—were widely thought to be fixed literary types, somewhat like species in the biological order of nature. Many *neoclassic* critics insisted that each kind must remain "pure" (there must, for example, be no "mixing" of tragedy and comedy), and also proposed *rules* which specified the subject matter, structure, style, and emotional

Or as Eugène Ionesco, French author of *The Bald Soprano* (1949), *The Lesson* (1951), and other plays in the **theater of the absurd**, has put it: "Cut off from his religious, metaphysical, and transcendental roots, man is lost; all his actions become senseless, absurd, useless." Ionesco also said, in commenting on the mixture of moods in the literature of the absurd: "People drowning in meaninglessness can only be grotesque, their sufferings can only appear tragic by derision."

Samuel Beckett (1906–89), the most eminent and influential writer in this mode, both in drama and in prose fiction, was an Irishman living in Paris who often wrote in French and then translated his works into English. His plays, such as *Waiting for Godot* (1954) and *Endgame* (1958), project the irrationalism, helplessness, and absurdity of life in dramatic forms that reject realistic settings, logical reasoning, or a coherently evolving plot. *Waiting for Godot* presents two tramps in a waste place, fruitlessly and all but hopelessly waiting for an unidentified person, Godot, who may or may not exist and with whom they sometimes think they remember that they may have an appointment; as one of them remarks, "Nothing happens, nobody comes, nobody goes, it's awful." Like most works in this mode, the play is absurd in the double sense that it is grotesquely comic and also irrational and nonconsequential; it is a parody not only of the traditional assumptions of Western culture but of the conventions and generic forms of traditional drama, and even of its own inescapable participation in the dramatic medium. The lucid but eddying and pointless dialogue is often funny, and pratfalls and other modes of slapstick are used to give a comic cast to the alienation and anguish of human existence. Beckett's prose fiction, such as *Malone Dies* (1958) and *The Unnamable* (1960), presents an *antihero* who plays out the absurd moves of the end game of civilization in a nonwork which tends to undermine the coherence of its medium, language itself. But typically Beckett's characters carry on, even if in a life without purpose, trying to make sense of the senseless and to communicate the uncommunicable.

Another French playwright of the absurd was Jean Genet (who combined absurdism and diabolism); some of the early dramatic works of the Englishman Harold Pinter and the American Edward Albee are written in a similar mode. The early plays of Tom Stoppard, such as *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* (1966) and *Travesties* (1974), exploit the devices of absurdist theater more for comic than philosophical ends. There are also affinities with this movement in many works that exploit **black comedy** or **black humor**: baleful, naive, or inept characters in a fantastic or nightmarish modern world play out their roles in what Ionesco called a "tragic farce," in which the events are often simultaneously comic, horrifying, and absurd. Examples are Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1961), Thomas Pynchon's *V* (1963), John Irving's *The World According to Garp* (1978), and some of the novels by the German

constitutes emotional excess or overindulgence is relative both to the judgment of the individual and to large-scale historical changes in culture and in literary fashion, what to the common reader of one age is a normal and laudable expression of humane feeling may seem sentimental to many later readers. The emotional responses of a lover that Shelley expresses and tries to evoke from the reader in his "Epipsychidion" (1821) seemed sentimental to the *New Critics* of the 1930s and later, who insisted on the need for an ironic counterpoise to intense feeling in poetry. Most readers now find both the *drama of sensibility* and the *novel of sensibility* of the eighteenth century ludicrously sentimental, and respond with jeers instead of tears to once celebrated episodes of pathos, such as many of the death scenes, especially those of children, in some Victorian novels and dramas. A staple in current anthologies of bad poetry are sentimental poems which were doubtless written, and by some people read, with deep and sincere feeling. A useful distinction between sentimental and nonsentimental is one which does not depend on the intensity and type of the feeling expressed or evoked, but labels as sentimental a work or passage in which the feeling is rendered in commonplaces and *clichés*, instead of being freshly verbalized and sharply realized in the details of the representation.

See *pathos*, and *sensibility, literature of*, and refer to I. A. Richards, *Practical Criticism* (1929), chapter 6; and the discussion of sentimentality by Monroe C. Beardsley, "Bad Poetry," in *The Possibility of Criticism* (1970). Suzanne Clark has written a *feminist* reconsideration of sentimentalism in literature, *Sentimental Modernism and the Revolution of the Word* (1991), and Shirley Samuels has edited a collection of essays on *Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (1992).

sequential art: 153.

sestet: 369.

sestina (sĕstē′ na): **376**.

setting: The overall "setting" of a narrative or dramatic work is the general locale, historical time, and social circumstances in which its action occurs; the setting of a single episode or scene within the work is the particular physical location in which it takes place. The overall setting of *Macbeth*, for example, is medieval Scotland, and the setting for the particular scene in which Macbeth comes upon the witches is a blasted heath. The overall setting of James Joyce's *Ulysses* is Dublin on June 16, 1904, and its opening episode is set in the Martello Tower overlooking Dublin Bay. In works by writers such as Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas Hardy, and William Faulkner, both the overall and individual settings

a brilliant counter to the carpe diem poems written by male poets; in it, the woman explains to her importunate suitor why she finds him utterly resistible.

catalectic(kătălek′ tĭk), or **catalexis: 219**.

catastrophe (in a plot) (kătăs′ trŏfē): **296**; *406*.

catharsis (kăthär′ sĭs): **405**.

Cavalier poets: 281.

Celtic Revival: The "Celtic Revival," also known as the **Irish Literary Renaissance**, the **Gaelic Revival**, and the **Celtic Twilight**, identifies the remarkably creative period in Irish literature from about 1880 to the death of William Butler Yeats in 1939. The aim of Yeats and other early leaders of the movement was to create a distinctive national literature by going back to Irish history, legend, and folklore, as well as to native literary models. The major writers, however, wrote not in the native Irish (one of the Celtic languages) but in English, and under the influence of various non-Irish literary forms. A number of them also turned increasingly for their subject matter to modern Irish life rather than to the ancient past.

Notable poets in addition to Yeats were AE (George Russell) and Oliver St. John Gogarty. The dramatists included Yeats himself, as well as Lady Gregory (who was also an important patron and publicist for the movement), John Millington Synge, and later Sean O'Casey. Among the novelists were George Moore and James Stephens, as well as James Joyce, who, although he abandoned Ireland for Europe and ridiculed the excesses of the nationalist writers, adverted to Irish subject matter and characters in all his writings. As these names indicate, the Celtic Revival produced some of the greatest poetry, drama, and prose fiction written in English during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

See Phillip L. Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance* (1970), and "The Celtic Revival: Literature and the Theater," in *The Irish World: The History and Cultural Achievements of the Irish People* (1977). Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (1996), deals with the Irish writers as exemplary modernists. For the influence of anthropology on Irish revivalists, see Gregory Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (2001).

character and characterization:

1. The **character** is the name of a literary *genre*; it is a short, and usually witty, sketch in prose of a distinctive type of person. The genre was inaugurated by Theophrastus, a Greek author of the second century BC, who

to Postmodernism (2001); Victor E. Taylor and Charles E. Winquist, eds., *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism* (2003).

On the massive impact on culture and literature of the two World Wars, see Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989), and *The Great War and Modern Memory* (2000).

On modern and postmodern drama: Austin Quigley, *The Modern Stage and Other Worlds* (1985); William B. Worthen, *Modern Drama and the Rhetoric of Theater* (1992); Debora Geis, *Postmodern Theatric(k)s* (1993). For references to *modernism* in other entries, see page *171*.

modernist: 226; *119*.

monody: 104.

monologic: 88.

monologue: 96.

monometer (mŏnŏm′ ĕ ter): **220**.

mood: 20.

morality play: 224.

morpheme: 197.

morphology: 196.

motif and theme: A **motif** is a conspicuous element, such as a type of event, device, reference, or formula, which occurs frequently in works of literature. The "loathly lady" who turns out to be a beautiful princess is a common motif in *folklore*, and the man fatally bewitched by a fairy lady is a motif adopted from folklore in Keats' "La Belle Dame sans Merci" (1820). Common in lyric poems is the **ubi sunt motif**, the "where-are" formula for lamenting the vanished past ("Where are the snows of yesteryear?"), and also the *carpe diem* motif, whose nature is sufficiently indicated by Robert Herrick's title "To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time." An **aubade**—from the Old French "alba," meaning dawn—is an early-morning song whose usual motif is an urgent request to a beloved to wake up. A familiar example is Shakespeare's "Hark, hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings." An older term for recurrent poetic concepts or formulas is the **topos** (Greek for "a commonplace"); Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*

see Gerald Graff, *Literature against Itself* (1979); Frank Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism* (1980), chapters 4–5; J. G. Merquior, *From Prague to Paris: A Critique of Structuralist and Post-Structuralist Thought* (1986). Some collections of structuralist writings: David Robey, ed., *Structuralism: An Introduction* (1973); see also Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato, eds., *The Structuralist Controversy: The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man* (1970). Among the books of structuralist literary criticism available in English translations are Roland Barthes, *Critical Essays* (1964); Stephen Heath, *The Nouveau Roman: A Study in the Practice of Writing* (1972); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* (trans. 1977) and *Introduction to Poetics* (trans. 1981); Gérard Genette, *Figures of Literary Discourse* (trans. 1984). Structuralist treatments of cinema are Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (1969), and Christian Metz, *Language of Film* (1973).

For references to *structuralist criticism* in other entries, see pages *72, 150, 331, 397.*

structure: 141. See also *structuralism*.

style: "Style" has traditionally been defined as the manner of linguistic expression in prose or verse—as *how* speakers or writers say whatever it is that they say. The style specific to a particular work or writer, or else distinctive of a type of writings, has been analyzed in such diverse terms as the rhetorical situation and aim (see *rhetoric*); the characteristic *diction*, or choice of words; the type of sentence structure and *syntax*; and the density and kinds of *figurative language*.

In standard theories based on Cicero and other classical rhetoricians, styles were usually classified into three main levels: the **high** (or "grand"), the **middle** (or "mean"), and the **low** (or "plain") **style**. The doctrine of *decorum*, which was influential through the eighteenth century, required that the level of style in a work be appropriate to the social class of the speaker, to the occasion on which it is spoken, and to the dignity of its literary genre (see *poetic diction*). The critic Northrop Frye introduced a variant of this long-persisting analysis of stylistic levels in literature. He made a primary differentiation between the **demotic style** (which is modeled on the language, rhythms, and associations of ordinary speech) and the **hieratic style** (which employs a variety of formal elaborations that separate the literary language from ordinary speech). Frye then proceeded to distinguish a high, middle, and low level in each of these classes. See *The Well-Tempered Critic* (1963), chapter 2.

