

SEXISM IN “THE GOD OF SMALL THINGS” BY ARUNDHTI ROY

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Abstract

*The correspondence between language and gender has an essential role in shaping social frameworks. The relationship frequently indicates power disparities which favor one group over the others. Men and women are expected to behave differently on the basis of language and gender with different speech patterns, pronunciation, and diction. As an expression of uncertainty or honor, female are often instructed to use polite tones, tag questions, hedging and prolonged pauses. As an indication of power and confidence, men are encouraged to talk assertively and concentrate less on these traits. In Arundhti Roy's *The God of Small Things*, the use of language represents the fact that how language keep woman inferior to men. Norman Fairclough's model of discourse is applied to analyze the novel's text and to confirm the fact of inferiority of women.*

Keywords

Sexism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Post colonialism, Language

Introduction

The life of every individual in each culture has its own dimensions. Any kind of effect on the life of an individual is basically due to internal or external force. If observed carefully, the conflicts in a certain society arises when a weaker group is oppressed by a stronger one. Language, in this whole scenario, is one of the basic elements that cause such conflicts; as language shapes the identity of man and woman of a society. Language defines the status of an individual because the language used by a woman has different tone, pronunciation and diction etc. even she make more use of tag questions as compared to man.

The purpose of the study is to focus on the fact that how the image of a woman is portrayed in the society by the use of language with reference to the work of Arundhti Roy. This work highlights the manner that how postcolonial feminist writer use the concept of cultural norms, themes, backgrounds and the impact of post colonialism in English literature among female writers through the reference to Roy's work. The main focus of the study is to expose the injustice that a woman is facing in this male chauvinist society and highlights the certain cultural norms of acceptance and rejection that a woman has to face in order to develop her identity. Most of the female writers reject these norms and represent a new strong confident image of the woman regardless of the cultural norms and values set by patriarchal society. So, regardless of male dominance, female writers present their own ideals. This study has been designed to seek answer to the question hat how language shapes the identity of an individual and how one gender empowers the other by its use.

Review of Literature

Sexism is evidently visible in uneven gender relationships between men and women because of organizational and personal conduct where the dominant group (particularly males) gains facilities by subordinating other sexes (mostly females) on the grounds of superiority thoughts

and injustice, culturally appropriate differences (Garrido et al., 2024). Media, in this regard, plays an important role in exposing the development of language which represents the dominance of man in the patriarchal society; however, different discourse analysis strategies have also been introduced by the linguists to measure the language of man and woman. The concept of sexism is not only confined to English language but is also obvious in many other prestigious languages. The representation of women in Chinese language has been a matter of debate. In the viewpoints of Confucian, the wife is an inferior position and society expects her to behave politely, kindly and obediently while the husband is the master or the boss of the house who has some responsibilities to handle. Nowadays, there are advertisements which break the traditional stereotypes and represents women as "Femvertising" (ads advocating women empowerment). (Liu, 2024)

Feminist theory, which achieved prominence after the women's liberation movement of 1960s, has targeted publications by male authors who depict females in harsh circumstances and allocate them subordinate roles in the society. The image presented by the males of that time was mostly biased. As women occupy the middle status in patriarchal society, so they are lower than men and less capable. The position assigns to women gives them greater symbolic ambiguity such as witches, evil eyes and castrating mothers (Slocum, 2024). The feminist writers came up with a new image of woman. Female anthropologists highlight the equal and independent status of women in the society. With the passage of time the females were given the confidence to empower themselves through writings and a new positive image of woman was introduced.

The feminists united under one goal to empower women and transform the inferior position of women in society. It is still perceived that women should be under the control of men but this does not mean that women lack wisdom and ability. Women practice their moral values more than the men. But it is considered that the courage and bravery of men is superior to women and it is a cause of humiliation for men (Slocum, 2024).

The image of women that used to be portrayed in literature changed with the passage of time. These issues were highlighted by female writers like Bapsi Sidhwa and Arundhti Roy who worked over the gender discrimination issue. In postcolonial era, such fiction was created and written with represented that how females were oppressed and how they were treated in the patriarchal society.

