# INTERSECTIONALITY BETWEEN RACE, GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN THE AMERICAN TELEVISION SERIES ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK SEASON 4.

Student Name: Anastasia Gushchina

Student Number: 422480

Supervisor: Dr. (Tonny) A.F.M. Krijnen

MA Media and Creative Industries

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

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# Intersectionality between race, gender and sexuality in the American television series *Orange Is the New Black* season 4.

## ABSTRACT

*Orange Is the New Black* is the television series which began in 2013. The series focuses on the life of prisoners in a fictional female prison and inspired by the memoir of Piper Kerman. The series claim to be very representative for both race and sexuality and to highlight social issues. The term intersectionality today is broadly used to depict the interplay between any kinds of discrimination, it also explains the interconnected nature of social categories. Thus, the research will state in which ways gender, race and sexuality is interconnected in the series. This study will expand upon previous research on intersectionality of gender, race and sexuality, taking the concepts as social contacts and the media representation of women. As a research method qualitative analysis both verbal and visual is used, in particular Goffman's analysis of gender displays to examine the fourth season of the series. The analysis of gender display is advanced in this research, as originally it examines men and women in the photo advertisement, in this study I examine only women and explore the power disbalance within women in the television series, which is more complicated than photos. I will explore how gender, race and sexuality are intersecting within the series, by analyzing each episode of season number four with six categories of Goffman gender displays. I argue that there are many ways of gender, race and sexuality to interconnect in this series, as there are different races and different sexual orientations are presented. The show gives visibility to many minority women including transgender women. Though, the diversity is still not at its peak, as all Latina women who are represented in this series are straight, when other races have diverse sexualities. The study is limited as it only examines the fourth season of *Orange Is the New Black*, further studies should continue to analyze the series with intersectional approach taking into account more seasons and even more intersecting categories, such as class. Further research should also examine how the concepts are dependent on each other in the complex identities of the characters and their stories, which continue through the seasons.

KEYWORDS: *Intersectionality, Race, Gender, Sexuality, Representation*

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## 1. Introduction

In the year of 2013, television series *Orange Is the New Black* was released. It was created by Jenji Kohan and inspired by the memoir book "Orange is the New Black: My Year in a Women's Prison" written by Pipe Kerman. Shortly after the release the show began to be popular in the media. The events of the show take place in the Litchfield Penitentiary, a fictional prison for women. Following the story of Piper Chapman who is trying to get used to prison life and the stories of other women who interact with Piper during her time as an inmate, the show is focusing on the experiences of women behind bars (Chavez, 2015). Because the story is based on the memoir, Piper was necessarily a focus, but Jenji wanted to tell much more than just the story of Piper. Her story is just a thread in a big arras. The series not only became very popular all over the world but also, adjusted the depiction of female characters on TV (Ellis-Petersen, 2016). Jenji Kohan refused to follow stereotypes and instead embodied the racial and ethnic "tribes" which exist in real life in US prisons, and with her diverse cast she uncovered how much other drama on TV is dominated by only two-dimensional, white female characters who are mainly heterosexual. In this series all the female characters represent a variety of sexualities, ages and races as mentioned before (Ellis-Petersen, 2016). The show is very important and interesting to research because it changed the way in which Hollywood functions. As after the show was released, many realized that people will watch stories that are not only about straight, white men (Matlow, 2015).

The *Orange Is the New Black* series are relevant because they highlight social issues. First, the show also reveals the corruption in the system of American prisons. Piper Kerman the author of the eponymous memoirs is working as a consultant of the series, she uses the popularity and success of *Orange Is the New Black* to support the criminal justice reform. The series brought to light problems such as the physical and sexual abuse of prisoners, racism, transphobia and even transmisogyny or the hate towards transgender women in particular. These topics before were unnoticed by public in both film and television this is a sweeping statement; it is not that nobody knew, it is just more mainstream now.

Secondly, the show challenges gender and racial norms, both in the presentation of women themselves, as in the presentation of queer characters. with increasing the visibility of transgender persons, as one of the characters is Sophia Burset, a transgender woman, who after her performance got a platform online and offline to tell her story. Laverne Cox, actress who plays Burset says: "I do represent a community that isn't represented much in mainstream media" (Gennis, 2013).

Thirdly, one of the most important reasons the show puts women in the lead. Going against the myth that women-driven programs cannot be so successful if the female characters

are not likable (Rorke, 2014). *Orange Is the New Black* succeeding all over the word and also, encourages Hollywood to start putting more females in the lead. So, this success is important to pay attention to, although the representation of women in media is nowhere near creators want it to be (Matlow, 2015).

The show also has a diverse cast in terms of race and class. A big cast includes a diverse set of actresses: Caucasian, Latina, African-American, Asian and others. Answering on the question about wide representation of women Kohan said: "They represent a wide cross-section of people" (Tan, 2016). The show still presents each of the characters' stories with depth and complexity. Characters of different races have their stories in the center which allows to discuss the issues of race and even class directly.

The show challenges heteronormality, because of the diverse stories of LGBT characters, and also the creator's demonstration of how sexuality is a spectrum. For example, the central character Piper and her fluid sexuality (Matlow, 2015). Kohan emphasize on the importance of showing underrepresented groups: "People want to find themselves on television and it's been really hard [for many groups] in the past" (Tan, 2016).

The aim of this study is to investigate whether the representation of gender, race and sexuality, all of which are considered social constructs in this study. Thus, one of the important issues of this research is representations of women in media. Such representations of women and men, femininity and masculinity were an essential topic of feminist analysis and academic research in the media field for over fifty years. After the understanding that gender and the attached meaning of gender are constructed socially, feminist researchers started to analyze representations of gender in mass media because media were seen as one of the sources in which gender meanings were created. Therefore, media representations have essential consequences for social, cultural and political gender meanings. Furthermore, over the years the concept of gender was linked closely to other concepts like sexuality and race (Krijnen, & Van Bauwel, 2015). As the meaning of gender is a social construct, race is a social construct too. Race cannot be seen as a biological category anymore, identifiers like skin and hair color are an imperfect indicators or race. The example could be the person who has dark skin color but for some he/she is "too black" for others "not black enough". This disagreement between people show that there are some consensual rules to understand such designations (for example, based on slave history or social status), and such designations change over time and/ or across cultures (for example, taking USA versus South Africa). This means race is a social construct and not a biological one. The categories of race which we use to make a distinction in human differences were constructed and changed to follow the dynamic social, political and economic needs of the society (Brooks and Hebert, 2006). Going further to the topic of sexuality, which is also, a social construct.

Steven Sheidman in "*The Social Construction of Sexuality*" discusses the development of sexuality in the context of contemporary American society. He highlights such topics as: gay, lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual politics. He also addresses issues which are linked to morals in sexuality: sex work, gay marriages and others. Sheidman concludes that sexuality is indeed a social constructed concept which is shaped by cultural expectations of Americans framed within the context of history (Sheidman, 2003). Gender, race and sexuality are also seen as interdependent, or rather intersectional.

Here the concept of intersectionality is a very important topic, because it explains the interconnected nature of social categories. Intersectionality refers to the relations among multiple dimensions of different social relationships and subject formations (McCall, 2005). It mostly focuses on the connections between different categories such as gender, sexuality and ethnicity because they are seen as equally legitimate axes of oppression (Taylor, Hines, Casey, 2010). These categories are interdependent and are seen as social constructs which means that they can change over time (Krijnen, & Van Bauwel, 2015). The concept is a way to understand and also to analyze the complicatedness of the world, people and human experiences in general. The events and circumstances of social life, political life, private life or the self are not shaped by just one factor. Instead they are normally shaped by multiple factors in different and mutually influencing manners. Regarding social inequality, lives of people and systems of power are understood much better by many factors which are working together and influencing each other. So, intersectionality plays a role as an analytic tool which helps people to understand the complicatedness of the world around them and the complicatedness of themselves (Collins and Bilge, 2016). Thus, intersectionality reflects interdisciplinary theory aimed at understanding the complexity of social identities and inequalities through a consolidated approach (Bilge, 2010). Although, intersectionality is not often used to research media representations. Nevertheless, perspective of intersectionality can deepen the understanding of the ways in which media construct the power through different representations of stereotypes and homogenization of social categories (Fiig, 2010). So, it is needed to study media representations through the lens of intersectionality, taking gender, sexuality and race together into account.

This is why I am going to research intersectionality by analyzing the season of American television series *Orange Is the New Black*. By analyzing the series, it is possible to see how intersectionality or in this case, the relationship between gender, race and sexuality are presented in the show.

The guiding research question is therefore*:*

*How are gender, race and sexuality represented in relation to each other in season 4 of the TV series Orange Is the New Black?*

Three sub questions aid in answering this research question:

*How are sexuality and race intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

*How are sexuality and gender intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

*How are gender and race intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

I am going to answer the research question and sub questions by visually analyzing the series, I will examine gender, race and sexuality of the characters to see the interconnectedness of this categories and the way in which they are represented.

The topic of intersectionality in the series is socially relevant because the American TV series *Orange Is the new black* is a global show widely viewed all over the world and has massive popularity (Timmons, 2016). So, once again it is relevant to see how the creators of it represent the intersectionality of such important topics as gender, race and sexuality because a new young generation is watching the show as well and their opinions and views can be influenced by it. Television and other media depict one of the most important influences on adolescents (Strasburger, 1993). It can influence viewers' attitudes and beliefs about themselves, as well as about people from other social, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Thus, it can influence the views on discrimination and disadvantages in society today. As mentioned before intersectionality has consequences for how social issues are explained and constructions of systems are understood (Shields, 2008).

From a scientific point of view this paper is relevant because so far there has been only scarce research on the topic of intersectionality between gender, race and sexuality. Once again, intersectionality is an important issue for researchers in supporting positive social change. Science can be beneficial to society and it is important to study scientifically those issues that have an influence on real people's life experience, which is also a social relevance (Shields, 2008). There is a disconnect between theory and social reality in both fields of the theory, old

and new, with current theories unable to fully grasp the current context of complex inequality. So, it is important to study the complex concept of intersectionality (McCall, 2005). It is also essential to research media representations in terms of intersectionality, because it is needed to see the overlap of gender, sexuality and race in the media, as it is not often used to research media representations.

## 1.2 Organization of the Chapters

Chapter two putting my topic into context within the theoretical frameworks and previous researches. The literature review involves four main sections: *Orange Is the New Black*, gender, race and sexuality as a social construct, intersectionality and representations in media. The first section includes the in-depth background information about *Orange is the New Black* to introduce the reader deeper into the show. Second section is about gender, race and sexuality being a social construct, the section is important to introduce the reader into the next section of intersectionality, which is section number three. The third section is essential to understand the intersectionality as the core of the research. The final fourth section includes the representations in media to introduce the reader into the representations of categories which exist today.

Chapter three is the methodology, it explains how I collected data, with the use of qualitative content analysis and visual analysis. It also includes the explanation of the sample and the sample size, operationalization and finally validity and reliability.

Chapter four is the analysis of the data I gathered, includes the analyzing results category by category.

Final chapter is chapter five, which includes conclusion and discussion of the study.

## 2. Theory and previous research.

The literature in this chapter is going to focus on the main aspects of the study and discuss the main issues and concepts. It will include literature on *Orange Is the New Black* which explains the context and the background of the series. Second section discusses the concepts gender, race and sexuality as social constructs which introduces the reader deeper into the concepts. The third part is on intersectionality as one of the main topics of the research which states the context and the description of the concept as it is essential to focus on intersectionality because it can help to understand the deep-rooted relationships between the concepts of race, gender and sexuality in the taken series. The last section is media representations, which includes representations on gender, race and sexuality, this section is going to help to study the representations in *Orange Is the New Black* by introducing the reader in media representations in general. It also includes gender representation is particular to introduce the reader into the research traditions, and the analysis which will be used in this research.

### 2.1 *Orange Is the New Black*

In terms of the television series itself, it is important to have a short description of the show *Orange is the New Black* for the context of this study. The series is of the comedy-drama genre, according to Netflix, meaning that the series is a mixture between comedy and drama, it means that in the plot of the story both comedy and drama elements are used. The series is based on the memoirs of Piper Kerman which is called "Orange is the new black: my year in a women's prison" (2010), and it is about the author's experience at a minimum-security federal prison (Andreeva, 2012). In more detail, the show follows the journey of Piper Chapman a woman who is thirty-something years old and who got into Litchfield prison for being involved with her former girlfriends Alex Vause into an international drug operation. Even though Piper as many of her fellow prisoners got sentenced by the harsh American laws in the rise of "War on Drugs", her white Anglo-Saxon Protestant character is not a good representation of American prison population. In the present people of color from socially disadvantaged backgrounds create the majority of (female) prison population. Piper Chapman, like her real-life inspiration Piper Kerman, cannot and should not speak on behalf of all imprisoned women, yet the memoirs or the television adaptation do not pretend to do so. It is especially the atypical viewpoint of Piper, which send through the traditions of comedy drama, and the series' creative use of genre that have the potential to bring problems of women's imprisonment to a wider audience of viewers who are unlikely to acknowledge them otherwise (Schwan, 2016).

To make the case clearer and more understandable it is important to introduce the context of the television series. Piper Kerman, the author of the bestselling memoir, could not imagine how successful she would be (Nicholson, 2014). The only goal she had was to make people think differently about who exactly are in prisons, why they are there and what really happens inside the prison walls. Kerman who now works as a consultant for the show always knew that she wants her story to be on TV, because even the most popular book reaches less people than the filmed entertainment does (Nicholson, 2014). Also, she believed that the TV is longer and can go deeper, as the series allow a degree of latitude. She points out that in her story the most interesting part is not exactly her own story but how it is connected to all the others. It is interesting that such a large share of the show's narrative is rooted in the truth. Political stands are inherited by the criminal justice system in US, this is the reason why it is impossible not to include political questions in such a show, because race drives imprisonment and people are being punished disproportionately based on their social situations. Laura Prepon, one of the actresses of the show believes that the series is so popular because it has many strong and independent women present, in many ways the show can be seen as destroyer of the traditional television models (Nicholson, 2014).

