UNIT 3 SEXISM IN RESEARCH

Mira K. Desai

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Objectives

3.3 Understanding the Term Sexism
   3.3.1 Sex Role Stereotypes
   3.3.2 Sexism Across Disciplines
   3.3.3 Sexism in Research

3.4 Power in Research
   3.4.1 Construction of Knowledge
   3.4.2 Domination-Subordination
   3.4.3 Commodification and Gaze

3.5 Subject-Object Dichotomy
   3.5.1 Other Sex
   3.5.2 Women-Beneficiary or Agency
   3.5.3 Participants, Audiences, Funders, Subjects in Research
   3.5.4 Knowledge Practice Praxis

3.6 Dialogic and Dialectic in Research
   3.6.1 Trust
   3.6.2 Participant versus Spectator
   3.6.3 Recording-Reporting-Revolutionizing

3.7 Let Us Sum Up

3.8 Unit End Questions

3.9 References

3.10 Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

You have read about Epistemologies and Gender-based analysis (Unit 1) and Scientific method (Unit 2) in the last two units. Here we will discuss about sexism in research. Now, you have understood how knowledge is power and research process contributes to the very definition of knowledge generation. In the first year you have also examined feminist critique of knowledge in various units of Course MWG 001. As you are aware by now that the term sex is variously employed and it includes everything from the sex of a being to sexual behaviour. Gender and sex are different conceptual constructs. In this unit we would explore sexism in research mainly from the ideals of research objectivity, how women and gender research questions un-baisedness and generalization as problematic. You would also understand how power and subject-object positions of researcher and researched has to be critically
viewed as feminist researcher and dialogical and dialectical unlike traditional research paradigm of science influencing feminist research. Before we move ahead lets cast a look at the objectives of this unit.

### 3.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you would be able to:

- Explain how sexism influences research process in general and researcher in particular;
- Describe role of different participants in research and how sexism can impact different stage of research;
- Outline examples of sexism across disciplines and consequences of sexism in research; and
- Identify manifestations of sexism in research so that they can be avoided while conducting feminist research.

### 3.3 UNDERSTANDING THE TERM SEXISM

Before going ahead with discussing sexism in research, it is important for you to learn what does sexism mean?

**Sexism** as a term became critical in twentieth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century psychologists paid lot of attention to the differences of intelligence across sexes. Nineteenth century craniometrists (one who studies the scientific measurement of skulls) led by Paul Broca and others showed scientific proof of sex difference in intellectual capabilities at times attributed to their smaller physical stature. There were others like Gustave Le Bon (considered to be founder of social psychology) who declared in 1879, women represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man.

As early as 1903 American psychologist Helen Thompson Woolley (1874-1947) empirically demonstrated lack of any significant difference between sexes. Like Helen Woolley many other feminists including Mary Wollstonecraft in ‘Vindication of Rights of Women’ argued that women were essentially same as men in their powers of reason, that the path of virtue lay in their capacities being developed in both sexes so that they might equally become independent and free citizens.

Dale Spenser noted, that as most of the knowledge produced in our society has been produced by men, they have usually generated explanations and the schemata; have then checked with each other and vouched for the accuracy and adequacy of their view of the world. Thus, women have been excluded as the producers of knowledge.
Sexism indicates attitude and belief that one sex is inferior to the other. Sexism refers to discrimination due to gender.

**Box No 3.1**

Sexism in research refers to attitude, behaviour, values associated with specific arguments, propositions and methodologies based on sex where power is at play and it privileges ‘researcher’ over ‘researched’.

In the following section, you will read, how Sexism is constructed.

### 3.3.1 Sex role Stereotypes

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) wrote that women were inferior to men. He stated that as such, they were not fit for citizenship much less for ruling, but they did have an important role to play in the life of the city. He was of the opinion of maintaining an office designated to ‘Controller of Women’ and expected women to ‘attend to household chores’ as ‘men do not do housework’. As per him ‘reversal of roles’ would be disastrous and unnatural.

