

Representations Of Patriarchal Cultural Responses (A Study of Content on Social Media About *Sexually Suggestive Dancer*)

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Abstract

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Social media, as a digital technology product, has become a vital space in the formation and representation of culture, including patriarchal culture. Phenomena such as sexually suggestive dancers on social media platforms like TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube Shorts often spark social reactions that are steeped in patriarchal values such as moral judgment, objectification, and the reinforcement of gender stereotypes. The purpose of this study is to interpret how patriarchal culture is still reflected in social responses to sexually suggestive content on social media platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube Shorts. The research methods used were qualitative and ethnographic approaches, with semi-structured interviews conducted with informants. The results of this study indicate that social responses are still heavily influenced by patriarchal cultural values such as objectification, moral judgment, and reinforcement of gender stereotypes against women. It can therefore be said that patriarchal culture is still very strong in the digital space and has an effect on gender inequality on social media.

Abstrak.

Media sosial sebagai produk teknologi digital saat ini menjadi ruang vital dalam pembentukan dan representasi budaya termasuk budaya patriarki. Fenomena seperti konten *sexually suggestive dancer* di platform media sosial seperti tiktok, instagram, dan short youtube kerap menyulut reaksi sosial yang dipenuhi oleh nilai-nilai patriarki seperti penilaian moral, objektifikasi, dan penguatan *stereotip gender*. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menginterpretasikan bagaimana budaya patriarki masih tercermin dalam respons sosial terhadap konten yang bersifat *sexually suggestive dancer* di platform media sosial seperti tiktok, instagram, dan short youtube. Metode penelitian yang digunakan seperti pendekatan kualitatif dan etnografi, dengan teknik wawancara semi-terstruktur kepada informan. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa respon masyarakat sosial masih sarat akan nilai-nilai budaya patriarki seperti objektifikasi, penghakiman moral, dan penguatan *stereotip gender* terhadap perempuan. Sehingga dapat diaktakan bahwa budaya patriarki masih sangat kuat dalam meramaikan ruang digital dan berefek pada ketimpangan gender di media sosial.

INTRODUCTION

Social media is one of the developments of digital information technology that has the intensity of information dissemination and the opening of communication spaces both verbally and non-verbally. It can be understood that social media as a modern communication platform has a vital role in shaping and representing the ideology of a culture. It is in line with what was stated by Murray (2005), he told that social media is a significant empowerment tool for women, so it allows them to design strategies in dealing with the social hierarchy formed by patriarchy and state power. In addition, social media is also used by women as a means to seek strategic self-representation, in an effort to confront and fight patriarchal ideology (Khairah & Tambunan, 2019: 504).

However, these efforts still clash with patriarchal cultural representations. It happens because patriarchal culture is still inherent in people's lives. It indicates that men are still at the top position. As the opinion of Nurmila who said that all Indonesian people adhere to the patriarchal system, so, women are still not seen as equals to men in society and men are often in the first position, superior and dominating in social society (Kollo, 2017: 316). It means that women are often positioned as subordinates, objects, stereotypes, and restrictions on movement space as a form of injustice

Forms of injustice can be seen on social media that expand discourse on gender issues and patriarchal culture. Because social media is not only a means of disseminating information, but also the arena of representation and response to social issues, including sexuality and women's body expression. In this context, content which shows sexually suggestive dancers (dancers with movements or performances that are considered as sexually suggestive) is often being a talking point. This phenomenon is massive in the cyber environment, so it commonly causes some responses that are loaded with patriarchal values in the form of moral judgment, objectification and the strengthening of gender stereotypes.

This phenomenon happens in the scope of society that is often erotic, which causes objectification involved in women's representation in the media due to male's dominance through media technology. The representation of women in the media as objects rather than as human entities, so it rises the sexual fascism with the depiction of women who are often in vulnerable conditions and asked to appear semi-naked or closed but still reveal their intimate parts. This is as Liz Well puts it: "feminists criticize erotic advertising and publicity that are used to erotic women's bodies in a way that turns out to be a marker of the object of male's gaze (Handayani, 2017: 91-92).