In analyzing style, two types of sentence structure are often distinguished:

The **periodic sentence** is one in which the component parts, or "members," are so composed that the close of its syntactic structure remains suspended until the end of the sentence; the effect tends to be formal or oratorical. An example is the eloquent opening sentence of James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), in which the structure of the syntax is not con-

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Question or Comment?

Drama Genre Definition – Complete List of Book Genres

by Mark Malatesta | Feb 10, 2019 | Book Genres Fiction

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Drama Genre Definition – What's the best definition for the drama fiction genre? The drama genre is strongly based in a character, or characters, that are in conflict at a crucial moment in their lives. Most dramas revolve around families and often have tragic or painful resolutions.

Drama depends a lot on realistic characters dealing with emotional themes, such as: alcoholism, drug addiction, infidelity, morals, racism, religion, intolerance, sexuality, poverty, class issues, violence, and corruption [society or natural disasters can even be thrown in from time to time]. Drama often crosses over and meshes with other genres

Scroll below now to see 25 drama fiction genre examples, or click here to see all fiction genres.

Teori
PENGKAJIAN
FIKSI

Burhan Nurgiyantoro

Roda kehidupan ini
O, jalani dia
Sepenuh hati
Nadi dan nadanya
Irama dan lakunya
Denyut dan detaknya
Ada bersama waktu
    (Hanya ini persembahanku,
    sebagai pertanggungjawaban duniaku
    kepadamu)

kaitannya dengan berbagai unsur yang lain dan peranannya dalam cerita secara keseluruhan. Tokoh memang unsur yang terpenting dalam karya fiksi, namun, bagaimanapun juga, ia tetap terikat oleh unsur-unsur yang lain. Bagaimana jalinan dan bentuk keterikatan unsur tokoh dengan unsur-unsur yang lain dalam sebuah fiksi, perlu ditinjau satu per satu. Jika tokoh memang berjalinan erat, saling melengkapi dan menentukan dengan unsur-unsur yang lain dalam membentuk keutuhan yang artistik, tokoh mempunyai bentuk relevansi dengan cerita secara keseluruhan. Penokohan telah dikembangkan sesuai dengan tuntutan cerita.

2. PEMBEDAAN TOKOH

Tokoh-tokoh cerita dalam sebuah fiksi dapat dibedakan ke dalam beberapa jenis penamaan berdasarkan dari sudut mana penamaan itu dilakukan. Berdasarkan perbedaan sudut pandang dan tinjauan, seorang tokoh dapat saja dikategorikan ke dalam beberapa jenis penamaan sekaligus, misalnya sebagai tokoh utama-protagonis-berkembang-tipikal.

a. Tokoh Utama dan Tokoh Tambahan

Membaca sebuah novel, biasanya, kita akan dihadapkan pada sejumlah tokoh yang dihadirkan di dalamnya. Namun, dalam kaitannya dengan keseluruhan cerita, peranan masing-masing tokoh tersebut tak sama. Dilihat dari **segi peranan** atau **tingkat pentingnya** tokoh dalam sebuah cerita, ada tokoh yang tergolong penting dan ditampilkan terus-menerus sehingga terasa mendominasi sebagian besar cerita, dan sebaliknya, ada tokoh(-tokoh) yang hanya dimunculkan sekali atau beberapa kali dalam cerita, dan itu pun mungkin dalam porsi penceritaan yang relatif pendek. Tokoh yang disebut pertama adalah tokoh utama cerita (*central character, main character*), sedang yang kedua adalah tokoh tambahan (*peripheral character*).

Tokoh utama adalah tokoh yang diutamakan penceritaannya

dalam novel yang bersangkutan. Ia merupakan tokoh yang paling banyak diceritakan, baik sebagai pelaku kejadian maupun yang dikenai kejadian. Bahkan pada novel-novel tertentu, tokoh utama senantiasa hadir dalam setiap kejadian dan dapat ditemui dalam tiap halaman buku cerita yang bersangkutan. Misalnya, tokoh Aku (Sri) pada novel *Pada Sebuah Kapal* bagian I, atau tokoh Aku (Michel) pada novel yang sama bagian II.

Pada novel-novel yang lain, tokoh utama tidak muncul dalam setiap kejadian, atau tak langsung ditunjuk dalam setiap bab, namun ternyata dalam kejadian atau bab tersebut tetap erat berkaitan, atau dapat dikaitkan, dengan tokoh utama. Dalam novel *Burung-burung Manyar*, misalnya, terdapat lima bab (4,9,11,13, dan 14) dari ke-22 bab yang ada yang tak menghadirkan tokoh utama cerita, Teto (lihat Sayuti, 1988: 32). Namun, dari ke-5 bab tersebut, 2 di antaranya (4 dan 13) erat berkaitan dengan tokoh Teto—antara lain berisi pembicaraan tentangnya, dan 3 yang lain (9, 11, dan 13) dapat dikaitkan tokoh Teto, walau secara tak langsung, dalam hubungan sebab-akibat.

Karena tokoh utama paling banyak diceritakan dan selalu berhubungan dengan tokoh-tokoh lain, ia sangat menentukan perkembangan plot secara keseluruhan. Ia selalu hadir sebagai pelaku, atau yang dikenai kejadian dan konflik, penting yang mempengaruhi perkembangan plot. Di pihak lain, pemunculan tokoh-tokoh tambahan dalam keseluruhan cerita lebih sedikit, tidak dipentingkan, dan kehadirannya hanya jika ada keterkaitannya dengan tokoh utama, secara langsung ataupun tak langsung. Tokoh utama adalah yang dibuat sinopsisnya, yaitu dalam kegiatan pembuatan sinopsis, sedang tokoh tambahan biasanya diabaikan. Tokoh utama sebuah novel, mungkin saja lebih dari seorang, walau kadar keutamaannya tak (selalu) sama. Keutamaan mereka ditentukan oleh dominasi, banyaknya penceritaan, dan pengaruhnya terhadap perkembangan plot secara keseluruhan. Di antara ketiga tokoh utama novel *Belenggu*, Tono, Yah, dan Tini, misalnya, tak sama kadar keutamaan mereka. Dengan alasan di atas, kita, tentu saja, akan mengatakan bahwa Tono lebih utama daripada kedua tokoh utama yang lain.

Demikian pula halnya dengan Teto dalam *Burung-burung*

Manyar, ia memiliki kadar keutamaan yang lebih daripada Atik. Atik pun dapat dianggap sebagai tokoh utama, karena ia juga banyak diceritakan, banyak berhubungan dengan Teto, mempengaruhi perkembangan plot, bahkan penemuan jati diri Teto melalui simbolisasi burung manyar, Atiklah yang melantarkannya. Dari segi cerita, dapat dikatakan bahwa novel ini mengisahkan perjalanan kehidupan Teto dan Atik. Dengan demikian, Atik pun berhak disebut sebagai tokoh utama, walau utama yang tambahan. Tokoh-tokoh yang lain seperti Verbruggen, Janakatamsi, Bu Antana, dan Marice, walau relatif tak banyak, juga mempengaruhi plot. Dominasi mereka dalam cerita ada di bawah Atik, sehingga mereka dapat dipandang sebagai tokoh tambahan, walau harus dicatat: tokoh tambahan yang utama.

Apa yang dikemukakan di atas menunjukkan bahwa pembedaan antara tokoh utama dan tambahan tak dapat dilakukan secara eksak. Pembedaan itu lebih bersifat gradasi, kadar keutamaan tokoh-tokoh itu bertingkat: tokoh utama (yang) utama, utama tambahan, tokoh tambahan utama, tambahan (yang memang) tambahan. Hal inilah antara lain yang menyebabkan orang bisa berbeda pendapat dalam hal menentukan tokoh-tokoh utama sebuah cerita fiksi.

b. Tokoh Protagonis dan Tokoh Antagonis

Jika dilihat dari **peran tokoh-tokoh** dalam pengembangan plot dapat dibedakan adanya tokoh utama dan tokoh tambahan, dilihat dari **fungsi penampilan tokoh** dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh protagonis dan tokoh antagonis. Membaca sebuah novel, pembaca sering mengidentifikasikan diri dengan tokoh(-tokoh) tertentu, memberikan simpati dan empati, melibatkan diri secara emosional terhadap tokoh tersebut. Tokoh yang disikapi demikian oleh pembaca disebut sebagai tokoh protagonis (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 59).

Tokoh protagonis adalah tokoh yang kita kagumi—yang salah satu jenisnya secara populer disebut hero—tokoh yang merupakan pengejawantahan norma-norma, nilai-nilai, yang ideal bagi kita (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 59). Tokoh protagonis menampilkan sesuatu yang sesuai dengan pandangan kita, harapan-harapan kita,

pembaca. Maka, kita sering mengenalinya sebagai memiliki kesamaan dengan kita, permasalahan yang dihadapinya seolah-olah juga sebagai permasalahan kita, demikian pula halnya dalam menyikapinya. Pendek kata, segala apa yang dirasa, dipikir, dan dilakukan tokoh itu sekaligus mewakili kita. Identifikasi diri terhadap tokoh yang demikian merupakan empati yang diberikan oleh pembaca. Demikianlah pembaca, kita, akan memberikan empati kepada tokoh Sri dan Michel dalam *Pada Sebuah Kapal*, Elisa pada *Keberangkatan*, atau Fuyuko pada *Gairah untuk Hidup dan untuk Mati*.

Sebuah fiksi harus mengandung konflik, ketegangan, khususnya konflik dan ketegangan yang dialami oleh tokoh protagonis. Tokoh penyebab terjadinya konflik disebut tokoh antagonis. Tokoh antagonis, barangkali dapat disebut, beroposisi dengan tokoh protagonis, secara langsung ataupun tak langsung, bersifat fisik ataupun batin. Tokoh-tokoh seperti Charles, suami Sri, Nicole, istri Michel, Sukoharjito, kekasih Elisa, dan Husain, kekasih Fuyuko, dapat dipandang sebagai tokoh antagonis dalam novel-novel di atas.

