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## **"Not Like Other Girls": Implicit and Explicit Dimensions of Internalized Sexism and Behavioral Outcomes**

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**“Not Like Other Girls”: Implicit and Explicit Dimensions of  
Internalized Sexism and Behavioral Outcomes**

By

Kira K. Means

Accepted in Partial Completion  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science

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Kira K. Means

May 4, 2021

**“Not Like Other Girls”: Implicit and Explicit Dimensions of  
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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of  
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science

by  
Kira K. Means  
May 2021

## Abstract

Unlike other forms of internalized oppression, internalized sexism, or women's bias against other women, has been rarely studied in psychology. In this study, we aimed to determine whether implicit and explicit internalized sexism would predict internally sexist comments made in focus groups. Driven primarily by System Justification Theory, we hypothesized that implicit internalized sexism would predict participants' proportions of internalized-sexism coded comments even above and beyond the effect of explicit internalized sexism. We also hypothesized that internalized sexism would be negatively associated with self-esteem. Participants completed measures of implicit and explicit internalized sexism as well as measures of implicit and explicit self-esteem. Participants then discussed clips from the reality television show *The Bachelor* in small focus groups. The data did not support hypothesized associations between either implicit or explicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments. Additionally, we did not find significant evidence of associations between internalized sexism and self-esteem. While the data did not support our hypotheses, they did prompt compelling questions to be investigated by future research. Guided by the limitations of this study and by the qualitative data, we suggest several potential directions for future studies in this area.

*Keywords:* internalized sexism, prejudice, sexism, stereotypes, intragroup relations, implicit social cognition

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## **“Not Like Other Girls”: Implicit and Explicit Dimensions of Internalized Sexism and Behavioral Outcomes**

I feel like it's been hard for me to relate [to the other women]. Everybody here is into, like, you know, like painting their nails and doing each other's hair, and that's great, but, like, I'm just... different. Like, I like reading books in my room and like, you know, thinking, and that's what I do. (Gale et al., 2016)

In the above quote from Season 20 of *The Bachelor*, Olivia Caridi, famously portrayed as the primary “villain” of the season, responds to accusations that she is not getting along with the other women on the show by distancing herself from the other women. She implies that she cannot relate to them because they are superficially interested in their hair and nails, whereas she is interested in more substantive and thoughtful subjects. In this scene, received by many viewers as belittling and insulting toward the other women on the show and the show in general (Don, 2016), Caridi personified an all-too-common trope seen in media and real-world settings: the woman who insists she is “not like other girls.”

In a humorous piece in *The New Yorker*, de Recat (2017) satirizes this perspective, pointing out the inherent meanings underlying the position of a woman distancing herself from other women. She lists qualities that “Other Girls” possess that she, the fictional protagonist in the satirical short story, does not possess. “Other Girls” are picky, wear a lot of makeup, are needy, do not read, and are vain, she says (de Recat, 2017). In this admittedly hyperbolic example, de Recat reveals the messages that are sent when a woman insists that she is not like other women. A woman distancing herself from womanhood carries an implicit meaning that suggests women lack value, and despite its negative reception when displayed on *The Bachelor*, is strikingly common in its everyday usage. This phenomenon is just one way that women

display bias against women. While research about sexism is common in psychology (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Spence et al., 1973; Swim et al., 1998; Swim et al., 2001), very little research surrounds the sexism that occurs within groups of women, called internalized sexism or internalized misogyny. Further research on this subject, particularly related to predictors of internalized sexism-driven behaviors, could help to explain the important—and oftentimes unknowing—role women play in upholding sexism.

### **What is Internalized Sexism?**

Internalized sexism occurs when women apply sexist messages heard throughout their lives to themselves and other women (Bearman et al., 2009). It would be easy to assume that internalized sexism is as simple as sexism perpetrated by women, but the reality is slightly more complicated. An important aspect of the academic conceptualization of oppression is its structural and systemic nature (Young, 1990). In the case of sexism, men enforce the written and unwritten rules that preserve systems of inequality. In the case of internalized sexism, women continue to enforce the system of sexism even when men have left the room. Women enact internalized sexism-driven behaviors to preserve the system of sexism as whole, albeit often in unconscious ways (David, 2013).

The terms “internalized sexism” and “internalized misogyny” have been used relatively interchangeably in the little research on this construct. Manne (2017) defined sexism as the rules and expectations put in place to uphold a patriarchal system, which here means a system built around the superiority of men. Misogyny, on the other hand, was conceptualized as the “law enforcement branch” of sexism, or the actions taken to ensure that the rules and expectations dictated through sexism are being followed (Manne, 2017). While the outcome variable measured in this study refers more to action than ideology, we chose to use the term

“internalized sexism” throughout this paper instead of “internalized misogyny” for several reasons. Sexism describes the ideology driving a patriarchal system, but patriarchal systems don’t only disadvantage women. They also disadvantage those who identify as neither men nor women. While we focus on women in this study, we think it is likely that nonbinary and gender non-conforming people could also experience internalized sexism. The etymology of misogyny, of course, suggests that the term applies only to women. Additionally, the most recent research on internalized sexism has used the term “internalized sexism” instead of “internalized misogyny” (see Bearman et al., 2009; Becker, 2010; and McCullough et al., 2020) and researchers using “internalized misogyny” may be using that term at least in part because they are utilizing the Internalized Misogyny Scale (Piggott, 2004) as a measure.