The emergence of sexually suggestive dancer content on social media is one of the phenomena that has lead to a lot of responses from the public. With this kind of content, many

people consider it as a part of self-expressions which slowly reducing the culture of shame in the Indonesian social order known for its high manners. This is as Kennedy mentioned that on social media such as Tiktok, Instagram and short youtube, most young women no longer have shame and anxiety about revealing something that is considered unnatural, because the majority of them call it as part of self-expression that is built based on creativity (Simon Simon et al., 2022: 173).

Based on the research conducted on the X platform (Twitter) @gilbertkurnia1, it contains elements of Online Gender-Based Violence (KBGO) in the context of misogyny which is reflected in various forms of uploads such as tweets, retweets, replies, and quote tweets. The content contains misogynistic narratives that have sexism, objectification, verbal attacks on feminists, and the use of sexist terms that are closely related to patriarchal culture and religious values. It does not only happen to women, but also happen to men who do not have standards of masculinity in their communities often become victims of what toxic masculinity practices indicate. KBGO can give serious effects to the victims, such as reducing confidence, depression and anxiety disorders (Rani et al., 2023: 59).

Furthermore, the literature on @bidadariamikomyk accounts shows that there are many evidences of the objectification of women in various forms, even in the higher education environment, such as doxing, the use of student accounts for research solely (instrumentality), derogatory comments as objects of lust (viability), the view that women can be bought like prostitutes (fungibility), the assumption of women as commodities that can be transported (inertness), as well as the recognition of women as their own (ownership) and the denial of subjectivity in beauty standards which indicate the sustainability of patriarchal culture in the digital realm. The findings reflect the persistence of patriarchal culture consciously or unconsciously carried out by anyone in a digital-based verbal form (Rohim & Agusta, 2025: 230).

However, this is contradicted to the personal branding of dancers carried out by men on social media such as TikTok and its impact on career opportunities. For men, this is viewed consistently through commitment that keeps them relevant in the eyes of their followers, thus it opens the professional career opportunities as dancers, choreographers, and coaches for men (Teodorus & Aulia, 2025: 26). It will be different if the dancers are women. Although the focus of the research is on men, it is still relevant because it discusses how gender perceptions and patriarchal culture affect the audience's acceptance and response to dancers on social media, including in the context of censorive content.

In this study, the author tries to present a novelty by focusing on how patriarchal culture affects social responses to sexually suggestive dancer content on social media, especially

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platforms such as Tiktok, Instagram, and Short Youtube, which have not been discussed specifically in previous researches that focus more on the objectification of women based on online gender and misogyny generally on social media. Then, this research is more specific on the sexually suggestive content, which is a new phenomenon and relevant to current social media trends, especially related to the popular culture and gender expression. With a field study approach in the form of interviews, it makes a new contribution to how the representation of patriarchal culture has an impact on gender equality today.

The main problem in this study is that social media is part of the potentials as a tool for women's empowerment and a space for self-expression, which still become an arena full of patriarchy reproduced through social responses that contain moral judgment, objectification, and misogyny to sexually suggestive content such as *sexually suggestive dancers*.

Therefore, the formulation of the problem is how the representation of patriarchal culture is reflected in the social response to *sexually suggestive dancer* content in media such as Tiktok, Instagram, and Short Youtube. The purpose of this study is to understand and analyze how patriarchal cultural representations are reflected in social responses to *sexually suggestive dancer* content on social media. In addition, this study also wants to find out the impact of the representation of patriarchal culture to gender equality on social media.

RESEARCH METHODS

In this paper, the author uses a qualitative approach, as Sugiyono said that qualitative research has the purpose of analyzing and describing phenomena or research objects through social activities, attitudes and perceptions of individuals or groups (Sari et al., 2023: 15). This paper uses an ethnographic approach. According to Spradley, Atkinson and Wolcott ethnography is defined as an explanation of culture with the intention of learning and understanding about individual life. In other words, ethnography means learning from people who explain directly from the culture and subculture of that individual (Setyowati, 2006: 36). This ethnographic model is very appropriate to know the problems related to culture, especially patriarchal culture, and it is usually always selected in the research of anthropogenic models.