Konflik yang dialami oleh tokoh protagonis tidak harus hanya yang disebabkan oleh tokoh antagonis seorang (beberapa orang) individu yang dapat ditunjuk secara jelas. Ia dapat disebabkan oleh hal-hal lain yang di luar individualitas seseorang, misalnya bencana alam, kecelakaan, lingkungan alam dan sosial, aturan-aturan sosial, nilai-nilai moral, kekuasaan dan kekuatan yang lebih tinggi, dan sebagainya. Penyebab konflik yang tak dilakukan oleh seorang tokoh disebut sebagai kekuatan antagonistis, *antagonistic force* (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 59). Konflik bahkan mungkin sekali disebabkan oleh diri sendiri, misalnya seorang tokoh akan memutuskan sesuatu yang penting yang masing-masing menuntut konsekuensi sehingga terjadi pertentangan dalam diri sendiri. Namun, biasanya ada juga pengaruh kekuatan antagonistis yang di luar diri walau secara tak langsung.

Penyebab terjadinya konflik dalam sebuah novel, mungkin berupa tokoh antagonis, kekuatan antagonis, atau keduanya sekaligus. Hal itu dapat dicontohkan pada novel *Pada Sebuah Kapal* berikut. Kecelakaan pesawat terbang yang menewaskan Saputro, kekasih Sri, dapat dipandang sebagai kekuatan antagonis yang di luar kekuasan

manusia yang mengkonfrontasi Sri. Kemudian Sri kawin dengan Charles Vincent, yang ternyata tak bersikap lembut kepadanya sehingga ia melabuhkan cintanya kepada lelaki lain, Michel. Dalam hal ini, Charles dapat dipandang sebagai tokoh antagonis, penyebab timbulnya konflik batin dalam diri Sri. Bahkan sebenarnya, penerimaan Sri terhadap Charles, pada hakikatnya juga disebabkan adanya kekuatan antagonis yang berada di luar kemampuan Sri, yang notabene sebagai orang Indonesia-Jawa, yang (secara tak langsung) juga mengkonfrontasinya. Hal yang dimaksud adalah "ketaksucian" diri Sri karena keperawanannya telah diberikan kepada Saputro. Sri sengaja menerima Charles karena masalah keperawanan, dalam pandangan Barat, merupakan sesuatu yang tak dipersoalkan oleh pasangan yang menikah. Sebaliknya, untuk ukuran norma ketimuran (baca: Indonesia), hal itu, konon, masih sering dipersoalkan, paling tidak menurut pandangan Sri (pengarang: Dini!).

Menentukan tokoh-tokoh cerita ke dalam protagonis dan antagonis kadang-kadang tak mudah, atau paling tidak, orang bisa berbeda pendapat. Tokoh yang mencerminkan harapan dan atau norma ideal kita, memang dapat dianggap sebagai tokoh protagonis. Namun, tak jarang ada tokoh yang tak membawakan nilai-nilai moral kita, atau yang berdiri di pihak "sana", justru yang diberi simpati dan empati oleh pembaca. Jika terdapat dua tokoh yang berlawanan, tokoh yang lebih banyak diberi kesempatan untuk mengemukakan visinya itulah yang kemungkinan besar memperoleh simpati, dan empati, dari pembaca (Luxemburg dkk, 1992: 145).

Tokoh penjahat, misalnya, mungkin sekali ia akan diberi rasa simpati oleh pembaca, jika cerita ditulis dari kacamata si penjahat itu sehingga memperoleh kesempatan banyak untuk menyampaikan visinya, walau secara faktual ia dibenci oleh masyarakat, termasuk pembaca sendiri. Tokoh Teto dalam *Burung-burung Manyar* kiranya dapat dikategorikan dalam kasus di atas. Dilihat dari statusnya yang KNIL dan ikut memusuhi Republik, ia adalah orang pihak sana dan seharusnya merupakan tokoh antagonis yang dibenci pembaca. Namun, simpati dan empati pembaca justru tertuju kepadanya. Pada umumnya pembaca dapat mengerti, memahami, dan sebagaimana halnya dengan

Atik, memaafkan kekeliruannya itu. Itu semua disebabkan Teto banyak diceritakan dan diberi kesempatan untuk mengeluarkan sikap dan pandangannya, walau kadang-kadang terasa keras, "menusuk dan menyakitkan", namun diam-diam dalam hati kita-pembaca toh membenarkannya juga.

Pembedaan antara tokoh utama dan tambahan dengan tokoh protagonis dan antagonis sering digabungkan, sehingga menjadi tokoh-utama-protagonis, tokoh-utama-antagonis, tokoh-tambahan-protagonis, dan seterusnya. Pembedaan secara pasti antara tokoh utama protagonis dengan tokoh utama antagonis juga sering tidak mudah dilakukan. Pembedaan itu sebenarnya lebih bersifat penggradasian. Apalagi tokoh cerita pun dapat berubah, khususnya pada tokoh yang berkembang, sehingga tokoh yang semula diberi rasa antipati belakangan justru menjadi disimpati, atau sebaliknya. Atau paling tidak, pemberian rasa simpati, atau antipati, menjadi berkurang, atau bertambah, dari semula. Sikap Teto pun belakangan juga berubah menjadi cinta Republik.

c. Tokoh Sederhana dan Tokoh Bulat

Berdasarkan **perwatakannya**, tokoh cerita dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh sederhana (*simple* atau *flat character*) dan tokoh kompleks atau tokoh bulat (*complex* atau *round character*). Pembedaan tersebut berasal dari Forster dalam bukunya *Aspects of the Novel* yang terbit pertama kali 1927. Pembedaan tokoh ke dalam sederhana dan kompleks (Forster, 1970: 75) tersebut kemudian menjadi sangat terkenal. Hampir semua buku sastra yang membicarakan penokohan, tak pernah lupa menyebut pembedaan itu, baik secara langsung menyebut nama Forster maupun tidak. Pengkategorian seorang tokoh ke dalam sederhana atau bulat haruslah didahului dengan analisis perwatakan (baca: Catatan tentang Identifikasi Tokoh pada akhir bab ini). Setelah deskripsi perwatakan seorang tokoh diperoleh, kita dapat menentukan ke dalam kategori mana secara lebih dapat dipertanggungjawabkan.

Tokoh Sederhana. Tokoh sederhana, dalam bentuknya yang asli, adalah tokoh yang hanya memiliki satu kualitas pribadi tertentu,

satu sifat-watak yang tertentu saja. Sebagai seorang tokoh manusia, ia tak diungkap berbagai kemungkinan sisi kehidupannya. Ia tak memiliki sifat dan tingkah laku yang dapat memberikan efek kejutan bagi pembaca. Sifat dan tingkah laku seorang tokoh sederhana bersifat datar, monoton, hanya mencerminkan satu watak tertentu. Watak yang telah pasti itulah yang mendapat penekanan dan terus-menerus terlihat dalam fiksi yang bersangkutan. Perwatakan tokoh sederhana yang benar-benar sederhana, dapat dirumuskan hanya dengan sebuah kalimat, atau bahkan sebuah frase saja. Misalnya, "Ia seorang yang miskin, tetapi jujur", atau "Ia seorang yang kaya, tetapi kikir", atau "Ia seorang yang senantiasa pasrah pada nasib".

Tokoh sederhana dapat saja melakukan berbagai tindakan, namun semua tindakannya itu akan dapat dikembalikan pada perwatakan yang dimiliki dan yang telah diformulakan itu. Dengan demikian, pembaca akan dengan mudah memahami watak dan tingkah laku tokoh sederhana. Ia mudah dikenal dan dipahami, lebih familiar, dan cenderung stereotip. Tokoh sebuah fiksi yang bersifat familiar, sudah biasa, atau yang stereotip, memang dapat digolongkan sebagai tokoh-tokoh yang sederhana (Kenny, 1966:28). Berhadapan dengan tokoh sebuah karya fiksi, mungkin sekali kita merasa seolah-olah telah mengenal, telah akrap atau telah biasa dengannya. Padahal sebenarnya, yang telah kita kenal adalah perwatakan, tingkah laku, tindakan, atau kepribadiannya, yang memiliki kesamaan pola dengan watak dan tingkah laku tokoh cerita novel lain yang telah kita baca sebelumnya. Tokoh cerita yang demikian adalah tokoh yang bersifat stereotip, klise.

Unsur kestereotipan, pola yang itu-itu saja, yang sering dijumpai dalam karya fiksi tidak hanya menyangkut penokohan saja, melainkan dapat juga unsur-unsur intrinsik yang lain seperti plot, tema, ataupun latar. Namun, tidak berarti bahwa semua tokoh sederhana adalah tokoh yang stereotip, tokoh yang tidak memiliki unsur kebaruan atau keunikannya sendiri. Banyak tokoh fiksi yang hanya diungkap dan ditonjolkan satu sisi perwatakannya, namun ia bersifat asli, baru, lain dari yang lain, tidak sekedar mengikuti formula yang telah dipergunakan pengarang lain sebelumnya. Bahkan sebenarnya, sebagaimana halnya kehidupan manusia di dunia nyata, tidak ada satu

pun tokoh manusia yang memiliki watak dan tingkah laku yang sama persis dengan tokoh manusia lain.

Tokoh-tokoh cerita pada novel-novel Indonesia dalam awal perkembangannya pada umumnya berupa tokoh sederhana, tampak hanya mencerminkan pola watak tertentu. Misalnya tokoh Siti Nurbaya, Samsul Bahri, dan Datuk Meringgih dalam *Sitti Nurbaya*, Hanafi, Corrie, dan Rafiah dalam *Salah Asuhan*, bahkan juga Tuti, Maria, dan Yusuf dalam *Layar Terkembang*. Demikian juga halnya dengan tokoh Rusli, Anwar, dan ayah dalam *Atheis*, Saputro, Basir, dan Charles Vincent dalam *Pada Sebuah Kapal*, dan lain-lain. Boleh dikatakan bahwa tokoh-tokoh tambahan dalam sebuah fiksi, rata-rata merupakan tokoh sederhana. Hal itu mudah dimengerti sebab mereka tak banyak diceritakan sehingga tidak memiliki banyak kesempatan untuk diungkapkan berbagai sisi kehidupan.