For Jenji Kohan, the show creator, nothing is taboo. The creators of the series are trying to tell the stories in the most authentic and honest way possible, it is about women who are out of their comfort zones and who are thrown into the prison environment, it is about what they are dealing with every day. Jenji Kohan in the past talked about using the character of Piper Chapman, a white and wealthy blond female as her "Trojan horse", a way to tell the stories which could not ordinarily be heard. Kerman believes that it says more about the entertainment business that it says about the wishes of the viewers themselves. Meaning, Jenji could not go to a big media firm and offer to make series about a wide mosaic of women of all ages and races, whom are also be poor. However, she could produce a series about a white, middle class woman. The success of the series shows how audiences are more adoptive of a big number of different stories, than the media executive thinks (Nicholson, 2014).

*Orange is the New Black* is a good research case because it includes women from of different ages, races and social backgrounds, it is about their stories and how they deal with the lives in prison. The series goes against the traditional television models, because it is about many independent and strong women. The series offer a different view on the society of the United States, to the one which appeared previously on the television (Shaw & Stone, 2017). Though, the series is a twist on the female prison drama, it is a comedy drama, as Jenji Kohan emphasized that people use humor to cope with the difficult and dark situations, and in the case of the show humor highlights the struggle of the characters and the pathos, and if you 'slam it against drama

and it makes both shine' (Radish, 2013). The cast of the show includes the variety of different races, it features Asian, Latina, black women, but also, white supremacists and white liberal women, all of whom got to their hard times. The show focuses on marginalized communities. It shows the extraordinary depth of characters, it goes beyond the social norms, includes difficult and deep relationships, and has a diversion of sexualities (Shaw & Stone, 2017). As the series is located in the women prison, it has an interesting illustration of gender because women are prisoners and men are correction officers, so the game of power also is included. Race, gender and sexuality are interwind in a complex web, which makes the series important to research in the light of intersectionality.

## 2.2 Gender, race and sexuality as social constructs

To start with, gender, race and sexuality are important concept of the research, and it is essential to explain how these concepts are understood within this study. All concepts in this study are viewed as social constructs. In this study the concept of gender is important because the research is focusing on women and their representation is media through the lens of intersectionality. Gender plays a key role in the research because the main goal of this study is to see not only how gender, race and sexuality are interconnected in the series *Orange Is the New Black* but also, to see how the power balance between women are represented in the show. Race is another relevant concept, because it is essential to see if women of all the races are represented equally in the show, same goes to sexuality or sexual orientation. All three concepts are used in this study because in-depth analysis requires to examine each one of them to understand their interconnectedness.

First, gender as a term has a lot of various interpretations and approaches. The concept is used with different meanings, intentions and related to sex/gender dichotomies. These dichotomies are: "femininity and masculinity" and "men and women". As mentioned previously usually gender is seen as the socially constructed meanings of his/her physical sex. The concept of sex is usually applied when referring to a biological fact. And mostly people are expected to act a gender according to their sex. Gender is formulated as built-in to sex, and both genders are often seen in essence different (Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2015).

Sexuality is the second essential concept of the study. Important to mention that the definition of sexual orientation is based on two categories. The first category is the patterns of sexual attraction of one individual to another. The second category is that of gender of the individual who is having the attractions (Weinrich, 2014). Sexual orientation can be discovered and evaluated based on the sexual behavior that individuals engage in. Here sexual behaviour can be characterized as kisses, flirt, intimate touch, sexual intercourse or other sexual activities

(Fisher et al., 2007). Academics at first described sexual orientation in two different ways, as involving categories as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or asexual, or as a continuum in which individuals are placed demonstrating the sexual fluidity (Epstein, McKinney, Fox & Garcia, 2012). TV series and even fantasy films generally took a contradictory position towards homosexuality. From one side, the genre excluded representation of homosexual characters or crowded out homosexuality onto villains, victims and so on. Thus, from a queer theoretical perspective, homosexuality was represented as a threat to the leading discourse of the heterosexual normality. From the other side, practices of deconstruction or the approach through which one can understand the relation between text and meaning shown how the other can be seen as a form of cultural resistance and a metaphor for gay people (Dhaenens, 2013). Cultural resistance is important for this research as *Orange Is the New Black* is the show which is trying to normalize diversity of race and sexualities as has one of the characters who is a transgender of color, and it is also, essential to see how lesbians and bisexuals are represented, as lesbianism is prominent in the series as well. Though, several 21st century series, from the fantasy genre are breaking traditional representations by showing gay characters and themes. Fantasy series Torchwood and True Blood show the inclusion of gay characters and move the genre towards homosexuality (Dhaenens, 2013).

The concept of race is another important term for the study. From a historical point of view, race was often defined as a biological concept that identifies individuals based on a shared aspect such as skin color (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Though, focusing on race only as a biological factor, it ignores how race changed over time and place. Additionally, race can be connected with the space within which people are interacting. Knowles (2003) suggested a way in which racial and spatial processes can intersect. The intersection is contested spaces or the spaces which are the physical space at the center of conflicting interests as they are fluid and also, change over time. These spaces are created and changed through interaction between groups and persons, they are related to differences and inequality (Knowles, 2003). A research of race and its relation to space is relevant for understanding the interactions and ways that race impacts representation of characters in *Orange Is the New Black*. So, the analysis of race and its relation to space is relevant for understanding the interactions and ways that race impacts character in the series, because race is shown as a significant aspect in *Orange Is the New Black*. As there are different races and people of color in the show, it is interesting to see how they are represented in terms of racial oppression and the dynamics of racial oppression.

It is important to repeat that gender, race and sexuality are social constructs. Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman were the first sociologists who introduced gender as a social construct. They proposed gender as a social practice and behavior which systematize masculinity

and femininity, and which takes place daily, instead of seeing it as a trait or a social role. They contradicted the distinction between "gender" which is a social construct as the opposite of "sex", a biological category, instead they believed in a more complex relationships between social and physical characters. Although, gender is a fundamental concept that social interactions and activities are potentially subject to "doing gender" which means that it makes one's actions accountable in the terms of being appropriate for sex categories. So, the fact that differences in gender are made to appear natural through "doing gender" is critical in sustaining the status quo of submission of women to men (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The concept of gender was linked closely to other concepts like sexuality and race. Race can be defined as a socially build identity that can change over time and place, where racial categories are regulated by social, economic, and political forces (Omi & Winant, 1986). Race is not a biological category, because skin, hair color are imperfect indicators of one's race (Brooks and Hebert, 2006). Finally, sexuality is a social construct as well. Jeffrey Weeks, a British sociologist introduced the ideas of essentialism and constructivism, where essentialism is the idea that sexuality is an essential part of human being. Constructivism is a concept which describes sexuality as a product of social forces. Sexuality is produced by society in complex ways. Sexuality is a product of negotiation, because it is a result from a variety of social practices that give meaning to different activities of human beings, meaning to struggles between ones who have the power to regulate and define, and ones' who resist (Weeks, 1986). Thus, gender, race and sexuality are social constructs, it is critical to understand for this research to not assume that the concepts are only biological, but instead have a meaning for the society and constructed by the society.

Race, gender and sexuality have several common themes: contextuality, constructivism, macro and micro levels, the system of power relations and the simultaneously expression. First of all, they are contextual. Thus, they exist throughout history, hierarchies are not static, instead they are constantly changing due to new processes, tendencies, events in economics, politics and ideologies. The meanings alter across history, nations and even religions during the same period. As the concept has to be taken and understood within the specific historical and global contexts. Second commonality is that all concepts are socially constructed, as mentioned before (Weber, 1998). The culture which is dominant at the particular period in time of investigation defines the categories within race, gender and sexuality to create societal ranks, such as good and bad, right and wrong (Lorber, 1994). Dominant groups, such as White, men and heterosexuals are considered superior (Weber, 1998). This dominant groups are legitimizing the hierarchies by insisting that the rankings are concepts of biology and of the design of nature and not the creation of those who are in power. The third commonality is system of power relations, one of the most important topics is that the concepts are historically specific and socially built

domination hierarchies. The hierarchical power in which one group has control over the other, making sure their dominant position is secured in the system. The centerpiece of the domination systems in that the dominant group gets a greater share of valued resources in the society and also, the power over subordinate group (Weber, 1998). Fourth commonality is the macro and micro levels, or the social structural and social psychological levels. The relations of race, gender and sexuality concepts are deeply embedded into the micro level of everyday life of a person, but also into the macro level of social institutions and community. Finally, the fifth commonality is interconnection which means that the concepts are simultaneously expressed. That means that gender, race and sexuality simultaneously work in all the social situations. These systems of social hierarchy are interconnected with one another and embedded in all the social institutions, at the societal level. And each individual experience their lives and also, create their identities based on the location along all dimensions, depending if he/she is from a dominant group, subordinate or both, at the individual level (Weber, 1998).

## 2.3 Intersectionality

The important concept of the study is intersectionality because the aim is to see the relationships between gender, sexuality and race in *Orange Is the New Black*. It is important to look into gender, race and sexuality in the relationship to each other to understand the deep-rooted weaving of the concepts and see how they are represented in the popular media. It is needed to see if popular media is moving towards diversity or it still oppress minorities. To understand the concept of intersectionality it is important to see the roots of it.

Crenshaw was the first to coin the term intersectionality to depict bias and cruelty against black women (1989). The term appeared at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the1990s from the critical studies of race, a movement which was committed to problematizing color-blindness, neutrality and also, objectivity purported by law. The concepts of color-blindness, neutrality and objectivity mean that in a particular society the classifications of race would not limit the opportunity of the individual based on his/her race or color, neutrality and objectivity also propose non-discriminative attitude towards any individual. From the moment of identification onwards intersectionality had a particular focus on gender and race (Nash, 2008).
When talking about race it is relevant to mention Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Feminism, which takes up intersectionality theories to understand the motion of racial oppression. First of all, Critical Race Theory was distinct by the specific motions or in other words, dynamics of racial oppression in different cultural contexts. These derivatives illustrate how various racial oppressions are experienced and opposed by different 'racial' groups and indicate the particularity of intersectional racialized experiences. Secondly, through Critical Race

Feminism the particularity of racial and also, gendered experiences are prioritized (Bhopal & Preston, 2011). As already mentioned, intersectionality is an analytic tool to help people understand the complexity of the world, as one's events and circumstances of political, social lives and even the self is influenced by several overlapping factors (Collins and Bilge, 2016). Intersectionality refers to the notion that subjectivity is created by mutually influencing factors of gender, race, sexuality and others. These factors as social categories cannot be taken separately and are not independent from each other because of their interconnected nature. Intersectionality refers to the relations among multiple dimensions of different social relationships and subject formations (McCall, 2005). Primarily intersectionality appeared as a theoretical tool to fight feminist hierarchy and hegemony which is dominance of one social group over the other (Nash, 2008). As mentioned previously, the idea of intersectionality was originally created by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), she formulated a black feminist critique of the trend which is to consider gender and race as two independent classifications of experience. For example, women are simultaneously positioned as women and, as black subjects. So, intersectionality as a concept proposes to understand the concept of gender in relation to other concepts for example age, sexuality and ethnicity, class (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006). It is important to understand the theory of the previous research on intersectionality of gender specifically, because understanding of this topic will help with understanding of overlapping gender, sexuality and race. As it is already shown, intersectionality, the mutually established relationships between social identities, is a central principle of feminist thinking and it has transformed the way of gender conceptualization in research (Shields, 2008). Earlier studies took assumptions about gender and the approaches to empirical research such as theoretical and methodological approaches were taken for granted, for example, psychology's homogenization of the category of gender. It is important to mention that the perspective of intersectionality reveal that the social identity of the individual greatly influence the believes and the experiences of gender. So, the feminist research acknowledged that the social location of the individual as reflected in intersecting identities has to be a focus of any gender research (Shields, 2008). In more detail, gender has to be understood in the context of any power relationships entrenched in social identities (Collins, 1990). As well as gender, race and sexuality are also seen as socially constructed whose meanings modify over time. Intersectionality puts these concepts into context, but also complicates their meanings. Thus, it is important to understand that different aspects have different consequences in the variety of times and places (Krijnen & Bauwel, 2015). As the concept of intersectionality is rooted in feminist sciences, it is also important to mention activism, because it played a role in feminism and still does. The main goal of activist scholarship, itself is to inform policy but not to create it. Research which adopts an intersectional approach originates from an idea which

includes an agenda for positive social change, but this agenda needs data to support it. This perspective of positive social change demonstrates the belief that humanities and social science can be a benefit for society, and it is important to study the problems which concern the life experiences of real people scientifically. Intersectionality has consequences for how exactly social issues are constructed and also, the construction of orderly explanations which includes empirical strategies (Shields, 2008). The attempt to fully understand the concept of intersectionality is an attempt to observe the things from the other's point of view, and not only from one's own perspective (Walker, 2003).

There are several purposes of intersectionality: destroying gender-race binaries, providing a vocabulary for responding to different critiques of identity politics and finally, it encourages scholars to acknowledge the exclusion of different criticized subject. The first aim is to destroy gender-race binaries, because destroying these binaries is essential to enable strong analyses of cultural lenses that involve both gender and race. As the meaning of binaries of gender and race are the exact distinction of sexes and races either by social systems or cultural believes. For example, gender binaries are the classification of gender as two opposite and not connected forms of femininity and masculinity, weather by social system or cultural believes.  It is a tool which is good for taking and theorizing the contemporaneousness of gender and race as social processes (Crenshaw, 1992). The second one is to provide a vocabulary for responding to different critiques of identity politics (Nash, 2008). The problem of identity politics is that it eliminates intra-group difference, a problem that intersectionality is trying to solve by revealing differences within the wide categories of 'women' and 'blacks', and acting as a force for negotiating the tension between assertions of multiple identity and the continuous need of group politics (Crenshaw, 1991) So, it shows the gender variations within race and also, racial variations within gender by paying close attention to subjects whose identities challenge the categorizations of race or gender (Nash, 2008). The third purpose of intersectionality is that it encourages scholars to acknowledge the legacy of exclusion of multiple criticized subjects of the feminist and anti-racist work, and the influence of those absences on practice and theory (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality is about not discriminating anyone and understand that everything is interconnected. For theorists of intersectionality marginalized individuals have an epistemic advantage, a precise perspective that academics should consider when creating a normative vision of an equal society. Critical scholars of race created concepts to explain the methodology of drawing on marginalized individuals' points (Matsuda, 1987). These strategies allow the intersectionality theorists to rely on supposedly unique epistemological position of marginalized individuals to build a vision of quality (Nash, 2008).

