



Sexism in Social Media Comments: The Case of the X Account @txtdarifeminis

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A B S T R A C T

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This study aims to map the typology and characteristics of sexist messages appearing in netizen comments on the X account (formerly Twitter) @txtdarifeminis, which actively reframes feminist narratives negatively as jokes or attacks. Despite the development of gender studies in Indonesia, a significant research gap remains because the dominant literature remains focused on mainstream media products. This study offers novelty by filling this gap through the analysis of user-generated content, where sexism is produced collectively and participatively. Using a qualitative content analysis approach within a constructivist paradigm, data were collected using data mining techniques in RStudio and the rtweet package. Of the 1,151 tweets collected, 106 were purposively selected as the primary unit of analysis. The research findings identified eight main dominant variants of sexism: (1) verbal demeaning of women; (2) constructing women as passive; (3) sexual objectification; (4) misconceptions and distortions of the feminist agenda; (5) negative stereotypical labeling of feminists; (6) justification of the domestication of women's roles; (7) glorification of masculine superiority; and (8) symbolic threats or punishments for women who violate norms. This study contributes to the study of gender communication by presenting a typology of sexism in the local context and offering practical recommendations for developing more inclusive content moderation and digital literacy policies.

Introduction

The social media platform X (formerly Twitter) has become the most dynamic arena for gender contestation in Indonesia, significantly transforming communication methods in the new media era (Pacific Standard, 2017). Unlike other visual-based platforms, X's text- and thread-based features enable rapid, sharp, and often confrontational discourse. Within this ecosystem, the phenomenon of aggregator accounts, also known as "menfess," and archive-themed accounts, such as @txtdarifeminis, have emerged, playing a crucial role in shaping public opinion. These accounts specifically curate content related to feminism but often frame it humorously or ironically, which usually provokes negative sentiment among netizens.

The emergence of accounts like @txtdarifeminis marks a shift in patterns of sexism in the digital space. While previously resistance to gender equality was expressed through rigid cultural arguments, this resistance is now channeled through mechanisms of "cheap humor" and trolling. The "feminist" identity, often stereotypically misunderstood as man-hating (Qibtiyah, 2019), has now been relegated to joke material. The danger is that this humorous framing actually normalizes hate speech, as netizens feel they have social license to make sexist comments under the pretext of "just joking."

Unfortunately, academic studies on sexism in Indonesia have not addressed this specific dynamic. The majority of existing literature in the field of communication studies is still dominated by analyses of mainstream media products, such as sexism in the news (Ilyas, 2015), advertising (Sihombing, 2016), or pop culture (Farihah, 2013). Few studies have highlighted how sexism is collectively produced (crowd-sourced sexism) by netizens through interactive social media features. There is a research gap in understanding how aggregator accounts function as catalysts that transform casual conversations into systematic gender attacks.

This study aims to fill this gap by analyzing the typology of sexist messages in the comments section of the @txtdarifeminis account. The primary focus of this study is to uncover how sexist narratives, both overt and subtle, are reproduced by netizens. The @txtdarifeminis account was chosen as the object of study based on its strategic position as a meeting point between feminist narratives and netizens' patriarchal resistance, making it an ideal sociological laboratory for capturing the face of digital sexism in Indonesia today.

This study makes a theoretical contribution by proposing a typology of digital sexism specific to the Indonesian context. While Western theoretical frameworks of sexism, such as those proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996) or Benokraitis (1997), serve as the starting point, this study finds that sexism in Indonesia exhibits unique patterns not fully captured in Western literature. The novelty of this research lies in identifying the intersection between digital sexism and local cultural norms and religious interpretations. Findings regarding the use of religious arguments to legitimize subordination, as well as the use of local terms to domesticate women, suggest that sexism in Indonesian social media is a hybrid of traditional patriarchal culture and digital interactive culture. Thus, this article not only tests existing theories but also broadens our understanding of how sexism adapts in non-Western digital ecosystems.

Methodologically, this study employed a qualitative content analysis of netizen comments on the @txtdarifeminis account. Data collection was conducted using data mining techniques in RStudio and the rtweet package, yielding an initial population of 1,151 tweets. From these, purposive data reduction was performed, resulting in the selection of 106 relevant tweets as the primary unit of analysis to map variations in sexism.

Sexism and Indicators of Sexist Tweets

An important concept to understand before discussing relationships between men and women is the difference between gender and sex. Fakih (2013) explains that sex is defined as the non-exchangeable biological differences between men and women. Unlike sex, which is biological and innate, gender is a social construct that creates distinctions in roles, characteristics, and behaviors considered appropriate for men and women in a society. Gender traits are not static or innate but somewhat fluid and subject to change over time and across cultures.

These differences in character between men and women are not inherently problematic. Still, gender construction often gives rise to gender inequalities when one sex is perceived as superior to the other. Manifestations of gender inequality experienced by women can occur in various forms, ranging from marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and double burdens (Fakih, 2013). Gender inequality stems from the view that women are the other, the other, or the others, who are different from men (Ilyas, 2015).

Kramarae & Teichler (1985) define sexism as a set of behaviors, policies, language, or actions by men or women that express an institutionalized, systematic, comprehensive, and consistent view that one gender is inferior to the other (Brant et al., 1999). Sexist behavior can target both men and women (Rollero, 2014), but women are often the victims of sexism (Richardson-Self, 2018). Thus, sexism is an ideology and everyday practice that places women in a lower caste in the social hierarchy than men, simply because they are women (Lillian, 2007). When we talk about sexism, we often refer to individual or personal experiences, but in reality, sexism is a continuous, structured, and ingrained habit resulting from imbalanced gender relations (Ahmed, 2015).

Theoretically, gender studies literature categorizes sexism into two main spectrums: overt sexism and covert sexism. Although various scholars use different terminology—such as blatant and subtle sexism (Benokraitis, 1997), overt and indirect sexism (Mills, 2008), and hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996)—the substance of this distinction consistently refers to the degree of openness with which the aggression is displayed.

Overt sexism (identical to blatant or hostile sexism) refers to discriminatory treatment that is conscious, hostile, and easily identifiable because it uses apparent antagonism toward women (Brant et al., 1999). In the X social media ecosystem, this form manifests itself vulgarly through hate speech, verbal sexual harassment, and the use of offensive language that attacks women's bodies or morality. This confirms that online sexism is essentially no different from offline sexism, as internet culture reflects social phenomena carried over from the real world (Frenda et al., 2019).

Conversely, covert or subtle sexism is a more complex form of discrimination because it is often unconscious by the perpetrator (Swim & Cohen, 1997), internalized as usual (Hall, 2016), or packaged in humor and narratives of “concern.” In the digital space, this type often escapes content moderation because it appears in satire or memes that are considered “just joking” (Drakett et al., 2018). This subtle nature has a specific, dangerous pattern (Ging & Siapera, 2018), namely, perpetuating gender stereotypes without triggering resistance. Furthermore, aspects of masculinity rooted in patriarchal ideology are an integral element in the reproduction of this sexism (Moloney & Love, 2018), where men position themselves as holders of moral authority in digital spaces.