### **Internalized Oppression**

Sexism is a form of prejudice, and prejudice has been defined as an attitude toward a person or group of people solely based around their membership to any group (i.e. race, gender, class, etc.; Plant, 2007). Oppression, on the other hand, is related to prejudice but is distinct in that it more specifically refers to processes in which powerful groups receive advantages while overseeing the exclusion, exploitation, and disadvantaging of groups that are not in power (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). Internalized oppression occurs when people from an oppressed group learn systems of oppression and behave in ways that uphold these systems (David, 2013). Other forms of internalized oppression have been more widely studied (David, 2013; Speight, 2007), but internalized sexism has been included in only a handful of empirical studies (Bearman et al., 2009; Becker, 2010; McCullough et al., 2020; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski et al., 2009; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014). The lack of research on

internalized sexism is particularly concerning given the important role internalized sexism plays in preserving and legitimizing sexism more generally.

Although there is very little research on internalized sexism, other types of internalized oppression can provide clues as to what the theoretical foundations and effects of internalized sexism may be. Other forms of internalized oppression include internalized racism and internalized heterosexism, both of which follow a similar structure to internalized sexism: members of a historically oppressed group internalize oppressive messages suggesting their inferiority and act in ways that preserve those existing systems of oppression. In the United States, internalized racism refers to occurrences of non-White people preserving systems of racism that place non-White people as inferior to White people. Internalized heterosexism refers to occurrences of non-heterosexual people preserving systems of heterosexism that place them as inferior in comparison to heterosexual people.

It is important to note that while we are discussing internalized sexism in this paper, other types of internalized oppression can and do interact with internalized sexism in ways that make its effects individually specific (Cole & Zucker, 2007; Rosenthal, 2016). Internalized oppression can occur on any axis of an individual's identity in which they are a member of an oppressed group, and just as individuals can have multiple axes of identity, they can also have multiple axes on which internalized oppression can occur (Crenshaw, 1991). Experiencing internalized racism, therefore, would not make an individual immune from also experiencing internalized sexism, internalized homophobia, or other types of internalized oppression.

The effects of internalized oppression are not only highly individual, but also wide-ranging. Internalized oppression has been associated with lower self-esteem, both personal and collective (David & Okazaki, 2006), as well as poor body image (Parmer et al., 2004).

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that experiencing internalized oppression can lead to depression or anxiety (Neal-Barnett & Crowther, 2000; Ross et al., 2007; Thomas et al., 2005).

### *Sexism and its Effects*

Because there is less research on the psychological effects of internalized oppression than general forms of oppression (Pyke, 2010), we also examined literature on the psychological effects of sexism, as they may be analogous to the effects of internalized sexism. While sexism research often refers to victims of sexist events, in an internalized sexism framework, victims are also perpetrators. In other words, a woman perpetrating internalized sexism is also inevitably a victim of the ideals that internalized sexism serves to enforce: that women on the whole are inferior or subordinate to men. Several researchers have found that experiencing sexist events is positively correlated with psychological distress for women (Moradi & Subich, 2003; Szymanski, 2005). As both victims and perpetrators of sexist ideals, women's experiences of internalized sexism may cause distress similar to the distress that results from sexism perpetrated by men.

Despite the dearth of research on the topic, there is some evidence to suggest that internalized sexism specifically could have negative consequences for psychological wellbeing. In a 2009 study, Szymanski and colleagues asked heterosexual college students who identified as women to complete the Daily Sexist Events Scale (Swim et al., 1998; Swim et al., 2001), a measure that assessed how often participants had experienced sexist events in the previous semester, as well as measures of internalized sexism and psychological distress. Results showed that internalized sexism moderated the relationship between experiencing sexist events and subsequent psychological distress such that greater levels of internalized sexism exacerbated the relationship between experiences of sexism and psychological distress. More research is needed

to support any causal claims, but this finding suggests that internalized sexism may play an integral role in the relationship between experiences of sexism and resultant psychological distress.

### ***System Justification Theory***

The academic understanding of internalized oppression is largely informed by System Justification Theory (Jost, 2019; Jost & Banaji, 1994) which describes the processes that uphold existing social structures at the expense of the self or ingroup. Jost and Banaji (1994) describe a hole in the existing literature on stereotypes, which—up until the development of System Justification Theory—researchers had explained through processes of ego-justification (stereotypes are justified in terms of their benefits to individuals' personal status) and group-justification (stereotypes are justified in terms of their benefits to ingroup status). While previously theorized processes of stereotype justification described situations of outgroup bias, they did not account for situations in which an individual is biased against their own ingroup. Jost and Banaji (1994) devised a third category of stereotype justification, system-justification, that describes these situations of ingroup bias, when individuals stereotype as a means of justifying the social status quo.