Thus, it is agreed that intersections create oppression, as well as opportunity (Zinn and Dill, 1996). To explain this in more detail, being on the side of the advantages, offers much more than just the evasion of the oppression, but actually it opens up access to benefits, prestige and opportunities, which are not available to other intersections. For example, when women earn less money than men. In addition, the intersectional position could be disadvantaged related to one group, and advantaged related to another group. An example could be the White lesbian, who could be disadvantaged because of the deviation from the heterosexual norm, but she could be advantaged in relation to other lesbians as she has racial privilege. Identities create social stratification, so such identities as gender or race, could be seen as an individual feature but it also shows the action of power relationships among groups which make up that identity category (Shields, 2008). In the research today sexuality, gender and race are seen as equally legitimate axes of oppression. But oppression is not always a consequence of inconsistent and material reduction. Intersectional discourse very often falls back into an addition form, which eliminate the multiply minoritized, who are still oppressed. An example could be a white lesbian who shares an uneven power with racialized males or with heterosexual females, because such uneven power comes from one category they are not minorized in. White lesbian is still white, so she is in one category which is not oppressed, racial male is in one dominant category: male, and a heterosexual woman is in one category which is not minorized and it is heterosexuality. But all of this people are still oppressed in one minorized category they fall into, though they still have an uneven power, and often this happens on the expense of racialized lesbians, gays and bisexuals, who are minorized multiple times (Erel, Haritaworn, Rodríguez, Klesse, 2010). Another problem is that power relationships around disability or transphobia are barely even included into intersectionality (Erel, Haritaworn, Rodríguez, Klesse, 2010). And if these topics are discussed they are often illustrated as the realities of rather privileged people, so from a point of view of white people, or heterosexuals. These eliminations are reflected in LGBTQ (lesbian, gay bisexual, transgender, queer) discourses. When representation is treated as relevant, it often stays at the level of two problem theory, which breaks 'race' and 'gender' but not 'sexuality'. Queers of color especially turned into the symbol of queer justice, which distracted from all the exclusions, because queers or color are the minority inside the minority group and they face even more oppression (Erel, Haritaworn, Rodríguez, Klesse, 2010). Hwahng described queers as the important social issue and that it seems that the problem is too nuanced to pay any attention to, though, the problem of trans people of color meet a lot of oppression and even more in the academic field (2004).

As such, intersectionality actualizes a more complex idea that attempts to put people into only one category at a time but demands multiple complex epistemologies. Especially, it shows

that beneficial knowledge construction has to treat social positions as related. So, intersectionality is a useful term, because it shows that the social positions are not separate and not independent from each other, the concept focuses on making the multiple positioning and at the same time establishing everyday life and central power relations visible (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006). Intersectionality attempts to negotiate complicatedness and differences emerging from the generation of theory and to control the political force of feminism (Knapp, 2005). Thus, intersectionality was raised to the position of being the most important theoretical improvement to the feminism of today (McCall, 2005). In this study intersectionality is a useful concept to understand the relations between gender, race and sexuality, because the concept is created to see terms and categories in the relation to each other, not separated and independent. In the series *Orange is the new black* the research will focus exactly on how the concepts of gender, race and sexuality are related and in what ways they influence each other. To understand the concepts deeper it is important to look into each one of them specifically and see how they are interconnected.

## 2.4 Representations in media

As mentioned previously this study focuses on the representations of gender, sexuality and race in relation to each other in the series *Orange Is the New Black*. Media representations have essential consequences for social, cultural and also, political meanings (Krijnen, & Van Bauwel, 2015). Before starting with the representation of gender, sexuality and race in the media, it is important to mention how exactly the representations in media relate to reality. Stuart Hall (2013) created three theories which look into representation and media: the reflective approach, the intentional approach and the constructionist approach. The reflective approach of the representation is that the number of females and males should reflect those in a given society. The intentional approach means that it is important what exactly the creator of the representation wanted to say. Finally, the constructionist approach which views the representations as negotiations of meaning. Here, the representation meaning is not permanent in the representation itself, but it is co-created by the audience of the representation. So, the meanings are dynamic (Krijnen, & Van Bauwel, 2015).

Representation of gender is a problematic topic because of several reasons. Firstly, women are underrepresented in media, this problematic representation also implies that males are the cultural standard, where females are not as important, so invisible (Wood, 1994). Secondly, in media both men and women are represented stereotypically, it shows and maintains socially approved gender views, as women are representing femininity and men -masculinity.

Finally, the depicted relations between males and females stress traditional roles and make violence against woman normal (Wood, 1994).

Representation of sexuality is also a difficult concept within media, because there is a lack of visibility of LGBT community which strengthen the dominant culture and add to heterosexism within media (Chavez, 2015). Only the representation of the LGBT characters is not enough, because of the way these characters are represented matters as well. Very often when the minority groups do get the needed visibility in the media, it only depicts the stereotypical and biased view of those who create the media (Gallagher, 2001). The early depictions of LGBT individuals were not only negative but also, they were often based on dominant stereotypes (Capsuto, 2000). The individuals from the LGBT community were also, frequently illustrated as criminals or victims of crimes (Netzley, 2010). It shows the importance of the television series *Orange Is the New Black* which not only focuses of women in prison, but moreover, it depicts characters of diverse groups and LGBT individuals, and it is essential to see how exactly *Orange Is the New Black* depicts these characters (Chavez, 2015) In addition, it is not only the lack of fair representation, where everyone is represented in a correct and not offensive way, but content for and about the LGBT community on television (Brown, 2002). And it is important to have a strong positive content because it could help the young LGBT individuals who may be searching for role models (Brown, 2002).

Race representation is another important topic of this research. As mentioned previously race as well as gender, are socially constructed. The race is not only a biological classification anymore, but it is used to make a distinction in human differences, it was created and maintained to follow the dynamic social, political and economic needs of the society. Moreover, the proposition that race is a socially constructed term underlines its central position in human reality. And it helps us to understand the complicated role which is played by media in shaping our more and more racialized media culture (Brooks and Hebert, 2006). The example could be a media advertisement, or online content that today appeal to different minorities for example racial minorities. The audience today see commercials based on the media they watch and the typical racial profile of this audience, which means that if the audience is of a specific racial minority like Asian people, they will see commercial with Asian people in them. Media are moving towards creating more representative advertising of the society that we live in today (Sparrer, 2018). Therefore, such media as films and series also began to be more racialized and more representative.

It is also interesting to see what representation mechanisms music has and compare it to the overall media representations. A good example of gender, sexuality and race representations in the music videos is the study by Diane Railton and Paul Watson (2005). They researched the

representation of women' heterosexuality in music videos. Their results were very interesting, they found that for example pop music videos for Kylie Minogue "Can't Get You Out Of My Head" demonstrates the image of female sexuality which is in absolute contrast with "Baby Boy" which was produced by Beyoncé Knowles. Both of the videos demonstrate images of sexually attractive, seductive, heterosexual woman, although this representations of sexuality and seduction are very different, they are created through and overdetermined by the limits of the racial imaginary (Railton & Watson, 2005).

Black female sexuality resumes to be built as hypersexuality, as animal like, primitive and also, instinctive, on the other hand white sexuality of females is seen in terms of its asexuality, that is in the meaning of the rejection of instinctive behavior through or by culture and civilization. The savage sexuality of the black female distributes her sexual availability, while in contrast the providence of the white female body ensures both the unattainability and desirability of the white woman. If the first is shown as an originally natural sexuality, which take its roots in the dirt, filth and mess of the natural world, then the second rises as a denaturalized sexuality, it is abstracted from the world and purified of its messiness. In addition, one of the suggestions of "naturalness" of black sexuality is that it unavoidably embodies, fixes and taken through the flesh of the body itself. The denaturalization of white sexuality, in contrast anticipates that it is not really connected to the matter of the body, and it is in the image of the body, so it is truly in the representation of it (Railton & Watson, 2005). This research can also help my study, especially in exploring race and sexuality. By the example of this study, it is possible to see if the sexuality of black women in the series *Orange Is the New Black* differs from the sexuality of white females in the same way, and to look at the series from gender displays, employing and intersectional perspectives. Though, the sexuality is usually more exaggerated in the popular music videos, than in the series.

It is also interesting to see the representations in other music genres. For example, hip hop which became a popular genre worldwide recently. Research covers many sides of hip-hop culture in the different contexts. Though, the topics about gender, race and intersectionality were mainly addressed in the US (Berggren, 2013). The research by Berggren looks into class, race and gender aspects of Swedish rap lyrics between 1991 and 2011, which were created by male artists. The discourse of class was not independent from a racial discourse, they intersected to different degrees, the more privileged ones were shaped by the presence of whiteness. Many rap musicians challenge racialization by being representatives of their "hoods" and thus, refuse to obey the territorial stigmatization. Though, the resistance against racialization is dependent on gender and sexuality to some degree. Inequalities form, inform, counter and intersect with each other to different degrees and in different contexts (Berggren, 2013). Another confirmation that

concepts like gender, race and sexuality are interwind in different fields, it can help in this research to look deeper into the intersectionality in *Orange Is the New Black*.

To continue the topic of representation in music videos, the research by Andsager and Roe stated that females who are present in the music videos usually have traditionally female roles. Their looks ordinarily are in very provocative clothes and sometimes even in the sexual situations. The conclusion of the research stated that the main template of music videos is sexuality. The clips are likely to be presented from the mail point of view, in which women are seen as sexual objects. Popular musicians often put sexual content in their clips which can talk to their audience and attract it. It can also meet such goas as moving away from purity, fulfilling the fantasies of the audience and portraying the ability they have as successful musicians. In the end, it is possible to say that the number and depth of sexuality is only increasing in the music videos so far (Andsager & Roe, 2003). It can also help with the research of the Netflix series, to study the difference of the amount of sexual content directed to women and to men.

**2.4.1 Representations of gender**

To start the research, it is important to introduce different research traditions to understand the study analysis. There are distinguished different disciplines and there are four main approaches: psycho-analysis, semiotics, social psychology discourse analysis. The first field is psycho-analysis, it was rooted in the analysis of film. Laura Mulvey (1975) formulated the theoretical insights on gender and media, it is called gaze theory. Mulvey analysis how a film appeals to the pleasure of looking at another individual as an erotic object, which is called *scopophilia*. Films thus create characters as objects for such pleasure, allowing a particular way of "looking at" people*, the gaze*. There is a psychological effect of the gaze, the subject of the gaze after realizing that he/she is a visible object loses some sense of autonomy (Mulvey, 1975). In the films, male characters are more often bearers of the gaze, and female are more often subjected to it. The second field is semiotics. This field refer to a structuralist approach that regards how signs work. Saussure wrote a work on the semiotic analysis and it starts with the understanding of a two-part model of the sign. Sign consists of: a "signifier" which means the form that the sign takes and the "signified" that it the concept which the sign represents. So, the sign is the whole that appears from the association of the signifiers and the signified (1983). The third field is the discourse analysis. This analysis looks into how exactly the meanings are created, by whom the meanings are created and how power intersects. Representation is seen as a process where there are constant interchange and interaction between the material world and the mental maps in our heads. Where mental maps are conceptual ideas, impressions and associations (Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2015). The last fourth field is the social psychology

approach. This approach van be explained as a focus on 'the effects of social and cognitive processes on the way individuals perceive, influence and relate to others' (Smith & Mackie, 2007). Today social psychology focuses on the discovery of different kinds of gender norms and behaviors in contemporary media, more specific in advertisement (Krijnrn & Van Bauwel, 2015).

The theory which is used in this study is called "Goffmanian analysis", it is the method of analysis which is created by sociologist Erving Goffman and it is related to discourse analysis and/or psycho-analysis (Krijnrn & Van Bauwel, 2015). Goffman analyzed the representations of gender in ads, as the expressions of gender or "gender displays" are learned socially and patterned socially too, they function as a ritualistic affirmation of the social hierarchy. His research was focused on how gender is organized in society and discovering those patterns. Goffman use advertising as the start of his analysis, he argued that the advertisements give insights into something which is richer than 'real' glances of gender displays. He had three reasons for that: ads are choreographed intentionally to be explicit about different matters, ads can be shot from any angle which the cameraman chooses as the objects are displayed in a way to allow the clear view and a real person is very restricted to observe live scenes from any angle possible (1979). Goffman's research will help in this study to analyze gender displays in *Orange Is the New Black*, but also the method will be advanced to be able to analyze race and sexuality.

In the book Gender Advertisements (1976), Goffman described how masculinity and femininity were displayed in precision: American advertising. Though, if the book focuses on disbalance between men and women, this study focuses on disbalance between females. Goffman looked into 500 different advertisement photos and analyzed the clothing, poses, positions of the body and others, he focused on the constructions of femininity and masculinity. As a result, he found out that there is a huge contrast between how males and females are portrayed. In the different ways' females are illustrated as submissive, soft, powerless, fragile and childlike. Goffman focuses his attention on the structure of femininity, or attributes and qualities of females, but he also proposes the vision into the ways masculinity or attributes and qualities of males are portrayed, because two genders are depicted and defined in relation to each other. Males are depicted in contrast to female, confident, aware of surroundings, so prepared and comfortable. Goffman argues that the results of the study are not based on the biology or nature traits, instead they are based on how culture defines femininity and masculinity. Goffman (1976) proves his point by the example of the depiction of homosexual men, who are more likely to be portrayed in the same or similar poses as women, it shows that this depiction has less connection to the male physic and bigger connection to the cultural notions of masculinity and

femininity. Illustration of females and homosexual males in advertisement aimed only towards the male audience, not targeting females or even homosexual males (Goffman, 1976).