In any culture, the labeling of male and female in itself provide stereotyped expectations, role prescriptions and life opportunities for each of them. Sexism as a term used in feminist critiques of society, mainly refers to two things. One, attitudes and behaviour based on traditional assumptions about, and stereotypes of, sexual roles (sexual division of labour) in society and secondly, discrimination or ridicule based on a person’s sex (evaluation of person or position based on biology), especially when directed by men or society at large against women. Much of psychological research centered on stereotypes. Stereotyped conceptions can be classified into five broad areas: personality traits, family roles, leisure activities, work roles and personal styles and appearance. There are three adverse outcomes of sex stereotypes for women:

a) they are disproportionately unfavourable to women,

b) they tend to produce self-fulfilling behaviours; and

c) they result in biased attitudes and evaluation of women.

### 3.3.2 Sexism Across Disciplines

The early part of Industrial revolution established authority of science. To some extent it helped women to free from the patriarchal authority. It also freed mercantile and industrial classes from the authority of aristocracy and religion. Science became idiom of debate for sexual difference be it the brain size, intelligence, physical attributes, and so on. While industrialization undermined earlier ideals of sexual difference, it secured them to a newer footing. Unequal wages to women, childcare responsibility
to women, double burdens on working women, were issues still relevant in the twenty-first century.

Taking examples of history and anthropology as disciplines of studying past and present of human societies, various feminist scholars revealed how women never constituted part of the disciplinary discourse. Feminist researchers across disciplines negated sexual difference in health sciences and variety of other fields in the sixties and seventies. Here are a few examples:

- For her own good (1978) by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre in English
- In Theology (sexism and god talk 1983, In memory of her 1984)
- In Literature (Sexual politics 1970)
- In psychology (Feminist Mystique by Betty Friedan in 1963)

It was brought to the fore how sexist and androcentric methods and results of research did not reveal the reality adequately.

Even widely used textbook in American history, The United States by Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaro (1967, Second edition, Prentice Hall) had only two pages out of its 900 pages, devoted to women’s history. Closer home, Pandita Ramabai’s life and work in spite of her contribution were marginalized from mainstream history. Catherine Stimpson (1971) noted with reference to women and curriculum that there were three kinds of problems in the curriculum: omission, distortions, and trivializations.

Box No. 3.2

Kate Millett through her work “Sexual Politics” noted that sex is frequently neglected political aspect and she elaborated the theory of sexual politics.

Many feminists’ researchers across disciplines revealed such sexist biases in research through their research.

Feminism is not only an ideology, or a set of beliefs and values about women and gender relations, but also a social-political movement for social change. The challenge is whether new feminist theories of knowledge will require new techniques for gathering and evaluating evidence or whether feminist epistemologies will lead to using old tools in new ways. Feminism is more than a philosophy or ideology. It is a “vocabulary of motives” maintained by strong group support. Becoming a feminist leads to a transformation of consciousness and an alteration in the perception and interpretation of everyday life. Several expected findings were developed comparing feminists and non-feminists on three dimensions of consciousness:
1) perceptions of women
2) autonomy and self-control, and
3) overt feminist interpretation.

Feminists are more likely to use a feminist vocabulary of motives, introduce the general theme of sexism or specific feminist themes such as job discrimination.

3.3.3 Sexism in Research

Let us now look at how sexism takes place in research. Positivist approach in the social sciences emphasizes value-neutral observation, description and explanation. Behaviorism conceives social sciences in terms of objective, value-free, predominantly quantitative studies. Unlike conventional definitions of research, Shulamit Reinharz in her book “Feminist methods in social research” (1992, p.9) gives definition of research as “production of a publically scrutinizable analysis of a phenomenon with the intent of clarification”.

While research is the knowledge generation and validation process, the scientificity demands ‘value neutrality’, a task impossible according to feminist researchers.

Psychology refers to variety of sexism two of them being- hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. There are also scales to measure modern sexism and old-fashioned sexism. Swim et al. (1995) developed the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) to measure covert prejudice against women and the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (OFSS) to measure traditional sexist beliefs about women. Both these measures reveal subtle manifestations of sexist attitudes toward women using eight and five items on five-point Likert-type scale. Swim et.al (2005, p.202) notes, "Historically, measures of sexism assessed endorsement of traditional gender roles and stereotypes, with those who endorse traditional gender roles and stereotypes being labeled as more sexist than those not endorsing such beliefs. Yet, the tendency to endorse traditional gender roles has declined over the years".

