EXPOSE
Journal of English Education and for Specific Purpose
Vol. 1 No. 2, December 2023, pp.84-92
https://journal.uml.ac.id/EXPOSE/index

Analysis of Feminism in English-Learning YouTube Channels

Salwa Fitria Khairunnisa[1]*, Ferisa Zafira[2]
[1,2]Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Indonesia
*Corresponding Author: salwafitria581@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyse the representation of feminism in three English learning channels on YouTube, namely English with Lucy, BBC Learning English, and Language & Gender (Sociolinguistics Lecture). The Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) approach is utilised to examine three main aspects: visual, linguistic, and narrative. The results indicate that English with Lucy exhibits a strong representation of feminism through the agency of female instructors, the use of gender-neutral language, and professional visuals that portray women as knowledge creators. BBC Learning English demonstrates a relatively balanced representation, although subtle gender biases persist in the division of instructional roles. Meanwhile, Language & Gender explicitly presents feminism through a critical discussion of the construction of gender in language. The findings confirm that YouTube functions not only as a learning medium but also as an ideological space that influences learners' understanding of gender. The implications suggest that educators, learners, and content creators should foster critical literacy in order to identify gender bias and utilise digital content that promotes equality.

Keywords: Feminism; Critical Feminist Discourse; YouTube; English Language Learning; gender representation; ELT Digital.

INTRODUCTION

YouTube has grown to become one of the largest digital platforms, providing accessible, flexible, and convenient access to English learning for a broad audience. Technological advancements enable learners to explore educational material through interactive videos that offer a more enriched learning experience than traditional sources. Research indicates that YouTube is increasingly relied upon as an educational resource by EFL students due to its diverse content and instructional offerings (Pecháčková, 2020). Nonetheless, digital content is inherently imbued with specific values and ideologies, and is never entirely neutral. Representations concerning gender, identity, and power relations are often implicitly conveyed through narratives and visuals. Consequently, it is crucial to investigate how these platforms influence perceptions of gender and feminism within English language education.

In feminist studies, the media is frequently regarded as a realm of representation capable of either reinforcing or challenging patriarchal structures. The concept of representation underscores that media does not merely mirror reality; rather, it constructs new realities through meaning-making processes, as articulated in cultural representation scholarship. This perspective aligns with evidence suggesting that women are often portrayed in subordinate roles influenced by particular social ideologies (Novi Aini, 2021). By analysing literature and media, feminism endeavours to reveal how patriarchal dominance is enacted through language and symbolism. For example, novels such as " Sing Me to Sleep " demonstrate that women's struggles can be expressed through character dynamics and narrative structures (Novi Aini, 2021). Therefore, the depiction of feminism in digital media tailored for English language learning warrants critical examination within the same theoretical framework.

Digital English learning influences not just language skills but also perceptions of gender identity and values. Research shows that EFL students often encounter gender and sexuality topics through cultural content (Svarstad, 2021), illustrating that ELT is intertwined with social and cultural issues like feminism. The portrayal of women as teachers, narrators, or characters in examples can shape students' views on gender roles, making careful attention to women's depiction in YouTube content essential to avoid bias and foster equality. Analyzing such content helps reveal how digital stories influence learners' gender awareness.

A notable advancement in feminism and ELT is women using English skills as a form of empowerment and agency. Studies suggest that, in some cultures, English proficiency is seen as a facet of modern feminism, offering women social mobility and independence (Košinaga, 2021). Consequently, English transcends being just a communication tool, becoming a symbol of identity and freedom. Platforms like YouTube feature female teachers such as Lucy (English with Lucy) and Vanessa (Speak English with Vanessa), who hold prominent roles and position women as linguistic leaders. This can be regarded as a form of modern feminism that promotes women as discourse leaders. Therefore, studying these channels can uncover links between language, gender, and female empowerment.