Feminism originated in mid-19th and till the beginning of the next century, the movement gained popularity. The main objective of the movement was to protest against the injustice to woman. Feminism is a belief in an idea of equal social, financial and political rights to both the sexes in all spheres of the society (Mohajan, 2022). When a number of feminists, raised their voice for the rights of the females, many started to pay attention to the issue and the change was obvious in literature and literary criticism. Feminists questioned the manner in which women were portrayed by male and female authors in literature. They demanded that both genders should be presented according to their position assigned by the nature. Men were accused that they put themselves in the position of the "One", however, placed the woman on the position of the "Other".

Language empowerment plays an important role in gender role construction of a certain society. According to the research carried out by gender-neutral language specialists, the use of language is the reason of male superiority in a society. Due to this biased behavior, woman is placed at an inferior level to man. The use of masculine pronoun plays an important role in the development of a male-centered language, placing woman inferior to man. The masculine form is most

commonly used than while the feminine pronouns are occasionally used (Zeng, 2023). Even in daily life language, gender specific job titles represent the dominance of male over female.

The role of power assigned to an individual is shaped by the language of that society. As language plays a basic role in the development of identity, so, man creates powerful identities for themselves by using certain male-centered language. In the horticulture era, man and woman used to share power. At that time, gender roles were equally assigned, females used to stay at home and cultivate food while males used to go out to hunt animals. Women were allowed to make their life decisions. There were no obligations on women to do what the males expect from them. Self-respect and emotional and financial independence is very important to one's life whether males or females. The rejection of patriarchal ideas from society is the major step to women's independence and empowerment (Zahro et al, 2024). Physical and social relationships were developed by the personal will of woman. In most of the societies, the male dominance was deeply rooted in religion, cultural norms and law (Mouafo, 2024). Men were given the facilities in public and social sectors as well as in political systems.

Language is a tool for human communication and interaction (Brown, 2024). Language shapes thoughts and ideas with use of words which are the signs to connect picture in the mind and the thought. Words have different meanings in different contexts therefore, it is essential to keep the following factors in mind while communicating:

- During a conversation, less powerful words are replaced by powerful words in order to make a better image.
- During any interaction, the individual observes the source of words i.e. whether it is coming from a source of empowerment or not.
- The individual needs to focus on the relation between silence and empowerment in order to regain power.

This means that language provides us with an opportunity to express or share what we desire. Our language is also affected by our culture which shapes our thoughts. The use of language is limited by culture as it provides us with an opportunity to find relevant words to convey our message.

Jelenić (2024) has presented the idea of representation of women as an object. The researcher argued that women are judged on the basis of their looks and appearance but not on their achievements and ambitions. Female success is less likely to be celebrated than males. Postcolonial feminism is of great importance when it comes to the discussion of feminism. According to postcolonial feminist, the western feminists are racist because they only care about the rights of white woman of middle class. They are not interested in the lives of woman of undeveloped and developing countries. The third world feminism, a relatively new concept, was centered on the global sisterhood in order to understand the severe difficulties faced by the women of all the nations (Sartore, 2024).

Postcolonial writers like Suleri (Pakistan), Roy (India), Desai (India), Walker (America), Atwood (Canada), Sidhwa (Pakistan) highlighted the issues in their novels that how certain customs and traditions forced a woman to be in such a place where she is degraded in our society. Arundhti Roy explained through her writings that how position of woman is decided in our society through language.

When a woman spend her life as a family member with a male, her life is very much alike the colonized nation. In colonialism, the way a woman is portrayed in relation to man represent the society as racist and patriarchal (Islentyeva et al, 2024). In colonial literature, man gets the

attention and the subject position “I” is assigned to man while a woman is treated as “other”. In reaction to colonialism, post-colonialism arise where woman was more independent to express her feelings. It was a time when woman moved forward to everyone realize about their personal feelings and depict their sufferings. Woman started exploring their own sex; something that was not given importance in the early times.

In our society, such customs and traditions prevails that a woman is not born but constructed and shaped according to their norms and values. The gender roles are defined the interaction of people in a community. The gender roles are socially constructed. The concept of gender originated in society as the people expect from other genders to behave accordingly (Tharun & Prabakar, 2024). As a result of this prescribed and confined status, individual gets rebellious and acts against these prescribed gender roles. However, many individuals may spend their life according to their choices and decisions despite of enforced societal expectations (Otto et al, 2024).

