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Ambivalent Sexism: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism in *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020)

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Abstract: This paper attempts content analysis of *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020), a Pakistani media-text, in order to study Glick and Fiske's (1996; 1997; 1999) notions of ambivalent, hostile and benevolent sexism, and to understand their prevalence in Pakistan. This research claims that women are doubly victimized in comparison to their men counterparts where they receive sexist attitude from both men and women especially if they have violated religious and socio-cultural norms. This investigation brings to light the role of language which regulates ambivalent sexism in the patriarchal society of Pakistan. It was found that hostile sexism operates when both men and women violate cultural and religious norms, whereas benevolent sexism operates when women *repent* after they are *ruined*. It was also found that it is not only men who are sexists but also women who treat women in sexist ways, and at times, are more intense and aggressive in their sexist attitudes towards women. The research is aimed to deepen the understanding of gendered violence and sexism in Pakistani context.

Key Words: Ambivalent Sexism, Patriarchy, Sexism, Marginalization, Victimization

Introduction

The word, *sexism*, refers to female subjugation and subjectivity by men ultimately morphing into misogyny which further evolves into unequal gender practices and treatments in daily life (Crawford & Unger, 2004) where the victim is laughed at, verbally mistreated, discriminated, abused, and marginalized at the hands of her society. Ahmad (2014) argues that sexist practices escalate into physical and violent abusive patterns, unjustified persecutions dished out as punishments for supposed disciplinary measures.

Statistical data display great disparity between the treatment of men and women by a society. While men are regarded as lords and masters of all, women are treated as second best only. Lower wage scales and professional appointment statuses are just the tip of the ice-berg.

Mills (2008) argues that sexism can be overt/ direct (in order to express discriminatory thoughts) and covert/indirect (meant to show sexism against women yet denied by the sexists). Moreover, derogatory sexist practices are mostly carried out through covert verbal abuse. Cameron (1998) states that language not only elicits stereotypical beliefs about women and sexist culture, but it also practices sexism and strengthens it.

Women are generally expected to give in to male supremacy. Until recently, male dominant systems were largely unquestioned, especially in the Eastern and Asian communities, with an expectancy for women subjugation. However, women's liberation, universal suffrage, and the modern feminist movement obtained much power in the recent century debunking the traditional gender norms resulting in a large number of non-conformist women. On the other hand, there are conformist women who follow the dictates of the patriarchal society and suffer benevolent sexism. More

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simply, conformist women are considered pure, innocent, and kind while non-conformist women are viewed as cunning, indignant, and controlling/manipulative.

The root of sexism towards women is patriarchy, a carefully cultivated socio-political, religious, and cultural product which, according to Walby (1990) and Sudarso et al. (2019), portrays a cultural norm, and a sphere of existence where men control, direct, mistreat, and exploit women. These cultural and religious norms and values are elevated and highlighted in patriarchal societies ensuring that patriarchal culture keeps regulating through the implementation of religion and is reflected in the way of life and conduct of people.

Related to patriarchy is the notion of society which refers to a community that shares culture, behaviour, and social organization (Raday, 2003). Hunnicutt (2009) argues that male domination and, thereby, patriarchy exist at two levels: micro and macro. The former is observed in families, organizations, interactions (for instance, in arguments) while the latter is seen where men take hold of higher positions and direct women, for instance, bureaucracies, government, law, market and religious sector. This shows that at every level, men are the dominant of the two genders and dominate the society in various and diverse manners.

Following social overview, religious investigation is also required since religion plays a crucial part in the establishment of patriarchy. Klingorava & Hovlicek (2015) maintain that in addition to social existence of patriarchy, religion also enforces it, especially in the Gulf region.

The overlapping of the society, culture and religion seems inevitable when looked into the origin of patriarchy. Culture is the way of life of people living together in a group or those who share the same place. Raday (2003) discusses two types of culture: social; ideological. The former refers to the way people interact in groups and organize themselves whereas the latter is related to people's values, beliefs and their thoughts.

Gender distinction is deeply rooted in patriarchal societies where culture and religion impose gender-based behavioral edicts. The roles are learnt and reinforced through the mechanism of socialization within varied relationships where the public actions and responsibilities of genders follow the society's norms (Dick & Cassel, 2002). Gender distinction starts from the time when a person is born. The first question asked is if the baby is a boy or a girl (Glietman et al., 2000). Raday (2003) suggests gender as "a social construct of sex" (p.7). She further argues that the conventional cultural and religious norms promote domination of men over women, exclude women from the power that resides outside of their family, and subjects women to power within the family.