Based on the theories outlined above, in this study, the indicators of sexism that will be used to determine whether a tweet is sexist are as follows:

Table 1
Indicators of sexist tweets

No.	Type of Sexism	Indicator	Reference
1.	Overt sexism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abusive and insulting language • Sarcasm • Disturbing words, images, or videos • Physical or psychological threats against women 	Benokraitis (1997); Glick and Fiske (1996); Mills (2008).
2.	Stereotypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generalizations about women • Gender stereotypes • Labeling of women • Myths of femininity • Toxic masculinity • Internalized sexism 	Fakih (2013); Sharifirad and Matwin (2019); Mills (2008); Rismaya (2020); Waseem and Hovy (2016).
3.	Online harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online harassment • Online sexual harassment • Body shaming • Beauty bullying • Objectification of women • Revenge porn • Slut shaming 	Dragotto, Giomi, dan Melchiorre (2020); Shari-firad and Matwin (2019).
4.	Subtle sexism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pejoration • Sexist humor • Positive remarks/compliments that other-ize women 	Benokraitis (1997); Fakih (2013); Jha and Mamidi (2017).
5.	Subordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domination of women • Domestication of women • Gender discrimination • Marginalization of women 	Fakih (2013).
6.	Victim-blaming (for female victims of violence/sexual harassment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blaming the victimized woman • Accusing the woman of enjoying the violence/harassment she received • Questioning why the woman didn't fight back • Assuming the woman deserved the violence/harassment 	Stubbs-Richardson, dkk (2018); Wu and Marks (2019).

(Compiled by researchers from various sources)

Portraits of Feminists and Feminism

The Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) defines “feminism” as a women’s movement that demands full equality between women and men, while “feminist” refers to a person who adheres to feminist ideology. Magdalene is more specific, emphasizing movements and ideologies that fight for equality for women in politics,

economics, culture, the private sphere, and the public sphere (Asmarani, 2015).

The mission of feminism is clear: to fight for equal rights between men and women, and to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women (Utami, 2010). However, feminism is not always welcomed. Feminists and the feminist movement are often misunderstood. Prejudice against feminists has been frequently discussed in writings on gender and feminism (e.g., Gervais and Hoffman, 2012; Holand and Cortina, 2013). Some assumptions inherent in feminism include: feminists hate men, don't believe in God, don't want to marry, it's a Western ideology for white women (Asmarani, 2015), and it's considered against nature and supports lesbianism (Qibtiyah, 2010). Even negative aspects of the modern era, such as sexual freedom, high divorce rates, sexy clothing, and children becoming drug users, are considered the result of feminism (Arivia, 2006).

The image of feminists commonly seen in society is that of an angry group that questions and challenges everything (Arivia, 2006). A study by Qibtiyah (2010) revealed that more than half of activists fighting for women's rights are reluctant to label themselves "feminists," instead preferring to identify as "gender activists," "women's activists," or "gender and women's activists" (Qibtiyah, 2010, 2019). This is due to the negative stigma often attached to feminists and the shallow public understanding of feminism (Qibtiyah, 2010).

This misconception arises because feminism arose in a society still firmly rooted in patriarchy (Arivia, 2006; Qibtiyah, 2019; Utami, 2010). In any part of the world where patriarchy remains strong, including Indonesia, issues of women's equality are pushed to the sidelines (Utami, 2010) and rejected in public discourse (Arivia, 2006). In Indonesia, feminism is a sensitive and highly controversial topic (Utami, 2010).

The media has long treated women as the other, afforded a second-class space (Ilyas, 2015; Utami, 2010). While the media sometimes gives space to feminist ideas and issues of equality, at the same time, they also demand that women remain domesticated and subordinated. Utami (2010) stated that the media views women as the "opposite sex."

The emergence of new media in the form of the internet, which was touted as neutral from masculinity and male-dominated discourse, and promised a new term called cyberfeminism (Alatas and Susanto, 2019), has turned out to be an extension of offline anti-feminist attitudes, where men voice counter-discourses

that attribute their powerlessness to women (feminists), LGBT groups, people of color, and other identity groups (Ging, 2019).

On social media, feminists and their feminism are not a popular group. Posts containing the hashtags #IndonesiaTanpaFeminis and #UninstallFeminism can still be found on Instagram today. Back when the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) organization was still active, their official website (hizbut-tahrir.or.id) frequently published articles containing anti-equality and anti-feminist discourse written by Muslim women of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Indasah, 2014). On Facebook, a page titled “Females Against Feminism” has received over 11,000 likes, and a group called “Women Against Feminism” has over 10,000 members. On Twitter, an account dedicated to mocking feminists, @txtdarifeminis, has 33,000 followers.

Feminist activists have initiated social media as a new platform for movement and a digital safe space (Parahita, 2019). However, the impact of unresolved misunderstandings about feminism has inevitably obscured the movement’s substance. Some accounts claiming to be feminists sometimes make “blunders” that are counterproductive to the feminist agenda on social media. As a result, discussions about feminism on social media are no longer associated with efforts towards gender equality, but rather with debates between men and women (Theda, 2014), and are seen as a feminist desire to appear intelligent and superior through the use of lofty language. In these debates, feminism is always identified with women, and men are the opponents of feminism.

Because of its position on social media as “antagonists,” specific sentences, jargon, phrases, or concepts considered synonymous with feminism often become the subject of jokes and ridicule. “Please educate yourself,” with various spellings, is one of the most frequently used jargon to insult feminists. Key feminist concepts such as consent, patriarchy, and misogyny are diminished in meaning due to inappropriate use, making them commonplace jokes among some netizens. The habit of some feminists explaining their arguments in English and using less down-to-earth terms has also attracted the sarcasm of netizens who believe feminists simply want to appear more intelligent than others (“*sok edgy*”, “*ndakik*”, “*fafifuwasweswos*”). The terms social justice warrior (SJW) and feminazi are often used interchangeably to refer to feminists. SJWs and feminists were originally neutral terms, but thanks to online sentiment, partly initiated by the 4chan forum, the image of SJWs and feminists shifted from being activists on social issues to

irrational people who like to argue with complicated arguments (Putri, 2020b). These three words (SJW, feminazi, and feminist) almost always have negative connotations or are associated with unpopular content on social media.

Method

This study employed a qualitative content analysis method with a constructivist paradigm. This paradigm posits that reality exists in various forms of mental constructions based on social experiences, is local, and specific (Guba and Lincoln, 2011). This approach was used to understand the content and patterns of sexist messages in netizens' comments on the X account @txtdarifeminis, rather than simply counting them.

Data was collected through data mining using the RStudio application (<http://www.rstudio.com>) and the rtweet code package (<http://www.rtweet.info>), with the keyword 'txtdarifeminis'. The collected comments were then filtered using the sexism indicators outlined in the theory, ensuring only relevant data were analyzed. Data mining yielded 1,151 tweets, which were purposively filtered to 106 for further study.