In our society, with the passage of time, gender roles are prescribed through certain norms and traditions. As a response to those gender roles, every individual is supposed to act according to those norms and any violation to those norms results in criticism. It is not necessary that every individual led life according to the roles assigned to them by the society, i.e. they may act according to their own will and can go against the prescribed rules and regulations. Especially women can behave according to their choices and can excel in professional and academic life rather than restricted to motherhood or home duties (Salgado, 2024).

Jakiela & Ozier (2020) discussed different approaches about the gendered distribution in their work:

Dominance is an approach according to which female is considered subordinate to man.

Dynamic approach is also known as “social constructionist”. According to this approach, both males and females use different language according to different situations. Language is used according to the feasibility of the individual who is speaking.

Deficit is an approach, as man is superior so his language is considered as standard and woman’s language is subordinate and has problems with it because she is inferior to man.

Difference approach focuses on the concept of gender equality. According to this concept, male and female are brought up according to the norms and traditions of their culture. So, individuals use language in different situations according to the language that they have learned.

Their works show that how language influences different genders. It represents how men and women interact in different ways.

Research Methodology

The present study is qualitative in nature, as it deals with the construction of female identity of linguistic level showing how linguistically women are positioned as in-group and out-group, understanding the problems and getting new visions in the discourse of “The God of Small Things”. The research employs Fairclough’s model of CDA, Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (2023) presented a useful definition of CDA:

CDA is the study of often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to

explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power.

The researcher employs Fairclough's (2023) definition of CDA which describes discourse as:

Discourse is more than just language use: it is language use seen as a type of social practice.

Which means that discourse is not confined to text only but also involves relationship among text production, processes and its interpretation in different situations.

Fairclough modal (2023) provides us with a list of questions and a number of sub-questions which can be addressed while analyzing any discourse. The researcher will focus on the vocabulary portion of the modal:

1.1. Vocabulary

(1) What experiential values do words have?

- * What classification schemes are drawn upon?
- * Are there words which are ideologically contested?
- * Is there re-wording of over-wording?
- * What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words?

(2) What relational values do words have?

- * Are there euphemistic expressions?
- * Are there markedly formal or informal words?

(3) What expressive values do words have?

(4) What metaphors are used?

The study analyzes the discourse of "The God of Small Things" at the level of social identity, social relations and systems of beliefs. Its main purpose is to judge the effect of condition of recipients' behavior marking the social inequality and keeping individuals in their assigned stations.

Fairclough takes language as a social semiotic. The dominant analytical devices in Fairclough's model that has been highlighted in the analysis are: representation, metaphor and othering.

Fairclough (2023) pointed out that **metaphor** affects our knowledge and beliefs in a persuasive and fundamental manner, and also shapes the way in which we think and act in our lives. In other words, metaphor may be defined as the abstract use of any individual word or phrase for the representation of concrete word or phrase.

Euphemism is defined as the flowery representation of something that can be offensive, unpleasant, vulgar, insulting or embarrassing. In order to avoid harsh words in particular situations, it is better to use mild words. (Al Noori, B. S. M., 2021). In short, this term gives the service of hypocrisy; something that makes us accept something that might be unacceptable in its original form.

Zakiyah & Wahyudi (2022) mentions the term **representation** as a substitution or replacement for something or someone that is not present or available for some reason. The term can be iconic as it may be used as a resemblance between what is represented and its representation.

The relevant data has been obtained from a post-colonial novel, “The God of Small Things” written by Arundhti Roy; published in 2001. The novel deals with number of different themes like cultural tensions, class relation, caste discrimination, betrayal, forbidden love and othering of women. The study focuses on the patterns of the language, designed by the society which makes female subordinated to man. The analysis of the text will justify that how single words, tag questions and even certain pauses in speech shape the position of individuals in the society.

Analysis 1

Being an active social worker, Arundhti Roy has always been concerned about the rights of females. In “The God of Small Things”, she highlighted the issue that at one hand woman is trying to develop a position in society; on the other hand, she is harassed sexually by man whenever they had an opportunity regardless of her social status i.e. whether she belongs to a prestigious class or lower class. The text under analysis is read, interpreted and analyzed from a feministic point of view. Roy skillfully portrays that how the female characters like Ammu experience societal pressure and restrictions and because of the prejudice against her, it had a deep effect on her physical and mental health (Tandon, 2022).