Glick and Fiske (1996; 1997; 1999) argue that sexism has two forms, the negative form as hostile sexism, and the comparatively positive form as benevolent sexism. With the stereotypical concepts mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, it is easy to confuse hostile and benevolent sexism. Ambivalence, then, is stated as men holding both positive and negative attitudes towards women. Moreover, sexism has always been conceived as a reflection of contempt against women. The notion of ambivalent sexism takes into account even the lesser forms of sexism even by conformist women onto the non-conformist women.

Research Statement

This research focuses on perpetrations of hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997; 1999). It also aims to investigate ambivalent sexism towards cultural and religious non-conformist men and women through investigations into hostile and benevolent sexism by both conformist men and women. The present research investigates sexism focusing on the concept of ambivalent sexism through spoken language in the patriarchal Pakistani society through the content analysis of the representative text, a televised drama, *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020).

Research Question

This paper attempts to seek answer to the question given below.

- ▶ How do Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, as pointed by Glick and Fiske (1996; 1997; 1999), operate in *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019)?

Research Design

The selected media-text has been analyzed for Hostile and Benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997; 1999). The text has been chosen purposively while the methodology is qualitative employing content analysis.

Delimitation

For the current line of investigation, the main concern is Pakistani society, since the text selected is the Pakistani televised drama serial. The paper focuses on spoken language; the results are based on only Pakistani society and culture and cannot be generalized because of the individual differences and the ideology of the people.

In 2019, Pakistani audience was thrilled and gripped with all-time favorite drama, *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019) showcasing a tragic story of a lower-middle class but upright man, Danish, whose extremely beautiful but materialistic wife, Mehwish, leaves him and their son, Rumi, in pursuit of wealth and luxuries by having an extramarital affair with her married boss, Shehwar, the CEO of her company.

Significance

The significance of this research lies in the socio-linguistic aspect of spoken language through which the afore-mentioned sexist manifestations can be recognized. Furthermore, such studies are critical for understanding the stance of women in patriarchal society. Since women have to face biased attitude from both the genders, this research overhauls the long-held belief that men are the perpetrators of sexist practices in Pakistani patriarchal society overlooking women's sexist attitude towards other women, cementing the belief that conformist women of patriarchal societies, in comparison to men, exhibit a rather severe sexist attitude towards other non-conformist women.

Literature Review

Language and Sexism

Sexism is largely based on traditional gender norms which place men in positions of authority in their homes, society, and government whereas women are placed in positions degradingly lower. One medium of female degradation is language which appropriates their meaner status. Ivy & Backland (1994) argue that if sexism refers to the attitude that pulls down one sex and pulls up another, then sexist language is the verbal interaction through which such attitude is conveyed. Social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2012) postulated about the dissimilarity in physical power between men and women along with certain societal and environmental conditions historically set on the distribution of men and women into social roles.

Furthermore, another socio-lingual aspect of sexism is the use of derogatory vocabulary for women noting that a woman involved with more than one man is called a prostitute while a man of the same ilk is known as a player (Ifechelobi & Ifechelobi, 2017). Wolf (as cited in Ifechelobi & Ifechelobi, 2017) maintains that abusive language is used differently for both the genders. Women are insulted by giving reference to their 'sexual morals' or are compared to sub animal entities like *bitch*, *cow*, *pig*, *pussy* etcetera and the insulting words used for women are *whore*, *slut*, *cunt*, *cocksucker* etcetera whereas men are insulted by giving reference to women or in connection to women like *son of a bitch*, *mother fucker* etc. Such words are directed at women only (Cameron, 1992) and are termed as semantic derogation (Maina, 2013, p. 100).

Studies (Lan & Jingxia, 2019; Lei, 2006; Mills, 2008; Darweesh & Abdullah, 2016) have argued that language reflects society and culture since language is influenced by the society. Sexist language reflects a sexist society and is used for women who are considered inferior or less authoritative within a culture where men hold stereotypical beliefs about women and consider them as dependent and inferior beings. Sexist societies have paved ways for sexist ideology that considers women to be inferior and weak. Interestingly, Weatherall (2002) highlights two schools of thought on linguistic sexism: sexist language depicts sexist society; sexist language influences and makes a society sexist. Contrarily, Ochieng (2012) argues that sexism emerges from the speaker's mind. Lakoff (1973) argues that women discrimination occurs in two ways: firstly, in the way they are taught to say things and secondly, the way they are treated through language. Either way, they relegate to certain subservient function, that of a sex object or servant.