Data collection was conducted using the rtweet code package, taking into account the technical limitations of the standard Twitter application programming interface (API). This technique enables the collection of historical data over a specific time period, but it has limitations that must be acknowledged as research limitations. First, the data collected came only from public accounts. Comments or quotes from protected accounts were inaccessible due to the platform's privacy policy. Second, the data obtained was a snapshot of conversations during the crawling process; tweets deleted by users or accounts suspended before the data extraction process were excluded from the analysis corpus. Nevertheless, the collected dataset was deemed representative of the dominant public discourse and accessible to the general public during the period.

The data analysis process involved three stages of inductive coding. The first stage involved open coding, where the researcher repeatedly read 106 selected tweets to identify keywords and dominant narrative patterns. The second stage, axial coding, grouped the findings into specific categories based on the sexism literature (such as overt sexism, subordination, victim-blaming, etc.). The final stage was selective coding to synthesize these categories into a final typology.

In the typology development process, researchers used a qualitative coding sheet to extract the essence of each message from the data unit. As illustrated in Table 2, each tweet was analyzed through three stages of systematic reduction. The first stage is Fact Condensation, which involves paraphrasing the tweet's narrative, initially informal (containing slang or abbreviations), into a formal sentence to make the context more complete and easier to understand. The second stage is Interpretation/Topic, in which researchers identify the specific topics in the tweet. The third stage involves crystallizing the main issues into Subcategories. Finally, subcategories with similar characteristics were synthesized and grouped into a single main Category.

Table 2
Coding Sheet

No.	Unit	Type of Sexism	Message Content		Sub-Category
			Interpretation	Fact Condensation	
1	Tweets containing sexist remarks.	Types of sexism evident in the tweets.	Interpretation of the tweets.	Key points of the tweets.	Narrowing down the key points into key issues.
2	Tweets containing sexist remarks.	Types of sexism evident in the tweets.	Interpretation of the tweets.	Key points of the tweets.	Narrowing down the key points into key issues.
3	Etc.				

(Source: Researcher's work)

In carrying out these analysis stages, this study adheres to the ethics of social media research by applying the principle of non-harm. Although the data collected comes from public accounts in the open domain, the researchers took preventive measures to protect the subjects' privacy. The identities of netizens (account names) quoted in the text were masked using partial masking techniques (e.g., @penj*****lam), except for @txtdarifeminis, the main subject of this research. Similarly, for the data presented in the form of screenshots, the researchers digitally edited by blurring the profile photos and account names. These steps were taken to minimize the risk of cyberbullying or doxxing of account owners, while maintaining the authenticity and integrity of the conversation context to ensure its validity can be tested.

Results and Discussion

This study used tweets as the unit of analysis, representing comments from netizens who replied to or cited the @txtdarifeminis account. Data was collected from December 31, 2020, to January 7, 2021, resulting in 1,151 tweets responding to seven @txtdarifeminis posts. After manually sorting based on sexism indicators (overt sexism, subtle sexism, gender stereotypes, subordination, online harassment, and victim-blaming), 106 tweets were selected for further analysis.

The data collection period (2020-2021) was deliberately chosen because it represents the peak of the emergence of aggregator accounts (marked by usernames beginning with “txt,” such as @txtdarifeminis), which fundamentally changed the landscape of gender discourse on Indonesian Twitter. The interaction patterns recorded during this formative period serve as archetypes or blueprints for digital sexism that persist today. Given that the issues under attack, such as the domestication of women’s roles and religious interpretations, are slow-moving cultural variables, findings from this period retain strong historical and sociological relevance for explaining the dynamics of sexism in 2025.

It is essential to note that this research employs a qualitative approach within a constructivist paradigm and does not aim to make statistical generalizations about the entire Indonesian internet population. Instead, the primary focus of this study is to achieve analytical generalization, in which the selected data are deemed to have reached data saturation, enabling the construction of a robust typology of sexism. The number of units of analysis is sufficient to identify variations in narratives and linguistic mechanisms used to demean women, so its validity lies in the depth of interpretation rather than the size of the quantitative sample.

It was found that the 106 tweets were produced by 99 unique accounts (excluding bots and buzzers). Through profile searches and analysis of pronoun usage, it was concluded that the majority of the perpetrators’ accounts were male.

Table 3**Account Gender Identification**

Identification	Number	%
Male	86 ac- counts	86,9%
Female	13 ac- counts	13,1%
Total	99 ac- counts	100,0%

(Researcher's analysis)

In addition to discussing the mapping of sexism, researchers discovered several interesting aspects of the analyzed tweets, namely three main tendencies that characterize the narrative direction and content curation practices of the @txtdarifeminis account.

First, the @txtdarifeminis account does not verify the ideological identity of the posts it criticizes, instead focusing on the uploader's gender identity. There is no indication of whether the post owner identifies as a feminist or is affiliated with the feminist movement. A variety of content, from Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and even private WhatsApp conversations, can be used as posting material without considering context. As a result, statements from female-identified accounts are often reduced to representations of feminism, regardless of the message's content or ideological position. This practice suggests that the account's criticism is not substantively directed at feminist ideas but, instead, has the potential to constitute a form of witch-hunting against women in the digital space.

Second, the focus of the posts is not directed at structural issues that are of primary concern to feminism, such as gender inequality, patriarchal domination, sexual violence, or the marginalization of women in the public sphere. Instead, the content predominantly featured quotes or screenshots of statements deemed absurd, illogical, or controversial, and often originated with women. This pattern suggests that the account's representation of feminism aligns more closely with negative stereotypes of women than with critical discourse on social inequality.

Third, the validity of the content's source is often ignored in favor of the account's narrative. In some cases, visual manipulation, such as image and text editing, has been found to influence readers' perceptions. One example is the

modification of a promotional poster for Lucasfilm CEO Kathleen Kennedy, which originally read “The Force is Female” and was changed to “Allah is Female.” This practice not only violates the principle of information authenticity but also amplifies disinformation targeting specific identities and beliefs. Although this manipulative pattern has recently declined following criticism from followers and the account’s suspension, its digital footprint still indicates a biased discourse that is prone to targeting vulnerable groups.

Types of Sexism

The analysis of the content of the @txtdarifeminis account shows that all indicators of sexism used in the research framework are present within the units of study. The most dominant type of sexism is overt sexism, which is a form of sexism that is explicitly displayed. Overt sexism often manifests through sarcasm, insults, mockery, and other harsh, demeaning verbal expressions.

The next type of sexism frequently encountered is gender stereotypes. These stereotypes emerge in discussions of the characteristics, behaviors, and normatively assigned roles of women. In this context, the ideas of equality espoused by feminism are often denied or ridiculed, citing the assumption that all feminists are women who are unable to fulfill conventional gender roles.

Furthermore, another significant form of sexism is the subordination of women. This pattern of subordination is evident in efforts to domesticate and restrict women’s roles to the private sphere. Comments on the account still reflect the traditional view that domestic tasks such as cooking and housekeeping are women’s natural responsibilities. Meanwhile, women’s involvement in the public sphere, including in leadership roles, is seen as unnatural or even inappropriate.