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) is vital for examining how language constructs power in media, identifying injustices, and exploring how social structures promote behaviors that normalize gender inequality (Mizael, 2021). FCDA analyzes how language, visuals, gestures, and examples in videos position women, offering insights into whether portrayals foster empowerment or reinforce stereotypes. This approach is especially relevant when exploring feminism in English learning on YouTube.

Linguistic research also shows that sexism remains embedded in English vocabulary (Cui, 2019). Many words bear historical biases that suggest subordinate or objectified roles for women. If educational videos incorporate biased language or stereotypical examples, viewers may unconsciously adopt patriarchal attitudes. Analyzing lexical choices and examples—such as gender-neutral language or portrayals of women in non-traditional roles—can indicate progress in feminism and help assess if content is gender-sensitive.

Moreover, studies on women learning English reveal that the process is influenced by gender norms. Research on female students at English-speaking universities indicates their experiences are shaped by gendered social expectations (Sung, 2022). While female instructors on YouTube can inspire and challenge stereotypes, visual cues and comments may also perpetuate gender biases. Investigating how feminism is depicted in English learning channels is thus key to understanding how women are portrayed in teaching contexts. Overall, YouTube provides a valuable platform to observe global gender dynamics.

Additional research indicates that educational settings, including language learning environments, impact gender identity construction (Gordillo & Delgado Ochoa, 2020). Studies in mixed-gender schools show how students develop gender identities through language interactions. This suggests that English learning materials are not just linguistic but also political and social spaces. When female teachers reach millions on YouTube, they shape a global image of women's roles. In this way, representations of feminism in digital ELT are transnational and influence cross-cultural understanding, making research in this field increasingly vital in a globalized world.

In the context of literature, various feminist studies show that women are often portrayed in situations of struggle against patriarchal domination. A review of British and American literature shows that feminism developed as an intellectual response to gender inequality (Fan, 2017). Other research also reveals the image of women's struggles trying to get out of the shackles of social structures in modern literary texts (Noviarini, 2021). These findings provide the basis that women's representation in the media is strongly influenced by social ideology. As researchers begin to see YouTube as part of a digital literacy medium, feminist analysis needs to be extended to these platforms. Thus, the study of feminism in English learning content is an important contribution to the development of gender science and media.

The study of feminism also develops in the field of education, especially through feminist pedagogy. Research shows that female teachers often experience a dilemma when identifying as

feminists in formal education spaces (McKnight, 2018). Efforts to implement feminist pedagogy often face hierarchical and normative traditional educational structures (McCusker, 2017). In the context of YouTube, the formal hierarchical structure has become more fluid, so that female teachers can appear more freely. This opens up new questions about how women's agencies are represented in the digital learning space. This study seeks to see how women perform as instructors on YouTube and how it reflects the values of feminism.

One of the gaps that emerges is the lack of research that specifically examines the representation of feminism in English learning channels, not just in cultural or literary content. Most previous research has focused on gender analysis in literature, sexism in vocabulary, or gender identity in formal learning (Cui, 2019; Fan, 2017; Noviarini, 2021). However, there has been no comprehensive study focusing on ELT content on YouTube as a space for feminist representation. In fact, millions of students access these platforms every day and accept gender discourse implicitly. This gap is an important basis for this research. Thus, this research offers novelty in the study of feminism in the digital era.

Visual representation in English learning videos is one of the important elements that shape the meaning of gender for the audience. Visuals can show women as leaders, experts, or even aesthetic objects, depending on the camera framing. Many YouTube videos feature female teachers professionally, but not a few unconsciously display visuals that reinforce feminine stereotypes. This visual analysis is an important part of the research because it influences how the audience understands the position of women. To clarify the visual aspects analyzed, an illustration of the visual analysis framework of feminism is used that focuses on body position, expression, and the context of teaching. These illustrations help guide researchers in identifying patterns of visual representation that are relevant to feminist issues.