Tokoh Bulat. Tokoh bulat, kompleks, berbeda halnya dengan tokoh sederhana, adalah tokoh yang memiliki dan diungkap berbagai kemungkinan sisi kehidupannya, sisi kepribadian dan jati dirinya. Ia dapat saja memiliki watak tertentu yang dapat diformulasikan, namun ia pun dapat pula menampilkan watak dan tingkah laku bermacam-macam, bahkan mungkin seperti bertentangan dan sulit diduga. Oleh karena itu, perwatakannya pun umumnya sulit dideskripsikan secara tepat. Dibandingkan dengan tokoh sederhana, tokoh bulat lebih menyerupai kehidupan manusia yang sesungguhnya, karena di samping memiliki berbagai kemungkinan sikap dan tindakan, ia juga sering memberikan kejutan (Abrams, 1981: 20-1).

Tokoh kompleks, dengan demikian, lebih sulit dipahami, terasa kurang familiar karena yang ditampilkan adalah tokoh (-tokoh) yang kurang akrap dan kurang dikenal sebelumnya. Tingkah lakunya sering tak terduga dan memberikan efek kejutan pada pembaca. Namun, berbeda halnya dengan realitas kehidupan manusia yang kadang tak konsisten dan tak berplot, unsur-unsur kejutan yang ditampilkan tokoh cerita haruslah dapat dipertanggungjawabkan dari segi plausibilitas cerita sebab cerita fiksi memang mengandung plot. Ia harus logis sesuai dengan tuntutan koherensi cerita yang mengharuskan adanya pertautan logika sebab akibat. Jadi, misalnya, jika Guru Isa yang sebelumnya

kehidupan manusia Jawa dewasa ini, karena keterlibatannya yang suntuk, penghayatan dan pengolahan yang intens, dan merupakan hasil kreativitas imajinatif yang asli, dapat digolongkan sebagai karya yang benar-benar berhasil. Keduanya dapat dipandang sebagai karya sastra yang penting dalam perkembangan kesastraan Indonesia modern.

d. Tokoh Statis dan Tokoh Berkembang

Berdasarkan kriteria **berkembang atau tidaknya perwatakan** tokoh-tokoh cerita dalam sebuah novel, tokoh dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh statis, tak berkembang (*static character*) dan tokoh berkembang (*developing character*). Tokoh statis adalah tokoh cerita yang secara esensial tidak mengalami perubahan dan atau perkembangan perwatakan sebagai akibat adanya peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 58). Tokoh jenis ini tampak seperti kurang terlibat dan tak terpengaruh oleh adanya perubahan-perubahan lingkungan yang terjadi karena adanya hubungan antarmanusia. Jika diibaratkan, tokoh statis adalah bagaikan batu karang yang tak tergoyahkan walau tiap hari dihantam dan disayang ombak. Tokoh statis memiliki sikap dan watak yang relatif tetap, tak berkembang, sejak awal sampai akhir cerita.

Tokoh berkembang, di pihak lain, adalah tokoh cerita yang mengalami perubahan dan perkembangan perwatakan sejalan dengan perkembangan (dan perubahan) peristiwa dan plot yang dikisahkan. Ia secara aktif berinteraksi dengan lingkungannya, baik lingkungan sosial, alam, maupun yang lain, yang kesemuanya itu akan mempengaruhi sikap, watak, dan tingkah lakunya. Adanya perubahan-perubahan yang terjadi di luar dirinya, dan adanya hubungan antarmanusia yang memang bersifat saling mempengaruhi itu, dapat menyentuh kejiwaannya dan dapat menyebabkan terjadinya perubahan dan perkembangan sikap dan wataknya. Sikap dan watak tokoh berkembang, dengan demikian, akan mengalami perkembangan dan atau perubahan dari awal, tengah, dan akhir cerita, sesuai dengan tuntutan koherensi cerita secara keseluruhan.

Dalam penokohan yang bersifat statis dikenal adanya tokoh hitam

(dikonotasikan sebagai tokoh jahat) dan putih (dikonotasikan sebagai tokoh baik), yaitu tokoh yang statis hitam dan statis putih. Artinya, tokoh-tokoh tersebut sejak awal kemunculannya hingga akhir cerita terus-menerus bersifat hitam atau putih, yang hitam tak pernah berunsur putih dan yang putih pun tak diungkapkan unsur kehitamannya. Tokoh hitam adalah tokoh yang benar-benar hitam, yang seolah-olah telah tercetak biru secara demikian, dan yang tampak hanya melulu sikap, watak, dan tingkah lakunya yang jahat dan tak pernah diungkapkan unsur-unsur kebaikan dalam dirinya walau sebenarnya pasti ada. Sebaliknya, tokoh putih pun seolah-olah juga telah tercetak biru, selalu saja baik dan tak pernah berbuat sesuatu yang tergolong tak baik walau pernah sekali-dua berbuat hal yang demikian.

Tokoh hitam putih biasanya akan cepat menjadi stereotip—karena sebenarnya mereka merupakan pengejawantahan ajaran moral kita yang bersifat baik-buruk dan stereotip juga—mudah dan cepat dikenal sebagai tokoh simbol tertentu. Misalnya, tokoh Samsul Bahri dan Datuk Maringgih, masing-masing adalah sebagai simbol tokoh putih-yang-berwatak-baik dan tokoh hitam-yang berwatak-jahat. Samsu adalah tokoh yang benar dan semua tingkah lakunya pun dianggap benar, sedangkan Datuk Maringgih adalah tokoh jahat, pembuat dan pelaku berbagai tindak kejahatan, dan semua perbuatannya pun dianggap sebagai sesuatu yang selalu jahat.[*)]

Pembedaan tokoh statis dan berkembang kiranya dapat dihubungkan dengan pembedaan tokoh sederhana dan kompleks di

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[*)] Tindakan Samsul Bahri masuk tentara Belanda adalah tindakan yang baik pada waktu itu. Ia mau mengabdi kepada pemerintah dan bahkan ikut menumpas pemberontakan yang antara lain dipimpin oleh Datuk Maringgih. Sebaliknya, tindakan Datuk Maringgih yang memberontak pada pemerintah (penjajah!) dianggap sebagai perbuatan tidak baik, subversif. Namun, jika dilihat dari kacamata sekarang, keadaan justru akan terbalik. Samsul Bahri adalah tokoh yang jahat. Ia adalah seorang pengkhianat bangsa karena ia justru memerangi bangsa sendiri yang berjuang melawan penindasan penjajah. Sebaliknya, Datuk Maringgih adalah seorang tokoh pejuang bangsa walau perjuangannya itu sebenarnya dengan motivasi pribadi yang kurang begitu baik, karena dia yang justru berjuang memerangi penjajah (lihat pembicaraan dekonstruksi pada bab 2).

atas. Tokoh statis, entah hitam entah putih, adalah tokoh yang sederhana, datar, karena ia tidak diungkap berbagai keadaan sisi kehidupannya. Ia hanya memiliki satu kemungkinan watak saja dari awal hingga akhir cerita. Tokoh berkembang, sebaliknya, akan cenderung menjadi tokoh yang kompleks. Hal itu disebabkan adanya berbagai perubahan dan perkembangan sikap, watak, dan tingkah lakunya itu dimungkinkan sekali dapat terungkapkannya berbagai sisi kejiwaannya. Sebagaimana halnya dengan tokoh datar, tokoh statis pun kurang mencerminkan realitas kehidupan manusia. Rasanya mustahil jika ada manusia yang tidak pernah terpengaruh oleh lingkungan yang selalu saja "membujuk dan merayunya", dan selalu saja tidak berubah sikap, watak, dan tingkah lakunya sepanjang hayat. Sebaliknya, tokoh berkembang, juga sebagaimana halnya tokoh kompleks, lebih mendekati realitas kehidupan manusia.

Namun, juga sebagaimana halnya pembedaan antara tokoh sederhana dengan tokoh kompleks yang lebih bersifat penggradasian, pembedaan antara tokoh statis dan berkembang ini pun kurang lebih sama: lebih bersifat penggradasian. Artinya, di antara dua titik pengontrasan itu ada tokoh yang memiliki kecenderungan ke salah satu kutup tergantung tingkat intensitas perkembangan sikap, watak, dan tingkah lakunya.

e. Tokoh Tipikal dan Tokoh Netral

Berdasarkan kemungkinan **pencerminan** tokoh cerita terhadap (sekelompok) manusia dari kehidupan nyata, tokoh cerita dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh tipikal (*typical character*) dan tokoh netral (*neutral character*). Tokoh tipikal adalah tokoh yang hanya sedikit ditampilkan keadaan individualitasnya, dan lebih banyak ditonjolkan kualitas pekerjaan atau kebangsaannya (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 60), atau sesuatu yang lain yang lebih bersifat mewakili. Tokoh tipikal merupakan penggambaran, pencerminan, atau penunjukkan terhadap orang, atau sekelompok orang yang terikat dalam sebuah lembaga, atau seorang individu sebagai bagian dari suatu lembaga, yang ada di dunia nyata. Penggambaran itu tentu saja bersifat tidak langsung dan tidak

menyeluruh, dan justru pihak pembacalah yang menafsirkannya secara demikian berdasarkan pengetahuan, pengalaman, dan persepsinya terhadap tokoh di dunia nyata dan pemahamannya terhadap tokoh cerita di dunia fiksi.

Tokoh netral, di pihak lain, adalah tokoh cerita yang bereksistensi demi cerita itu sendiri. Ia benar-benar merupakan tokoh imajiner yang hanya hidup dan bereksistensi dalam dunia fiksi. Ia hadir (atau dihadirkan) semata-mata demi cerita, atau bahkan dialah sebenarnya yang empunya cerita, pelaku cerita, dan yang diceritakan. Kehadirannya tidak berpretensi untuk mewakili atau menggambarkan sesuatu yang di luar dirinya, seseorang yang berasal dari dunia nyata. Atau paling tidak, pembaca mengalami kesulitan untuk menafsirkannya sebagai bersifat mewakili berhubung kurang ada unsur bukti pencerminan dari kenyataan di dunia nyata.

Penokohan tokoh cerita secara tipikal pada hakikatnya dapat dipandang sebagai reaksi, tanggapan, penerimaan, tafsiran, pengarang terhadap tokoh manusia di dunia nyata. Tanggapan itu mungkin bernada negatif seperti terlihat dalam karya yang bersifat menyindir, mengritik, bahkan mungkin mengecam, karikatural atau setengah karikatural. Namun, sebaliknya, ia mungkin juga bernada positif seperti yang terasa dalam nada memuji-muji. Tanggapan juga dapat bersifat netral, artinya pengarang melukiskan seperti apa adanya tanpa "disertai" sikap subjektivitasnya sendiri yang cenderung memihak.