Furthermore, findings show that women’s failure to fulfill domestic roles is often ridiculed and used as a basis for demands that they “improve themselves” to meet social expectations. Conversely, men’s incompetence in the same sphere is never subjected to similar demands. This unequal treatment reinforces the view that gender norms adopted within the @txtdarifeminis community are still grounded in a patriarchal system that normalizes male dominance and the marginalization of women.

Figure 1

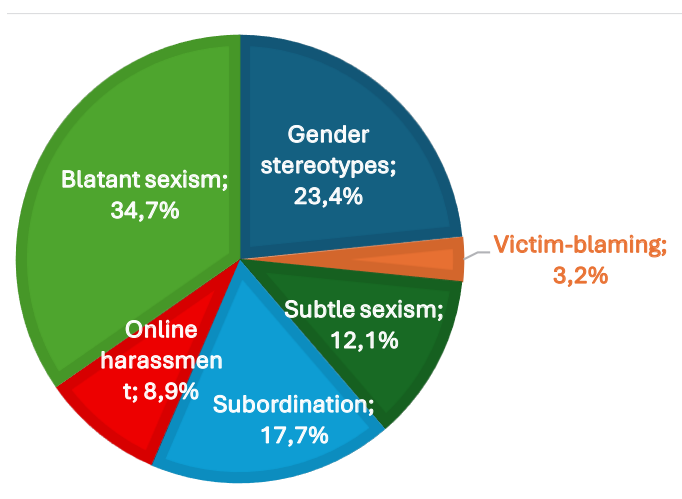
Subordination in comments on the @txtdarifeminis account



The tweet above is a response to a post that asserts that women's domestic work constitutes unpaid labor. The phrase "okay [identity being attacked], now [irrelevant activity being asked to do]" is often used on social media to mock opinions and, by implication, make them seem unimportant. According to Urban Dictionary, the word "dishwasher" itself is commonly used to refer to women. The use of "now do the dishes" can also be equivalent to the phrase "make me a sandwich," which is often used to belittle, irritate, and domesticate women.

Graph 1

Types of sexism in comments on the @txtdarifeminis account



Based on the data visualization in Graph 1, the percentage distribution of sexism categories is visible in the 106 analyzed tweets. Overt sexism dominated the conversation, accounting for the highest number at 34.7%. This finding indicates that direct and harsh verbal attacks remain the primary method netizens use to express their dislike of feminists. Gender stereotypes came in second place at 23.4%, followed by narratives of female subordination at 17.7%. Meanwhile, other categories, with smaller but still significant proportions, were subtle sexism (12.1%), online harassment (8.9%), and victim-blaming (3.2%). This data confirms that although sexism exists in various forms, explicit forms of verbal aggression still dominate interactions on the @txtdarifeminis account.

Categorizing Sexism

Researchers grouped the message content of the 106 analyzed tweets into eight categories: 1) demeaning women; 2) portrayals of passive women; 3) female sexuality; 4) misconceptions and counterarguments to feminist ideas; 5) stereotypes about feminists; 6) division of women's space/roles; 7) superiority of men; and 8) punishment/threats against women. Each of these eight categories has subcategories or specific issues.

Table 4

Categories of sexist message content in comments on @txtdarifeminis

No.	Category	Sub-Category (Issue)	Examples of Sexist Sentences
1.	Degrading women	Labeling women	<i>"Are you a wife or a prostitute? Everyone wants to be paid."</i>
		Physical insults to women	<i>"Tell you to circumcise your vagina first so you won't get angry all the time."</i>
		Demeaning women's intelligence	<i>"If you weren't stupid, you wouldn't be a feminist."</i>
		Expressions of dislike/hatred	<i>"To all feminist. Cook. And I'll buy your kitchen."</i>
2.	Passive women	Contrast/dichotomy	<i>"Run to God, not feminists."</i>
		Women need protection	<i>"Our focus should be on women."</i>
3.	Sexualization of women	Objectification of women	<i>"Men rarely jerk off in porn movies, but there are lots of videos of women jerking off."</i>
		Sexual activity	<i>"Feminazis prefer thinking about cocks than cooking packed meal."</i>

4.	Misconceptions & counter-arguments to the idea of feminism	Female superiority	<i>"Going too far into the realm of female superiority."</i>
		Gender equality	<i>"Feminists want to be like men so badly that they can't even cook."</i>
		Gender inequality	<i>"They act badly, but when they become victims, they start talking about patriarchy."</i>
		Religious arguments	<i>"Feeling unequal to men? That's the same as questioning the holy scriptures."</i>
		Concept of consent	<i>"Consent only applies to private parts."</i>
5.	Stereotypes about feminists	Materialistic	<i>"If you're poor, make sure your wife is not a feminist."</i>
		Anti-marriage	<i>"Do they even want to have husbands?"</i>
		Against domestic roles	<i>"Feminists are women who can't cook or do household chores."</i>
		Negative personality traits	<i>"A group of lazy women—lazy to work, lazy to study, lazy to think."</i>
		Failure in family life	<i>"Can feminists have a harmonious family life with their attitudes?"</i>
6.	Women's roles	Women's public roles	<i>"If women really have a higher status, why aren't they allowed to become leaders?"</i>
		Women's domestic roles	<i>"Aren't domestic workers mostly women anyway?"</i>
		Physical labor	<i>"Being asked to lift a water gallon—I'm already tired from being pregnant and giving birth."</i>
7.	Male privilege	Men as superior and entitled to control women	<i>"These kinds of women need to be disciplined. Narrow-minded idiots."</i>
		Men are freer	<i>"Simply because men can't get pregnant and then be abandoned."</i>
		Devotion to men	<i>"Being devoted to one's father or husband brings religious rewards."</i>
8.	Punishment and threats toward women	Deserving to be abandoned	<i>"Fathers or husbands of such women should just find another child or wife."</i>
		Deserving sexual harassment	<i>"What if women like that get sexually assaulted?"</i>
		Easily condemned to hell	<i>"Women are more likely to go to hell according to hadith."</i>
		Deserving violence	<i>"Maybe there was a reason Pharaoh buried baby girls alive in his time."</i>

(Source: Processed by the researcher)

A more detailed explanation of the above categories is as follows.

Demeaning of Women

The demeaning of women in the tweets analyzed was dominated by overt sexism. In this case, there was an intense expression of dislike for feminists,

manifested through the use of language that explicitly demeaned women. Pejorative labels such as “whore,” “bitch,” and “cheap,” in various spellings and euphemisms, were found in approximately 10% of the total analysis units. These terms were often attached to feminists, both as symbolic insults and as literal accusations that feminism supports prostitution.