Goffman categorized his results in six main themes: Relative Size, Feminine Touch, Function Ranking, The Family, The Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal. These gender displays appeared in ads over and over again, so they are repetitive frameworks. To start with, the first category is Relative Size, the subcategories of it are height of males and females on the photos and basis of the symbolization, where details focus on one thematic issue. One of the ways in which social strength, authority, rank, position, fame is reflected in the social situations is relative size, especially height. This congruence is somewhat facilitated among men through professional selection, preferring size to circularity, because selection often occurs in social situations where size can be an influence. In the case of interaction between parents and their young kids, biology itself makes sure that social weight will be indexed by physical appearance. In the social interaction between the sexes, biological dimorphism highlights the probability that the usual superiority of a man over a woman will be expressed in his greater growth and height. Then selective mating begins to make sure that almost every pair will show a difference in height in the expected direction, turning what would otherwise be a statistical trend into an almost reliable one. Even in the case of simple groups of people leading a conversation, the various forms of professional, associative and situational selection markedly increase the biologically reasonable possibility that each male participant will be bigger than each female participant. Now it seems that what biology and social selection does, the picture posing is complete: indeed, it is so carefully assumed that differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight, that relative size can be regularly used as a means of making sure that the story on the picture will be clear at a glance (Goffman, 1976).

Second category is The Feminine Touch, it has three subcategories, the use of fingers and hands, which are barely touching the object, using face instead of hands to touch something and touching oneself. Women are often posing while using their fingers and hands to depict the contour of the object. And this ritualistic touch is different from the utilitarian hold or grasp. This light touch can also involve self-touch, when woman is softly touching herself: the tips of the fingers slightly caressing the face, neck and so on. This illustrates females as soft and their bodies as delicate and fragile. Though, this also can be seen as sexualization of women and women' body, within this context it can be interpreted as sexually inviting and accessible (Goffman, 1976).

Third category is The Function Ranking, it includes eight subcategories. The category of function ranking originally meant that in society in a collaboration situation between a man and a woman, a man is more likely to perform the executive role, while the woman is takes up the

tutored role. Subcategories include: hierarchy of function within the occupation, meaning that someone is more superior and have a role of the instructor in the professional occupation. Hierarchy of function outside the occupation, which means superiority outside of work, or that someone has a role of the instructor or the role of one in power outside of the professional occupation. Function ranking among children, function ranking among children, where children are serious, but their activity is not, briefly 'cuteness' is involved in their activities. Instructions, which seems to involve some sort of subordination of the one who is being instructed and the deference for the one who is instructing. The learning features are reinforced by age-grade subordination through the most of learning career of an individual. In our society learning usually associated with the status of a kid. Men seem to show to be instructing women in this way more, then women would be instructing men. Body addressed help which involves hands, Usually, the recipient guides this action or/and even takes over the action in its final phase. So, the sense of autonomy of the recipient is saved, though most women are not shown guiding their responses when helped by men. Function ranking in such rooms as nursery, living room and kitchen where men have no contribution role domains of traditional authority and competence of women, kitchen, nursery and living room. In the case of men, they were avoiding 'female' task both subordination and contamination. Men act unrealistic or childlike in such rooms (nursery, kitchen and etc.) and finally men pursuing the alien activity under direct supervision of the female (Goffman, 1976).

The Family is the fourth category of Goffman, the nuclear family taken as a fundamental unit of social system can be adapted well to the pictorial representation requirements. Every member of nearly any family can be easily included in the same close picture and be positioned accurately. So, the visual representation of the family members can work well as a symbolization of the social structure of the family. The category includes three subcategories: mocked up families or full family, then men with sons, women with daughters, and father or son being absent from physical circle of other family members. The subcategory mocked up family means that in the advertising the distribution of at least one boy and at least one boy creates a possibility to symbolize the entire sext of intrafamily relationships can be effected. An example can be the photos of the families where the special bond between a boy and his father and a girl and her mother are exhibited. Men with sons or women with daughters subcategory is a different type of unity instead of the unity inly between sons and fathers, and daughter and mothers. There is a trend that women are portrayed more akin to their daughters then the man to their sons. Because boys have to force themselves into the manhood with the involvement of problematic effort. Last subcategory is the position within the physical circle of the family. Frequently, the father or the

son, if the father is absent stands a bit outside the physical circle of the other family members, like to show the relation the protectiveness of whom is linked with distance (Goffman, 1976).

Fifth category is The Ritualization of Subordination, so it is the different rituals of submission. it means that there are ways to display that females are subordinated to males. This category has 18 different subcategories. Lowering oneself physically, or hold oneself erect as a sign of superiority, which is a classic stereotype of defense. And accordingly, holding oneself erect with the head high is a stereotype of superiority and ashamedness. Sitting on beds or floors, where in social situations people on the beds or floors would be lower than people who are sitting on the chair or even standing. Also, floors are associated with something less clean and less pure. And a laying position is one where the physical defense would be very difficult. Having a high physical place is a symbol for high social place. 'Bashful knee bend' can be seen as full effort to be prepared in the social situation. The pose seems to presume the goodwill of anyone close who could cause harm. Canting posture seen as an acceptance of subordination, a representation of submissiveness. Smile as in interior so while the potential aggressor is looking. It is possible to say that the smiles often function as ritualistic mollifiers, which showing that nothing antagonistic is intended, that the meaning of one's act was understood and accepted. Thought, those who focus on the movements of potential aggressor may automatically smile, if their gaze was caught by the object they focused on. And all of these smiles seem more offering of an inferior. Being in the position of children, where the subordinated have a position of a child in regard to the adult. Being unserious by a childlike guise and body clowning, one would use the entire body as a playful gesticulate device, in other words body clowning. Being not committed to the clothing, situations or styles. Particularly in advertising men are shown in formal, business or informal clothing, and though it seems clear that the same person will appear in all different guises at different times, each of the guises seem to provide him something that he is very serious about, and deeply identify with, like wearing a skin, not a costume. On the contrary women in the advertising seem to feel different about their clothing. Women shown less serious in social situations than men, and as they identify themselves less with the clothing. It is a paradox because in real life women spend more time and are more concerned about their clothes and appearance than men. Playing mock assault games. Originally this subcategory was playing mock assault games with children, but it was noticed that men play this game with women, though under this game men could be engaged in a deeper suggestion of what he could do if he got serious about this game. In advertising mock assault is represented as "fun" and more likely to be shown in holiday scenes. Extended arm, the pictures of a man and a woman sometimes involve the extended arm which represents showing the boundary of his social property and protecting it against invasion. It is especially visible in the pictures when a woman

is engaged in an action which accords her authority at the same time. And finally, four behavior arrangements: as there ae four main behavioral arrangements of couples of people, which are taken as physical expression that two are together as a social unit with respect to the social situation which they are in. First is microecology, it means that one is sitting or standing close to another with or without touching. Second is "arm lock". This is the basic tie-sign in Western societies that shows that a female is under the protection of a man who accompany her. Though, it is most commonly seen between husband and wife, but no sexual or legal link are necessary for it. Third is "shoulder hold". It is an asymmetric configuration, which require that the person who is holding is taller and the person who is being held would accept the direction and constraint. And finally, the fourth one is hand holding. When hand holding involves adult male and an adult female, it appears to be an indication of potentially sexual and exclusive relationship (Goffman, 1976).

Sixth and final category is Licensed Withdrawal, it seems that women are shown engaged in actions which can remove them psychologically from the social situation, which leaves them lost in the situation and to the situation more than men. And as a result, women are shown dependent on the protection and goodwill of others who may be present. The subcategories are: losing control of one's facial posture or 'flood out', covering one's face with hands because of remorse, fear, shyness or laughter, it means the emotional response which causes the person to lose control over his or her facial postures. The person can still partly hide it by turning away from the others or by covering his or her face, in particular covering the mouth with one's hands. Such act cannot hide that something is being hidden and also requires blindness to everything around oneself, so this response being empty and inadequate when the withdrawal is already a response to a real thread. This subcategory has four clear examples: remorse, fear, shyness and laughter. Sucking or biting on one's finger. The impression here is that somehow a steam of anxiety has been lost in the main course of attention and being strengthen in an dissociate fashion. The face here is covered only partly as one can see but not be seen by others and can engage hand and face outside the flow of face-to-face address. Finger to finger position, it shows the same dissociated self-communication as in the finger to mouth position, but it has a more attenuated form. Turning one's gaze away from another. It can be identified as consequence of withdrawing from the thrust of communication, it allows the feeling of an individual who withdraw to settle down and to control oneself while he or she is protected from the direct scrutiny. Also, the submission and trust in the source of stimulus is implied. Head or eye aversion. When one is lowering the head, it withdraws attention from the current situation, with the entailed and indicated dependency. The point of the action is that one's feelings will be momentary hidden. Aversion of the eyes is a similar action. Distance look or being 'away'

psychologically. In the social situations, one can withdraw his or her gaze from the scenery in general and look away in such manner that it gives an impression that he or she has only minor concern about what is seen, psychologically he or she is "away". Focusing on hands, gaze can not only wonder or look away but also have a focus on hands. This focus shows not only the self-enclosure, but it also requires a downward turn of the head, where submission can be another possible interpretation. 'Anchored drifts' middle distance or small objects. In advertising women are represented as mentally floating from the psychological scenery around them, while a man who is in close physical touch with a woman is ready to cope anything that might happen for both of them. Though, women are focusing on various points. Such as: objects on middle distance, small objects or a twistable piece of man's clothing. Maintaining a phone conversation. It necessarily means that one who is on the phone withdraws the attention from the situation at hand, so having lack of orientation for events which might happen around him or her. This though can be controlled by the shortening the time period of calls and by being less involved in the conversation. In advertising females are sometimes pictured dreamy while having a phone call. Laying with bended legs, women often shown in a position of laying with bended legs on the bed or floor, it seems that their legs are used in a dissociated way, though this dissociated behavior in large extend, can be the attention it withdraws from the scenery. Withdrawal from a social situation through the more expensive expressions. In advertising women are withdrawing themselves from social situations through involvements which include emotional response more often than men. There are significant responses which are transported by happiness, they are: pleasure, laughter, glee and delight. The reason could be that females can find final satisfaction in goals that can be currently achieved. If both male and female are shown in a state of happiness, female is more likely to express a more expensive expression, for example smiling. 'Participation field': being at the edge, from behind objects, from behind animals, from behind persons. It is also possible to view the social situation from a distance or from behind something. In such manner one cannot be completely seen, but he or she can observe the events. So, separating the gains and losses of face-to-face communication. When the participation of individual is shielded maintenance of dissociated side involvements are facilitated because these involvements can barely intrude between an individual who is shielded so not available at all and the others. One can observe the situations from different angles such as: being at the edge, from behind objects, from behind animals or from behind persons. Snuggling: with children, adults laying, sitting, one standing and one sitting, both standing. When primates are young they are turned or turn to the bodies of their mother for comfort and for protection. Often, they are even hidden form the surroundings with arms of their mother. Maye this position is a prototype, though for kids any adult in a role of parent seems qualified as something to snuggle into. When

the kid grows up, the snuggling stops to be an isolation from the situations, instead it becomes more ritualistic. There are different types of snuggling: children, adults laying, sitting, one standing and one sitting and both standing. Nuzzling is a reduced form of snuggling, it involves face and nose as a substitute of using the whole body. So, it represents a partial withdraw from being fully available to social situation. In advertisement, women usually nuzzling children or objects, though men do not, though women can also nuzzle men. Leaning and touching, the process in which one snuggles the other, seems very personal, though using the other's body as if it is something to use at one's will has an impersonal tone. Because the object one can lean on is used as a physical resource and not a social responsive resource. Such leaning is a weakened and very ritualized form of snuggling. In advertising women have more rights to use men's body in functional way then men can use women's body, in non-sexual context. It seems that a woman has less sexual intent than a man, and therefore if a woman touches man's body is less suspect than otherwise. Although men can underline spoken interaction of a woman by showing his support, protection and parent-like affection through putting his hand on her, but for women such an action is less available. 'Grief embrace', a two-person asymmetrical configuration which is standardized and noticeable in real life. All combinations of genders are seen in both roles, but women are not represented as comfort giver to men in the advertisement. Arm support is manifested from the grief embrace and it is an evidence of compliment or moral approval (Goffman,1976).

# 3. Methods

This section explains the choice of scientific methods which were used. It also includes the explanation of the gathered data, operationalization, the process of the analysis and finally validity and reliability of the study.

## 3.1 Choice of methods

To repeat, the research question is:

> *How are gender, race and sexuality represented in relation to each other in season 4 of the TV series Orange Is the New Black?*

Three sub questions aid in answering this research question:

> *How are sexuality and race overlapping in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

> *How are sexuality and gender overlapping in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

> *How are gender and race overlapping in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

In this study I am going to use qualitative research methods to answer the research question and sub questions because the qualitative methods are more flexible than quantitative and fit my study better to go in-depth of the topic. The reason to this is that quantitative method only would allow to analyze the number of times females were represented depending on race, gender, and sexual orientation. But I wanted to get a deeper understanding of the representation women had in *Orange Is the New Black* season four. Qualitative research is interpretivist, so the focus of the research is on the understanding of the social world, through the analysis of the interpretation of that world by its members (Bryman, 2012). My research is focused on understanding the social world, so it is beneficial to use qualitative methods. Qualitative approach analyzes information which is brought through language and behavior. It is used to grasp expressive information which cannot be grasped in quantitative approach, so the data about beliefs, feelings and motivations which is based on behaviors (Crabtree & Miller, 1992).