Penokohan yang tipikal ataupun bukan berkaitan erat dengan makna, *intentional meaning*, makna intensional, makna yang tersirat, yang ingin disampaikan oleh pengarang kepada pembaca. Melalui tokoh tipikal itu pengarang tak sekedar memberikan reaksi atau tanggapan, melainkan sekaligus memperlihatkan sikapnya terhadap tokoh, permasalahan tokoh, atau sikap dan tindakan tokohnya itu sendiri.

Penyebutan "Guru" dalam nama Guru Isa pada *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*, dapat ditafsirkan bahwa tokoh itu adalah tokoh tipikal, tipikal bagi para guru. Atau paling tidak, oleh pengarang dimaksudkan demikian sesuai dengan persepsinya tentang dan terhadap seorang guru. Guru yang berhati lembut, cinta damai, tidak suka kekerasan, bertanggung jawab, jika berhadapan dengan sesuatu yang tidak sesuai

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Akhirnya perlu juga dikemukakan di sini, bahwa hanya novel-novel yang dikategorikan sebagai novel serius inilah yang selama ini banyak dibicarakan pada dunia kritik sastra walau ada juga kritikus yang secara intensif membahas novel-novel pop, misalnya Yakob Sumarjo. Barangkali, orang beranggapan bahwa hanya novel jenis ini pulalah yang pantas dianggap sebagai karya sastra sekaligus karya seni, sebagai suatu bentuk kebudayaan, dan dibicarakan dalam sejarah sastra. Namun, anggapan itu dewasa ini tampaknya mulai bergeser. Banyak orang (baca: pakar) yang beranggapan bahwa sastra pop juga perlu diperhatikan (baca: diteliti) dan bahkan pantas diajarkan di sekolah. Apalagi jika mengingat tipisnya batas antara keduanya sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas. Apalagi dengan merebaknya pemikiran post-modernisme yang ingin meniadakan perbedaan tingkatan karya seperti itu.

3. UNSUR-UNSUR FIKSI

Sebuah karya fiksi yang jadi, merupakan sebuah bangun cerita yang menampilkan sebuah dunia yang sengaja dikreasikan pengarang. Wujud formal fiksi itu sendiri "hanya" berupa kata, dan kata-kata.[1] Karya fiksi, dengan demikian, menampilkan dunia dalam kata, bahasa, di samping juga dikatakan menampilkan dunia dalam kemungkinan. Kata merupakan sarana terwujudnya bangunan cerita. Kata merupakan sarana pengucapan sastra.

Sebuah novel merupakan sebuah totalitas, suatu kemenyeluruhan yang bersifat artistik. Sebagai sebuah totalitas, novel mempunyai bagian-bagian, unsur-unsur, yang saling berkaitan satu dengan yang lain secara erat dan saling menggantungkan. Jika novel dikatakan sebagai sebuah totalitas, unsur kata, bahasa, misalnya, merupakan

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[1] Semua karya tulis, apa pun jenis dan namanya, mempunyai wujud formal kata, bahasa. Sebelum kita membaca karya-karya itu, secara prinsipial, kita belum dapat mengkategorikan ke dalam jenis karya tertentu, misalnya ke dalam karya fiksi ataupun nonfiksi, fiksi serius atau populer.

salah satu bagian dari totalitas itu, salah satu unsur pembangun cerita itu, salah satu subsistem organisme karya sastra. Kata inilah yang menyebabkan novel, juga sastra pada umumnya, menjadi berwujud. Pembicaraan unsur fiksi berikut dilakukan menurut pandangan tradisional dan diikuti pandangan menurut Stanton (1965) dan Chapman (1980).

a. Intrinsik dan Ekstrinsik

Unsur-unsur pembangun sebuah novel—yang kemudian secara bersama membentuk sebuah totalitas itu— di samping unsur formal bahasa, masih banyak lagi macamnya. Namun, secara garis besar berbagai macam unsur tersebut secara tradisional dapat dikelompokkan menjadi dua bagian, walau pembagian ini tidak benar-benar pilah. Pembagian unsur yang dimaksud adalah unsur *intrinsik* dan *ekstrinsik*. Kedua unsur inilah yang sering banyak disebut para kritikus dalam rangka mengkaji dan atau membicarakan novel atau karya sastra pada umumnya.

Unsur intrinsik (*intrinsic*) adalah unsur-unsur yang membangun karya sastra itu sendiri. Unsur-unsur inilah yang menyebabkan karya sastra hadir sebagai karya sastra, unsur-unsur yang secara faktual akan dijumpai jika orang membaca karya sastra. Unsur intrinsik sebuah novel adalah unsur-unsur yang (secara langsung) turut serta membangun cerita. Kepaduan antarberbagai unsur intrinsik inilah yang membuat sebuah novel berwujud. Atau, sebaliknya, jika dilihat dari sudut kita pembaca, unsur-unsur (cerita) inilah yang akan dijumpai jika kita membaca sebuah novel. Unsur yang dimaksud, untuk menyebut sebagian saja, misalnya, peristiwa, cerita, plot, penokohan, tema, latar, sudut pandang penceritaan, bahasa atau gaya bahasa, dan lain-lain.

Di pihak lain, unsur ekstrinsik (*extrinsic*) adalah unsur-unsur yang berada di luar karya sastra itu, tetapi secara tidak langsung mempengaruhi bangunan atau sistem organisme karya sastra. Atau, secara lebih khusus ia dapat dikatakan sebagai unsur-unsur yang mempengaruhi bangun cerita sebuah karya sastra, namun sendiri tidak ikut menjadi bagian di dalamnya. Walau demikian, unsur ekstrinsik cukup berpangaruh (untuk tidak dikatakan: cukup menentukan)

terhadap totalitas bangun cerita yang dihasilkan. Oleh karena itu, unsur ekstrinsik sebuah novel haruslah tetap dipandang sebagai sesuatu yang penting. Wellek & Warren (1956), walau membicarakan unsur ekstrinsik tersebut cukup panjang, tampaknya memandang unsur itu sebagai sesuatu yang agak negatif, kurang penting. Pemahaman unsur ekstrinsik suatu karya, bagaimanapun, akan membantu dalam hal pemahaman makna karya itu mengingat bahwa karya sastra tak muncul dari situasi kekosongan budaya.

Sebagaimana halnya unsur intrinsik, unsur ekstrinsik juga terdiri dari sejumlah unsur. Unsur-unsur yang dimaksud (Wellek & Warren, 1956 : 75—135) antara lain adalah keadaan subjektivitas individu pengarang yang memiliki sikap, keyakinan, dan pandangan hidup yang kesemuanya itu akan mempengaruhi karya yang ditulisnya. Pendek kata, unsur biografi pengarang akan turut menentukan corak karya yang dihasilkannya. Unsur ekstrinsik berikutnya adalah psikologi, baik yang berupa psikologi pengarang (yang mencakup proses kreatifnya), psikologi pembaca, maupun penerapan prinsip psikologi dalam karya. Keadaan di lingkungan pengarang seperti ekonomi, politik, dan sosial juga akan berpengaruh terhadap karya sastra, dan hal itu merupakan unsur ekstrinsik pula. Unsur ekstrinsik yang lain misalnya pandangan hidup suatu bangsa, berbagai karya seni yang lain, dan sebagainya.

Pembagian unsur intrinsik struktur karya sastra yang tergolong tradisional, adalah pembagian berdasarkan unsur **bentuk dan isi** —sebuah pembagian dikhotomis yang sebenarnya diterima orang dengan agak keberatan. Pembagian ini tampaknya sederhana, barangkali agak kasar, namun sebenarnya tidak mudah dilakukan. Hal itu disebabkan pada kenyataannya tidak mudah memasukkan unsur-unsur tertentu ke dalam unsur bentuk ataupun isi berhubung keduanya saling berkaitan. Bahkan, tidak mungkin rasanya membicarakan dan atau menganalisis salah satu unsur itu tanpa melibatkan unsur yang lain. Misalnya, unsur peristiwa dan tokoh (dengan segala emosi dan perwatakannya) adalah unsur isi, namun masalah pemplotan (struktur pengurutan peristiwa secara linear dalam karya fiksi) dan penokohan (sementara dibatasi: teknik menampilkan tokoh dalam suatu karya fiksi) tergolong unsur bentuk. Padahal, pembicaraan unsur plot (pemplotan)

dan penokohan tak mungkin dilakukan tanpa melibatkan unsur peristiwa dan tokoh. Oleh karena itu, pembedaan unsur tertentu ke dalam unsur bentuk atau isi sebenarnya lebih bersifat teoretis di samping terlihat untuk menyederhanakan masalah.

b. Fakta, Tema, Sarana Cerita

Stanton (1965: 11–36) membedakan unsur pembangun sebuah novel ke dalam tiga bagian: fakta, tema, dan sarana pengucapan (sastra). Fakta (*facts*) dalam sebuah cerita meliputi karakter (tokoh cerita), plot, dan setting. Ketiganya merupakan unsur fiksi yang secara faktual dapat dibayangkan peristiwanya, eksistensinya, dalam sebuah novel. Oleh karena itu, ketiganya dapat pula disebut sebagai struktur faktual (*factual structure*) atau derajat faktual (*factual level*) sebuah cerita. Ketiga unsur tersebut harus dipandang sebagai satu kesatuan dalam rangkaian keseluruhan cerita, bukan sebagai sesuatu yang berdiri sendiri dan terpisah satu dengan yang lain. Tema adalah sesuatu yang menjadi dasar cerita. Ia selalu berkaitan dengan berbagai pengalaman kehidupan, seperti masalah cinta, kasih, rindu, takut, maut, religius, dan sebagainya. Dalam hal tertentu, sering, tema dapat disinonimkan dengan ide atau tujuan utama cerita.