The use of these sexuality-related labels is interesting because they often appear in contexts completely unrelated to sexual activity. This suggests that the use of these terms was not based on the content or substance of the posts, but rather as a symbolic effort to discipline women who demonstrated resistance to the norms of femininity in a patriarchal society. Within masculine social constructs, feminists are positioned as a threat to the ideal image of women as passive, submissive, and dependent on men. Thus, the use of terms like “lonte” or “pelajak” serves as a symbolic mechanism to control, stigmatize, and pressure women to return to roles deemed traditionally appropriate (Dragotto, Giomi, & Melchiorre, 2020).

One expression often used to mock feminists is the phrase “my body, my authority.” However, in feminist discourse, this phrase is part of a body politics that aims to reclaim control over women’s bodies from patriarchal practices of objectification (Arivia, 2006). This phrase emphasizes that women’s bodies do not belong to the public, the state, or religious institutions, but rather to women themselves, including in determining their own sexual expression (Susilo & Kodir, 2016). However, in discursive practices on social media, this jargon is often twisted and misunderstood as a justification for prostitution, thus reinforcing the stigmatization of the feminist movement as a whole.

Furthermore, another dominant form of degrading behavior is insults directed at women’s physical appearance. Similar to negative labeling based on sexuality, degrading comments are not directly related to the content of the post, but rather are a reaction to women’s boldness in expressing themselves in public spaces. This type of sexism operates on the same logic, making women’s bodies the primary target of attack when they demonstrate assertiveness, agency, or ideas deemed deviant from dominant norms.

These findings indicate that degrading strategies against women on social media are not incidental, but rather systemic and rooted in a persistent patriarchal culture. Overt sexism serves as a primary tool for reaffirming gender hierarchies

through symbolic harassment and stigmatization of women who challenge the status quo.

Figure 2
Comments targeting women's physical appearance on the
@txtdarifeminis account



In the digital space, feminists are often negatively associated with unintelligent and irrational figures. Derogatory terms such as “stupid,” “idiot,” and “idiot” are common forms of verbal insults directed at feminists and groups perceived as social justice warriors (SJWs). This pattern reflects the persistence of long-standing stereotypes that accuse feminists of hating men and opposing religious values (Asmarani, 2015).

The majority of these insults against intelligence originate from male-identified accounts. This reinforces the view that social media remains a male-dominated discourse and has not yet fully provided an inclusive space for women's voices (Hall, 2016). Women who advocate for gender equality or demonstrate critical attitudes toward patriarchal norms often face adverse reactions, perceived as deviating from the image of the “ideal woman” defined by the dominant culture.

In addition to denigrating intelligence, rejection of feminism also manifests itself in harsh expressions such as swearing, insults, ridicule, and sarcasm. This rejection often fails to consider the content of the posts being commented on or whether the accounts in question truly represent feminist views. Such reactions suggest that some male users view feminism as a threat to the positions and privileges they have traditionally enjoyed within patriarchal social structures.

Thus, the stigmatization of feminists on social media is not merely personal but reflects systemic resistance to changes in gender power relations toward greater equality.

Passive Women

In contrast to forms of devaluing women, which generally display overt sexism, subtle sexism is more prevalent in the representation of women as passive figures. Two main patterns that emerge in this category are the practice of contrasting or dichotomizing women and narratives that position women as those who must be protected, cared for, and treated “specially” by men.

One strategy of subtle sexism is men’s efforts to implement moral power relations by setting ideal standards for how women should behave. In practice, this manifests as comparisons between women deemed “good” and “unworthy.” This contrast not only reinforces gender stereotypes but also creates a hierarchy of values based on men’s view of moral authority. It is as if men have the right to divide women into two categories: good women and evil women, and to attach social labels based on their perspectives. This pattern repeats the classic dichotomy of “good woman vs. bad woman,” historically used in patriarchal societies to subjugate and control women (Arivia, 2006).

Similar contrasts are also applied to fellow feminists. The account @txtdarifeminis, for example, facilitates such comparisons through popular memes like *swole doge* vs. *cheems*, which depict feminists of the 1900s as strong and rational (with the narrative “I want equal education and jobs”), and feminists of 2020 as weak and unproductive (with the narrative “I’m too lazy to cook”). This visualization reinforces the dichotomy between “ideal” feminists and “failed” feminists, indirectly reducing the complexity of the feminist movement to shallow and marginalizing stereotypes.

This contrasting practice is not only perpetrated by men, but also by women themselves. This phenomenon is known as internalized sexism, a form of sexism perpetrated by women against other women. One expression is women’s self-aggrandizement based on perceived differences and superiority over other women. Means (2021) refers to this type as *pick-me girls*, women who actively seek validation from men by demonstrating that they are “not like most women.” In this process, they often demean other women and contribute to the perpetuation of patriarchal norms that discredit women as a group.

Thus, subtle sexism in the form of dichotomies and power relations not only positions women as objects of men’s moral values but also creates internal

competition that weakens solidarity among women. This phenomenon demonstrates that patriarchal domination is not only reproduced by men but can also be exercised by women who have internalized these values.

Female Sexuality

The female sexuality category encompasses issues of female objectification and female sexual activity. The topics that emerged demonstrated that sexuality is not only used to subordinate women on social media but also as a tool to attack feminists personally, rather than challenge their opinions.

Several tweets demonstrate that female genitalia is still used as a joke, such as the following tweet:

Figure 3

Comment mocking female genitalia on the account @txtdarifeminis.



In this response, the term “vegana” is used as a play on the words vegan and vagina, reinforcing the generalization that all feminists are women. This term is also derived from the popular meme “bobs and vegana,” which is sexist and racist. The meme sexually objectifies women’s bodies and mocks the English pronunciation of non-native South Asian speakers (Stokes, 2017).

Sexuality-based verbal harassment is also often associated with the practice of victim blaming, particularly in cases of sexual assault. Women are portrayed as both vulnerable to harassment and responsible for the harassment they experience. In some tweets, the responsibility for “self-care,” such as avoiding alcohol or not being overtly observant, falls more heavily on women. Meanwhile, male perpetrators’ behavior tends to be normalized or justified through narratives such as “not all men are good” or “men can’t get pregnant and then just leave them” (X, @Ind*****won, 2021; X, @tem*****wat, 2021).

The tendency to empathize more with male perpetrators than with female victims contributes to the practice of victim blaming. Research shows that men blame victims more often than women, as they tend to view the situation from the perpetrator's perspective (Bongiorno et al., 2020). As a result, narratives that marginalize female victims are more readily accepted and widely disseminated in digital spaces.

Furthermore, sexuality is used as a tool to discredit women's voices. Sexual activities such as intercourse, oral sex, or masturbation are often subject to insults, even though they are irrelevant to the content of the posts being commented on. While male sexual behavior, including masturbation, tends to be considered normal or even ignored, women who touch on or associate sexuality with it are stigmatized and insulted. This reinforces the double standard in the social construction of sexuality, where male sexual behavior is considered active and dominant, while women are positioned as passive and submissive (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

These findings confirm that sexist narratives in digital spaces are not only explicit and implicit, but also operate through the normalization of language, symbolic harassment, and the reinforcement of unequal gender norms.