Media and Sexism

With regards to digital representations of sexist language, Mills (1995) deems the author and/or the producer of a text responsible for their language choices. Alhassan (2007) argues that women have been misrepresented in many ways through language resulting in the production of stereotypes about them, reinforcing negative attitude against them, deprecating womanhood and valorizing manhood. It is difficult to accept this world in opposite ways like giving power to women and domestic roles to men.

Furthermore, media depicts and promotes sexism by assigning *bad* and *negative* roles to women and in case they are given positive roles, they would be conforming to traditional norms of serving and deferring to men. Researchers (Ali & Huda, 2015; Ali & Shahwar, 2011; Kilbourne, 1999; Wood, 1994) agree that media presents women as either sex objects or as paragons of virtue and nobility. In other words, they are either shown as caring, pretty, obedient, martyrs, victims, wives, angels and cooperative or the epitome of evil opposing all moral, ethical, and societal values. This results in stereotyping of women as self-sacrificing mothers (Naylor, 2001) reduced to relationships and care (Heilman, 2012), responsible mothers and/or sexualized objects (Mills, 2008; Tahseem & Riaz, 2015).

Contrarily, with respect to non-conformist female representation, she is portrayed as the villain who transgresses her conventionally assigned gender role (that of an ethereal, nurturing being) (Easteal, 2001) for which she gets a definitive punishment (Brennan & Vandenberg, 2009).

Some authors (Harbin, 2006; Srivastava & Agarwal, 2004) hold media responsible for negatively influencing women to commit crimes. Das (2012) argues that media still portray women as weak and manipulative, a stereotypical representation, that desensitizes audiences, and reduces inhibitions increasing tolerance of violent behavior towards women (McQuail, 2005). Wood (1994) terms this role of media as brainwashing the audiences.

Honor and Sexism

Another aspect pertaining to the reasons of sexism is the idea of honor. Sexism and honor have a deep relation. One of the reasons for women's restrictive roles and their subjugation by men in a patriarchal society is *honor* where women's acts are taken sensitively and are seen in relation to the family. Honor, defined as a person's worth in the other's eyes (Abu-lughod, 1999), relates to sexism, religiosity and violence against women (Ceylan, 2016). Moreover, honor relates to how a woman behaves both socially and sexually (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Akbas, 2013). Women's bodies and honor of a family are considered synonymous and for preserving it, men are brainwashed to have a right to direct women's ways of living as well as their sexual activities (Hadi, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

Glick and Fiske (1997) distinguish between hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS) where issues related to power, gender differentiation, and sexuality are addressed. Furthermore, BS contains positively reflected subjective attitudes towards women, for example, 'protective paternalism', idealization of women, and desire for intimate relations while HS contains all the 'negative equivalents' of the BS, for example, "dominative paternalism, derogatory beliefs, and heterosexual hostility" (Glick & Fiske, 1997, p. 119). The theory focuses on the comparative analysis between traditions and egalitarian concepts of sexism with that of the distinction made by ambivalent sexism. For the theorists, the existence of the 'male structural power' and 'dyadic power' is what gives rise to ambivalent sexism (p. 121). Male structural power is the male control over women through the societal, political, religious, and economic structures while dyadic power is exerted in the more interpersonal and intimate relations of men with women.

Since ambivalent sexism operates when HS and BS are operating simultaneously, it gives rise to practice of HS, which arouses instincts of justification of men exercising power through implementation of traditional gender roles, and men's exploitive stance towards women as sexual objects through the use of derogatory characterizations. In addition to HS, BS portrays kind and nice attitudes of men towards women by employing male dominance and the application of ordained gender roles i.e., it shows male dependency on women and depicts a romanticized view of the sexual

relationships with the women. Furthermore, ambivalent sexism is attributed to as an ultimate tool that regulates traditional gender roles and preserves the patriarchal practices in the society.

It is pertinent to understand the theorists' concepts of *power*, *gender-differentiation* and *sexuality*. Power is manifested in both hostile and benevolent ways: *dominative paternalism* (women must be controlled by men) for HS; *protective paternalism* (men should serve as protectors and providers of women) for BS. In addition, gender-differentiation is also sub-categorized into *competitive gender differentiation* (men gaining confidence and self-esteem by stereotyping women negatively) for HS and *complementary gender differentiation* (assigning traits to women that are consistent with the traditional gender roles) for BS. As for sexuality, male sexual desire and the aspect of fear are the most important factors of ambivalent sexist attitude. This aspect is also subcategorized into *heterosexual hostility* (tendency of viewing women to be merely sexual objects and nothing else) for HS and *heterosexual intimacy* (romanticizing the women as sexual objects but without whom men are incomplete) for BS.