I used two methods: verbal and visual. In particular, I used a thematic analysis and visual analyses. Thematic analysis helped me with evidence of specific predetermined themes, such as race, gender and sexuality. So, I reduced the data and identify the core meanings through the themes of my research (Patton, 2002). Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). While there are different methods to

collect data on television, thematic analysis is the most beneficial for my study because it allowed me to establish and select specific categories before starting my research gathering. And this helped me to narrow my focus. As themes or categories I used "Goffmanian analysis" which is a method of analysis created by Ervin Goffman (1976). He developed tools for the analysis of gender displays and their relation to power structures, six different categories (see section 2.4.1). These gender displays are repetitive frameworks (Krijnen &Van Bauwel, 2015). In the thematic analysis I planned to see the narratives of the stories which people are creating, so the stories of each character, it can help in understanding how people are representing themselves and their experiences or in other words, personal narrative of experiences (Riessman, 2005).

   With visual analysis I am going to analyze the visual aspect of the series, because television series rely on visual and symbolic codes. For this reason, visual analysis of the series is essential and can not only reveal the new sociological perspectives but also, show us different messages which were sent by the creators of the show to the audience. To create an interesting research with the use of visual analysis, as mentioned previously I adapted Goffman's six categories to analyze the series (1976). In his research he analyzed advertisement photos by looking at different poses, positions of the body and so on with focus on femininity and masculinity. I used his codes to visually analyze *Orange is The New Black* and see the meaning behind their movements, facial expressions and such. Finally, using the visual analysis can help reveal new sociological perspectives in terms of intersectionality in the data or in the episode of the television series *Orange is The New Black* (Banks, 2007).

   As mentioned previously I used all the episodes of season four of television series *Orange is The New Black* for visual analysis. To make the research more reliable, I did not watch the season before studying it, to have a clearer view on it and to not have any expectations or memories. When watching it the first time all visible and noticeable cases in the categories by Goffman were noted. I analyzed the season series by series and wrote down not only the number of cases in the subcategories of Goffman but also who from the characters did the action. In this manner I was able to see the races and the sexual orientation of each character who fell under the subcategories, to analyze it after and to see the patterns of characters of different races and different sexual orientation who are represented in the show. I used documents instead of participants because I was analyzing the series and wanted to gather information about the representations of gender, race and sexuality in the series, instead of gathering thoughts and opinions of its audiences. In terms of ethics, the study topic of the intersectionality of gender, race and sexuality is a sensitive subject, but as I was not interacting with participants, so there are no ethical implications such as consent, anonymity, beneficence or privacy issues. Though,

as mentioned previously the topic is very sensitive, it is difficult to talk about the topic and its issues completely ethically that can be an implication.

**3.2 Data gathering**

As mentioned previously, I used media source documents, or in other words episodes of the television series *Orange is the new black*. Although, the television series today consists of six seasons, in this research only season number four will be studied. I watched and analyzed season number four of the show, the season consists of 13 different episodes of about 50 to 70 minutes each. I chose this season because there is nothing extraordinary happening, which means that the characters are living their ordinary life in prison, to compare it to season number five, where there is a riot in prison, so it is much harder to focus on the purpose of the study. Also, it is not one of the first seasons of the series, because in those it is hard to follow the narratives of each character and the plot is only starting to develop itself. In season four it is easier to analyze the series narratively because the characters are already developed as well as the overall plot. So, it is possible to focus on the purpose of the study and on its topic of the intersectionality of gender, race and sexuality. I am going to download the subtitles of the episodes for the analysis.

I watched and analyzed the whole season number four of the American television series *Orange is the new black*, to do so I used Netflix website for it. As mentioned before, it consists of 13 episodes of 50 to 70 minutes each, at the end of the research the number of hours spent on watching episodes are about 13 to 14 hours.

**3.3 Operationalization.**

To start with, I will mention the main concepts of the study. They are: gender, race and sexual orientation. I studied these concept in the relationship to each other through the lens of Goffman. The sociologist who studies more than 500 advertisements, looked into the representation of masculinity and femininity in the Western media and created six categories. Therefore, he researched the power disbalance between men and women in the advertisements (1976). In my research I am looking into power disbalance between women. Similar as men having more power than women, between women, white, heterosexual women have more power than all other women from various minorities.

By using Goffman's tools, I am trying to achieve the theoretical advancement of the method, first of all, I am using the categories only on women, when Goffman focused on both men and women, masculinity and femininity (1976). Second, instead of the analyzing the advertisements or pictures, I am analyzing TV series, so moving pictures, which is much more

complicated. Analyzing TV series is more complicated because instead of having pictures in which characters do not move, and there is a possibility of in-depth analysis, with focus on all the part of such picture, series characters on the contrary are always moving, the backgrounds are moving as well. There is not always a possibility to see which inmates are on the background and what exactly they are doing, also some of the background characters are extras so have no name or personality to research. Thus, I was writing down only the most obvious movements from all the categories, to make the research reliable and only three out of six categories were relevant for this research. Also, it is important to state that I analyzed only the inmates of the prison, without paying particular attention to the female guards, female family members of the prisoners, or flashbacks to the life of the main characters. The reason for this is that the series aim to be diverse mostly in the case of the main characters.

When gathering data specifically about race I did not only assume what the race of the character is but instead I looked up online on the websites which are created by fans, what race a character has. I did the same when I was gathering the data about sexual orientation. I was reading the life stories of each character online, their character information and looked into how they acted in the show itself, with the help of all this information I could conclude the sexual orientation of each character. I used the website "FANDOM" which uses information from the fans of the series, because there no academic sources with this data.

The main research question and the sub questions are related to each other. The main question is complicated to be answered without the sub questions, which are more specific and focuses particularly on sexuality in the relationship to race and gender separately. In the end, it will be easier to answer sub questions, and as a result answer the main research question.

### 3.4 Methods of analysis

I started my analysis by creating a table based of the sis categories of Goffman. The table I have made included all the categories and all the subcategories of Goffman. At first, I familiarized myself with all the subcategories, so when I would see them on the screen I would be able to recognize each one of the subcategories. I familiarized myself with them by reading the descriptions of Goffman and carefully analyzing the advertising photos which he used (Goffman, 1976). Then Before starting the visual analysis I created another table with all the characters from the series, their age, race and sexual orientation, it also helped me to remember the names of all characters, to easier continue the visual analysis and fill in my tables (*FANDOM*, 2019). I watched all the episodes one by one, and as I already mentioned before it was my first time of seeing the data, as I purposefully, did not watch the episodes beforehand. While watching the episodes I made notes on my table with the amounts of times each

subcategory occurred, I also added the name of the character who fell into one of the subcategories or simply who did the action of the subcategory. While watching the episodes I stopped and played back many different parts, to make sure that I added all the cases for each category. After I finished my data gathering, I continued with analyzing the data, category by category.

## 3.5 Validity and reliability

Validity is an approach which focuses on the issue whether the concept measurement really measures the concept (Bryman, 2012). In my research I am going to use the categories of Goffman (1976) to analyze the series, though the categories could be outdated as the research by Goffman took place in 1976, which could be a limitation, as more than four decades have passed. Reliability is concept that concerned with the problems of consistency of measures, so if the repeated measurements would happen how consistent will be the results (Bryman, 2012). The study is going to be reliable, as the data is going to be the same and studied in the same ways, also the fieldnotes or in the case of the study tables with observations will be provided. Though subjectivity could be a limitation of the study and writing down into the categories only the most noticeable actions of the characters. Also, I tried to make the research process through explaining the research methods and data analysis methods as transparent as possible, as well as the 'theoretical transparency', which is explicit and show needed interpretations while excluding others (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006).

**4. Results of the study.**

To start the results section, it is important to mention that for the analysis of the series the categories of Goffman were used (1976), the in-depth explanation can be found in section 2.4.1. There are six categories of Goffman: Relative Size, Feminine Touch, Function Ranking, The Family, The Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal. But not all six are relevant for this research. Relevant categories are going to be explained more in-depth further, they are: Function Ranking, The Family, The Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal.

Two categories of Goffman were not relevant for this research: Relative Size and The Feminine Touch. First of irrelevant categories is Relative size. Social strength, authority, position, fame which is reflected in the social situations can be shown by the relative size, especially height. In the social interaction between the sexes, superiority of a man over a woman will be expressed in his greater growth and height. Differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight, that is making sure that the story on the picture will be clear at a glance. This category may be helpful in the analysis of photos and pictures, where the size is purposively highlighted. But in the case of the series, female characters are of different sizes and heights, which do not correlate with their social status, but instead showing the diversity of the cast. Another reason for this category not to be relevant that those size and height differences are most visible in the extreme situations, as women in the series are of the average heights, with little exceptions.

Next category which is not relevant either is The Feminine Touch. Women are often posing while using their fingers and hands to depict the contour of the object, as a ritualistic touch. This also can be seen as sexualization of women and women' body, within this context it can be interpreted as sexually inviting and accessible. For my research it would be useful to see if female characters in the series are also, portrayed fragile and delicate, by looking at their hands movements and the ways in which they touch themselves or others. This category is extenuating the image of women, and it is irrelevant for the research because in the series *Orange Is the New Black* nothing is being extenuated as it is not the part of the context of this series.

**4.1 Function Ranking Category.**

The category Function Ranking is one of the four relevant categories. This category means that in a situation of collaboration between a man and a woman in society, a man is more likely to perform the executive role, while the woman is takes up the tutored role. This shows the power displays (Goffman, 1976): in this situation it would seem that the one with power would be positioned in the executive role. This category has eight subcategories (see section 2.4.1). Three of these categories (hierarchy of function within the occupation, hierarchy of function outside the occupation and instructions) appeared in the analysis, the other five (function ranking among children, body addressed help, childlike and unrealistic representation in the traditional women domain, alienated activity under the direct supervision of women in the traditional women domain) did not.

From the results of the Function Ranking category, it is possible to say that in the series *Orange is the New Black* only in the subcategory hierarchy of function in the occupation racial minorities, in this case Latino women, were dominant. In two other subcategories hierarchy of function outside the occupation and instructions racial minorities, Latino and African American women were less active than white women. It could be the case because the only opportunity for minorities to show their superiority is in their occupation. Also, in this study, the executive role is mostly taken by white heterosexual women. Though, important to mention, that in the subcategory outside the occupation, sexual minorities, in this case bisexual women, showed their superiority. So, it is possible to say that the series are moving towards breaking the traditional representations by showing gay characters as a group which can be dominant, as well as in fantasy genre where gay characters are included and the genre itself moves towards homosexuality (Dhaenens, 2013). And in the last subcategory, which shows contribution in the domains of women authority. Caucasian women prevailed in having a lack of contribution in the duties which are of traditional women authority.

To continue with the explanation of the irrelevant subcategories. Function ranking among children, where children are serious, but their activity is not. This subcategory does not appear in the analysis, because I am analyzing adult women in prison, so children do not appear in the context of this analysis. Subcategory body-addressed help, which is likely to involve hands, the recipient guides this action or/and even takes over the action in its final phase. In the series this subcategory did not appear. Subcategories as: men in traditional women domain represented childlike

and unrealistic, or performing an alien activity under the direct supervision of women. These two subcategories did not appear in the analysis of the series, because men were not analyzed in this research. But taking women in this subcategory instead of men, was still irrelevant in the research, as they did not appear.

Relevant categories are: hierarchy of function within the occupation, hierarchy of function outside the occupation and instructions. Subcategory hierarchy of function within the occupation means that someone is more superior and have a role of the instructor in the professional occupation. Here it is important to mention that inside the prison, the inmates are assigned work, but also set up (illegal) businesses themselves. Though all inmates have a job assigned, some jobs carry more authority than others. For example, kitchen duties, which is an assigned job, when the wearer of the illegal "pantie" contrabands is a work which is set up illegally by inmates. Most occasions of professional/occupational superiority, meaning the instructor's role, is taken up by Latina inmates. Because Latina women while being in their occupation, like in the kitchen showed their superiority by telling others what they should do, because they are the ones who are running the kitchen. Lesser superiority was shown by white straight women, four cases, example can be Red, who also was telling kitchen stuff what to do. The same number of cases was shown by white and bisexual woman, for example Piper telling her illegal workers what to do. As Piper set up an illegal business of selling dirty "panties", she had inmates who were working for her. The smallest amount of cases was shown by African Americans, only two cases. Thus, some women who are originally in disadvantage because they are a minority group, like Latina women, demonstrate the power disbalance, as they show the superiority in function, though African American women do not show the superiority of function in the case of *Orange is the New Black*.

Next subcategory is the hierarchy of function outside of occupation, or superiority outside of the professional occupation, for example superiority of one inmate over the other in their free time, when they are not obliged to work. In this subcategory the trend of the previous subcategory turns around, as Piper and Red, two white characters show the most superiority outside their occupation, 12 and six cases accordingly. Such cases were counted in the situations when one of the characters showed their superiority over the other. For example, when Red was angry at her bunkmate, because she could not sleep from the noise of somebody snoring, the bunkmate was scared of her and showed how sorry she was by trying to sleep in

the different positions. Piper showed her superiority too, for example when in the cantina she asked for food which was gone already, and got it from the kitchen, though other inmates could not do this, it shows Piper's status. Though, important to remember that Piper is a bisexual character, where Red is straight this is important here because the research is focused not only on the race but also on the sexuality. Latino and African American women barely showed their superiority outside of occupation, 3 and 2 cases accordingly. This can mean that in professional situations, Latinas seem to rule, outside it, white women. Though, the character of Piper Chapman is bisexual, thus sexual minority still show the superiority in the hierarchy here.