Sarana pengucapan sastra, sarana kesastraan (*literary devices*) adalah teknik yang dipergunakan oleh pengarang untuk memilih dan menyusun detil-detil cerita (peristiwa dan kejadian) menjadi pola yang bermakna. Tujuan penggunaan (tepatnya: pemilihan) sarana kesastraan adalah untuk memungkinkan pembaca melihat fakta sebagaimana yang dilihat pengarang, menafsirkan makna fakta sebagaimana yang ditafsirkan pengarang, dan merasakan pengalaman seperti yang dirasakan pengarang. Macam sarana kesastraan yang dimaksud antara lain berupa sudut pandang penceritaan, gaya (bahasa) dan nada, simbolisme, dan ironi.
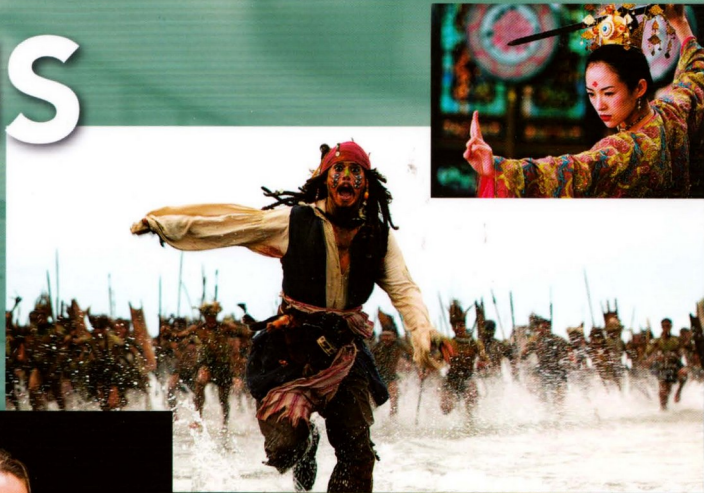
Setiap novel akan memiliki tiga unsur pokok, sekaligus merupakan unsur terpenting, yaitu **tokoh utama, konflik utama, dan tema utama**. Ketiga unsur utama itu saling berkaitan erat dan membentuk satu kesatuan yang padu, kesatuan organisme cerita. Ketiga

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level the conflict is nothing more than a contest of human wills in opposition, as might be illustrated by a prizefight, a duel, or two suitors seeking to win the affections of the same woman. Yet these basic and simple human conflicts have a tendency to be more complex than they first appear. Conflicts can seldom be isolated completely from other individuals, society as a whole, or the value systems of the individuals involved. Thus, they often grow into representative struggles between groups of people, different segments of society or social institutions, or different value systems.

Another type of external conflict pits the central character or characters against some nonhuman force or agency, such as fate, the gods, the forces of nature, or the social system. Here the forces the characters face are essentially nonhuman and impersonal. Jefferson Smith's (James Stewart) struggle against the political corruption and graft of the "Taylor machine" in *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* is an example of an external conflict that pits a single individual against "the system." A more physical type of external conflict occurs in *Cast Away*, in which Tom Hanks struggles to prove his worth against the dehumanizing forces of nature.

An **internal conflict** centers on an interior, psychological conflict within the central character (Figure 3.14). The forces in opposition are simply different aspects of the same personality. For example, in James Thurber's celebrated short story "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty," we have a conflict between what a man actually is (a small, timid, incompetent creature, henpecked by an overbearing wife) and what he wants to be (a brave and competent hero). By escaping constantly into the world of his daydreams, Mitty reveals himself to be living in a permanent state of conflict between his heroic dreams and the drab reality of his existence. In all such internal conflicts, we see a character squeezed between the two sides of his or her personality, torn between equally strong but conflicting desires, goals, or value systems. In some cases, this inner conflict is resolved and the character grows or develops as a result, but in many cases, like that of Walter Mitty, there is no resolution.

The standard Woody Allen character in films such as *Annie Hall*, *Manhattan*, and *Play It Again, Sam*, is torn by internal conflicts and insecurities. In *Play It Again, Sam*, the central character tries to overcome his self-doubts and insecurities by emulating his screen hero, Humphrey Bogart.

CHARACTERIZATION

You can only involve an audience with people. You can't involve them with gimmicks, with sunsets, with hand-held cameras, zoom shots, or anything else. They couldn't care less about those things. But you give them something to worry about, some person they can worry about, and care about, and you've got them, you've got them involved.[7]

—FRANK CAPRA, DIRECTOR

FIGURE 3.15 **Characterization Through Appearance**   In *Fargo*, police chief Marge (Frances McDormand), pregnant and wearing a floppy-earmuffed cap, makes an early impression on the viewer that belies the officer's shrewd and swift intelligence (left). Likewise, in *Erin Brockovich*, the tight, suggestive clothes worn by the title character (Julia Roberts) initially mislead movie watchers about her intellect and smart persistence (right).

ate reactions we have to Julia Roberts when she appears for the first time in *Erin Brockovich* or to Francis McDormand in *Fargo* (Figure 3.15).

Characterization Through Dialogue

Characters in a fictional film naturally reveal a great deal about themselves by what they say. But a great deal is also revealed by how they say it. Their true thoughts, attitudes, and emotions can be revealed in subtle ways through word choice and through the stress, pitch, and pause patterns of their speech. Actors' use of grammar, sentence structure, vocabulary, and particular dialects (if any) reveals a great deal about their characters' social and economic level, educational background, and mental processes. Therefore, we must develop a keen

ear, attuned to the faintest and most subtle nuances of meaning revealed through the human voice—listening carefully not only to what is said but also to how it is said (Figure 3.16).

Characterization Through External Action

Although appearance is an important measure of a character's personality, appearances are often misleading. Perhaps the best reflections of character are a person's actions. It must be assumed, of course, that real characters are more than mere instruments of the plot, that they do what they do for a purpose, out of motives that are consistent with their overall personality. Thus, there should be a clear relationship between a character and his or her actions; the actions should grow naturally out of the character's personality. If the motivation for a character's action is clearly established, the character and the plot become so closely interwoven that they are impossible to separate, and every action that the character takes in some way reflects the quality of his or her particular personality.

Of course, some actions are more important in revealing character than others. Even the most ordinary choice can be revealing, for some kind of choice is involved in almost everything we do. Sometimes the most effective characterization is achieved not by the large actions in the film but by the small, seemingly insignificant ones. For example, a fireman may demonstrate his courage by saving a child from a burning building, yet such an act may be only a performance of duty rather than a reflection of a choice. His essential character might be more clearly defined by risking his life to save a little girl's doll, because such an action would be imposed on him not by his duty as a fireman but by his personal judgment about the value of a doll to a little girl.

Characterization Through Internal Action

There is an inner world of action that normally remains unseen and unheard by even the most careful observer/listener. Yet the dimension of human nature that this world embraces is often essential to a real understanding of a character. Inner action occurs within characters' minds and emotions and consists of secret, unspoken thoughts, daydreams, aspirations, memories, fears, and fantasies. People's hopes, dreams, and aspirations can be as important to an understanding of their character as any real achievement, and their fears and insecurities can be more terrible to them than any real catastrophic failure. Thus, although the Benicio Del Toro character in *Traffic* is a drab, insignificant creature, scarcely worth caring about when judged purely by his initial external behavior, he becomes an exciting and interesting personality as we gain insight into his character.

The most obvious way in which the filmmaker reveals inner reality is by taking us visually or aurally into the character's mind so that we see or hear the things that the character imagines, remembers, or thinks about. This may be

FIGURE 3.16 Characterization Through Dialogue   Neil LaBute's *Possession* tells dual, interrelated stories about two couples who live in different centuries. Various methods, including obvious contrasts in costuming, help viewers to differentiate between the two separate narratives and their time levels. Most significantly, the formal diction of the Victorian lovers (Jennifer Ehle and Jeremy Northam) clashes with the casual vernacular spoken by the modern lovers (Gwyneth Paltrow and Aaron Eckhart).

achieved through a sustained interior view or through fleeting glimpses revealed by means of metaphors. In addition to providing glimpses into the inner action by revealing the sounds and sights the character imagines he sees and hears, the filmmaker may employ tight close-ups on an unusually sensitive and expressive face (reaction shots) or may utilize the musical score for essentially the same purpose, as Brian De Palma does repeatedly in *Dressed to Kill* (1980).

Characterization Through Reactions of Other Characters

The way other characters view a person often serves as an excellent means of characterization. Sometimes, a great deal of information about a character is already provided through such means before the character first appears on the screen. This is the case in the opening scene of *Hud*. In this sequence Lonnie (Brandon DeWilde) is walking along the main street of the little Texas town at around 6:30 in the morning, looking for his uncle, Hud (Paul Newman). As Lonnie passes a beer joint along the way, the owner is out front, sweeping up the pieces of glass that used to be his large front window. Lonnie notices the broken window and observes, "You must have had quite a brawl in here last night." The owner replies, "I had *Hud* in here last night, that's what I had." The man's emphasis on the name "Hud" and his tone of voice clearly reveal that "Hud" is a synonym for "trouble." A complex and intriguing characterization is provided through the conversations of other characters about Rick (Humphrey Bogart) in *Casablanca* before the character is ever seen on the screen. An effective bit of reactive characterization is also seen in *Shane*, as the gunfighter Wilson (Jack Palance), a personification of pure evil, walks into a saloon, empty except for a mangy dog curled up under a table. As Wilson enters, the dog puts his ears back and his tail between his legs and slinks fearfully out of the room.

Characterization Through Contrast: Dramatic Foils

One of the most effective techniques of characterization is the use of **foils**—contrasting characters whose behavior, attitudes, opinions, lifestyle, physical appearance, and so on are the opposite of those of the main characters (Figure 3.17). The effect is similar to that achieved by putting black and white together—the black appears blacker and the white appears whiter. The tallest giant and the tiniest midget might be placed side by side at the carnival sideshow, and the filmmaker sometimes uses characters in much the same way. Consider, for example, the effective contrasts in the television characters played by Andy Griffith and Don Knotts on the old "Andy Griffith Show." Griffith, as Sheriff Taylor, was tall and a little heavy, and he projected a calm, self-confident, easygoing personality. Knotts, as Deputy Fife, was the exact opposite—short, skinny, insecure, and a bundle of nerves. The strange love story of the main characters in *Harold and Maude* also turns on characterization through contrast.