According to Glick and Fiske (1996), sexism revolves around the idea that men hold both hostile and benevolent attitude towards women. Hostile sexism (HS) refers to the open dislike of women who try to defy gender roles assigned to them by the society, challenging men's power over them whereas benevolent sexism (BS) is the comparatively positive attitude, but it shows kindness towards women who embrace the traditional gender norms, male authority, and dominance assigned by the society.

Moreover, *maternalism* is the positive attitude of women towards men and it makes women more powerful, although in a smaller domain, because women are superior over men in domestic realm and it shows that men need the care of women as wives, mothers and sisters (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Although maternalism is the positive and caring attitude of women, but in patriarchal society of Pakistan, matriarchy is very much common and deep-seated where women are harsh towards other women.

In addition to maternalism, complementary gender differentiation is the women's commendation of men's stereotypical abilities which explains why men are in power (Glick & Fiske, 1999). For instance, it is a belief that men are strong and handle everything strongly in tough situations or in an emergency while women are considered to be emotional (Chapleau et al., 2007).

Method of Inquiry

The paper incorporates qualitative method of investigation using content analysis (Krippendorff 2004) for exploring instances of sexism in *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020). Only those instances of the text have been analyzed that show sexism. In addition, the English translation of the text is taken from YouTube as a direct source and is grammatically and syntactically adjusted and modified by the authors.

For the criteria regarding selection of the sample size, *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020) contains twenty-three episodes, but only research-relevant data is collected from instances which depict the occurrence of sexism through spoken language.

Analysis and Discussion

In order to explore hostile and benevolent sexism, the selected data has been analyzed first for sexism within members of the same gender for both the genders. This is then followed by analysis of the data for sexism between members of the opposing genders for each other.

1. Homo-sexism Hostility

Homo-sexism hostility refers to hostility within the same sexes, either woman's hostility for another woman or man's hostility for another man. This hostility can also result from violation of cultural and religious norms as is the case in *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020).

Women's Hostility for Mehwish

Hania's If a woman violates cultural and religious norms and values in a patriarchal religious society, she faces hostility from other women. In *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020), Mehwish is the target to a harsh attitude that women hold against her because she breaks the boundaries set by culture and religion alongside of breaking her family in the pursuit of a luxurious life. This event causes the other/second female lead, the paragon of ideal female in Pakistani society, speak quite derisively about Mehwish to her ex-husband, Danish, as can be seen from the following dialogues: "*Kabhi milonge aap ki wife se, dekungi apne matlab k liye apni aulad ko cheat karne waali dekhne main aurat lagti hain kya*" [I will meet your wife someday, I will see a woman who cheats her own child, just because of her own means...does look like a woman?] (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.14, 23:20)

These lines are spoken by Hania, the second female lead, Rumi's class in charge, when Danish encounters Hania, who talks about Rumi's innocence saying that it makes her feel sad for Rumi and angry at Mehwish for leaving her own child who is too young to live without her. Hania's words show deep anger and contempt for Mehwish since a woman, especially a mother, is considered selfless and caring, who cares for her child's happiness rather than her own happiness and is ever-ready to sacrifice her life and happiness for her family, but Mehwish is found devoid of maternalism, Glick's and Fiske's (1996; 1997; 1999) term for the care that women provide to men. Mothers are generally considered and expected to be selfless and sacrificial by staying pure and loyal only to their husband and their children while Mehwish is found guilty of pursuing her own desires for wealthy lifestyle turning down the care and love of her husband and her son. This is the reason she faces hostility from men as well as women whereas Hania is of the view that women should be maternalistic and must care for their children, and that this care should surpass her care for herself.

Hania further states: "I will not accept this. I do not allow any married girl to commit this mistake, and never a mother. If a mother commits such a mistake, I will not call it a mistake. I will call it a sin." (ARY Digital HD, ep.19, 2019, 07:14)

This line strongly depicts the Pakistani patriarchal mindset regarding divorce and the so-called female freedom is considered to be a sin as is witnessed by Hania's remarks regarding Mehwish. Since Mehwish is being doubly marginalized and victimized through dual sexism, it is clear that the drama depicts women as regulators and custodians of the implementation of the patriarchal sexist notions in the society. Another aspect that gets foregrounded is personalization of generic social concepts and the society's double standards as Hania describes women's pleasure and pursuit of happiness as a sin since Mehwish does not conform to the expected patriarchal notions of happiness that are associated with women. It is seen here that women who go against cultural and religious norms are disregarded by women to extremist extent. Hania's attitude can be called internally sexist since it is directed towards a woman from a woman's perspective through words and phrases meant to be used as derogatory.