Another relevant subcategory is instructions, it involves subordination of the one who is being instructed and the deference for the one who is instructing (Goffman, 1976). In this subcategory the pattern shows that according to race both white and Latino women were giving instructions, but African American women did not. Alex, white lesbian woman gave instructions in three cases. An example can be when Alex's inmate Lolly saved her from the guard who tried to kill her, Lolly started panicking because not only she killed a person but also, she was psychologically instable. Alex though, were trying to calm Lolly down, and give her instructions of what they should do with the body. Another character Red, white but straight woman did it four times, one of them was her giving instructions to her "family" (see section 4.4), about what they all should do in the situation when the garden got demolished and they had to start over. Red gave instruction to every single one from her "family". Frieda and Jane, white, straight women, both did it once, for example when Frieda gave instructions to Alex about what to do with the body of the dead guard. Alieda and Gloria, straight Latino women, also did it once each, for example when Gloria told Dayanara that she should not spend time with Latino girls from the illegal business, because she wanted to protect her. Thought, only one lesbian woman Alex did give instructions. It is visible that mostly white and straight women are giving instructions in this case. Which can mean that there is a disbalance in power between white women and minorities in the show.

Next subcategory is about domains of traditional authority of women, kitchen, nursery and living room and in the original subcategory is the absence or lack of contribution of men, here of women (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory is important to mention as relevant because it is essential to see who takes up traditional feminine tasks, like the kitchen duties and cleaning. For example, in the

kitchen stuff consists of mostly Latina women, seven out of 11, only three Caucasian and one African American. So, Latina women in the series are represented as more feminine than others. Though in cleaning duties African American women prevail. It is possible to say that Caucasian women have a lack of contribution in the domain of traditional women authority duties. Compared to music videos in which women usually have the traditional female roles, the series show that it is not always that way (Andsager & Roe, 2003).

To conclude this section, it is important to say how Function Ranking category relates to the intersections between gender, race and sexuality. The intersection between gender and sexuality, and, gender and race in this researched are seen through the lens of Goffman gender displays. It is possible to say that in this series hierarchy of function in the occupation is dominated by Latin race and by straight sexuality. Hierarchy of function outside the occupation are dominated by Caucasian race and bisexual orientation. Instructions are mostly given by women with Caucasian race and heterosexual orientation. And finally, the lack of contribution in the domains of women authority is shown by Caucasian women, but domination in contribution is shown by Latin race and straight orientation, so Latino women are represented more feminine that Caucasian.

**4.2 The Family.**

Next category is The Family. As mentioned before the nuclear family taken as a fundamental unit of social system can be adapted well to the pictorial representation requirements. (Goffman, 1967). There are only three subcategories of the family category: mocked up families, women more akin to daughters and the position within the physical circle of the family (see section 2.4.1). None of these subcategories appeared in the series, but the main category The Family still stands important.

As the result of this category it is possible to say that there are several families represented in *Orange Is the New Black*, though it is debatable that all of this groups can be seen as families. There are five small groups which are seen as families within the prison: "Red's Family", "Spanish Harlem", "The Black Girls", "Golden Girls" and "The White Power Group". Some of the groups like "Red's Family" do act like a real fundamental unit of social system, and others like "The White Power" group only are together because of racist ideology. It is also possible to say that for "Red's Family" and "Spanish Harlem" have more visible hierarchies than other groups. It is also visible that in most cases the family units are created with the racial

division in mind.

The subcategories: mocked up families, women more akin to daughters and the position within the physical circle of the family did not appear in the series because as discussed previously, I studied only the inmates of the Litchfield prison from the show, so there are automatically no males, as the prison is female only, also there only one case with an actual family member within the prison.

But there are still created families among the inmates, which is important to mention. There are five small groups, where some of them refer to as family. More in detail, one of them is "Red's Family" a group of inmates which is headed by Galina "Red" Reznikov. Because this family have Red as a leader, the hierarchy is visible. Another group is "Spanish Harlem" the group of Latina women. In season four their leader is Maria, but she became a leader after she created her illegal business with fellow Latina women, and her 'workers' became her followers. Though other Latina women saw Gloria as a leader or a mother-figure, until she left the prison. Knowles (2003) argues that race can be connected to space in a way that applies to difference and inequality, thus, at first the dorm and bathroom that the Latina inmates dominated was just a dorm, but through the series white inmates started calling it "Harlem". But later in the series, as in season four the hierarchy is possible to follow. Next group is "The Black Girls" where most members belong to African American race. They do not have an obvious leader but instead they are always there for their members and their friends as equals. In this group the hierarchy is not very visible. Another group is "Golden Girls" the group of older inmates of the prison. They spend time together and have their ow table in the cafeteria, but they do not have a leader or a visible hierarchy. The last group is "The White Power Group" a racist formation which appeared only in season four, originally created as a task force against gang formation. This group was initiated by Piper to solve the business conflict between her and Maria Ruiz, as Maria started up the same illegal business (illegal "pantie' business). And at first Piper was the leader until she left the group. After the group did not have an official leader, so hierarchy is not observable. It is very visible that in most cases the family units are created with the racial division in mind. As "Red's Family" mostly consists of white inmates. "Spanish Harlem" mostly consists of Latina women and later Dominicans, "The Black Girls" are mostly African American. "Golden Girls" are also mostly white. And "The White Power" are white women as well.

To conclude this section, it is important to say how The Family category relates to the intersections between gender, race and sexuality. It is possible to say that most 'families' have all the sexual orientations included, except "Spanish Harlem" as Latina women are all straight. Though, taking race into account, it plays a big role for the 'families', because most of them have a clear racial division. It is visible because in "Spanish Harlem" there are only Latina and

Dominican women, in "Red's family" there are mostly Caucasian women, of all sexual orientations. "Golden girls" are mostly Caucasian and straight. "The Black Girls" are mostly African American with one exception and mostly straight but do include several gay inmates. Finally, "The White Power" group includes only Caucasian women, because of their racist ideology, though it includes both straight and gay women.

## 4.3 The Ritualization of Subordination.

Next category is The Ritualization of Subordination, so it is the different rituals of submission or ways to display that females are subordinated to males (Goffman, 1976). This category has 16 different subcategories from which 11 are relevant. The irrelevant ones include: head and body canting, position of children, not being commitment to clothing and extended arm. The relevant ones are: lowering oneself physically, sitting on beds or floors, high physical place, "bashful knee bend", smiles, childlike guise, playing mock assault games, microecology, 'arm lock', shoulder hold and hand holding.

In general, the results of the category The Ritualization of Subordinations are the following: it is possible to say that in the series *Orange Is the New Black* Latina women tend to show their superiority, for example by holding oneself erect, or by standing on high physical places. Important to mention that all Latina women are straight. Also, mostly Caucasian women sit on the bed or floors, without any connection to their sexual orientation, and it could show that they do not feel threatened. Though, a lot of inmates of different races and sexualities are used to sit on the beds or floors. Interesting to mention that in the subcategory of smiling when nothing antagonistic is intended, most women who showed this smiling are gay, so it is possible to say that most gay women do not intend harm. In the subcategory of behavior arrangements, in all four subcategories (microecology, 'arm lock', 'shoulder hold' and hand holding) no Latina women took part in, though Caucasian and African American women did both straight and gay.

There are five irrelevant categories for the research. The cant can be seen as a representation of submissiveness. This subcategory did not appear in the series. Subcategory in the position of the children, meaning one is the subordinated is in a lower position than 'the adult', was absent. Subcategory being uncommitted to clothing, situations or styles, women identify themselves less with the clothing. This subcategory did not appear because every inmate has the prison clothing and are used to it. Woman in prison have barely the opportunity to change their clothing or style. Subcategory the extended arm, represents showing the boundary of his social property and protecting it against invasion, and it did not appear in the series.

Relevant subcategory is lowering oneself physically, which is a classic stereotype of

defense. And holding oneself erect with the head high is a stereotype of superiority (Goffman, 1976). Thought, there were only two cases of this subcategory, Angie Rice a Caucasian and straight woman who lowered herself physically in front of a superior and famous Judy King, as she was showing her respect. And Maria Ruiz a Latino straight woman, who held herself erect and even seemed physically bigger to show her superiority in front of her business enemy Piper, when they had a conflict.

Next subcategory is beds and floors. Where in social situations people on the beds or floors would be lower than people who are sitting on the chair or even standing and a laying position is one where the physical defense would be very difficult (Goffman, 1976). In *Orange Is the New Black* a lot of inmates were sitting on the beds and floors, white inmates, Latina and African American, in some episodes there even were background inmates, whom was impossible to identify. Though individuals in the series who mostly were sitting on the beds and floors were white. Alex the lesbian white woman was noticed on the floor or bed 14 times. Also, in general Latina and African American women had about the same amount of cases of sitting on the beds or floors, but less then Caucasian inmates. That could possibly could mean that they were lower than people who were standing or sitting on the chairs, for example the situation when members of "Red's Family" were sitting on the ground and their leader Red was sitting on the chair in front of them, she was reading a book out loud and everyone was listening to her. But in some cases, it could mean that white inmates do not feel that threatened as from the laying or sitting on the floor position the physical defense is very difficult. But in general terms, a lot of prisoners could sit on the beds or floors because there are not enough chairs in prisons, and those chairs are usually occupied by inmates with higher social status.

Another subcategory is high physical place, which is a symbol for high social place (Goffman, 1976). In this category there were not so many cases of inmates standing on high physical places. But the ones who were, were either Latino or Caucasian. In one case Maria a straight Latina woman stood on the table to instruct her fellow inmates, and fellow 'workers' if her illegal business, she demonstrated her social status by doing so. In other cases, only, Blanca a straight Latina woman and Piper a bisexual Caucasian woman were standing on the table, but in their case that was not a symbol of high social place, instead it was their punishment from the guards, as they were misbehaving. Guards forced them to stand on the table without the opportunity to drink, eat or go to the bathroom. In the end of the season most of the inmates stood on the tables to demonstrate that they have some power to go against the guards and have a strike.

Subcategory is "bashful knee bend" can be seen as full effort to be prepared in the social situation (Goffman, 1976). This knee bend was demonstrated only twice by Lorna a bisexual

Caucasian woman and Marisol the straight Latina woman. This could also be the case because this action is not only an effort to be prepared in the social situations but also is feminine and a bit sexual, so there is a possibility that two cases in the show just demonstrated the femininity and sexuality of the characters. Because in the case of Marisol, she stood like that while the guard was looking at her, and she wanted him to check her, so it could also be an attempt to lure him. In music video women are sometimes presented in the sexual situations to attract audience, but here it could be only the part of the plot as the goal of the series is not to attract audience by sexualizing of women (Andsager & Roe, 2003).

Smiles is the next category, it shows that nothing antagonistic is intended. Thought, those who focus on the movements of potential aggressor may automatically smile, if their gaze was caught by the object they focused on (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory appeared only four times, two gay Caucasian women, one gay African American woman and one straight Latina woman. In this case it is difficult to conclude anything from only four cases. But it can be possible that the inmates were pretending to always be superior and it is the reason of this small amount of cases in this subcategory. Though this subcategory has more gay women than straight, that could mean that they intend no harm.

Another subcategory is childlike guise or body clowning (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory appeared only once, when most of the inmates ran to the lake when the gates of the prison got broken. They all were very happy and used body clowning to demonstrate it. Next subcategory is playing mock assault games, under this game men could be engaged in a deeper suggestion of what he could do if he got serious about this game (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory appeared only once when a romantic couple Brook and Poussey were playing a mock assault game with each other, and it was a representation of "fun".

Another subcategory consists of four subcategories as there are four main behavioral arrangements of couples which are taken as physical expression that two are together as a social unit. First is microecology. When two are sitting or standing close to each other (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory took place twice when the formed romantic couple Brook and Poussey were sitting next to each other, for example at the lunch table, a bit touching each other's shoulders, while interacting with other inmates. By doing so, they demonstrated that they are a social unit, with the respect to others. Second is "arm lock". This is the basic tie-sign that shows that a female is under the protection of a man who accompany her. This subcategory appeared twice, once when Lolly a straight Caucasian woman with some psychological problems were walking with Sam Healy the prison counselor. It was in line with the theory of the female who is being under protection as Sam was protecting her from the guards and other inmates. The second situation was between Lorna a bisexual Caucasian woman and Nicky a lesbian Caucasian

woman, after a serious talk about their former romantic relationship, the arm lock in their situation only played a role of a friendship sign but not protection. Though, individuals who demonstrated "arm lock" were all Caucasian. Third is "shoulder hold" which require that the person who is being held would accept the direction and constraint (Goffman, 1976). In most cases which appeared in the show the shoulder hold was a sign of a romantic relationship between Brook and Poussey, where Poussey as a taller one held Brook. But in one case Red was holding Frieda, while instructing her, so Frieda, white and straight woman had to accept the direction and constraint of Red a white and straight woman as she is the one with a higher social status. And finally, the fourth one is hand holding it appears to be an indication of potentially sexual and exclusive relationship (Goffman, 1976). In this subcategory there were nine cases all of which were symbolizing an exclusive relationship like Brook and Poussey, Alex and Piper. Both romantic couples were holding each other's hands to symbolize their relationship. Brook is an Asian bisexual woman, Poussey is African America, and Alex and Piper are Caucasian. Though, in one of the episodes Judy a straight Caucasian woman was holding hands with Cindy a straight African American woman, they were doing this to symbolize that they are together in the exclusive relationship, though it was a fake relationship, which proves the point that two individuals who are holding hands symbolize the exclusive relationship.

    To conclude this section, it is important to say how The Ritualization of Subordination category relates to the intersections between gender, race and sexuality. In this category women of Latin race were represented as ones who show their superiority, once again all Latina women are straight. Sitting on the beds or floors which shows less superiority, were represented by all the races and all the sexualities as well, though Caucasian women of gay and straight sexual orientations did that the most. Smiling as the hint that nothing harmful is intended was represented only by Caucasian gay women. And finally, in categories like microecology, hand holding and such, were represented by all sexualities, but the analysis showed the lack of Latina women in this subcategory.