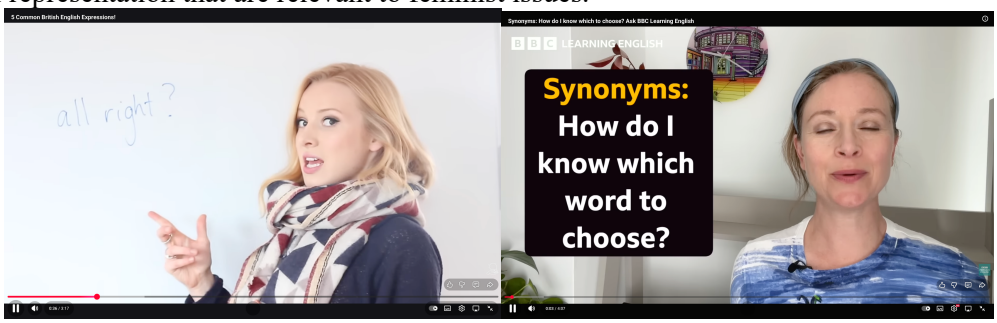


Figure 1. visual of female teachers in English learning channels on YouTube

With visuals like the example above, researchers can identify how women are visually positioned as subjects or objects. Are female teachers shown in a professional style, or is there an aesthetic emphasis that is irrelevant to the material? Do women have the same space of authority as men in the context of delivering material? These questions are an important focus in the analysis of feminist representation. Using a multimodal framework, this study combines language and visual analysis to look at how gender is presented. This approach allows for more comprehensive and in-depth research results.

YouTube channels such as English with Lucy, BBC Learning English, and the Language and Gender Series offer different perspectives on how English learning is framed. Lucy as a female teacher is in full control of her content, showing a strong form of agency. BBC Learning English presents a combination of male and female teachers that opens up opportunities for comparative analysis of gender representation. Meanwhile, the Language and Gender Series explicitly presents an academic discussion about gender in language. This difference provides room for research to look at the variation in the representation of feminism in different types of channels. Thus, the selection of the three channels has strong methodological value.

In terms of novelty, this research contributes to the development of digital feminism literature in the realm of ELT. If previous feminist research focused more on literature, formal education, or cultural studies, then this research expands its scope towards digital non-formal learning platforms (Fan, 2017; Noviarini, 2021). YouTube as a learning space has a different social structure from traditional classrooms, so gender representation patterns can also be

different. This research provides an overview of how feminism manifests in an informal but highly influential digital space. The novelty of the research lies in the simultaneous analysis of the aspects of language, visual, and agency of female teachers. Thus, this research is an important contribution in the era of new media development.

Another gap arises from the lack of feminist analysis instruments applied to English learning videos. Most feminist research uses literary texts or face-to-face interactions as the main objects (Fan, 2017; Noviarini, 2021). Digital video has a much more complex multimodal dimension, so it needs a special approach. The FCDA used in this study allows researchers to read power relations in both language and visuals (Mizael, 2021). Thus, this study fills a blank space in the study of multimodal feminism. This analysis also helps to show how learning platforms can contribute to the formation of learners' gender awareness.

Finally, this research is important because YouTube has become a very massive and global educational space. The representation of feminism that emerges in it has the potential to influence millions of English learners around the world. With the increasing number of women becoming digital teachers, the question of how they are represented is becoming increasingly relevant. This study seeks to see if these platforms reinforce or challenge gender stereotypes. The research also analyzes how language is used to create a more equal space in learning. Therefore, this research makes important theoretical and practical contributions in the field of ELT and gender studies.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach that focuses on an in-depth analysis of the representation of feminism in English learning YouTube content. Three videos were chosen as the main sample because each represented a different type of channel, namely the women's individual channel (English with Lucy), the institutional channel (BBC Learning English), and the academic channel (Language and Gender – Sociolinguistics Lecture). The selection of the three videos was carried out purposively to ensure a diversity of perspectives in gender representation. The video "10 Advanced Vocabulary Words for Speaking English Fluently" represents a female agency as an instructor, while "Everyday English: At Work Conversation" provides a context for social dialogue. Meanwhile, the video "Language and Gender Differences: Lecture" was chosen because it explicitly discusses linguistic and gender issues. These three videos provide relevant data to be analyzed using the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) framework.