In addition to sacrificing their happiness, another sin committed by Mehwish is the violation of maternalism which, according to Glick and Fiske (1999), is the benevolent attitude of women towards men, where women care for men in the form of mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters. Here, Hania, believing in maternalism, is condemning Mehwish because of her disregard for her husband and son, by leaving them in the pursuit of her own desires. Hania's above-mentioned condemnation for Mehwish is a proof that maternalism is very deep in the Pakistani society. Hence, from the drama's perspective, any woman who sheds off her social and moral burdens for pursuit of self-care and happiness which defy stereotypical conventions, is subject to condemnation and ostracization. Hania's perspective comes off especially strong and hostile due to her being a caring daughter and a professional who juggles her roles successfully.

At another place, Hania also associates physical features with moral and ethical qualities. She says, "*Balaa ki khubsurat, ye main keh rahi hu WO khubsurat hain warna jis aurat main haya nhi hoti wo khubsurat nhi hoti*" [Terrific. I am saying this she is beautiful. Else if a woman does not have dignity, she doesn't look beautiful] [Bad spirit] (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.19, 29:09),

She uses the word "Balaa" [Bad spirit] as an adjectival phrase to describe Mehwish's beauty. She uses the word to describe the degree to which Mehwish is beautiful since the literal meaning of Mehwish's name is somewhat like 'a face

which bewitches'. Moreover, Hania continues saying that for her, saying someone who is beautiful with such a degraded moral character means that Mehwish's beauty transcends Hania's standard of beauty because she views anyone with an impeccable moral character as extremely beautiful. Hania's sister also agrees with her notion and standard of beauty. This is another example of extremely HS practice in the sense that a non-conformist woman is insulted and is not deemed worthy of other women's respect for betraying her husband and son.

At yet another place, one can see how hostile ideology towards women is inculcated into a child of the transgressor when Rumi credits Shahwar with the responsibility of breaking up his house to which Hania replies, "...it happened because of your mama" (YouTube, 16)". It shows how a child is being taught to hate his mother in comparison to the male transgressor. This is a classic example of hostile sexism being practiced and reinforced.

Maham's The second instant of sexism is evident in the following lines: "*Jis larki ne apne haato se apna mou noch liya ho use thapar marne ki kya zaroorat thi, so I am sorry.*" [A girl who has scratched her own face by her hands what was the need to slap her? So, I'm sorry"] (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.20, 01:53) These words are spoken by Maham, Shahwar's wife, who meets Mehwish at the hostel for the dilapidated where Mehwish takes refuge after being forced to leave Shahwar's house on Maham's orders. Hostility is evident from these words as they are meant to take a jibe at Mehwish. Maham, being an elitist in status, also feels that women must not break their homes in the pursuit of a luxurious life, hence divorce and/ or breaking a family is strictly discouraged by people in a patriarchal religious society and it is taken as self-inflicted pain in the form of self-mutilation. Here, it can be seen that Maham slaps Mehwish as a condemnation for breaking cultural and religious norms showcasing dominative internalized sexism. This is generally considered as dominant maternalism, the supremacy of one woman over another woman. This is one very common concept in the Pakistani patriarchal society where one woman not only verbally abuses another woman, but physically as well, as in this instance, and is depicted in the Pakistani TV serial as good and justified. Consequently, this highlights sexism operating doubly on women as they are not only victimized by men but also by women.

Another aspect of women's HS and BS towards a woman violating social, cultural, and religious patriarchal norms is to invoke fear and pity in the on-lookers who will learn a lesson from the example set by the transgressor. An instance of it from the text follows: "*So fulfill your desire. Else, the punishment you are about to get, if you bear it without money, you will die before the punishment ends. Please, do not die too soon. By looking at you, many such sort of girls will learn a lot from your misfortune.....*" (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.20, 05:22). In these lines, Maham can be seen taking another jibe at Mehwish by calling her an example to be feared and serving as a reminder by any other woman who thinks to act for her own desires and wishes. By calling her an example, Maham is insinuating and cementing the internalized sexist attitude towards Mehwish. There is no mention of any sort of punishment to be given to Shahwar, Maham's husband and the male transgressor. It is a common belief in patriarchal religious society that women who go against cultural and religious norms are usually punished and their life ahead is very tough and they lose respect and place in society and in people's hearts. This can be deemed as competitive differentiation between an upright and moral woman as compared to the non-conformist one. Since Glick and Fiske (1997) proposes a competitive gender differentiation, here it is a homo-sexist approach showcasing female dominative stance against a female.