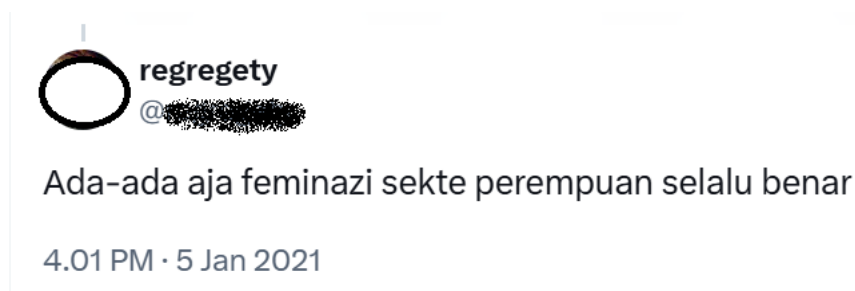
Misconceptions about Feminism

Comments on the Twitter account @txtdarifeminis demonstrate persistent misconceptions about feminism. In addition to repeating existing misconceptions, such as the belief that feminism seeks to subordinate men to women, researchers also uncovered new misconceptions: 1) the assumption that feminism is materialistic and 2) the struggle for gender equality is futile because men and women are fundamentally different, cannot be equated, and each has its own role as determined by traditional gender roles.

The assumption that feminism seeks to reinforce women's superiority is evident in the tweets filtered for this study. The image of feminism (with "feminazi" as its agent) reflected in these tweets is one that prioritizes women over men, increases women's rights while eliminating women's obligations, seeks to dominate men, and is unwilling to give in, meaning it always wants to win.

Figure 4

Misconceptions about feminism in comments on the @txtdarifeminis account



This is a sexist and misleading generalization (Kirnandita, 2020). “Women are always right” implies that women are superior and never wrong. However, the reality on the ground contradicts this statement, as women are almost always blamed for any situation, especially when they are victims of sexual harassment (Kirnandita, 2020).

Another misconception relates to gender equality. Many comments equate the idea of equality with total equality, including in biological functions like pregnancy and breastfeeding. This is evident in the assumption that feminism demands that men “be able to get pregnant,” or equating the demands for a division of domestic labor with women’s inability to fulfill their “natural role.” These views indicate that most users who reject the idea of equality still adhere to traditional gender role schemes: men in public spaces, women in the domestic sphere.

For example, statements like “feminists want to be like men so much that they can’t cook” (Twitter, @Iza*****kan, 2021) imply that women’s failure to meet domestic expectations is used as a justification for rejecting demands for gender equality. This demonstrates a pattern of double-blaming: women are blamed for failing to fulfill domestic roles, and the very idea of feminism is blamed for obscuring those roles.

Criticisms of feminism in these comments also demonstrate a shallow understanding of structural issues such as inequality in work, the double burden, and gender-based violence. These core issues are marginalized by superficial, rhetorical, and irrelevant debates, such as the equalization of biological roles or accusations that feminism conflicts with religious values.

Furthermore, the conflation of feminism with religious doctrine is a frequently used argument to discredit the equality movement. Some comments

quote religious texts literally and out of context, such as claims that women have a lower status in Islam or should not be leaders. For example, the statement “If women are of a higher status, why can’t they be leaders?” (X, @_Ca*****ian, 2021) reflects the use of normative arguments without historical consideration or critical interpretation.

The study also noted fatal factual errors in the use of religious arguments, such as a tweet that claimed that the Pharaoh killed baby girls. In fact, in Islamic history, the Pharaoh actually ordered the killing of baby boys out of fear of a prophecy about the overthrow of the throne. The narrative about burying baby girls alive (*wa’dul banat*) actually refers to the traditions of the Jahiliyah (pre-Islamic) people, not the Pharaohs. This fundamental error demonstrates that religious narratives are often used manipulatively and carelessly to maintain patriarchal structures, without any valid historical understanding.

Thus, misconceptions about feminism and gender equality on social media not only reflect a lack of gender literacy but also demonstrate ideological resistance to the redistribution of power between men and women.

Figure 5

Historical errors in comments on the @txttarifeminis account



Stereotypes of Feminists

In addition to findings regarding misconceptions about the idea of feminism, this study also noted the consistent repetition of stereotypes related to feminist identity. While feminists had previously been stigmatized as aggressive, angry, and constantly challenging social norms (Arivia, 2006), comments on the @txttarifeminis account reinforced these stereotypes with new, derogatory images. These included portraying feminists as materialistic, anti-marriage, rejecting domestic duties, having bad personalities, and failing at domesticity.

One of the most striking stereotypes is the use of the term “gold-digger” to refer to women who are perceived to be in relationships for financial gain. This term is not only derogatory but also sexist, as it is by default only used for women. Conversely, men who engage in similar behavior should be referred to specifically as “male gold-diggers” (Benitez, n.d.). In addition to being gender-biased, this label also carries the assumption that wealth and economic productivity belong to men, while women are associated with dependency, consumption, and self-interest (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009). Thus, the use of the term “gold-digger” indirectly reproduces economic inequality between men and women.

Another frequently emerging stereotype is the assumption that feminists are lazy, unable, or unwilling to cook. Although not based on precise data or context, this accusation is widely circulated and has become part of netizens’ general perception of feminists. This narrative reinforces the view that domestic duties are the primary measure of a woman’s success. That refusal to do so automatically constitutes a failure to live up to gender norms.

This type of stigma not only diminishes the complexity of individuals who support feminism but also narrows women’s freedom of movement by establishing unequal standards of behavior. Stereotypes attached to feminists shape biased public opinion and reinforce resistance to the idea of equality that is at the heart of the feminist movement itself.

Figure 6
The “feminists can’t cook” stereotype



The stigma that feminists are unable or unwilling to perform domestic work, such as cooking, has two main implications. First, this assumption suggests that household chores, especially cooking, remain the exclusive domain of women. Second, the narrative reinforces the dichotomy between “good women” and “bad women,” where good women are identified as non-feminists, capable of cooking, and skilled in domestic matters. Conversely, feminists are positioned as representing “bad women” who fail to meet traditional standards of femininity.

This dichotomy is not only simplistic but also burdens women with double expectations. Women are expected to excel in both the domestic and public spheres. They are expected to perform traditional roles such as cooking and housekeeping, while also succeeding in education and careers. This double burden is not imposed on men, who tend to be exempt from the same demands in both the private and professional spheres.

Another finding emerging from the data indicates a psychological and ideological distance between the majority of netizens and the idea of gender equality. Equality is not understood as a universal principle, but rather as a specific agenda belonging to feminists and women. This attitude reflects a distrust of the concept of equality as a shared endeavor across genders. It indicates that some in society still view gender issues as a unilateral responsibility that does not address men’s interests.

Thus, digital narratives that denigrate feminists not only reinforce stereotypes and inequality but also narrow the space for inclusive discussions about social justice. The idea of gender equality is reduced to mere identity discourse rather than a structural issue requiring collective engagement.