American Psychological Association (APA) as well as British Psychological Society (BPS) produce and periodically revise ‘ethical guidelines’ for research. APA issued guidelines to carry out ‘non-sexist research’ (Denmark et. al, 1988). BPS (1991) published ethical principles and guidelines along with the code of conduct. Only extensive coverage of gender-issues in BPS guidelines is under “Guidelines for the use of non-sexist language” (drawn mainly from APA). Susan Condor examines these guidelines and argues in Feminism Psychology Journal, October 1991 issue that these guidelines have had little impact. She notes, neither ‘blatant sexist research techniques’ have stopped nor ‘their acceptance in referred research journals’.
Feminist researchers across disciplines have clearly demonstrated sex bias and biological determinism leading to false assumptions, faulty tools, inaccurate interpretations and lack of representation of women and other gender in scientific research. Feminists and their supporters have even exposed how publications in scientific and popular journals and magazines assume inevitability of sexual inequality and difference.

In twenty first century, three trends with reference to science and sexism have been observed; including in evolutionary theory, endocrinology and neurology.

- Evolution theory was reformulated by sociobiology when irreversibility of old argument for unequal division of childcare between men and women, assumption of nurturing nature of women and philandering in men, was negated by feminists’ scholars. They argued that the evolution has selected equality between the sexes in child care. They claimed that the reproductive success of men’s genes is best served by men contributing equally with women to child care because men thereby increase their children’s chances of surviving to reproductive maturity and cost of competing for other mates.

- The second argument of endocrinology holds that women due to their hormones are more responsive to caring infants than men and therefore should not be expected to equal work participation. This was countered by scholars that if her hormones make them caring than they should participate in public sphere contributing to peace and prosperity for human race.

- The last argument of neurological researches revealed differences in verbal and visual-spatial information processing by women by either of the hemisphere in the brain compared to men who process verbal information with left and visual-spatial information with right hemisphere. Such differences came to light now because the earlier brain research was confined to studies of war-wounded, all male population (as females were excluded from the armed combat). Feminists also argued that if women are more verbally adept than they can be part of jobs demanding verbal faculty.

All the three arguments attempted to confine women to child care and limit their role in public spheres. Increasing research evidences negated these arguments and suggested sexist nature of knowledge production.
Check Your Progress:

i) Define the term ‘sexism’ and write its underlying assumptions.

ii) What are sex role stereotypes?

After reading what is sexism, role stereotypes and how sexism runs in research across disciplines, let us now read how power relations shape research process and outcomes.

3.4 POWER IN RESEARCH

Dale Spender (1980), records in her book ‘Man made Language’ that because males have had power that they have been in a position to construct the myth of male superiority and to have it accepted. She further writes that because they have had power they have been able to ‘arrange’ the evidence so that it can be seen to substantiate the myth. And, as we know that all myths still have a hold over us and this one, which is fundamental to our social order, is particularly pervasive and particularly hard to dislodge.
In any research process, movement from theory to research (positivist) or from research to theory (naturalist), may not suffice the actual experience of research. The researchers though claimed ‘objective’ process; do exercise ‘power’ over the subject being researched. For feminist researchers, there may be a more complex interaction between the ‘research phenomenon-feminist theory-feminist consciousness’, as well as personal influences and effects. The ‘feminist consciousness’ of sexism and the nature of women’s oppression, as an on-going process of examination and re-interpretation of feminist experience, is in itself a crucial variable in any research process.

3.4.1 Construction of Knowledge

If science is affected by personal values and experiences and if there are sex differences in values, interests, personality, or life experiences, then it means that knowledge created by women will differ systematically from the one created by men. The idea is not necessarily that men are more sexist than women, but rather that men have different interests and concerns which influence their conduct of science. Any discipline demands historical and logical standpoint. It consists of examination of traditional scholarship’s ignorance of the role of women and women’s experiences as well as more fundamental question of whether theoretical and methodological framework of the discipline capable of understanding women’s experiences.

Box No. 3.4

Sex bias can influence descriptive and correlational studies in many ways

- by the researcher’s choice of topics and operationalization of variables
- by the use of inappropriate paper-and-pencil measuring instruments, and
- by the use of inappropriate gender comparisons.