Maham is further seen saying, "*Your trial is executed. The punishment is already announced. Whatever stuff you had brought with you, pick it and leave this house. There is a long imprisonment [outside] waiting for you.*" (YouTube, 18, 09:25). This dialogue elicits harsh or dominant maternalism, supremacy of one woman over another woman, for violation of cultural and religious norms. In a patriarchal society like Pakistan, both men and women tend to dominate violators of traditional cultural and religious norms, especially a woman.

At yet another place, the upright and moral wife's attacks transcend the abstract characteristics and become personal, focusing on the dehumanization of the 'immoral' woman's physical features saying, "*You are so ugly that I feel like spitting on your face.*" (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.18, 09:58). The phrase 'spitting on your face' is extremely hostile and is an action of volatile hostility that carries the connotation of humiliation of 'dirty creatures', bordering on hatred.

Glick and Fiske (1996; 1997; 1999) did not talk about dominant maternalism, rather they talked about maternalism related to the care and love women extend towards men in the domain of the house.

However, in the light of the above dialogue, this paper slightly modifies the maternalist theoretical concept and adds an adjective before it to show the difference in the implementation and results of maternalism. From these dialogues, due to Maham's hostile and dominating attitude towards Mehwish with the usage of the words *jail*, '*imprisonment*' and '*punishment*', it is quite evident that she is in a dominating position since she had also sent her husband to jail on some embezzlement and fraud grounds, but was condemning Mehwish for her lack of loyalty, piety and immorality. Even though she had her husband imprisoned, for her, the crime wasn't as bad for him as it was for the woman. Due to this view, this research modifies the term and concept of maternalism proposed by Glick and Kiske, and adds the word, *dominant*, in order to show the benevolent attitude of a woman towards her cheating husband while becoming a moral and social judge, dominating and invading Mehwish's life, and for having violated the sanctity of the social and moral ethics.

Aisha's Mehwish's college friend, Aisha, while talking about Mehwish and Danish's marital life, indicts Mehwish as the main villain in Danish's life. Even though Aisha's husband tries to lay the blame at Shahwar's feet, Aisha refutes vehemently, saying that Mehwish was the source and cause of Danish's destructive life (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep. 19, 01:36). Even though she is her best friend, she firmly and only blames Mehwish, and not the man. Her hostility towards Mehwish can be seen when she says, "I was so fond of her. But today, I felt as if I'm having food with a Dallat, which cannot be touched" (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep. 19, 26:12). Aisha's words depict extreme hostility (hatred), where she uses derogatory words for Mehwish and compares her to a *Dallat/ Achut*, the lowest of the castes among the Hindus.

Aisha also refuses to provide a place to stay to Mehwish after she is evicted by Maham from Shehwar's house. Aisha cites Danish's miserable condition and her own husband's social standing and friendship with Danish as her reasons. The drama portrays the friendship of women as dependent on their moral behavior.

If men violate cultural norms, they are not mistreated with derogatory words whereas women are insulted in such a manner. It is shown here that women who go against cultural and religious norms are disregarded by women to an extremist extent. Aisha's attitude can be called internally sexist since it is directed towards a woman from a woman's perspective through words and phrases meant to be used as derogatory terms and terminologies.

Rumi's Principal According to the principal of Rumi's school, Mehwish must "...understand that from here the punishment starts for breaking up the family." (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep. 15, 15:07). Again, Mehwish is condemned by all the echelons of the society as a sinner awaiting inevitable punishment with these moralist women being executors. Everyone seems to be practicing vigilante justice.

Wateera's Another example of double hostile sexist behavior practised in a Pakistani society is seen in the character of Wateera, Hania's sister. She goes so far as to shelve her acts of kindness and mercy behind her regard for moral uprightness. Wateera uses the word, wretched, as a mockery to describe Mehwish's ill times foregoing any sense of kindness and sympathy when it comes to discussing Mehwish's harsh situation. For her as well as for other female characters, social and cultural norms precede religious instructions and teachings of showing kindness and mercy to all, since judgment of Evil and Good is Allah's and the humans must be kind and merciful. But it could be observed that for these women, cultural and social patriarchal norms take precedence over religious teachings.

In short, women in patriarchal religious societies see from patriarchal lens. Patriarchal lens refers to men veiling women and isolating them because of the concept of 'mehrum' (lawful relative) and 'Na-mehrum' (unlawful relative) thereby illegal relationships between genders are forbidden as well as considered as a disgrace on the part of men and families. So, women see from men's perspective so much so that they are harsher than men in such cases where there is a violation of cultural and religious values and norms and leave no chance of belittling and disparaging women. Women's reactions are more severe than men's reactions as women play the role of men in patriarchal religious

societies by imposing punishments and making the life much harder for women who defy religious norms as well as cultural norms, so it can be concluded that in patriarchal religious societies, men and women are authoritative in dealing with violators. In fact, women are much more authoritative than men in this regard. It is impossible for both of them to accept such women or even the mere idea of accepting such women who go against cultural and religious norms. Toleration is very minute. But in the text, *Mere Pas Tum Ho* (ARY Digital HD, 2019-2020), women's harshness is evident from their spoken language through which they judge Mehwish.