Women’s Roles

The division of roles between the public and domestic spheres is one of the oldest debates in the discourse on feminism and gender equality (Fakih, 2013). Biological differences between men and women have given rise to the construction of gender stereotypes, which then develop into sexism (Seftian, 2021) and ultimately result in gender-based discrimination in various aspects of life (Hall, 2016).

Based on observations of comments on the Twitter account @txtdarifeminis, it appears that discourse on women’s public roles is relatively rare. Instead, domestic roles, particularly cooking, dominate the conversation and are frequently raised in separate posts. In general, these comments do not reject women working in the public

sphere. However, there remains a strong belief that domestic responsibilities fall solely on women. In other words, there is support for equality in the public sphere, but there is not yet a corresponding acceptance of equality in the domestic sphere. This demonstrates an acceptance of the double burden unfairly placed on women.

Domestic discourse primarily focuses on cooking. The word “cook” was the second-most-frequently used term in the analyzed comments. Cooking was not only mentioned neutrally but also used as an indicator of morality and a “good” female identity. This narrative was constructed through various forms of commentary, ranging from demands that women must be able to cook to mockery of women deemed inept.

Comments such as “Returning to the 3M concept (cooking, dressing, and giving birth) is already a basic identity for women...” (X, @der*****lby, 2020) demonstrate that traditional values are still maintained and even justified by some netizens. The 3M concept (cooking, grooming, and giving birth) is a legacy of Javanese patriarchal culture that positions women as *konco wingking* (back companions), whose duty is to submit to and follow their husbands in all matters, as reflected in the proverb “*swargo nunut, neroko katut*” (Pirus & Nurahmawati, 2020). Meanwhile, men are associated with concepts of power and ownership: *bondho* (property), *griyo* (house), *turonggo* (vehicle), *kukilo* (pet bird), and *pusoko* (weapon).

Women are virtually excluded from a social system that places male dominance as the norm. Concepts such as 3M and *Konco Wingking* not only domesticate women but also erase their existence as independent social subjects (Amarasthi, 2018). Despite significant changes in the communication structures of modern society, this legacy of patriarchal values persists and finds new forms on social media.

Interestingly, this idea of domesticating women is supported not only by men but also by some women. Some women continue to view the 3M concept as an ideal value that cannot be challenged. This reflects the internalization of patriarchal values that continue to be perpetuated by the social system and reinforced through digital media.

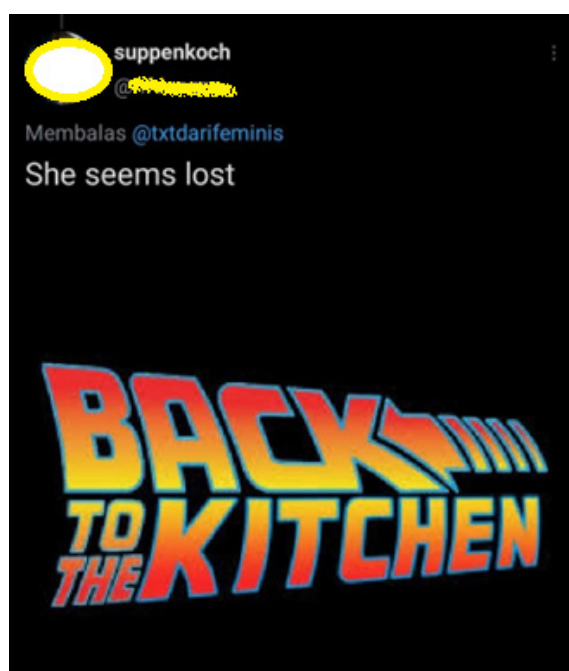
Furthermore, the issue of division of labor based on physical strength was frequently raised in the analyzed comments. Phrases like “lift the gallon,” “fix the roof tiles,” or “fix the door” are often used to reject the idea of a fair division of domestic labor. Interestingly, these phrases are frequently used even in discussions not directly related to physical labor. In this context, narratives about physical labor

are used as a distraction and a detraction from broader demands for gender equality.

Overall, these findings indicate that gender-based role segregation remains deeply entrenched, even in the digital communication era. Discourses circulating on social media not only reproduce patriarchal structures but also demonstrate resistance to the transformation of more just and equal gender values.

Figure 7

Tweet urging women to manage the domestic sphere



Male Supervision

Sexism is rooted in the superiority of one gender and the exclusion of the other (Beauvoir, 1956; Brant, Mynatt, & Doherty, 1999). Although sexism can, in principle, be directed at anyone (Rollero, 2014), the majority of victims are women (Richardson-Self, 2018). Gender discrimination, socially and culturally constructed and legitimized by religion and the state (Fakih, 2013), creates unequal power relations between men and women. This relationship forms a vertical structure, where men are positioned as superior figures with greater control, while women are subordinated to be regulated.

Figure 8

Tweet demonstrating attempts to control and supervise men.



One manifestation of this power relationship is seen in the view that reduces women to mere objects of men's choice. For example, in a tweet:

"If there are two identical women except one can cook and clean well... which one will the man choose? Now you feminists are thinking, what advantages do you have by putting those skills aside?" (X, @Ikw****mis, 2021).

This tweet implies that domestic skills are the primary criterion in assessing a woman's "worthiness," reinforcing three narratives: first, a woman's existence is defined through men's choices; second, men have the power to choose, while women do not; and third, a woman's worth is determined by her domestic skills. This narrative reinforces the domestic role as the "nature" of women, while also sharpening the dichotomy between good women (not feminists, good cooks) and evil women (feminists, nasty housewives).

Expressions of male control over women are also frequently found in comments related to controversial issues, such as sexual harassment, rights and obligations within the household, and dress code. In many cases, women's differing opinions are delegitimized, especially when their views contradict the religious interpretations used as the basis for the argument. This shifts the debate from simply being about men versus women to appearing to be about women opposing religion, rather than criticizing its social interpretation.

Another form of male superiority is seen in the assumption that women must be devoted to men (fathers or husbands) through domestic work. Comments such as:

“She doesn’t know if being devoted to her father or husband will be rewarded. There are so many paths for women to heaven, but they’re different from men. Even if she’s told to be devoted, she’s forced to do so.” (Twitter, @ima***nih, 2021)

illustrates how patriarchal culture places “devotion” and “service” as women’s primary obligations. This demand becomes problematic when women are denied freedom of choice. If women voluntarily choose domestic roles, it can be seen as an expression of freedom and a form of equality. However, when these roles are imposed as obligations with no room for negotiation, inequality is perpetuated. Unequal relations become even more glaring when the definition of who deserves to be served and who is obligated to serve is determined entirely by men. In such a social system, women not only lose their autonomy but are also constructed as subjects whose value and role depend on male validation and domination. These narratives continue to recur in the digital space, demonstrating how sexism is not merely a cultural legacy but also continues to be reproduced through social media, which facilitates free expression without any control over gender bias.