The research subjects were informants from different cultural backgrounds with the treatment given in the form of watching short videos from social media containing *sexually suggestive dancers* before being interviewed. The type of interview is carried out using semi-structured. According to Nietzal, Bernstein, and Millich, the semi-structured interview is a preparation of questions that will be given to the interviewee, but the order of questions given is classified as flexible because it depends on the direction of the conversation (Fadhallah, 2020: 8). So that, the interview results are used as primary research data, while secondary research data is

obtained through literature studies such as books, journal articles that have relevance to this research.

The data analysis technique in this paper uses a technique initiated by Miles and Huberman known as the interactive data analysis method (Qomaruddin & Sa'diyah, 2024: 81). First, data reduction is the process of selecting, simplifying, and transforming raw data which includes summarizing and coding data. Second, the presentation of data is an activity of compiling information, so it provides the possibility of drawing conclusions. Third, drawing conclusions is something that must be done as the result of a process that has been carried out (Sofwatillah et al., 2024: 88).

Furthermore, Laura Mulvey's point of view on the male gaze was engaged. He builds his theory on the basic assumption that a world governed by sexual imbalance and the satisfaction of watching has been divided into two parts, namely male (active) and female (passive). It means that men become spectator (spectators) and women become spectacles (spectacles). According to Mulvey's theory of male gaze, women are constantly seen or looked at, watched and shown, with certain appearances that have such a strong visual and sexual influence that women can also be referred to as to-be-looked-at-ness. "Women are considered as sexual objects," that's the main idea of this theory. According to the theory of male gaze, women is viewed as erotic objects and function on two levels, namely, as erotic objects for the male characters in the story, and as erotic objects for the audience (Febrianto & Udasmoro, 2024: 8-10). Mulvey said that the enjoyment of a visual which is widely watched is an imitation of a culture that always creates a structure of male gaze that makes women be the object of sensual gaze.

Objectification of women according to Calegero, this theory aims to show and explain the general tendency that associates women with their bodies that can lead to negative outcomes for the woman's body image. Objectification occurs when a person sees women separately between their bodies and themselves as a person. Fredrickson & Roberts in (Harris et al., n.d), explains that when women are objectified, they are treated as objects, aiming for the use and pleasure of others (Marietha et al., 2021: 67).

Gender injustice, according to Mansur Fakhri, is a system and structure where both men and women become the victims of the injustice. Some perspectives put women in problematic social situations. She also stated that gender injustice is manifested in various forms in the social sphere. These manifestations are inseparable, because they are interrelated and related, as well as dialectically influencing each other. So it can be concluded that gender injustice is a gap between men and women (Sptiani et al., 2024: 753). The manifestation of Mansur Fakhri gender injustice in his book entitled "Gender Analysis & Social Transformation" is first, the marginalization or

restriction of women that causes poverty. Second, subordination or the position of women as number two because there is an assumption that women are irrational or emotional so that women cannot lead. That attitude makes women placed in unimportant positions. Third, stereotypes or negative labeling that are imposed on women. Fourth, violence is an assault on a person's physical and mental psychology. Fifth, excessive workload where women are considered as diligent gender so that household chores are carried out by women completely (Fakih, 2013: 13-21).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Patriarchal Cultural Response to *Sexually Suggestive Dancer* Content

Generally, patriarchal culture is a social system that places men as the main holders of power that dominate women, both domestically and publicly. In today's media context, patriarchal culture is often represented with narratives or content that reinforce stereotypes of traditional gender roles, such as women are considered as the one who are objectified, irrational and emotional, weak, and dependent on men (Fadhillah et al., 2025: 3). Simply, patriarchal culture can be interpreted as a social system that prioritizes men over women because men are considered more capable in the possession of central power (Ningsih & Srirahayu, 2022: 5).