The given text is a clear presentation of female’s sexual harassment by a male. Ammu went to police station with her kids, Rahel and Estha, to clarify the position of Velutha but she was insulted and harassed by the Inspector, Thomas Mathew. Being aware of Ammu’s social position that belonged to an honorable family and also a married woman, even then he took advantage of his dominant position as a man as well as of his social status of being an Inspector because he was aware of the fact that he will not be questioned for his behavior. He treated her as a passive creature who cannot deny the power of a man (Zakiyah, 2022) as she did not have her brother's and husband's support. Woman in our society is more oppressed because of marriage. In most of the cases, a woman is not given any option. She is advised to spend her life with the person whom her family or male members select for her. However, if a female takes her life's decision according to her own will, she is not only rejected by the family but also by the society.

On the other hand, a male does not have to face such attitude for his decisions taken against the society will. It is also a bitter reality that if a woman is committed into a relationship, she is expected to work hard for the survival of that relation regardless of her emotions, while a male may have extra marital affairs as it is considered "Man's Needs".

The text describes appearance of two characters i.e. a female and a male. Inspector Thomas, being the dominant one belonged to a respectable sector of society whose job is to bring justice to people; behaved ruthlessly with the fragile and helpless female. Taking advantage of his strong position, he tried to harass Ammu as narrated in line 1, **“Inspector Thomas Mathew’s moustaches bustled like the friendly Air India Maharajah’s, but his eyes were sly and greedy”**. Throughout the text, the male treaded the female in a very harsh manner while the female remained silent and did not even object once, as female in our society is raised up with the values that they are not supposed to object to man even to his injustice.

The attitude of the Inspector represents the irony. An Inspector is supposed to provide protection to the members of the society. Even being aware of Ammu’s strong family background, he called her kids illegitimate in line 5, **“He said the police knew all the needed to know and that the Kottayam Police didn’t take statements from veshyas or their illegitimate children”**. He had no evidence of proving her loose character that came to favor her lover, Velutha. The wording and his actions towards Ammu showed his greedy nature, **“He stared at Ammu’s breast as he spoke”** (line 4). A policeman is supposed to provide protection to the chastity of a woman but when Thomas tried to harass Ammu physically, **“Then he taped her breasts with his baton”** (line 9), she remained silent because a female is brought up in a manner to bear the insult and is supposed to stay silent when in conversation with a male. Roy portrayed the mentality of patriarchal society, i.e. if an educated and respectable man is involved in an activity of physical abuse; it is not considered an obnoxious act. The female do not protest against the injustice and cruelty but accept the harsh circumstances considering it their fate because female protest against the will of the man is considered a sin.

The bitter facts of society regarding the position of woman (Evidentiality) were exposed in the text. The writer highlighted the issue that a woman has no respect once she steps out of her house. According to Ware (2023) a woman needs the support of a man to survive in society as she is brought up as a weak creature. Instead of fulfilling his duty as an honest Inspector, he called Ammu a *veshya* (prostitute) in line 5 and also accused her for having illegitimate kids in the same line. Without listening Ammu and considering Velutha innocence, he asked her to go home, **“If I were you, he said, I’ll go home quietly”** (line 8). Roy realistically presented the specific issues of woman's oppression in our society i.e. Honor of patriarchy, woman education, love marriage vs. arrange marriage, dominance of man as head of the family, keeping woman away from social interactions, physical abuse and man as the leader, so that a female may not get equal power to man.

Language defines the role of power of individuals in the society. On the basis of male-centered language, language creates the identities of individuals which later on became a part of culture. As Inspector was the representation of a man of our society he entitled Ammu, a bad woman (Comparison). He gave the impression that a female that stays that home deserves respect

(Categorization). He went so far for calling her a *veshya*. The writer also gives the comparison between a cultured and civilized person. Education is not the only factor that makes a human civilized; it depends on the way an individual is brought up. Velutha belonged to a lower caste and was uneducated; however, other males; i.e. Ammu's father (Pappachi), brother (Chako) and the Inspector were educated and were considered civilized by the society. In reality, they never respected a woman but insulted them as an inferior creature. Language is not only about pronunciation and grammar, it develops one's image in the society (Brown, J. J., 2024) and in the given text the writer highlighted the Inspector's language ruined Ammu's image.