Data collection techniques are carried out through several systematic stages so that the analysis can include linguistic and visual aspects. The first stage is direct observation of the video, which is carried out to identify the presentation patterns, characteristics of the instructor, and the context of the delivery of the material. The second stage is the creation of text transcriptions to capture every speech, word choice, and dialogue that has the potential to contain bias or feminist values. The third stage involves capturing visual elements through screenshots that highlight gestures, expressions, spatial arrangement, and camera framing of the teacher. This visual documentation is used to assess whether women's representations tend to be professional, neutral, or objectified. Thus, the data collection process includes multimodalities that are in accordance with the needs of the FCDA analysis.

Data analysis was conducted using the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis approach which emphasizes how language and visuals produce power relations in the media. The focus of the analysis was directed at five main aspects, namely the instructor's agency, the use of gender-neutral language, the distribution of social roles in sentence examples, visual non- or sexualized patterns, and narratives about gender. Each aspect is analyzed in depth to see how women's representation is constructed both explicitly and implicitly. Agency analysis is used to assess the extent to which female instructors appear as authority holders in the learning process. Language analysis focuses on the use of pronouns, sentence structure, and examples of professions given in the material. Meanwhile, visual and narrative analysis provides a comprehensive picture of the position of women in the context of digital learning.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

General Analysis of the Representation of Feminism in All Three Videos

Preliminary analysis of the three videos showed that each channel had a different representation of feminism according to the type of production and the purpose of the content. *The English with Lucy* video shows *a very strong form of female agency as female instructors act as channel owners, material controllers, and the main source of knowledge authority. This representation shows women as leaders of linguistic discourse so as to provide an overview of contemporary feminism in digital platforms. Meanwhile, BBC Learning English features a more balanced gender representation through professional dialogue that shows cooperation between men and women. However, some examples of conversations still contain traces of traditional gender roles, such as male dominance in instructional roles. The Language & Gender (Sociolinguistics) video* explicitly highlights gender issues as an object of academic analysis and places female narrators as critical analysts in understanding gender constructs in language. Overall, the three videos show that the YouTube platform provides significant space for women to appear as knowledge agents in English language learning.

2. Analisis Visual terhadap Representasi Pengajar Perempuan

Visual analysis focuses on *the framing* elements, gestures, expressions, clothing, and spatial arrangement used in the presentation of videos. In *the English with Lucy* video, the visuals show the female instructor in a central and visually dominant position with a minimalist background and bright lighting that emphasizes professionalism and credibility. This representation shows that women are placed as subjects of knowledge, not objects of view. *The BBC Learning English* video shows a more varied visual as it involves two alternating teachers, male and female, in the context of a formal workspace. This pattern creates a collaborative impression but still shows a tendency that instructional roles are more predominantly held by men. Meanwhile, *the Language & Gender* video features female speakers in an academic presentation style, with firm gestures and serious expressions, reflecting strong intellectual authority. These visual findings suggest that the way images are shot and visual arrangement play a major role in strengthening or challenging representations of feminism.

3. Analisis Linguistik Berdasarkan Pendekatan FCDA

Language analysis was conducted using *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis* (FCDA), focusing on how language structures construct or challenge power relations in the context of gender. The aspects analyzed include the use of gender-neutral pronouns, the selection of professional examples, the use of sentence structures that have the potential to contain gender bias, and gender marking through language. *The English with Lucy* video shows the consistent use of gender-neutral pronouns, avoids gender stereotypes, and provides representation of women in the professional profession. *The BBC Learning English* video shows the use of relatively neutral language but there are still examples of traditional roles that tend to be biased. Meanwhile, *the Language & Gender* video uses gender-neutral language and explicitly discusses and criticizes language bias in gender social construction.