Culturally, Indonesian society is still very identical with patriarchal culture. This is in line with the view of Israpil (2017) who said that patriarchal culture has been hereditary in shaping differences in behavior, status and orotency between men and women, unequal distribution of power, firstborn rights, personal autonomy in social relations, participation in public status and so on (Anto et al., 2023: 49). Patriarchal culture has formed, from generation to generation, differences in behavior, status, and authority between men and women in the social sphere that has become a gender-related hierarchy. This kind of culture ultimately leads to discrimination, objectification, marginalization, exploitation, and violence against women both directly and indirectly (Clarissa, 2023:817).

This is in line with Pernama's statement that there is a social construction that causes a gender gap in people's culture as well as the imposition of rules and obligations on men and women, which has long been a tradition that gives benefit for men (M et al., 2025: 3). It creates a system where women are more often disadvantaged and considered as less important gender, while men are considered as active, rational, powerful, hard, and controlling subjects in society.

Observing the reality of social media such as Tiktok, Instagram, and short Youtube, sometimes FYP (For You Page) cannot be consciously controlled by social media account users, so content containing *Sexually Suggestive dancers* appears. The effect of this media is even stronger by considering that the female figure displayed automatically reinforces the stereotypes that

have been built up in society. Therefore, social media has recently taken part in strengthening, preserving, and even worsening injustice against women in society (Baharudin & Ernawati, 2024: 7).

Based on the results of the interview with the informant who has the initials Z (May 23, 2025), there are indications of stereotypes that have been built up against content that consists of *Sexually Suggestive Dancer*. She gave an affirmation "for women who do not wear hijab, I justify it, because it is likely that they are not Muslims, but if women, in the content, wear hijab, it can be judged as wrong act because the output taught by Islam is far different from that action". From this answer, the women wearing hijab are labeled as the one who must follow certain morality standards. Based on Asma Barlas' perspective on the hijab, the patriarchal system and digital capitalism synergize in creating a new narrative about how a Muslim woman should appear in public spaces, including virtual spaces that often distance themselves from authentic spiritual meaning (Marwa & Dasuki, 2025: 4). Meanwhile, from the perspective of female informants who do not wear hijab, they are more 'tolerated'. In this case, the researcher sees a double standard that is used to burden women with more moral demands when compared to men.

Women's representation on social media is two interrelated things, one of which is through how the representation is ultimately colored by the "exploitation" of women in the form of stereotypes and commodities or runners, so that women only become the objects of discrimination (Syayekti, 2024: 105). This patriarchal culture that causes women to be the most marginalized group in various areas of life, so they have to take a little steep road to support themselves. All of this did not happen by chance, but through a long process that stemmed from social norms, interpretations of religious teachings that are indentic with patriarchal culture, and instruments of family education up to the formal level (Halizah & Faralita, 2023: 22).

In line with what Mansur Fakhri said, excessive burden causes gender bias which is often strengthened and caused by the belief in society that the type of domestic work is considered and valued lower than male work. Because of this gender assumption, from an early age, it has been associated to pursue gender roles, on the other hand, men are not culturally charged to pursue various types of domestic work. So that it has generally strengthened the cultural and structural sustainability of women's workload (Fakhri, 2008: 22-23).

Respondents' stigmatization consistently assessed that women who display *Sexually Suggestive dancers* on social media platforms such as Short YouTube, Tiktok, and Instagram as a negative female activity. He said: "I look at it very badly because it can provoke men's orgasms". In the context of critical discourse, it can be categorized as sexual violence. Because sexual violence itself is one of the acts of violence based on gender issues that often arise such as

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degrading, harassing, attacking a person's body or reproductive organs which cause psychological and physical disorders (Adistya & Mudzakkir, 2023: 223). It is in line with the results of research by Shawn Meghan Burn entitled "The Psychology of Sexual Harassment" which states that sexual harassment occurs because of a male misconception that the opposite sex is interested in sexual behavior. But, the fact is actually different, it happens because there is already a gender hierarchy (Cahyadi et al., 2023: 170).

This stigmatization is timeless because the patriarchal culture is still inherent in the way of social society, more specifically, men responds to the content of *Sexually Suggestive Dancer* on social platforms such as Tiktok, Instagram, and Youtube Short. Interestingly, from the results of interviews with the informant Z, it can be seen that women who appear in such content that attracts attention are often considered as objects of entertainment. It is based on the statement of the informant "it is only used as entertainment". It indicates that there is the objectification which tells that women are no longer seen as whole individuals. It is in line with Laura Mulvey who said that women are shown in the media only as an object whose existence is intended to please male's eyes (Pasaribu & Pramiyanti, 2023: 168).