Dominative paternalism, in Glick and Fiske's (1996; 1997; 1999) theory, revolves around a concept that men show hostility towards those women who defy traditional gender roles and challenge men's power but as seen in the selected text, women of patriarchal religious societies are equally dominant over other women who try to defy cultural and religious norms and values. They are dominated by women and men of their own family as well as by other women who try to belittle violators of cultural and religious norms through derogatory remarks sometimes escalating into physical violence.

Men's Hostility towards Shehwar

In the text, though there was a general feeling of being flabbergasted with Shehwar, yet it was never voiced by any male character. So, it can be stated that there was no instance of homosexism hostility in the text.

Sexist Hostility/Hetero-sexism Hostility

When it comes to hostility towards the opposite gender, men are seen to be indignant towards and disapproving of Mehwish's behaviour while staying silent about Shahwar's while women are, surprisingly, silent about Shehwar's behaviour. The only woman who criticizes Shehwar is his wife, Maham, who initially disapproves of his behaviour, controls him by stopping his marriage to Mehwish and sends him to prison, yet she takes him back after a while.

On the other hand, Mehwish is shunned and ostracized by both men and women, especially by Shehwar, Danish, and even by her son who does not speak to her.

Thus, it can be safely stated that like homo-sexism hostility, hetero-sexism hostility, which is the hostility in opposite sexes, is found to be greater toward women as compared to men.

Homo-sexism Benevolence

Homo-sexism benevolence is the type of kind and patronizing attitude that the same sex holds towards each other in case they repent for their past misdeeds as seen in the selected text.

Women's Benevolence for Mehwish

Benevolence is a concept closely related to/ used as a synonym for kindness. As mentioned earlier, the drama depicts a very unforgiving stance of women regarding Mehwish. But that does not stop the element of pity from creeping up. Mehwish's hamartia, hubris, arouses pity in other female characters in the drama at various points. For example, Maham is seen saying, "So, why did I feel pity for her, while I was asking her to leave?" (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep. 18, 14:02). Maham, having dealt extremely harshly towards Mehwish, is unable to suppress the element of pity for her but forgiveness is a notion that is not associated with pity.

In addition, Hania also realizes that Mehwish has repented and is trying to mend fences with her husband and son, but aside from feeling sorry and pitiful, she does not mention the word, forgiveness. While in the drama, one can see Shahwar attaining society's forgiveness through the way Maham brings him back from jail and sits him down, claiming that he should have been more intelligent than to have indulged in an illegal and unlawful relationship with Mehwish in such a public manner. In fact, Shahwar does not face the hostility from the women to the degree that Mehwish does. If it can be said that since Shahwar is a man, he was not even convicted in the same crime, punishment was reserved only for Mehwish. This shows a clear disparity between the treatment meted out to both genders by the society for the same crime.

This disparity is hauntingly realized in Aisha's plea to Danish, as she voices the impossible, "Just once...try once, and show some courage to forgive the disloyalty of your wife. There must be somebody who can forgive a woman" (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.20, 40:15). The words, *wife* and *woman*, show two of the ideological and social roles that Mehwish has violated for which there is no forgiveness to be found in the Pakistani patriarchal society. All the characters display pity for Mehwish but hesitate to venture into the realm of forgiveness.

Ironically, homo-sexism benevolence, the benevolence in the same sexes, was found to be greater in women because if women *repent* and *realize* their mistakes and know their place, they are shown the benevolence. Secondly, women in the society, are considered to be dependent on their families and in case they lose family and *get ruined*, they are pitied by the people of the society because their survival is considered difficult. They do not get any place both in the society and in the hearts of others. They are disrespected wherever they go. Women feel sympathetic toward those women who are ruined after violating or taking the risk to violate cultural and religious norms, so their hostility gradually changes to benevolence.