There can be research methods that can demand manipulation of subjects and the environment, the distancing of the researcher from the subjects, the separation of behavior from the natural context, the repression of thought, feeling, and impulse, and the quantification of data. In contrast, there are methods based on the cooperation of the researcher and subjects, the personal participation of the researcher, an appreciation of natural contexts, the free expression of thought, feeling, and impulse, and the use of qualitative data.

No research method is inherently feminist or non-feminist. Any research method can be used in sexist ways; no research method guarantees a feminist perspective. It depends upon the users of those methods. Feminist
Sexism and Research

research methods can be employed by woman or by man; it’s a question of how it gets employed in respective discipline.

3.4.2 Domination-Subordination

Kate Millett (1969) in her book ‘The sexual politics’ notes, that a disinterested examination of our system of sexual relationship must point out that the situation between the sexes now, and throughout history, is a case of that phenomenon. Max Weber defined ‘herrschaft’, as a relationship of dominance and subordination. What goes largely unexamined, often even unacknowledged (yet is institutionalised nonetheless) in our social order, is the birthright priority whereby males rule females.

Feminists have criticized experimental methods in research because it creates a non-egalitarian hierarchy of power, with the powerful, all-knowing researcher instructing, observing, recording, and sometimes deceiving the subjects. Experiments apart from creating environments that does not exist in reality, strips the context and makes researchers ‘all in control’ and ‘researched’ giving in to the subordination positions. Even in the history of industrial revolution, women’s work though got justification, the wages were not equal to that of men using argument being man earning for him and the family unlike the case of women. In middle and working classes industrialization consolidated sexual inequality and difference. Even while both, male and female work equally, the justification for women qualified being better child-care persons, researches even today do not cease to examine influence of working mothers on their children and blame child development issues centered on mothers.

Gender harassment is similar to benevolent sexism because sexual attention can, at least on the surface, suggest positive evaluations of women’s bodies or sexual attraction. Yet, these evaluations also have a negative component in that they can be forms of sexual objectification that result in self-objectification, and women can experience them as possible threats of assault.

3.4.3 Commodification and Gaze

In western thought, bodies have been historically associated solely with women whereas men have been associated with the mind. The notion of the body (and not the mind) being associated with women has served as a justification to deem women as property, objects, and exchangeable commodities (among men). Many feminist film critics, such as Laura Mulvey pointed to the “male gaze” that predominates in classical Hollywood film making. Through the use of visual language, the viewer is led to align themselves with the point of view of a male protagonist. Notably, women function as objects of this gaze, far more often than as proxies for the
Feminist film theory of the last twenty years is heavily influenced by the general transformation in the field of aesthetics, including the new options of articulating the gaze by psychoanalytical French feminists.

In research, the researcher consciously or subconsciously objectifies the ‘researched’ and at times ‘gaze’ at them with the gendered lenses. Feminist researchers, therefore, emphasis on the subjective position of knowledge production and also ‘gaze’ at their own locations parallel to the subjects being researched.

In the next section, you will read about ‘subject-object’ dichotomy which is related to the issue of sexism.

### 3.5 SUBJECT-OBJECT DICHOTOMY

Most of the methods of research define measurement parameters, extent, distribution and intensity with prefixed notions of subject under research. Feminists believe that science is a human activity and is invariably influenced by the values and beliefs of its practitioners. ‘Objective’ social science inquiry displays persistent patterns of sexist error. Norms of objectivity blind researchers to the existence and role of their own ingrained values and biases. The understanding of women-as-sexual-objects can influence our theories about the research phenomenon, our perception, and our understanding of the nature of women’s oppression. More succinctly, the researcher and the researched can change the research.

#### 3.5.1 Other Sex

Lesbian and gay studies originated in the 1970s with the publication of several ‘seminal works of gay history’ inspired by African American studies, women’s studies, and similar identity-based academic fields that came out of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. The initial emphasis was on ‘uncovering the suppressed history of gay and lesbian life’; it also made its way into literature departments, where the emphasis was on literary theory.

Labeled as ‘queer studies’, it is a study of issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity usually focusing on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people and cultures. Challenging the ‘socially constructed’ categories of sexual identity, queer studies originally centered on LGBT history and literary theory but today has expanded to include the academic study of issues raised in biology, sociology, anthropology, history of science, philosophy, psychology, political science, ethics and other fields. It examines the issues of the identity, lives, history, and perception of queer people. Queer studies is not the same as queer theory, (you have earlier read queer theories in MWG-001, Block 6) an analytical viewpoint
within queer studies (centered on literary studies and philosophy) that challenges the putatively ‘socially constructed’ categories of sexual identity.