Table 1. Linguistic Analysis Based on FCDA

Aspek Analisis	English with Lucy	BBC Learning English	Language & Gender Lecture
Gender-neutral pronouns	Dominan (“they”, “their”)	Konsisten, netral	Dibahas secara teoretis
Stereotip gender dalam contoh kalimat	Tidak ditemukan	Sedikit ditemukan	Didekonstruksi
Representasi perempuan dalam profesi	Tinggi	Sedang	Dibahas secara eksplisit
Penggunaan analogi gender	Netral	Moderat	Analitis dan kritis

Nada interaksi	Empatik dan instruktif	Formal	Akademik

Table 1 shows that feminism values are strongest in *the English with Lucy* and *Language & Gender* videos, while *BBC Learning English* tends to be neutral although not completely free of bias.

4. Analysis of Women's Agency in Video Learning Structure

Agency analysis was used to assess the extent to which women hold narrative and pedagogical control in video. *The English with Lucy* video shows a very strong agency because women play the role of the main instructor as well as the owner of discourse. In *the BBC Learning English* video, *female agencies* are seen but not entirely dominant due to the presence of male teachers who take a larger portion of instructional in some parts. Meanwhile, *the Language & Gender* video shows a strong female agency through her role as an academic analyst who critiques gender structures in language. This analysis shows that women' s *agencies* are more prominent in individual channels and academic channels.

Table 2. Analysis of Women's Agencies in Video

Indicator Agency	**English with Lucy**	**BBC Learning English**	**Language & Gender Lecture**
Women as main instructors	Yes	Not always	Ya
Women as owners of pedagogical authority	Very strong	Moderate	Very powerful
Women as the center of discourse	Consistent	Partial	Dominate
Women as knowledge producers	Very powerful	Balanced	Very powerful
Dominance of masculinity	None	Exists subtly	Very powerful

Table 2 shows that the female individual channel shows the strongest feminist representation.

5. Narrative Analysis in Framing Gender Issues

Narrative analysis is used to identify how video content frames gender issues through story structure, delivery style, and topic selection. *The English with Lucy* video uses a motivational narrative that emphasizes learner empowerment, thereby supporting the value of feminism based on self-capacity building. *BBC Learning English* presents a professional narrative that is *gender-inclusive*, although it does not explicitly raise the issue of feminism. In contrast, *the Language & Gender* video uses an academic narrative that asserts that gender is a social construct and thus reinforces critical awareness of linguistic bias. The narrative in the video is not only descriptive, but also evaluative and argumentative in dismantling gender inequality.