The authority of man was also made obvious at the level of naming. Every time the writer mentioned the name of Thomas Mathew (line 1, 7, 13), the term "Inspector" was used to represent the authority of man. However, Ammu, being the woman was called *veshya* (line 5). She did not object to his accusation even when he tapped her breasts with his baton in front of her kids (line 9).

Euphemism is a word or a term that is being used in place of a taboo. In line 5, the term *veshya* has been used by the Inspector which is not considered good to be used in formal or informal gathering. Using a taboo in daily life in front of common people shows the dominance of Inspector as a male. That is why; he ignored the fact that he was wearing a uniform which was assigned to him to take care of the welfare of the people; not to exploit their rights.

The writer skillfully used the concept of generalization in the given text. Inspector while abusing Ammu called her a *veshya* and entitled her kids, the illegitimate one. According to his perception, the female who moves out of their house without a male is characterless. Instead of taking any action against the Inspector, Ammu justify his position that police could do anything, "**Inspector Thomas Mathew seemed to know whom he could pick on and whom he could not**" (line 13). In the very next line, she further commented, "**Police have that instinct**" (line 14) because a woman's mentality is shaped in such a manner that they cannot doubt the abilities of a policeman.

Analysis 2

Being a strong supporter of woman, Arundhti Roy not only highlighted the injustice that is being done to the woman, she also pointed out that how woman is deprived of education; so that she remains illiterate and could not cope with the makes in the society. She portrays the physical and mental tortures that a female faces throughout her life. In the selected text, writer described the circumstances under which a woman is deprived of the chance of getting education and shortening her opportunities to survive as an independent member of the society. Female, in postcolonial society was dealt as an inferior object and subordinate to opposite gender (Sartore, 2024).

In the postcolonial era, females were not appreciated to gain education. Ammu, being a female; was dependent on her father for her life's decisions. As her mother remained stuck with house chores always, Ammu was also confined at home. On the other hand, Pappachi, being a male was the head of the family, took the family's decisions. He was considered the powerful one

whose decisions could not be questioned by anyone at his home. As literature is the depiction of life; the literature of postcolonial era deals the man as active actor and woman was dealt as a passive object. the same scenario was mentioned in line 1, "**Ammu finished her schooling the same year that her father retired from his job in Delhi and moved Ayemenem**", as Pappachi was unable to afford the expenses of the big city, the whole family had to move to Ayemenem. Although line 1 shows the financial weak position of Pappachi, as he could not support his family, even than Ammu sacrificed her educational career because she had no guts to raise voice to get higher education.

In line 2, "**Pappachi insisted that a college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl, so Ammu had no choice but to leave Delhi and move with them**", the writer used the term "girl" for an adult lady which shows the mental approach of patriarchal society; claiming that she is immature and does not need education; so he forbade her to go to college (Generalization). Further, Pappachi used the term "unnecessary expense" for Ammu's admission in college as it will be wastage of money. As woman is brought up in a manner in this society that they never contradict to men's decisions, that are why, Ammu and her mother did not object to Pappachi's decision (Consensus). In line 3, the writer used the concept of generalization, "**There was very little for a young girl to do in Aymenem other than to wait for marriage proposal, while she helped her mother with homework**" she narrated that in small cities, the main priority of the girl is to get married at an early age. She further highlighted the issue in line 4, "**Since her father has not enough money to raise a suitable dowry, no proposal came Ammu's way**" i.e. in our society, the good nature of a female does not matter; however, a financially stable family they can afford a heavy dowry is demanded. Dowry is considered to be the contribution of girl's family to set up a new setting of her new life (Jamatia, 2022). In short, she portrayed the bitter reality that only less education, obedience, dependency, passive life style, young age and beauty do not bring good proposals, in order to get good proposals; the family of the female has to grant a heavy dowry to the family of boy. The writer mentioned in the text that being a passive member and dependent on her retired father, Ammu learned all the house chores to get in the category of fine-fingered girls; even than she did not succeed in getting a good proposal for the next two years (Number Game) after leaving her school as mentioned in line 5, "**Two years went by**".