Here, you would find it useful to review our earlier discussions of terms such as ‘normal’ and ‘normative’ sexualities in MWG-001 Block 3, Unit 1 and MWG-001 Block 5, Unit 4.

### 3.5.2 Women-Beneficiary or Agency

Most non-feminist research, apart from having sexist biases, treats women being researched as ‘beneficiary’ rather than acknowledging their agency. Feminists’ research is social change research that explores women’s agency in reality rather than treating them as passive specimens. Indian women’s movement made a conscious shift in perception from seeing women as victims of violence to perceiving them as agents in the process of social change. Discussions around questions of agency and victimhood have formed an important part of the debate in women’s studies as pointed out by Shilpa Phadke:

> “**Women or other gender in feminist research explores control and access to resources by the ‘researched’ rather than viewing them as data providers or beneficiaries. Most women find it difficult to express their pain/injuries/injustices recorded now by numerous scholarly works on domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, Sati and so on. These existent issues were made non-existent in the societal context. Earlier ways of viewing at them as ‘victim’ lead to lack of agency to women.”**

Economic and Political Weekly, October 25, 2003

### 3.5.3 Participants, Audiences, Funders, Subjects in Research

Any research topic by its very formulation defines the subjectivity of the researchers, bounds its subject and disciplinary location, constructs its argument based on the funders, and defines participants and audiences. Feminist research ideologically is not funder bound, does not view participants and audiences as separate entities and politically views ‘subjects’ of research as well as ‘researcher’ as participants.

As you read in earlier blocks, norms of objectivity blind researchers to the existence and role of their own ingrained values and biases but feminist researcher him/herself engages in the inquiry with subjective awareness and openness to participate in the process of research. The macro processes of funders defining agenda and readers of research findings defining the ‘language’, is contested within feminists’ framework. Also the ‘role’ of researcher in bringing about the social change and providing agency to the
Feminist and Gender Based Research

research subjects clearly indicate the feminist research practice being inclusive rather than exclusive.

3.5.4 Knowledge Practice Praxis

Starting with 1979-80 against the Supreme Court judgment in the Mathura rape case or recent Bhwari Devi rape case, dowry deaths or Roopkanwar Sati incidence in 1987, sex determination tests or sexual harassment at workplace, variety of women’s issues have been brought to the public agenda by Indian women’s movement. Many of them were intensive campaigns leading to transformation of legal, political and social structures. Feminist research is not about knowledge for knowledge sake but about practice. It’s an academia as well as movement.

Women’s studies as an academic arm of women’s liberation movement has goals that are primarily academic and with political aspirations. Feminist research has brought out important issues: politics, children, pay equity, morality, psycho-pathology, career development and so on. It has made it possible to see the world revolving around men to the one revolving around men as well as women. It has broken down and reorganized disciplinary boundaries.

Activity

Take any research that you had been part of and reflect upon the process of that research and point out if ‘sexism’ was part of the research assumptions, data gathering tools and techniques, and data analysis.

Let us now read about another set of approach in research which is referred to as dialogic and dialectic in research.

3.6 DIALOGIC AND DIALECTIC IN RESEARCH

Every science, be it natural, social sciences or humanities have its ontology, epistemology and methodologies. Ontology defines the fundamental categories of existence of reality. Epistemology defines how we can know and reason that reality. Methodologies are different systems of investigative techniques within the respective focus of study. We use different scientific methods studying different domains with different epistemology and ontology.

Research focuses on synthesis from the opposition between thesis and antithesis but feminist researchers’ emphasis on coexistence and exchange of multiple points of view and frames of reference. Dialectic is based on a dialogue between two or more people who may hold differing views, yet wish to seek the truth of the matter through the exchange of their viewpoints.
Sexism and Research

while applying reason unlike debate. Researcher’s positionality and biography directly affect fieldwork and that fieldwork is a **dialogical** process which is structured by the researcher and the participants.