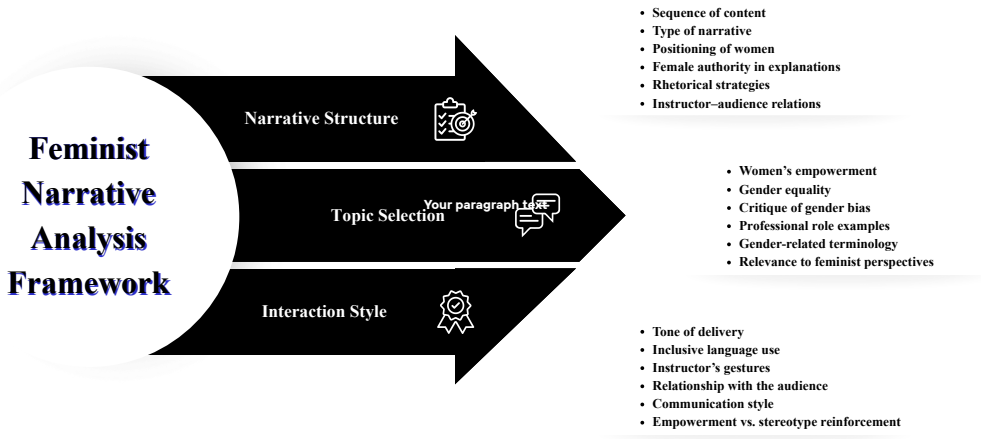


Figure 2. Feminist Narrative Analysis Framework

Discussion

The representation of feminism in the digital ELT platform shows that YouTube functions not only as an instructional media but also as an ideological space that plays a role in shaping gender constructs. This research finding indicates that channels like English with Lucy present women as authoritative figures and knowledge producers, which contradicts traditional stereotypes about male dominance in academic spaces. These results align with Košinaga's (2021) findings, which state that women can utilize English as a tool for empowerment and a symbol of social mobility, demonstrating that women's presence in digital spaces is not merely participation but a form of agency that affirms their position in the global education realm. Additionally, the representation of women as the main instructors supports Svarstad's (2021) idea that language learning content often interacts with issues of identity, gender, and power relations. Thus, YouTube becomes a transformative space that allows women to articulate their competencies in language education. The language and visuals in digital content play a crucial role in reinforcing or challenging patriarchal norms. This study's findings show that individual channels like English with Lucy use inclusive language and professional visuals that position women as knowledge subjects. This is consistent with Cui's (2019) insight, which found that sexist or gender-biased language in learning materials can reinforce inequality, while gender-neutral language can help raise awareness of equality. However, visual representations on institutional channels like BBC Learning English still show subtle biases, such as through the distribution of instructional roles that are not entirely equal between men and women. This pattern confirms Mizael's (2021) view that media practices often reproduce gender inequalities indirectly, even if not explicitly. Therefore, the use of language and visuals becomes an important indicator reflecting gender constructs in digital ELT..

Narrative analysis in the Language & Gender (Sociolinguistics) video shows that academic content has a more explicit capacity to articulate critiques of patriarchy through linguistic discussion. The female narrator in the video emphasizes that gender is a social construct reproduced through language, in line with Hall's theory of representation regarding how media shape social meaning. This finding aligns with Fan's (2017) research, which indicates that literature and academic discourse can serve as means to deconstruct patriarchal norms and build feminist awareness. Therefore, the academic video functions not only as learning material but also as a tool for critical reflection on how language creates structures of inequality. This reinforces Noviarini's (2021) view that media and texts can depict women's struggles against constraining social constructs.

This study's findings also indicate that the representation of women as the main instructor in individual channels offers an alternative to women's representation in traditional education. This is relevant to McKnight's (2018) findings, which state that female teachers often experience pressure to conform to patriarchal norms within formal educational spaces, so digital platforms can serve as more flexible and autonomous spaces for women. The role of women as channel owners and pedagogical leaders reflects an increase in agency, which in the context of this research impacts the formation of feminist narratives through educational content. Additionally, McCusker's (2017) research shows that applying feminist pedagogy in formal classroom settings often faces institutional barriers; however, in digital spaces like YouTube, these barriers are smaller, allowing feminist values to emerge more freely. Therefore, digital platforms enable the emergence of more gender-equitable alternative pedagogies. The implications of these findings for English Language Teaching (ELT) are highly significant. Teachers and learners need to develop critical literacy to understand how digital content not only teaches linguistic skills but also carries certain values that can influence how learners perceive gender. This aligns with Gordillo and Ochoa's (2020) view, which emphasizes that learning materials shape students' gender subjectivities through language interaction. Therefore, selecting gender-sensitive digital content is an important step to avoid reproducing biases in the learning process. Moreover, these findings remind us that feminist representation in digital ELT can serve as a source of empowerment for female learners, as well as a means to build gender awareness among all audiences. Consequently, this research supports the integration of feminist perspectives in the selection and use of language learning materials, especially those derived from digital platforms like YouTube.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the representation of feminism in English language learning content on YouTube is realized through three main aspects: visual, language, and narrative. The channel English with Lucy presents the strongest feminist representation through women's agency as the main instructor, the use of gender-neutral language, and professional visuals that position women as knowledge producers. BBC Learning English demonstrates a more balanced gender representation, although it still contains subtle biases reflecting traditional social norms. Meanwhile, the video Language & Gender (Sociolinguistics) explicitly presents feminist representation through critical explanations of gender construction in language. These three channels, with their different characteristics, illustrate that YouTube is a digital space with the potential to strengthen women's roles in ELT and to present alternative narratives that challenge patriarchal structures. Overall, this research affirms that digital platforms play an important role in shaping learners' understanding of gender and equality. The findings indicate that ELT content functions not only as a language teaching medium but also as a space for meaning production that can influence the audience's gender perspectives. Therefore, teachers, content creators, and learners need to develop critical literacy to recognize gender biases and utilize content that supports equality values. This study contributes academically by expanding feminist studies into the realm of digital learning and opens opportunities for further research on gender representation in other educational platforms.