It is consistent with the view of Fredricson and Robers (1997) who states that conservative culture is built to treat women as objects to be seen, inspected, and judged by their looks, so it ultimately persuades women to adopt different ideas about their bodies (Kartika et al., 2023: 1079). Consequently, it shapes the perception of the female body as a sexual object. This is reinforced by the testimony of respondent Z, who specifically identified certain body parts, such as the 'chest' as the primary focus when watching *Sexually Suggestive Dancer* content and it was directly linked to the arousal of 'sexual feelings.' This further affirms that patriarchal culture is dominated by the their perspective on women's bodies on digital platforms.

Furthermore, Fredrickson and Robert in the theory of objectification say that the objectification accepted by women makes women try to internalize the views of others, then realize those views for themselves and make themselves objects to be seen and evaluated (Dewi, 2024: 447). Women who are used as objects are a form of gender injustice accepted by women in social society.

However, it can hinder women's freedom of expression and create social stigma. Although there is narration that freedom is an individual right, in fact women's freedom of expression on social media is still very limited and gets bad views. Respondents said that sometimes women want to express themselves but sometimes they are conflicted by what others say. This shows the existence of social control from the point of view of patriarchal culture. As a view of Travis Hirchi, a sociologist in 1969, related to social control that explains how social

norms, values and rules keep individuals in compliance with accepted behaviors in society (Rohmah et al., 2025: 104).

These norms and values in Indonesia cannot be separated from religion and morality. The results of the respondents' interviews linked women's appearance to religious norms, such as statements related to *sexually suggestive dancer* content that "it clearly does not reflect a Muslim woman". Based on this statement, it is known that religion often becomes a legitimacy tool to regulate women's bodies and behavior. As in patriarchal culture, religious norms and morality are used to restrict women's movement, so that in the end, religion can be sexist. It means that the dominant religious conception gives privileges for men by placing them in positions of superiority while oppressing and degrading women. Simply, this sexist religious concept can cause gender injustice against women whose notabene are discriminated against and treated unfairly (Ete et al., 2023: 13).

In addition, there is an ineffectiveness of social media filtering that makes content like this easy to access by the public, so that women who appear "brave" always become the target of negative comments and harassment. The context of this harassment on social media can be in the form of comments and direct messages or personal messages with intimidating contents such as mentioning the victim's intimate parts (Utama & Majid, 2024: 57). It can basically be done by anyone, both men and women, against victims, the majority of whom are women. This is in accordance with the view of Fredricson and Robert regarding objectification which stated that individuals are treated as objects and subsequently evaluated and observed based on their appearance rather than their human dignity (Madjdi & Andreas, 2022: 4). Respondent Z's assumption states that women are "deliberately open space" to be sexually judged when appearing in certain clothes or movements, even though the woman's intentions may be different. This assumption shows the existence of victim blaming. It is emphasized by Jensen and Gutek that this commonly happens among women rather than men because of the belief that women are provocative towards men (Ashgarie et al., 2022: 205). Beyond the tendency to blame women as the cause of male sexual desire, this can also foster stigmas, opinions, and social mindsets that perpetuate the same behavior, namely blaming women. Patriarchal culture can also be seen from respondent Z's assumption by stating that commenting on women's bodies is not always harmful, unless the women in the content know it. That cognitive system shows a lack of empathy for the psychological experience of women, because it objectifies women's bodies as public consumption that is free to be commented on and controlled. As Foucault (1975) said, the body is the fundamental target of the disciplinary mechanism, that the body is often used as an object and every aspect of the body can be comprehensively formed, modified, controlled,

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supervised by a certain power so it produces a body that can be subjugated and forged as it is trained, forced, ordered tasks, and carried out various orders that arise (Saragih & Ningrum, 2023: 429).