The writer made use of the irony at number of points in the selected text. Pappachi being an educated employee in Delhi (Line 1); was against the higher education of females. He pretended that in order to get good proposal, a female should be fine-fingered (Line 2) but Pappachi remained unable to get Ammu a good proposal for next two years (Line 5) because of no dowry. The writer highlighted the dilemma of our society that how one man shapes the life of a female to bring her to his desired level and another man of the same society rejects her because she does not match his level.

The way Pappachi made Ammu to leave idea of further education shows his authority as a man. Although Pappachi was retired and had nothing to pay off, even then, he showed his dominance of being a male, by forbidding Ammu from getting college education. Being a product of patriarchal society, Pappachi was of the view that females should stay at home (Line 3) while male is supposed to move out for earning. This classification shows that males and females in

this society belongs to different sub cultures (Mouafo, 2024). Pappachi was of the view that female should stay at home to earn, however, he, himself neither respected his wife nor loved his daughter (Irony).

The phrase "enough money" in line 4 shows the concept of Number Game used by the writer; that because of poor financial condition, Pappachi was unable to arrange a good dowry for his daughter. The writer made use of satire that a society judges the aspect that a heavy dowry is the factor that decides that how much respect should be given to a woman when she gets married.

A woman is always dealt as a commodity (Evidentiality) and has become the victim of man's dominant nature (victimization). The writer narrates the categorization in line 2, "**Pappachi insisted that college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl**" which shows his patriarchal nature that girls should stay at home and boys should get high education. A woman is suppose to get a suitable dowry for a suitable proposal, while a man can decide with whom he wants to get married.

Conclusion

The issues regarding to women's life has been discussed in the paper. Arundhti Roy, being an activist struggled hard at international level for the rights of females. She made people aware of the fact that in developed countries, woman has been successful in gaining a strong position, however, in third world countries; female is still neglected on the basis of cultural norms and values. Arundhti Roy narrated the bitter fact by writing novels like "The God of Small Things". Roy's work clarified that these problems are not cultural but the result of patriarchal thought. Arundhti Roy portrayed female characters to delineate the deprived position of woman in the society and familial set up in the novel. She did not present an ideal position neither cynicism. She used realistic approach throughout the selected text. Roy beautifully sketched the native locality of woman in her novel from a feministic point of view.

In postcolonial society, woman is taken as an icon of honor as well as objects of sex and beauty. This concept that is linked to the sexuality of woman makes her more vulnerable. So, a woman is forced to remain within the walls of house and any relation with anyone without the will of the male members of the family is regarded the cause of shame and humiliation. She mentioned that woman in our society is victimized because she is the product of patriarchal society who do not have a life of her own. Roy concluded it that the root cause of prevailing situation of woman is her silence.

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APPENDIX

SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WOMEN

APPENDIX # 1

1. Inspector Thomas Mathew's moustaches bustled like the friendly Air India Maharajah's, but his eyes were sly and greedy.
 2. 'It's a little too late for all this, don't you think?' he said.
 3. He spoke the coarse Kottayam dialect of Malayalam.
 4. He stared at Ammu's breasts as he spoke.
 5. He said the police knew all they needed to know and that the Kottayam Police didn't take statements from veshyas or their illegitimate children.
 6. Ammu said she'd see about that.
 7. Inspector Thomas Mathew came around his desk and approached Ammu with his baton.
 8. 'If I were you,' he said, 'I'd go home quietly.'
 9. Then he tapped her breasts with his baton.
 10. Gently. Tap, tap.
 11. As though he was choosing mangoes from a basket.
 12. Pointing out the ones that he wanted packed and delivered.
 13. Inspector Thomas Mathew seemed to know whom he could pick on and whom he couldn't.
 14. Policemen have that instinct.
- (Chap #1 page # 7 line # 27)

APPENDIX # 2

1. Ammu finished her schooling the same year that her father retired from his job in Delhi and moved to Aymenem.
 2. Pappachi insisted that a college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl, so Ammu had no choice but to leave Delhi and move with them.
 3. There was very little for a young girl to do in Ayemenem other than to wait for marriage proposals while she helped her mother with the housework.
 4. Since her father did not have enough money to raise a suitable dowry, no proposals came Ammu's way.
 5. Two years went by.
- (Chap # 2 page # 38 line # 24)