**4.4 The Licensed Withdrawal.**

    The six and the last category is The Licensed Withdrawal, it is the biggest category of Goffman (1976). Women are shown engaged in actions which can remove them psychologically from the social situation, so shown dependent on the protection of others who may be present. This category includes 17 categories from which 12 is relevant. The irrelevant ones include: "anchored drifts", bended legs, withdrawal from the social situations through more expensive expressions, leaning and "grief embrace". And the relevant ones are: "flood out", sucking or

biting the finger, finger to finger position, turning one's gaze away from another, head or eye aversion, distant look, focus on hands, maintaining a phone conversation, "participation shield", snuggling (it includes several subcategories), nuzzling and arm support.

In general, the results of the category Licensed Withdrawal show that all the races show 'flooding out' or losing control over one's facial postures. Though African American and Caucasian women both straight and gay showed more cases in this category than Latina women. Also, Latina women did not show any fear in this subcategory, apart from other races. Caucasian and Latina women shown themselves in head or eye aversion subcategory, from which only one woman was gay, and no women was of African American. In subcategory distant look 'away' only Caucasian gay women were represented. In subcategory 'participation shield' not even one Latina women was represented. Also, in subcategories nuzzling and snuggling Latina women were barely shown, only one case in snuggling. Though Caucasian and African American women both gay and straight were snuggling and nuzzling in many cases.

Starting with the irrelevant subcategories: "anchored drifts" means that women are represented as mentally floating from the psychological scenery around them (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory did not appear in the series *Orange Is the New Black*. Next subcategory is laying with bended legs, seems that women's legs are used in a dissociated way, though this dissociated behavior can be the attention it withdraws from the scenery, this subcategory didn't appear in the series. Withdrawal from the social situations through more expensive expressions is the next category, it means that women are withdrawing themselves from social situations through involvements which include emotional response. There are significant responses which are transported by happiness, they are: pleasure, laughter, glee and delight. This subcategory is very difficult for the visual analysis of the video materials, as the emotions are constantly being portrayed and it is extremely difficult to tell if the emotions were to withdraw oneself from the situation or just to express feelings. Therefore, this subcategory did not appear in the series as an obvious one. Another subcategory is leaning the process in which one using the other's body as if it is something to use at one's will has an impersonal tone and it did not appear in the series. Subcategory "grief embrace" means a two-person asymmetrical configuration which is standardized and noticeable in real life. This subcategory is irrelevant because it did not appear in the series.

Next are relevant subcategories, starting with "flood out", it means the emotional response which causes the person to lose control over his or her facial postures. This subcategory has four clear examples: remorse, fear, shyness and laughter (Goffman, 1976). Overall the results of this subcategory show that all races show emotional responses and can lose control over their facial features. Though, Caucasian and African American more likely to do it in *Orange Is the*

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*New Black* than Latina women. But if to look only at the fear subcategory Latina women do not "flood out" so do not show fear, Caucasian and African American women do. For example, when a new head of guards started to raise his voice in front of all the inmates, Caucasian and African American women, started to cover their faces, where Latina women still seemed calm. In the laughter subcategory Caucasian women in the series did not lose control over their facial postures. Although, if to look at the subcategory from the perspective of sexuality, both queer and straight women are similarly likely to "flood out". In this subcategory I took as "flooding out" situations in which inmates were covering their faces with hands and visibly losing their facial postures (Goffman, 1976).

Next subcategory is sucking or biting the finger, the face is covered only partly as one can see but not be seen by others (Goffman, 1976). This category only had one case in the series, Cindy straight African American woman did suck on her finger in one of the scenes, where she was talking to other inmates, though I believe that in the series such an action may be a part of the characters personality and this could be the reason of only one case of it in the season.

Another subcategory is "finger to finger" position, it shows the same dissociated self-communication as the previous subcategory, but it has a more attenuated form (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory also had only one case, Suzanne a gay African American woman used this position once when she was engaged in the conversation, but I suggest that once again this may be a part of the characters personality.

Subcategory turning one's gaze away from another, can be identified as consequence of withdrawing from the thrust of communication (Goffman, 1976). Although, this subcategory did not have so many cases either, but in all the cases it was Caucasian women who turned their gazes away from someone, in conflict situations. It might mean that white women in the series could control oneselves less and needed some time to settle down than women from other races. But it can be possible that there are not enough cases to conclude such a result. Subcategory head or eye aversion is when one is lowering the head or eyes, it withdraws attention from the current situation, and momentary hide one's feelings (Goffman, 1976). In *Orange Is the New Black* Caucasian and Latina women showed head or eye aversion, but there was not even one African American woman who did it in season four. Though, the distinction between Caucasian and Latina women is quite significant, six cases of the head or eye aversion by Caucasian women, and only two by Latina women. That could mean Caucasian and Latina women are more likely to momentary hide their feelings. And only one Caucasian gay woman shown the head and eye aversion.

Next subcategory is a distance look, being "away" psychologically. In the social situations, one can withdraw one's gaze from the scenery in general and look away with an

impression that one has only minor concern about what is seen (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory appeared only twice in the whole season, and the possible reason can be that inmates could need to constantly be in the situation and being active in the social situations and not to seem too dreamy, so others cannot have advantage of them in those moments. For example, when Alex was depressed about causing one of the guard's death, and when other were talking to her, she was "away". Both cases were shown by white and gay women.

Another subcategory is focus on hands it shows not only the self-enclosure, but it also submission (Goffman, 1976). This subcategory appeared only once, Doggett a white straight woman, focused on her hands while talking to a guard, with whom she previously had a romantic relationship which ended up badly, because he raped her. She could show such a submission because of their past.

Subcategory maintaining a phone conversation, means that one who is on the phone withdraws the attention from the situation at hand (Goffman, 1976). Overall all races used phone conversations about the same amount of times, also all sexualities did, not only main characters but background unrecognizable actors too. I believe that it is so often appearing subcategory because phone conversation is the only way for these women to communicate with the outside world.

Subcategory "participation shield" means that one views the social situation from a distance or from behind something (Goffman, 1976). In this subcategory only four cases appeared, most of them from behind objects. One was Tasha a straight African American woman and Erica a straight Caucasian woman did it twice while talking to Jody King who is of a higher social status than her. Not even one Latina woman used a "participation shield". The cases are very limited, but it could mean that Latina women do not need to hide. The last case was in the situation of Sophia an African American transgender woman, who came from a maximum-security prison and needed to get a hair brush at the prison salon which used to be hers, but now Latina women dominate over it. Gloria a Latina women saw that and forced everyone to go away from the salon, while she was doing it Sophia was standing and looking from behind her. So, she did not want to be seen. The reason could be her fear as she stated it in her dialog with Gloria as Tarzwell (2006) argues that transgender inmates often have problems in receiving adequate medical care in prisons.

Next subcategory is snuggling, it means that one is isolated from the situation in somebody's hands, but now it became a more ritualistic position. There are different types of snuggling: children, adults laying, sitting, one standing and one sitting and both standing (Goffman, 1976), the category children is not applicable for this research. In this subcategory many different cases appeared, all combination of races and sexualities snuggled, though the

least active in this subcategory were Latina women, they barely snuggled with each other. And most active in snuggling was Caucasian women, both gay and straight. For example, Alex and Piper who snuggled while laying together, or Poussey and Brook, snuggled while laying, sitting and others, as they are a romantic couple in the series. Or another situation when Nickie came back from the maximum-security prison to her 'family' everyone was snuggling her while standing.

Next subcategory is nuzzling, it involves face and nose as a substitute of using the whole body (Goffman, 1976). In this subcategory Caucasian woman also showed the biggest amount of cases, African American had one case, and Latino women did not snuggle in the fourth season of the series. An example can be Erica and Judy, who were nuzzling after they took drugs together. The sexual orientation of women who were nuzzling was both straight and gay. It seems that Latina women both in snuggling and nuzzling are not very active because they might not want to show their soft sides.

Last subcategory is arm support. Arm support is an evidence of compliment or moral approval (Goffman, 1976). All races in the series provided arm support to others. Though Latina women had only two cases, where African American had four and Caucasian three. The example could be Tasha who gave arm support to her fellow inmates, as they lost one of their 'family' member Poussey, all from "The Black Girls" were grieving. The difference is not so significant but with the results from the previous subcategories the idea that Latina women in prison do not like to show their soft side seems to be confirmed.

To conclude this section, it is important to say how Licensed Withdrawal category relates to the intersections between gender, race and sexuality. All races show losing control over their facial postures, thought African American, both straight and gay did it more in this series. The distant look 'away' was shown only by gay Caucasian women, not any other races or sexual orientations. Gay and straight women of African American and Caucasian races shown snuggling and nuzzling in the series, but Latina women barely did so.

## 5. Conclusion

In this section the answers on the research questions are presented. It also includes the main results of the research, the limitations of the study and advise for the future research.

The main research question of the study is:

*How are gender, race and sexuality represented in relation to each other in season 4 of the TV series Orange Is the New Black*?

The sub questions are:

*How are sexuality and race intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

*How are sexuality and gender intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

And:

*How are gender and race intersecting in the American television series Orange Is the New Black season 4?*

The research focused on looking on intersecting of race and sexuality within female gender through the lens of Goffman's categories (1976). He looked at gender power disbalance in representation of men and women in the Western advertisement. In this study the method is more advanced. The method is used only on women to look at the power disbalance in the category within female gender, taking race and sexuality into account. As if men and women are represented in media usually men portrayed as confident, aware of surroundings, and overall prepared, though women are shown as soft, fragile, and submissive. Goffman argues that such poses or traits in each of his categories do not have the biological nature but instead represents how the culture defines men and women (1976). In our society the power disbalance also exists between women, as heterosexual white women have more power than the minorities. So, it is essential to see if such power disbalance is shown in the series. Looking into gender displays helps to see if minorities represented as submissive. The series representing "all", because there are many races and many different sexualities. But the way in which they intersect is very interesting to see, especially how different races and sexualities are influenced by gender displays of Goffman's categories (1976). It is essential to answer on research questions by using categories of gender displays by Goffman. First category is Function Ranking. Looking through this category and its subcategories it is possible to say that in the subcategory hierarchy of

function in the professional occupation the dominating group is straight Latina women. This means that other races and sexualities are more submissive in this category. In the subcategory hierarchy of function outside the professional occupation the dominating group was bisexual Caucasian women, which is also a minority group. Next subcategory is instructions, it is mostly dominated by heterosexual Caucasian women, which goes in line with the power distribution of power in the society, apart from two other subcategories. Last subcategory is contribution in the domains of traditional women authority, which includes kitchen, nursery and living room. In the series Caucasian women showed the lack of contribution, though straight Latina women were represented very active in this subcategory. From this it is possible to conclude that Latina women are portrayed as more feminine, but also, having women' traditional roles. In this category, subcategories like instructions and contribution in the domains of traditional women authority shows that Caucasian and mostly straight Caucasian women have the power in the series. Though, two other subcategories function ranking within the occupation and outside of it demonstrated that the diversity is these, as straight Latina women were mostly in power. Second category is The Family. Sexual orientation in the made up 'families' are diverse, there are gay and straight people in most of them, except 'Spanish Harlem', because as mentioned before in this series all Latina women are straight. Considering race of the different 'family' members it is possible to say that most of the group have a very clear racial division. Third category is The Ritualization of Subordination. In this category straight Latina women were represented as ones with more superiority and power, for example in subcategories as holding oneself erect or high physical place. In subcategory sitting on the beds or floors straight and gay Caucasian women were most active, this could show their low social place or instead that they are less threatened. Though, the first assumption would make the series more diverse. This assumption can be confirmed by the subcategory of smiling without harmful intents, which included only gay Caucasian women. It is interesting to mention that in subcategories of social arrangements like microecology, hand holding, arm lock and shoulder hold were represented by all sexual orientations. Though, only by Caucasian and African American women, which leaves out straight Latina women. Fourth and last category is Licensed Withdrawal. "Flood out" category showed that women of all races and sexual orientations lose control over their facial postures, though African American women prevail in this subcategory. The subcategory distance look or being 'away' psychologically was demonstrated only by gay Caucasian women. Subcategories snuggling which include adults laying, sitting, one sitting one standing and both standing was shown by only African American and Caucasian races, of homosexual and heterosexual sexualities, with only one exception of a straight Latina women. Overall, gender, race and sexuality are interconnected in *Orange Is the New Black* in a variety of ways. The series also

show the diversity in both race and sexual orientation.

It is important to briefly present the main results of the study. Starting with the sexual orientation representation in the series *Orange Is the New Black, as* mostly Caucasian women are gay, African American women are barely gay and Latina women are not. Now going category by category of Goffman (1976). In Function Ranking category, subcategory hierarchy of function some women who are originally in disadvantage because they are a minority group, like Latina women, demonstrate the power disbalance, as they show the superiority in their professional occupation, though African American women do not show the superiority in professional work in the case of *Orange Is the New Black*. The executive role is mostly taken by white heterosexual women in the series. Though, in the subcategory outside the occupation, sexual minorities, in this case bisexual women, showed their superiority. Next category is The Family or in the case of the series the groups which are created by inmates themselves. In these groups the hierarchy gets blurrier with the race of the group. In the group or 'family' of Caucasian women the hierarchy is very visible, if not taking into account the group of Caucasian women who gathered on the basis of racist ideologies. In the 'family' of Latina women the hierarchy is still visible but less, and finally, in the group of African American women the hierarchy is barely seen. Next category is The Ritualization of Subordination, and in the subcategories Latina women again tend to show superiority by holding oneself erect, or by standing on high physical places. In the subcategory of behavior arrangements, in all four subcategories (microecology, 'arm lock', 'shoulder hold' and hand holding) Latina women tend to not take part, though Caucasian and African American women do both straight and gay in the series. In the last category Licensed Withdrawal all races show emotional responses and can lose control over their facial features, though, Caucasian and African American women both straight and gay are more likely to do it in *Orange Is the New Black* than Latina women. In subcategory distant look 'away' only Caucasian gay women were represented in the series. In snuggling subcategory many different cases appeared, all combination of races and sexualities snuggled, though the least active in this subcategory were Latina women, they barely snuggled with each other. And most active in snuggling was Caucasian women, both gay and straight.