According to Nussbaum and Catharine MacKinnon (2015), objectification is the core of women's experience, that they "can only understand themselves as objects" (Yunailis, 2024: 757). In other words, sexual objectification, which refers to the treatment of women as objects, is a form of current gender injustice on social media. This view is caused by a patriarchal system that places men as the main central authority in social life. This is in line with what Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (1990) means, that the patriarchal system consists of social practices and structures where men control, oppress, and exploit women. Because men in the social system have power which is formed from the effects of patriarchal culture and it makes men free to do what they want (Trianita & Azahra, 2023: 62). Thus, women are recently still positioned as objects of entertainment. Their freedom of expression is limited by social and religious norms, and comments on their bodies are considered natural as long as the women in the content do not know it.

Women's objectification is a process in which women are only seen as tools to fulfill the satisfaction of the patriarchal system, not as individuals who have rights, desires and potential. One of the factors that formed the objectification of women is from the *male gaze*. It means that a view dominated by the male perspective is the center of attention in social, media, and cultural life. This happens because culture in Indonesia is still identical with patriarchy, so the domestication of patriarchy is the source of the *male gaze* (Rachmawati et al., 2024: 96).

The concept of *male gaze* itself was expressed by Laura Mulvey who told that the media shapes the perception of women through heterosexual male views, and women are represented as passive objects in fulfilling male's desires (Medina et al., 2022: 2). So that, there is exploitation that put women as the objects of gaze on social media. This happens due to the myth that women are used as fantasy objects, especially for men by showing sexy and passionate body, thus it increases the attractiveness of every content they upload (Astuti et al., 2024: 619).

In this case, social media plays a role in gender injustice by maintaining a patriarchal culture, building public perspectives and objectifying women. The results of interviews with Z respondents showed that women in *sexually suggestive dancer* content are often represented in a degrading way, as well as the patriarchal view that sees women as "mere entertainment and satisfying temporary desires". These findings provide an affirmation of men's domination through social media that makes women as the object of lust satisfaction. This representation tends to place them (women) as objects, rather than as whole human entities. As Mulvey

describes, men tend to view and treat women as sexual objects, and place the authority of that view (Harun et al., 2024: 7).

Participant Z's view of female content which shows *sexually suggestive dancers* is that "they have met the criteria of beauty standards". This view comes due to social media which has created a beauty standard that need to be achieved by women. This standard has been constructed in the mindet of both men and women as an ideal concept of beauty that should be possessed by women. In fact, this standard or measure of beauty is very related to the concept of patriarchy that allows men to have full power over the measurement of the feminine side of a woman, because from the patriarchal concept, women are positioned as passive and weak figures so that women's bodies are seen as commodities (Lancia et al., 2023: 59).

This beauty standard is seen from a patriarchal perspective, which makes women as objects that are judged based on their physical appearance and ignores their abilities. From the finding, respondent Z stated that the women in the content are successful to "influence my view on them so that they gave even a slight sexual feeling". Nussbaum in 1995 described the objectification of men towards women in the form of *denial of autonomy*, where women are considered as objects that do not have autonomy in their lives (Lutfiyati & Handayani, 2023: 127). This objectification is due to the male view that places women as visual objects that are enjoyed sexually by men. The male gaze contributes to strengthen patriarchal power by positioning women in a lower position and highlighting their sexual aspects in the media, so it influences the way the audience perceives and responds to the female in the content. As Laura Mulvey argues in her essay entitled *Visual Pelasure and Narrative Cinema* (1989) with the statement that in a world governed by sexual imbalance, the satisfaction of watching or seeing has been divided into two parts, namely men (active) and women (passive), in other words men serves as spectators and women serves as spectacles (Apriliani, 2023: 18). This kind of view limits women's freedom of expression.

The full awareness of the respondent about the restrictions on women's freedom is dominated by men's views. The main cause is the patriarchal ideology on social media with a condition that society respects the status of men more than women in all aspects of life. As stated by Bhasin (2016), men control several things in the patriarchal system, such as women's productivity and employment, controlling women's reproduction, controlling women's sexuality, controlling women's mobility, and also men control property and economic resources (Putri & Arianto, 2024: 13547).