REFERENCES

Aprilia, S. (2019). *The analysis of Pauline through feminism theory on Everything, Everything novel written by Nicola Yoon* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Buddhi Dharma).

Arizah, M. (2019). Feminism: Equality gender in literature. *International Seminar and Annual Meeting BKS-PTN Wilayah Barat*, 1(1).

Cui, Y. (2019). An analysis of the gender awareness and sexism in English vocabulary. *International Conference on Social Science and Education Research*, 9.

Fan, J. (2017). The embodiment and development of feminism in English and American literature. In *Proceedings of the 2017 2nd International Conference on Education, Sports, Arts and Management Engineering (ICESAME 2017)* (pp. 1745–1750). Atlantis Press. https://doi.org/10.2991/icesame-17.2017.371

Gordillo, J. A. S., & Delgado Ochoa, J. A. (2020). Gendered subjectivities in EFL single-sex based education in a mixed school. *Language, Literature and Culture in Education*, 10, 33.

Ji, F. (2017). The embodiment and development of feminism in English and American literature. *ICESAME 2017 Proceedings*. Atlantis Press.

Kabo, I. M. L. (2018). *Feminism and womanism in literature: Applying literature in the classroom to identify and understand oppression of women* (Master's thesis, NTNU).

Košinaga, J. (2021). Japanese women's desire to learn English: Commodification of feminism in the language market. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies, 27*(3), 406–424. https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2021.1968629

McCusker, G. (2017). A feminist teacher's account of her attempts to achieve the goals of feminist pedagogy. *Gender and Education, 29*(4), 445–460.

McKnight, L. (2018). A bit of a dirty word: 'Feminism' and female teachers identifying as feminist. *Journal of Gender Studies, 27*(2), 220–230.

Mizael, T. M. (2021). Behavior analysis and feminism: Contributions from Brazil. *Behavior and Social Issues, 30*, 481–494. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42822-021-00067-x

Nguyen, H., & Terry, D. R. (2017). English learning strategies among EFL learners: A narrative approach. *University of Tasmania Journal Contributions*. https://hdl.handle.net/102.100.100/566269

Noviarini, T. (2021). Citra perjuangan perempuan dalam novel *Sing Me to Sleep* (Analisis Feminisme). *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Anak, 3*(1). https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v3i1.3127

Noviarini, T. (2021). Ideologi feminisme pada Hikayat Minangkabau. *Jurnal Inovasi Penelitian, 1*(8), 1735–1740. https://doi.org/10.47492/jip.v1i8.336

Pecháčková, T. (2020). YouTube as a learning tool of English language students. *Journal of Language Education Studies.*

Stopford, R. (2020). Teaching feminism: Problems of critical claims and student certainty. *Philosophy & Social Criticism, 46*(10), 1203–1224.

Svarstad, L. K. (2021). Cultural studies and intersectionality in English language education: Exploring students' engagement in issues of celebrity, identity, gender and sexuality. *The Language Learning Journal, 49*(6), 740–752. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2019.1709885

Sung, C. C. M. (2022). L2 learning as gendered practices: Chinese female students' English learning experiences at an English-medium university in Hong Kong. *System, 109*, 102871.

Weiser, D. A. (2017). Confronting myths about sexual assault: A feminist analysis of the false report literature. *Family Relations, 66*(1), 46–60.