Negative stereotyping is also shown in the text where women are shown to be merciless but not every woman is merciless and certainly not for a long time. Aisha, who previously did not let Mehwish take refuge at her home for just one night, was convinced happily and made her stay at her home after she was ruined. She was seen saying, "Mujhe usko dekh kar us par rehm ataa hai. Pata hai wo mere samne phoot phoot kar rona chah raahi thi lekn us se roya nhi gaya. Shayad wo sochti hogi k wo ab q ro rahi hain (16:52)

Similarly, Danish's old woman-neighbor, Ifra, asks her husband, Monty, for the reason behind Mehwish's inability to acquire Danish's forgiveness who, very aptly, sums up the situation saying, "A mistake was committed, a sin occurred and everyone acknowledged it, however, she [Mehwish] has gone further than mere repentance..." (ARY Digital HD, 2020, ep.22, 25:23). She acknowledges Mehwish's past as a sin but at the same time, pities her and is in favor of her forgiveness. Here, once again, it is proved that women are treated with benevolence by women if they *repent*.

2. Men's Benevolence for Shahwar

The text does not show homo-sexism benevolence in men for those men who violate cultural and religious norms and then fall from grace. It could possibly be because men are independent, strong and can take care of themselves. Although they also face challenges, yet those challenges are not harder as compared to the challenges faced by women.

Interestingly, men are silent and neither render benevolence nor hostility to a man who has violated cultural and religious norms.

3. Hetero-sexism Benevolence

Hetero-sexism benevolence refers to the kindness shown to the people of the opposite sex.

Women's Benevolence for Shahwar

As mentioned in the preceding sub-sections, one direct contrast in the treatment of females towards both the sinners is that Shahwar is not blamed for the adultery. Even while displaying benevolence, Maham's attitude and words do not convey hostility at all. She begins by apologizing to Shahwar for having been a nuisance to him when he displays a little bit of embarrassment. She is benevolent towards Shahwar as she still needs him and is not happy when he leaves the house. Here, Glick and Fiske's heterosexual attraction can be seen where Maham is ready to absolve Shahwar because she loves him, needs him as her partner for the fulfilment of her sexual needs.

Men's Benevolence for Mehwish

Men are seen to not only pity Mehwish but also forgive her. Salman, Aisha's husband, shows benevolent attitude when Mehwish asks for a night's stay after being ousted by Maham. Since Mehwish and Ayesha were also family friends, Salman agrees while Aisha is the one who displays hostile sexist attitude towards Mehwish and does not allow her to stay for even one night. In addition, Salman just needs her verbal agreement not to repeat her mistake when he says,



“Promise me, Mehwish. You will not ever do this again.” (ARY Digital HD, 2019, ep.20, 32:45). These lines show that Salman is sympathetic and kind towards her because she is in a pathetic situation where she is alone and depressed.

In the same way, Danish, the ex-husband, is seen to leave his inheritance to Mehwish instead of their son, Rumi. Thus, Mehwish never receives a verbal forgiveness from Danish, yet she does receive his inheritance and a non-verbal forgiveness, which is a huge act of benevolence from Danish.

Hetero-sexism benevolence, that is the benevolence of men towards Mehwish and benevolence of women towards Shahwar, is found to be rare. Hence, it can be deduced that hostile sexism, and especially, homo-sexism hostility towards women is correlated with defying cultural and religious norms and values in the patriarchal religious society of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The paper studies both hostile and benevolent sexism practised in Pakistan and exhibited through the selected text through its content analysis.

It was found that sexism, which is always considered as a biased attitude directed towards women by men alone, is practised not only by men but by women, too, thereby making women double victims of sexism, once at men’s hands and succeedingly, at women’s.

Women were found to exhibit hostile sexism towards women more as compared to that towards men. They were further found to be harsher and more intense in meting out sexism to women in Pakistan especially if their counter parts have violated social, cultural and religious bounds. Moreover, men were not found to be intense or personal in their hostility towards women but women, even mere acquaintances, were found to become personal in their expression of hostile sexism towards other women but they were not found sexists towards men whose action/s of violating the cultural and religious boundaries they seemed to overlook. If a woman did show certain hostility to a man, that was because of her personal reasons which was also later taken back. On the other hand, men are found to be more hostile to women that they are close to if the latter violate cultural or religious boundaries, but they are found unaffected by any such acts of women that they are not related to for whom they show a distanced sexism in Pakistan.

Benevolence was found to be exhibited by both men and women where men had almost null change in benevolence for men but were benevolent to the point of forgiving when it came to women as is evidenced by Danish refusing to re-marry in his life and leaving everything to Mehwish posthumously. On the other hand, women are, initially, extreme in their hostility for a sinning woman, but after her atonement, seem to pity her without forgiving her.

Recommendations for Future Research

The study can be extended to further texts as well as to further cultures and/ or sub-cultures. It can also be furthered to comparative studies of cultures and texts.

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