The assessment is not only limited to women, but also to male content creators who do the same thing. The assessment of Z respondents shows that everyone does the same thing

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(*sexually suggestive dancers*) is considered "abnormal" and "actually men shouldn't do that". According to participant, this is contradicted to religious norms, because the patriarchal culture places rigid gender roles and limits male's expression not to resemble women. It reinforces gender stereotypes which are a form of ideological and cultural oppression, namely the labeling that corners women which gives effect to the position and condition of women. Larry A. Samovar and E. Porter see that stereotypes cause judgments that tend to be negative and degrade the other people (Mujiati, 2024: 46).

The context of gender injustice that is often encountered in the environment around us is surely inseparable from the role of the patriarchal system that has been instilled and culturalized. Berry (1992) in Israpil (2017) said that societies that follow certain social systems often use patriarchy as a benchmark in assessing the relationships that are established in social structures and functions (Thavany et al., 2024: 4). It is important to know that forms of gender injustice can be seen in the same source, namely gender stereotypes toward men and women. Social media as a public digital space greatly strengthens gender stereotypes, which has principle that the women, according to female respondents, are often described in a dichotomous between "valuable" and relying only on physical appearance. This *male gaze* view makes a subordinate position of women. Saptari (1997) as a liberal feminist sees that women's subordination is rooted in a set of cultural constraints and habits that hinder women's access on the opportunities to compete fairly with men (Syafe'i, 2015: 145). It happens because men in patriarchal culture are positioned at the top level of the hierarchy while women are subordinate. This inequality encourages the emergence of behaviors that imply inequality between men and women. These stereotypes can frequently cause men feel that they deserves to get leadership positions and women are often overlooked for opportunities in society (Afanin, 2023: 97).

Male gaze, a concept introduced by Laura Mulvey, describes how the dominant male perspective in controlling the way of life of women is represented in the media and popular culture. The role of men as consumers that is negatively assessed by respondent Z indicates how patriarchal dominance plays a role in the current social media realm. Men not only consume content that often reproduces stereotypes and representations that are detrimental to women, but also contribute to foster patriarchal control over women. It is based on respondent Z's statement regarding to social media content that contains of *sexually suggestive dancers*, "the view as a man is certainly negative because it is unnatural". Her point of view is to explain how women are portrayed from a male perspective in visual media, especially short videos. As Mulvey (1989) said, men determine the projection of fantasies to individual women, which have been arranged according to women's views and shown with erotic visuals that connote to-be-look-at-ness. So

that women are only shown as sexual objects that have the main motive to become an erotic and passive spectacle, with the aim of satisfying the male fantasies of the audience. *To-be-looked-at-ness* focuses on how women are positioned as objects to be seen and enjoyed visually, not as active subjects

As Mulvey (1989) said, men determine the projection of fantasies to women, which have been arranged according to women's views and shown with erotic visuals that connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*. So that, women are only shown as sexual objects that have the main motive to become an erotic and passive spectacle, with the aim of satisfying the male fantasies of the audience. *To-be-looked-at-ness* focuses on how women are positioned as objects to be seen and enjoyed visually, not as active subjects (Mulvey, 2013: 808-809).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the previous discussion, it can be concluded that social media such as Tiktok, Instagram, and short youtube are a means of women's self-expression, but the reality in the field is always clash with patriarchal culture. The patriarchal culture in Indonesia is still very strong which causes women to be positioned as objects, experiencing objectification, stereotypes, and restrictions on movement space, on the other hand men remain in positions that tend to be dominant. This is reflected in the results of social interviews in the field related to *sexually suggestive dancer* content. The responses from the public that often appear are moral judgments, objectification, and negative stories about women that reinforce gender stereotypes and put women as sexual objects, as explained in Laura Mulvey's *male gaze* theory and women's objectification theory. This research also found that there is gender inequality that encourages the marginalization of women, strengthens male dominance, and women often experience gender-based violence in cyberspace and digital discrimination. Therefore, this study emphasizes that patriarchal cultural representation in social responses to *sexually suggestive dancer* content on social media is still very dominant and has the impact of being an obstacle to gender equality efforts in digital media.

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