Using the finding of this research, further studies should continue to examine the representation and interconnection of gender, race and sexual orientation in *Orange Is the New Black*. These findings are limited to the fourth season of the show, but there are more seasons coming out. Further research should examine how gender, race and sexual orientation are dependent on each other in the complex identities of the characters and their stories, which continue through the seasons. This will allow a more extensive research of the television series and of gender, race and sexual orientation interconnection representation which is portrayed in

the series.

In addition, study should explore more in depth on other representations of intersectionality in the series. It can specifically focus on additional intersections in the identity of the characters and in what ways those intersections impact the representations of the characters in the series. One of the important concepts which could be added is social class in understanding also its interconnection with other concepts in the complex identities of the characters in the show.

In conclusion, it is essential for the future research to continue using intersectional approach to study the issues in *Orange Is the New Black*. Because intersectionality as a tool allows to examine multiple identities. In the future research there is a need to study the progress of characters in the different seasons, that will help to have a more detailed study of how women are represented in the series and how concepts like race and sexuality influence each other. Media often emphasizes the most dominant ideologies within societies (Hesse-Biber, 2014). And as feminist researches we have to reveal those ideologies to get to quality in our society.

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**Appendix.**

**Data analysis.**

Table 1.

|  | **Episode 1.** | **Episode 2.** | **Episode 3.** | **Episode 4.** | **Episode 5.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Function Ranking** | | | | | |
| Hierarchy of function (occupation) | 1 Red | 2 Blanca<br>2 Cindy | 2 Piper<br>1 Red | 1 Gloria<br>1 Judy | 2 Piper<br>1 Maria |
| Outside the occupation | 1 Piper | 10 Piper<br>2 Cindy<br>1 Red | 1 Piper | 2 Red |  |
| Instruction, subordination | 1 Alex<br>1 Red<br>1 Frieda | 1 Red<br>1 Jane<br>1 Aleida | 2 Alex | 1 Gloria |  |
| **The Ritualization of Subordination** | | | | | |
| Lowering oneself physically |  |  | 1 Angie |  |  |
| Sitting on beads, floors | 1 Alex<br>1 Lolly | 1 Gloria<br>1 Alana<br>1 several inmates | 1 Poussey<br>1 | 1 Tasha | 1 Tasha<br>1 Cindy<br>1 Alison |
| High physical place |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'Bashful knee bed' |  |  |  |  | 1 Lorna<br>1 Marisol |
| Canting posture |  |  |  |  |  |
| Smile as an interior | 1 Maurine |  | 1 Poussey |  | 1 Piper<br>1 Maritza |
| Childlike guise/body clowning | 1 Many inmates |  |  |  |  |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Play mock assault games | | | | | |
| Extended arm | | | | | |
| Microecology | | | | | 1 Poussey and Brook |
| 'Arm lock' | | | | 1 Lolly | |
| 'Shoulder hold' | | | 1 Poussey | 1 Red | |
| Hand holding | 1 Suzanne | | 1 Brook and Poussey | | |
| **Licensed Withdrawal** | | | | | |
| 'Flood out' lose control of face posture | 1 Suzanne 1 Lolly | | 1 Lolly | 1 Lolly | |
| -Remorse | | | | | |
| -Fear | 1 Alex | 1 several inmates | | | |
| -Shyness | | 1 Poussey | | | |
| -Laughter | | | | | |
| Sucking/biting the finger | 1 Cindy | | | | |
| Finger to finger position | | | | | |
| Turning one's gaze from another | 1 Maureen | 1 Alana | | 1 Judy | |
| Head/eye aversion | 1 Doggett | 2 Alex | | 2 Doggett | 1 Maritza |
| Distance look, 'away' psychology | | 1 Alex | | | |
| Focus on hands | | | | 1 Doggett | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - 'Anchored drifts' | | | | | |
| -Middle distance | | | | | |
| -Small objects | | | | | |
| Maintaining a phone conversation | | 2 Gloria 1 Emily | 1 Lorna | 1 Tasha | 1 Tasha |
| Lay with bended legs | | | | | |
| Withdraw from the social situation through more expensive experiences | | | | | |
| 'Participation shield' | | | | | |
| -At the edge | | | | | |
| -Behind objects | | 2 Erica | 1 Tasha | | |
| -Behind animals | | | | | |
| -Behind a person | | | | | |
| Snuggling | | | | | |
| -Adults laying | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | |
| -Sitting | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | 1 Dayanara | |
| -One standing/ one sitting | | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey |
| -Standing | 1 Suzanne and Cindy | | | | |

| | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nuzzling | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | |
| Lean and touch | | | | | |
| 'Grief embrace' | | | | | |
| Arm support | 1 Red | 1 Lorna 1 Marisol 1 Jennifer 1 Dayanara | 1 Brook | | |

Table 2.

| | Episode 6. | Episode 7. | Episode 8. | Episode 9. | Episode 10. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Function Ranking** | | | | | |
| Hierarchy of function (occupation) | 1 Maria 1 Judy | | 1 Maria | 2 Maria | 1 Gloria |
| Outside the occupation | 1 Red | 1 Maria | 1 Maria | | 1 Red |
| Instruction, subordination | | | | | |
| **The Ritualization of Subordination** | | | | | |
| Lowering oneself physically | | | | | |
| Sitting on beads, floors | 1 Judy 2 Alison 2 Cindy 2 Lolly 1 Alex | 1 Lolly 1 Judy 1 Other inmates | 1 Carrie 1 Nicky 2 Alex 1 Piper 1 Red | 1 Lolly 1 Alex 1 Piper 1 Doggett | 1 Marisol 1 Maritza 1 Suzanne 1 Sophia 2 Jane |
| High physical place | 1 Maria | | | 1 Blanca | 1 Blanca 1 Piper |
| 'Bashful knee bed' | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canting posture | | | | | |
| Smile as an interior | | | | | |
| Childlike guise/body clowning | | | | | |
| Play mock assault games | 1 Brook and Poussey | | | | |
| Extended arm | | | | | |
| Microecology | 1 Brook and Poussey | | | | |
| 'Arm lock' | | | | | |
| 'Shoulder hold' | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | 3 Brook and Poussey |
| Hand holding | | | | 1 Brook and Poussey 1 Cindy and Judy | |
| **Licensed Withdrawal** | | | | | |
| 'Flood out' lose control of face posture | 1 Maria 1 Nicky | 1 Piper 1 Maria | 1 Piper | | 1 Suzanne |
| -Remorse | | | | | |
| -Fear | | 1 Lolly | | | |
| -Shyness | | | | | |
| -Laughter | | | | | |
| Sucking/biting the finger | | | | | |
| Finger to finger position | | | | | 1 Suzanne |
| Turning one's gaze from another | | | | | |

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| Head/eye aversion | 1 Maria | 1 Erica | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Distance look, 'away' psychology | | | | | 1 Maureen |
| Focus on hands | | | | | |
| - 'Anchored drifts' | | | | | |
| -Middle distance | | | | | |
| -Small objects | | | | | |
| Maintaining a phone conversation | | | 1 Piper | | |
| Lay with bended legs | | | | | |
| Withdraw from the social situation through more expensive experiences | | | | | |
| 'Participation shield' | | | | | |
| -At the edge | | | | | |
| -Behind objects | | | | | |
| -Behind animals | | | | | |
| -Behind a person | | | | | |
| Snuggling | | | | | |
| -Adults laying | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -Sitting | 1 Brook and Poussey | | | 1 Brook and Poussey | |
| -One standing/ one sitting | | | | | 1 Marisol and Maritza |
| -Standing | | 1 Nicky with 1 Red 1 Lorna 1 Piper | | | |
| Nuzzling | | | 1 Piper 1 Red | | |
| Lean and touch | | | | | |
| 'Grief embrace' | | | | | |
| Arm support | 1 Carrie | | | | |

Table 3.

| | Episode 11. | Episode 12. | Episode 13. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Function Ranking** | | | |
| Hierarchy of function (occupation) | | | |
| Outside the occupation | 1 Red | 1 Gloria | |
| Instruction, subordination | | | |
| **The Ritualization of Subordination** | | | |
| Lowering oneself physically | | | |
| Sitting on beads, floors | 1 Judy 1 Piper 3 Erica 1 Black | 1 Suzanne 1 Brook 1 Piper 1 Alex | 1 Norma 1 Piper 3 Alex 1 Nicky |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | inmates<br>5 Alex | 1 Doggett<br>1 Erica<br>1 Carrie<br>1 Tasha<br>2 Poussey | 1 Lorna<br>1 Erica<br>2 Brook<br>1 Tasha<br>1 Freida<br>1 Gina<br>1 Anita<br>1 Sophia<br>2 Norma<br>1 Janae |
| High physical place | 1 Piper<br>1 Blanca | 1 Piper<br>1 Blanca<br>1 Most inmates | |
| 'Bashful knee bed' | | | |
| Canting posture | | | |
| Smile as an interior | | | |
| Childlike guise/body clowning | | | |
| Play mock assault games | | | |
| Extended arm | | | |
| Microecology | | | |
| 'Arm lock' | | | 1 Lorna and Nicky |
| 'Shoulder hold' | | 1 Poussey and Brook | |
| Hand holding | 1 Brook and Poussey | 1 Alex and Piper | |
| **Licensed Withdrawal** | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'Flood out' lose control of face posture | 1 Maria 1 Alex | 1 Tasha | 1 Tasha |
| -Remorse | | | |
| -Fear | 1 Suzanne | | 1 Judy 1 Brook |
| -Shyness | | | |
| -Laughter | 1 Suzanne 1 Maria | | |
| Sucking/biting the finger | | | |
| Finger to finger position | | | |
| Turning one's gaze from another | | | |
| Head/eye aversion | | | |
| Distance look, 'away' psychology | | | |
| Focus on hands | | | |
| - 'Anchored drifts' | | | |
| -Middle distance | | | |
| -Small objects | | | |
| Maintaining a phone conversation | | 1 Judy 1 Lorna 1 Other inmates | |
| Lay with bended legs | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Withdraw from the social situation through more expensive experiences | | | |
| 'Participation shield' | | | |
| -At the edge | | | |
| -Behind objects | | | |
| -Behind animals | | | |
| -Behind a person | | 1 Sophia | |
| Snuggling | | | |
| -Adults laying | 1 Judy and Erica | 1 Piper and Alex | |
| -Sitting | | 1 Brook and Poussey 1 Lorna and Nicky | 1 Norma and Brook |
| -One standing/ one sitting | | | |
| -Standing | | 1 Brook and Poussey | 1 Nicky and Lorna |
| Nuzzling | 1 Judy and Erica | | |
| Lean and touch | | | |
| 'Grief embrace' | | | |
| Arm support | 1 Tasha | 1 Tasha | 1 Cindy 1 Janae |

Table 4. List of characters from *Orange Is the New Black* season four.

| Character | Age | Race | Sexuality |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Main cast** | | | |
| Piper Chapman | 33 | Caucasian | Bisexual |
| Nicky Nichols | 37 | Caucasian | Bisexual |
| Suzanne "Crazy Eyes" Warren | 34 | African American | Lesbian |
| Tasha "Taystee" Jefferson | 25/26 | African American | Straight |
| Marisol "Flaca" Gonzales | 20/21 | Latino | Straight |
| Carrie "Big Boo" Black | 43 | Caucasian | Lesbian |
| Gloria Mendoza | 42 | Latino | Straight |
| Tiffany "Pennsatucky" Doggett | 34 | Caucasian | Straight |
| Cindy "Black Cindy" Hayes | 30 | African American | Straight |
| Dayanara "Daya" Diaz | 24 | Latino | Straight |
| Aleida Diaz | 40+ | Latino | Straight |
| Lorna Morello | 30+ | Caucasian | Bisexual |
| Poussey Washington | 23/24 | African American | Lesbian |
| Galina "Red" Reznikov | 60 | East Slavic | Straight |
| Alex Vause | 37 | Caucasian | Lesbian |
| **Recurring cast** | | | |
| Maria Ruiz | Unknown | Latino | Straight |
| Sophia Burset | Unknown | African American | Lesbian |
| Norma Romano | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Blanca Flores | 37-40 | Latino | Straight |
| Maritza Ramos | 23 | Latino | Straight |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Janae Watson | Unknown | African American | Straight |
| Angie Rice | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Leanne Taylor | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Gina Murphy | Unknown | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Erica "Yoga" Jones | 50+ | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Mei Chang | 52 | Asian | Unknown |
| Emily Germann | Unknown | Latino | Straight |
| Anita DeMarco | Unknown | Latino | Straight |
| Sister Jane Ingalls | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Brook Soso | 28 | Asian | Pansexual |
| Frieda Berlin | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Lolly Whitehill | Unknown | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Maureen Kukudio | Unknown | Caucasian | Lesbian |
| Judy King | Middle aged | Caucasian | Straight |
| Stella Carlin | Unknown | Caucasian | Lesbian |
| Carmen "Ouija" Aziza | Unknown | Latino | Unknown |
| Helen "Skinhead Helen" Van Maele | Unknown | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Irene "Zirconia" Cabrera | Unknown | Latino | Unknown |
| Brandy Epps | Unknown | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Alana Dwight | 20+ | Caucasian | Unknown |
| Michelle Carreras | Unknown | Latino | Unknown |
| Kasey Sankey | Unknown | Caucasian | Straight |
| Ramona "Pidge" Contreras | Unknown | Latino | Unknown |
| Stephanie Hapakuka | Unknown | Polynesian | Unknown |
| Alison Abdullah | Unknown | African American | Straight |

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