FIGURE 3.17 **Dramatic Foils**   In Peter Ustinov's 1962 film version of *Billy Budd*, Herman Melville's allegory of good and evil, the sweet, naive, and innocent Billy (Terence Stamp) contrasts sharply with the grim, satanic Master of Arms Claggart (Robert Ryan). The striking opposites in their characters are emphasized by their features, facial expressions, clothing, and voice qualities. Stamp is baby-faced; his features are soft and smooth, his expressions sweet, almost effeminate; his eyes are light blue, wide open, innocent. Ryan's face is mature and lined, the jaw and mouth strong and hard set; his expressions are sour and cynical; his eyes are dark, narrow, piercing, malevolent. Billy's fair complexion, blond (almost white) hair, and white shirt contrast with Claggart's dark hair and clothing. Billy's voice is soft, sometimes melodious; Claggart's is deep, unctuous, cold.

As the movie poster reads: "Harold's 20 and in love with death . . . Maude's 80 and in love with life."

Characterization Through Caricature and Leitmotif

In order to etch a character quickly and deeply in our minds and memories, actors often exaggerate or distort one or more dominant features or personality traits. This device is called **caricature** (from the technique used in cartooning). In television's "M*A*S*H," the perpetual womanizing of Hawkeye Pierce (Alan Alda) and the eternal naiveté, innocence, and keen hearing of Radar O'Reilly

(Gary Burghoff) are examples of caricature, as, in film, are Felix Unger's (Jack Lemmon) obsession with neatness and Oscar Madison's (Walter Matthau) messiness in *The Odd Couple*. A physical feature, such as the way a person moves, may also be caricatured, as seen in John Mahoney's exaggerated, stiff-legged limp in his portayal of the Crane father on "Frasier," or in Michael Richards' manic entrances through Jerry Seinfeld's apartment door as neighbor Cosmo Kramer. Voice qualities and accents may also function in this way, as illustrated by the unmistakable voices employed by Dan Castellaneta and Julie Kavner as Homer and Marge Simpson, and Megan Mullally as Karen Walker on "Will and Grace."

A similar means of characterization, **leitmotif,** is the repetition of a single action, phrase, or idea by a character until it becomes almost a trademark or theme song for that character. Because it essentially exaggerates and emphasizes (through repetition), such a device acts very much like caricature. Examples of leitmotif might be seen in the repeated Fred Astaire dance routines performed by the prosecuting attorney (Ted Danson) in *Body Heat* or in the repetition of the phrase "sports fans" by Colonel Bull Meechum (Robert Duvall) in *The Great Santini*. One of the union henchmen in *On the Waterfront* adds dignity to his yes-man role by constantly using the word *definitely*. Perhaps Charles Dickens rates as the all-time master of both techniques. Recall Uriah Heep from *David Copperfield*, who continually wrings his hands (caricature) and says, "I'm so 'umble" (leitmotif). Modern films still employ such techniques effectively, although not quite as extensively (Figure 3.18). In Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill, Vol. 2*, the title character's playing of his flute creates a leitmotif.

Characterization Through Choice of Name

One important method of characterization is the use of names possessing appropriate qualities of sound, meaning, or connotation. This technique is known as **name typing**. A screenwriter usually thinks out his characters' names very carefully, as Paul Schrader's choice of name for the Robert De Niro character in *Taxi Driver* illustrates:

> It has to be euphonious, because you want people to repeat the name: to use it in reviews, to use it in copy, a name people want to repeat. And Travis Bickle was successful in that way; people remembered the name and it appeared in a lot of reviews. . . . A memorable name. Beyond that, you want to have at least one component which is evocative and/or symbolic. Travis is evocative rather than symbolic, Travis/travel. The sense of traveling, never stopping. Then Bickle. Travis is romantic, evocative, and soft—and Bickle is hard, an unpleasant name. And it fits the character.[8]

Because a great deal of thought goes into the choice of names, they should not be taken for granted but should be carefully examined for the connotations they communicate. The connotations of some names, such as Dick Tracy, are

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative,
Quantitative,
and
Mixed Methods
Approaches

JOHN W. CRESWELL

Research Designs

The researcher not only selects a qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods study to conduct; the inquirer also decides on a type of study within these three choices. Research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Others have called them *strategies of inquiry* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The designs available to the researcher have grown over the years as computer technology has advanced our data analysis and ability to analyze complex models and as individuals have articulated new procedures for conducting social science research. Select types will be emphasized in Chapters 8, 9, and 10—designs that are frequently used in the social sciences. Here I introduce those that are discussed later and that are cited in examples throughout the book. An overview of these designs is shown in Table 1.2.

Quantitative Designs

During the late 19th and throughout the 20th century, strategies of inquiry associated with quantitative research were those that invoked the postpositivist worldview and that originated mainly in psychology. These include *true experiments* and the less rigorous experiments called *quasi-experiments* (see, an original, early treatise on this, Campbell & Stanley, 1963). An additional experimental design is *applied behavioral analysis or single-subject experiments* in which an experimental treatment is administered over time to a single individual or a small number of individuals (Cooper, Heron, & Heward, 2007; Neuman & McCormick, 1995). One type of nonexperimental quantitative research is *causal-comparative research* in which the investigator compares two or more groups in terms of a cause (or independent variable) that has already happened. Another nonexperimental form of research is the *correlational design* in which investigators use the correlational statistic to describe and measure the degree or association (or relationship) between two or more variables or sets of scores (Creswell, 2012). These designs have been elaborated into more complex relationships among variables found in

Quantitative methods involve the processes of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and writing the results of a study. Specific methods exist in both survey and experimental research that relate to identifying a sample and population, specifying the type of design, collecting and analyzing data, presenting the results, making an interpretation, and writing the research in a manner consistent with a survey or experimental study. In this chapter, the reader learns the specific procedures for designing survey or experimental methods that need to go into a research proposal. Checklists provided in the chapter help to ensure that all steps are included.

Chapter 9. Qualitative Methods

Qualitative approaches to data collection, analysis, interpretation, and report writing differ from the traditional, quantitative approaches. Purposeful sampling, collection of open-ended data, analysis of text or pictures, representation of information in figures and tables, and personal interpretation of the findings all inform qualitative methods. This chapter advances steps in designing qualitative procedures into a research proposal, and it also includes a checklist for making sure that you cover important procedures. Ample illustrations provide examples from narrative studies, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies.

Chapter 10. Mixed Methods Procedures

Mixed methods involves the collection and "mixing" or integration of both quantitative and qualitative data in a study. Mixed methods research has increased in popularity in recent years, and this chapter highlights important developments and provides an introduction in the use of this design. This chapter begins by defining mixed methods research and the core characteristics that describe it. Then the three basic designs in mixed methods research—(a) convergent, (b) explanatory sequential, and (c) exploratory sequential—are detailed in terms of their characteristics, data collection and analysis features, and approaches for interpreting and validating the research. In addition, three advanced designs are also mentioned: (a) the embedded design, (b) the transformative design, and (c) the multiphase design. Finally, I discuss the decisions needed to determine which one of the designs would be best for your mixed methods project. Examples are provided of the basic designs, and, like the other methods

Data Collection Procedures

Comments about the role of the researcher set the stage for discussion of issues involved in collecting data. The data collection steps include setting the boundaries for the study, collecting information through unstructured or semi structured observations and interviews, documents, and visual materials, as well as establishing the protocol for recording information.

• Identify the *purposefully selected* sites or individuals for the proposed study. The idea behind qualitative research is to **purposefully select** participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question. This does not necessarily suggest random sampling or selection of a large number of participants and sites, as typically found in quantitative research. A discussion about participants and site might include four aspects identified by Miles and Huberman (1994): (a) the setting (i.e., where the research will take place), (b) the actors (i.e., who will be observed or interviewed), (c) the events (i.e., what the actors will be observed or interviewed doing), and (d) the process (i.e., the evolving nature of events undertaken by the actors within the setting).

• A related topic would be the number of sites and participants to be involved in your study. Aside from the small number that characterizes qualitative research, how many sites and participants should you have? First of all, there is no specific answer to this question; although I have taken the position (Creswell, 2013) that sample size depends on the qualitative design being used (e.g., ethnography, case study). From my review of many qualitative research studies I have found narrative research to include one or two individuals; phenomenology to typically range from three to ten; grounded theory, twenty to thirty; ethnography to examine one single culture-sharing group with numerous artifacts, interviews, and observations; and case studies to include about four to five cases. This is certainly one approach to the sample size issue. Another approach is equally viable. The idea of **saturation** comes from grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) said that you stop collecting data when the categories (or themes) are saturated: when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties.

Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods demonstrate a different approach to scholarly inquiry than methods of quantitative research. Although the processes are similar, qualitative methods rely on text and image data, have unique steps in data analysis, and draw on diverse designs. Writing a methods section for a proposal for qualitative research partly requires educating readers as to the intent of qualitative research, mentioning specific designs, carefully reflecting on the role the researcher plays in the study, drawing from an ever-expanding list of types of data sources, using specific protocols for recording data, analyzing the information through multiple steps of analysis, and mentioning approaches for documenting the accuracy—or validity—of the data collected. This chapter addresses these important components of writing a good qualitative methods section into a proposal. Table 9.1 presents a checklist for reviewing the qualitative methods section of your proposal to determine whether you have addressed important topics.

Table 9.1 A Checklist of Questions for Designing a Qualitative Procedure

	Are the basic characteristics of qualitative studies mentioned?
	Is the specific type of qualitative design to be used in the study mentioned? Is the history of, a definition of, and applications for the design mentioned?
	Does the reader gain an understanding of the researcher's role in the study (past historical, social, cultural experiences, personal connections to sites and people, steps in gaining entry, and sensitive ethical issues) and how they may shape interpretations made in the study?
	Is the purposeful sampling strategy for sites and individuals identified?
	Are the specific forms of data collection mentioned and a rationale given for their use?
	Are the procedures for recording information during the data collection detailed (such as protocols)?
	Are the data analysis steps identified?
	Is there evidence that the researcher has organized the data for analysis?
	Has the researcher reviewed the data generally to obtain a sense of the

Nicholas Walliman

Research Methods

the basics

secondary data in the form of news bulletins, magazines, newspapers, documentaries, advertising, the Internet etc. The data are wrapped, packed and spun into pithy articles or digestible sound bites. The quality of the data depends on the source and the methods of presentation. Refereed journals containing papers vetted by leading experts, serious journals, such as some professional and trade journals will have authoritative articles by leading figures. Magazines can contain useful and reliable information or be entirely flippant. The same goes for books – millions of them! They range from the most erudite and deeply researched volumes to ranting polemics and commercial pap. Television and radio programmes vary likewise, as does information on the Internet.