**G. W. F. Hegel** (1770-1831) is credited with the concept of dialectic process to explain the progression of ideas. The goal of a dialectic process is to merge point and counterpoint (thesis and antithesis) into a compromise or other state of agreement via conflict and tension (synthesis). The dialectic method also examines false alternatives presented by formal dualism (materialism vs. idealism; rationalism vs. empiricism; mind vs. body, nature vs. nurture etc.) and looks for ways to transcend the opposites and form synthesis. In the dialectical method, both have something in common, and understanding of the parts requires understanding their relationship with the whole system. The dialectical method thus views the whole of reality as an evolving process.

**M. M. Bakhtin**, (1895-1975) a Russian philosopher and Literary Critic, introduced the dialogical process in Philosophy. In a dialogic process, various approaches coexist and are comparatively existential and relativistic in their interaction. Here, each ideology can hold more salience in particular circumstances. Changes can be made within these ideologies if a strategy does not have the desired effect.

**Shulasmith Firestone** (1970, p. 1) in ‘The Dialectic of Sex’ writes that “sex class is so deep as to be invisible”.

She further notes, “They saw the world as process, a natural flux of action and reaction, of opposites yet inseparable and interpenetrating. Because they were able to perceive history as movie rather than as snapshot, they attempted to avoid falling into the stagnant ‘metaphysical’ view that had trapped so many other great minds”. (Firestone, 1970, p.3)

### 3.6.1 Trust

Trust between researcher and researched is an important area of concern for feminist researchers. Women’s movement and women’s studies have documented lives of women when women have themselves revealed the realities or had confined about their lives to trusting researchers.

Feminist research most often is driven by the community or group’s need for the research agenda and not the intention of the researcher to use the subjects, the data gathering is by the members themselves and the outcome too is more to change the social circumstances. Community Based Partnership Research curriculum elaborates unit on building trust which interestingly can guide a feminist researcher (http://depts.washington.edu/ccph/cbpr/u4/u42.php) while working with communities.
3.6.2 Participant Versus Spectator

Like media, feminist researcher always faces the challenges of ‘watching’ the research as an ‘outsider’ or ‘being participant’ in research. Women’s studies and women’s movement has clearly showed the action oriented nature of feminist research. The researcher from his/her subjectivity interacts and occasionally witnesses the research processes and most often become participant in the process of change. Many feminists who were part of women’s movement have acknowledged their ‘participation’ in the process of knowledge making rather than viewing ‘research’ as an outsider.

3.6.3 Recording-Reporting- Revolutionizing

Conventional research as a process of gathering and compiling and as an end result reporting the findings of the research does not bother in terms of bringing about change in the situation. Feminist research inherently focuses itself on the foundation of social change. The process of documenting or reporting findings, recording ‘reality’ and utilizing it to bring about change, all constitute feminist research. Many a times the individual involved in these processes may be different people in conventional research process but in feminist research researcher most often plays the role all encompassing. Many activists are academicians and vice a versa.

Check Your Progress:

Compare and contrast the difference between feminist research and conventional research in terms of role of the researcher vis-à-vis role of the researched.
3.7 LET US SUM UP

This unit familiarized you with the term sexism by discussing sex role stereotypes, how sexism is and was prevalent across disciplinary boundaries, and how it impacts the every stage of research, rather the vary conception of role and relevance of research. The unit discussed the issues of power in research in knowledge construction, issues of domination-subordination and commodification and gaze. It also throws light on subject-object dichotomy in traditional research domain taking ‘other sex’, women as beneficiary approach and emphasizing the need to view woman’s agency, role of participants, audiences, funders and subjects in research and the nature of feminist research in impacting practice rather than knowledge for the sake of knowledge. The unit concludes with the feminist research being dialogic and dialectic where issues of trust, role of researcher being participant rather than spectator, and research as a process of not mere reporting but recording as well as revolutionizing the realities on the ground.

3.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Discuss sexism in traditional research.
2) Discuss how feminist researchers have questioned sexism in traditional research.
3) How do power relations affect the construction of knowledge in research? Discuss with the help of examples.
4) Explain subject-object dichotomy from a feminist perspective.

3.9 REFERENCES


http://depts.washington.edu/ccph/cbpr/u4/u42.php

### 3.10 SUGGESTED READINGS