Punishment/Threats Against Women

Comments containing elements of punishment and threats against women exhibit explicit forms of sexism that veer towards misogyny, particularly toward women who identify as feminists. In the remarks analyzed, the threats were not only directed personally but also directed at women in general as a social group. The dominant pattern that emerged was the narrative that men have the right to abandon or reject women who do not meet the criteria of the “ideal woman,” namely, being obedient, permissive, and willing to carry out domestic roles without protest. No similar forms of threats were found directed at men in a comparable context.

Interestingly, these responses often emerged in response to posts by women that were inoffensive or non-controversial. This suggests that the standards used to judge and “punish” women are far narrower and more repressive than those applied to men.

The second type of threat identified in the analysis was rape jokes, which indicate that sexual violence against women is considered legitimate or justifiable under certain circumstances. An example of a tweet is:

“What would it be like if I had sex with a girl like that?” (X, @han****loh, 2021)

using euphemistic language to imply forced sexual intercourse against women deemed not to meet the standards of a “good” woman. There is no logical connection between women’s refusal to engage in domestic activities, such as cooking, and sexual harassment. However, this narrative symbolically demonstrates that women’s bodies can be used as objects of male power if they do not behave according to social expectations shaped by patriarchal norms.

Furthermore, there are other forms of threats framed within dogmatic religious arguments, aimed at reinforcing men’s superior position in gender relations. For example, the use of the hadith that states that the majority of the inhabitants of hell are women, as in the statement:

“Women are more likely to go to hell, according to the hadith” (X, @_Ca*****ian, 2021)

is used repetitively to remind women to submit to social roles and expectations deemed “sharia.” In many cases, these religious quotes are used not as discussion points but as a form of control over women’s discourse and actions.

More extreme, some comments imply that violence against women is justified for certain reasons, such as in the tweet:

“Perhaps there was another reason why Pharaoh buried baby girls alive during his time” (X, @bhu***aa, 2021).

This statement indirectly normalizes femicide, the intentional killing of women or girls solely because of their gender. This narrative is dangerous because it positions the extermination of women’s lives as a “logical solution” or appropriate punishment for those deemed to violate the social order.

The dogmatic use of theological arguments in this context actually obscures the essence of justice, a fundamental principle of religion. When these narratives are used to silence demands for equality, the discourse of gender equality becomes increasingly vulnerable to delegitimization and repression. Misogynistic hadiths and religious narratives should be understood through socio-historical, intertextual, and structural-linguistic approaches (Muqtada, 2014), rather than being treated literally to reinforce the dominant position of one gender.

Overall, punitive and threatening comments against women on social media reflect the reproduction of a patriarchal power structure that resists change. This form of sexism not only demonstrates resistance to feminist ideas but also serves as a means to maintain male control over women's bodies, choices, and voices in the public sphere. The dominance of the "Overt Sexism" (34.7%) and "Gender Stereotypes" (23.4%) categories in this finding cannot be separated from the format of the @txtदारिफeminis account, which frames feminist narratives as objects of entertainment or jokes. As a result, speech that actually demeans women becomes normalized; it is considered a trivial joke that should not be taken personally, even though in essence it remains a form of verbal violence.

Rather than being a liberating space, social media, in the context of this research, functions as an agent of "re-traditionalization" of gender values. The high number of narratives of subordination (17.7%) and domestication indicates that digital technology is being used to amplify conservative patriarchal ideology. Netizens use the reply and quote-tweet features to discipline women deemed to have violated their nature, herding them back into the domestic sphere (the kitchen, the bed, the well). This confirms that advances in mindset do not necessarily accompany advances in information technology; on the contrary, cyberspace has become a new arena for preserving the patriarchal status quo, which feels threatened by the visibility of the feminist movement.

The numerous comments urging women to return to the domestic sphere (such as cooking) also indicate a reflexive or spontaneous response. When netizens see posts about women arguing forcefully or "fighting back," the first response that comes to mind is an old stereotype. This suggests that, subconsciously, netizens believe that the domestic role remains the "default position" for women. These comments appear to arise not from a systematic desire to oppress women, but rather from the repetition of deeply ingrained old thought patterns in response to something perceived as foreign.

The interaction patterns recorded in this data confirm the argument that digital sexism is a collective product (crowd-sourced sexism), not simply the behavior of isolated individuals. Platform X's features, which enable rapid virality, create an echo chamber effect in which one sexist comment validates another, creating the illusion of majority agreement.

Interactions in the comments section also demonstrate the culture of "following the crowd" or "follow-the-track" that is prevalent on social media. The nature of platform X, which prioritizes speed and virality, tends to prompt netizens to comment along with the flow. When they see dozens of others already criticizing or mocking feminist figures in the reply section, they feel safe and encouraged to do the same to fit in.

Research findings also highlight the use of partial religious interpretations as a discursive weapon to undermine gender equality arguments. In many comments categorized as "Misconceptions" and "Subordination," religious arguments are often used decontextually to legitimize male superiority. This phenomenon demonstrates a shift from biological sexism (women are physically weak) to theological sexism (women are naturally led). This use of transcendent authority weakens feminists' bargaining position in Indonesia's digital public space, as resistance to patriarchal narratives is often deflected into accusations of blasphemy against religious doctrine, effectively stifling critical discussion.

Conclusion

This study concludes that social media platform X, through aggregator accounts like @txtdarifeminis, does not simply reflect user opinions but rather functions as a space for the "re-traditionalization" of gender roles, packaged in an interactive format. The findings of the dominance of overt sexism and gender stereotypes indicate that Indonesian netizens tend to use verbal aggression and domestic labeling to discipline women who express critical opinions. Humor and collective interaction mechanisms (reply/quote) on this platform have proven effective in normalizing misogyny, transforming hate speech into a spectacle that is considered acceptable.

Theoretically, this study contributes by offering a typology of digital sexism specific to non-Western contexts. In contrast to the classic ambivalent sexism model (Glick & Fiske), this study finds a hybrid pattern between digital technology

features and local conservative values. The use of religious arguments to legitimize subordination and local terms to domesticate women demonstrates that sexism in Indonesia is adaptive: it borrows the speed of viral technology while remaining rooted in old patriarchal ideologies. The implication is that future communication studies can no longer view online sexism solely as “digital waste,” but rather as a systematic cultural practice.

However, this study has several academic limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, the use of archival data from the 2020-2021 period, which is distanced from the current context, although the cultural patterns found tend to be stable. Second, the disparity between the volume of the data population and the selected unit of analysis (106 tweets) may not capture all variants of micro-narratives. Third, the focus on public accounts does not capture the dynamics of sexism in private spaces (locked accounts). These limitations are critical to the ecological validity of the study but do not diminish the significance of the resulting cultural pattern findings.

Based on these findings, further research is recommended to complement this text analysis by directly exploring users’ perspectives. First, conducting interviews with comment authors to understand their motivations: whether the sexist comments are purely ideologically motivated or simply trolling for social response. Second, examine the psychological impact on the victims (account owners) whose tweets were reposted by the aggregator account, to see the human side behind the content’s virality.

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