A major aspect of using secondary data is making an assessment of the quality of the information or opinions provided. This is done by reviewing the quality of evidence that has been presented in the arguments, and the validity of the arguments themselves, as well as the reputation and qualifications of the writer or presenter. It is also good practice to compare the data from different sources. This will help to identify bias, inaccuracies and pure imagination. It will also show up different interpretations that have been made of the event or phenomenon.

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA AND LEVELS OF MEASUREMENT

Data are also divided into two other categories, referring not to their source but to their characteristics; basically whether they can be reduced to numbers or presented only in words. This affects the way that they are collected, recorded and analysed.

Numbers are used to record much information about science and society, for example pressures, bending forces, population densities, cost indices etc. This type of data is called **quantitative data**. Numbers can be analysed using the techniques of statistics. However, a lot of useful information cannot be reduced to numbers. People's judgements, feelings of comfort, emotions, ideas, beliefs etc. can only be described in words. These record qualities rather than quantities, hence they are called **qualitative data**. Words cannot be manipulated mathematically, so require quite different analytical techniques.

Order The condition that things are constituted in an organized fashion that can be revealed through observation.

Ordinal level (of quantification) Ordering data by rank without reference to specific measurement, i.e. more or less than, bigger or smaller than.

Paradigm The overall effect of the acceptance of a particular general theoretical approach, and the influence it has on the scientists' view of the world. According to Kuhn, normal scientific activity is carried out within the terms of the paradigm.

Parameter A measurable characteristic or feature that is shared in different populations.

Parsimony Economy of explanation of phenomena, especially in formulating theories.

Participant Someone who takes part in a research project as a subject of study. This term implies that the person takes an active role in the research by performing actions or providing information.

Pilot study A pre-test of a questionnaire or other type of survey on a small number of cases in order to test the procedures and quality of responses.

Plagiarism The taking and use of other people's thoughts or writing as your own. This is sometimes done by students who copy out chunks of text from publications or the Internet and include it in their writing without any acknowledgement to its source.

Population A collective term used to describe the total quantity of cases of the type which are the subject of the study. It can consist of objects, people and even events.

Positivism An epistemological stance that maintains that all phenomena, including social, can be analysed using scientific method. Everything can be measured and, if only one knew enough, the causes and effects of all phenomena could be uncovered.

Postmodernism A movement that reacts against the all embracing theories of the Modern Movement and insists on the inseparable links between knowledge and power.

Prediction One of the common objectives of research.

Primary data Sources from which researchers can gain data by direct, detached observation or measurement of phenomena in the real world, undisturbed by any intermediary interpreter. It is a matter of philosophical debate as to what extent the detachment and undisturbed state are possible or even desirable.

Drs. Salim, M.Pd. & Drs. Syahrum, M.Pd

METODOLOGI PENELITIAN

KUALITATIF

Konsep dan Aplikasi
dalam Ilmu Sosial, Keagamaan
dan Pendidikan

BAB III

KONSEP DASAR PENELITIAN KUALITATIF

A. Pengertian Penelitian Kualitatif

Strategi komprehensif metode-metode kualitatif berasal secara tidak langsung dari berbagai tradisi filosofis, epistimologis dan metodologis. Secara langsung metode-metode kualitatif berasal dari tradisi-tradisi etnografik dan studi lapangan dalam antropologi dan sosiologi. Secara lebih umum dapat dikatakan bahwa paradigm holistik induktif dari penelitian naturalistik di dasarkan atas prespektif-prespektif yang dikembangkan dalam fenomenologi, intraksionisme simbolik dan behaviorisme naturalistik, etnometodologi, psikologi ekologis.

Mengacu kepada Strauss dan Corbin (1990) penelitian kualitatif adalah suatu jenis penelitian yang prosedur penemuan yang dilakukan tidak menggunakan prosedur statistik atau kuantifikasi. Dalam hal ini penelitian kualitatif adalah penelitian tentang kehidupan seseorang, cerita, perilaku, dan juga tentang fungsi organisasi, gerakan sosial atau hubungan timbal balik".

Selanjutnya Faisal (1990) berpendapat bahwa dalam

41

mempelajari perilaku manusia diperlukan penelitian mendalam sampai ke perilaku intinya (*inner behavior*) secara holistik dan bertolak dari sudut pandang manusia perilaku manusia.

Etnografi bisanya mengacu kepada bentuk penelitian sosial yang memiliki beberapa substansi bentuk sebagai berikut:

1. Penekanan kuat terhadap penjelajahan alamiah fenomena sosial khusus, daripada usaha menguji hipotesis,

2. Kecendrungan utama pekerjaan adalah tidak terstruktur dalam hal data, karena itu data yang dimiliki tidak tertutup dianalisis sejak awal pengumpulan data,

3. Penyelidikan terhadap bentuk kasus kecil mungkin satu kasis tetapi terperinci,

4. Analisis data yang melibatkan interpretasi eksplisit mengenai makna dan fungsi tindakan manusia, hasil dari bentuk utama yang diambiol mengenai deskripsi verbal dan penjelasan, sedeangkan kuantifikasi dan analisis statistik memainkan peran dukungan lebih jauh (Atkinson dan Hammersley, 1994: 248".

Kadangkala ada sebagian pakar menyebutnya dengan penelitian kualitatif etnografi sosial ialah penyelidikan terhadap masyarakat yang memungkinkan ahli sosiologi mengamati perilaku seseorang dan orang lain untuk memahami mekanisme proses sosial serta memahami

SEXIST LANGUAGES IN *"PITCH PERFECT"* MOVIE SERIES

THESIS

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2021

ABSTRACT

Fandari, Ayu. 2021. **Sexist Languages in "*Pitch Perfect*" Movie Series**. *Thesis*. English Department. Faculty of Arts and Humanities, State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Advisor: Dr. H. Mohammad Kurjum, M.Ag.

Keywords: *Sexist Language, Overt Sexism, Indirect Sexism, 'Pitch Perfect' movie series*.

This thesis examines sexist languages in *"Pitch Perfect"* movie series: Pitch Perfect (2012), Pitch Perfect 2 (2015), and Pitch Perfect 3 (2017). This thesis aims to find out types of overt sexism and indirect sexism in *"Pitch Perfect"* movie as the data. The data were the form of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences from those movie scripts. The researcher uses the theory of types of sexism by Mills.

This thesis uses a descriptive qualitative method and uses the human instrument to analyze the data. In the data collection, the researcher downloaded the movie and its English subtitle. Second, the researcher watched the movies to discover what the movies are about. Later, the researcher transcribed the subtitles to Microsoft Word to make it easier to analyze the data. Then, the researcher identified, coded, classified, and analyzed the data.

As a result, the researcher found 81 data. A total of 62 data are overt sexism. From the types of overt sexism, the most common type is Insult Terms for Women, amounting to 21. The other 19 data are indirect sexism data, and the most frequently occurring data is Conflicting Messages, amounting to 10.

ABSTRAK

Fandari, Ayu. 2021. **Sexist Languages in "*Pitch Perfect*"** Movie Series. *Skripsi*. Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Pembimbing: Dr. H. Mohammad Kurjum, M.Ag.

Kata Kunci: *Sexist Language, Overt Sexism, Indirect Sexism, 'Pitch Perfect' movie series*.

Skripsi ini mengkaji tentang bahasa seksis dalam serial film *"Pitch Perfect"*: Pitch Perfect (2012), Pitch Perfect 2 (2015), dan Pitch Perfect 3 (2017). Skripsi ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui jenis seksisme terbuka dan jenis seksisme tidak langsung dalam film *"Pitch Perfect"* sebagai data. Data tersebut berupa kata, frase, klausa, atau kalimat dari naskah film serial tersebut. Peneliti menggunakan teori tipe seksisme menurut Mills.

Skripsi ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dan menggunakan instrumen manusia untuk menganalisis datanya. Dalam pengumpulan data, peneliti mengunduh film dan subtitle bahasa Inggrisnya. Kedua, peneliti menonton film untuk mengetahui tentang apa film tersebut. Kemudian, peneliti mentranskripsikan subtitle tersebut ke dalam Microsoft Word agar lebih mudah dalam menganalisis data. Kemudian, peneliti mengidentifikasi, memberi kode, mengklasifikasikan, dan menganalisis data.

Hasilnya, peneliti menemukan 81 data. Sebanyak 62 data adalah seksisme terbuka. Dari jenis-jenis seksisme terbuka, jenis yang paling banyak dijumpai adalah Insult Terms for Women yang berjumlah 21. Sedangkan 19 data lainnya merupakan data indirect sexism dan jenis yang paling sering muncul adalah Conflicting Mssages yang berjumlah 10.

BLONDE'S STRUGGLES AGAINST SEXISM AS SEEN
IN "LEGALLY BLONDE" (2001)

A THESIS

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for S-1 Degree Majoring American Studies in the English

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ABSTRACT

Stereotypes against blonde women have been around in the media by depicting false negative image against them. Blonde-haired women hold the image of stupidity, ditziness, and unserious which results being discriminated against by the society, such as sexist behavior. This research aims to examine sexism against blonde girl and her struggles against it as portrayed in the "Legally Blonde" (2001) movie using Postfeminist approach. The writer uses Sexism Theory to analyze the levels of sexism occurrence and aspects of Girl Power Theory to analyze a woman's struggles against blonde discrimination. This thesis finds that sexism against blonde main character occurs in institutional sexism and interpersonal sexism. She struggles against sexism by performing Girl Power aspects, such as celebrating femininity, making individual choice, being independent, and valuing sisterhood.

Keywords: blonde stereotype, struggles, sexism, girl power, postfeminism

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the issue of sexism in *The Queen's Gambit* experienced by Elizabeth Harmon as a chess prodigy in America during the 1950s. The issue is analysed by applying the theory of sexism by Peter Glick and Susan Fiske. The purpose of this study is to examine the type of sexism that Beth receives during her time as a chess prodigy and how it affects her. Library research as well as narrative and sociological approach are used as the method to collect the data and to examine this thesis. For the result, the writer concludes that Beth experiences both types of sexism; Hostile and Benevolent, with Benevolent sexism as the most domineering type. The act of Hostile sexism can be found in episode one, meanwhile Benevolent sexism is present in episode two, three, four, and six. The sexist attitude that she receives also causes her to feel insecure about her skill and that leads her to excessive alcohol consumption.

Keyword: *Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, Chess Prodigy, Beth Harmon, The Queen's Gambit*