Jost and Banaji also describe the concept of false consciousness, or false beliefs that maintain social structures that disadvantage the belief-holder or their ingroup. Importantly, these beliefs are held at the expense of the belief-holder. Jost (1995) enumerated various types of false consciousness, including fatalism, or the false belief that protest or resistance against the status quo is futile. This concept is also referred to in some literature as “learned helplessness.” Another way false consciousness may appear is in a failure to perceive societal disadvantage (Jost, 1995). For women, this might look like an insistence that sexism does not exist or has been



eradicated. Jost and Banaji (1994) use a System Justification Theory framework to explain the relationship between stereotypes and false consciousness, suggesting that while stereotyping does not inevitably cause false consciousness, system-justified stereotypes may be causally linked to the occurrence of false consciousness. When individuals stereotype themselves or ingroup members in ways that are consistent with social roles, they are then more likely to justify inequality (Jost, 1995).

Through the lens of System Justification Theory, internalized oppression—the process through which oppressive messages are perpetuated within oppressed groups (Bearman et al., 2009)—is, by definition, a kind of false consciousness. More specifically, internalized sexism describes the holding of false beliefs that have negative consequences to one's own self-interest but serve to preserve the system of sexism as a whole.

### **The Internalized Misogyny Scale**

All instances of published studies that included a measure of internalized sexism have used the Internalized Misogyny Scale (IMS; Piggott, 2004). The IMS was developed in Australia as part of a thesis project and was never published. However, it is the only existing measure of internalized sexism. The 17-item scale was partially adapted from the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995) and the Hostile Sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and, as part of the original paper describing the IMS' development, was validated in Australia, Canada, the United States, England, and Finland. Piggott's exploratory factor analysis of the scale revealed that each of the 17 items fell on one of three factors: Distrusting Women, Devaluing Women, and Valuing Men Over Women.

Additionally, Piggott (2004) reported that the IMS was significantly correlated with the Body Image Scale, also developed by Piggott in the same paper describing the IMS'

development ( $r = .21$ ), and the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995;  $r = .36$ ). The Body Image Scale, however, was not significantly correlated with the IMS in Finnish and Canadian samples. The IMS was also significantly correlated with measures of depression, self-esteem, and psychosexual adjustment, although all correlations were relatively weak.

One potential limitation of the IMS is that the scale was originally developed to measure internalized sexism in lesbian women, and the majority of subsequent internalized sexism research has used samples consisting of only non-heterosexual (or sexual minority) women. We found only three studies that did not use a solely sexual minority sample (McCullough et al., 2020; Szymanski et al., 2009, Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). The results of these studies indicated that the IMS adequately measured explicit internalized sexism in heterosexual women.

Due to the scale's age, its usage primarily in sexual minority samples, and its prevalence in this field of study, Means and Lemm (2021) conducted two pilot studies that found support for the scale's reliability and validity. More information regarding the results of these pilot studies can be found in the Method section of this paper.

### **Implicit vs. Explicit Internalized Sexism**

Our pilot studies suggested that the Internalized Misogyny Scale is a valid and reliable measure of explicit internalized sexism, but it is possible that implicit measures may better predict behaviors driven by internalized sexism. A decade after the publication of Jost and Banaji's System Justification Theory article, Jost et al. (2004) reviewed System Justification Theory-driven research published after 1994 and suggested that system-justified outgroup favoritism is often more apparent when measured at the implicit level than when it is measured at the explicit level (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2003; Lane et al., 2003; Uhlmann et al., 2002).

Jost et al.'s (2004) review primarily examined the differences between implicit and explicit ingroup bias, arguing that while members of oppressed groups commonly demonstrate explicit ingroup favoritism, measurement at the implicit level often suggests the opposite: that members of oppressed groups actually favor outgroups. In a large-scale web-based study, Nosek and colleagues (2002) tested preferences for racial ingroups and outgroups using measures of both explicit and implicit attitudes. Results showed that both Black and White participants showed explicit preference for their ingroup, but the implicit measure indicated that Black participants showed weak preference for White people, their outgroup, while White participants still preferred their ingroup.

In another study demonstrating implicit outgroup favoritism, Jost and colleagues (2002) found that low-status group members were twice as likely to demonstrate implicit outgroup favoritism than high-status group members. High-status group members demonstrated significant implicit ingroup favoritism, which was also positively correlated with implicit self-esteem. This study highlights the importance of studying bias at the implicit level, particularly as it concerns low-status group members who may show preference for outgroups on measures of implicit bias.

Bem and Bem (1973) described gendered social roles as an unconscious ideology, and several other researchers since the 1970s have examined the implicit nature of sexist stereotyping. Banaji and Greenwald (1995) directly compared explicit gender bias to implicit gender bias in judgments of fame and found that explicit and implicit biases were uncorrelated, indicating that implicit and explicit gender stereotypes are conceptually dissimilar and may operate independently. Perhaps most relevant to this point, Kray and colleagues (2017) found that activation of fixed gender role theory was linked to greater identification with masculinity in men, and also to greater gender system justification in men. In this study, implicit attitudes

toward gender roles predicted an aspect of self-perception as well as rationalization of gender inequality.

These bodies of research suggest that system-justified processes—including forms of internalized oppression favoring outgroups and disfavoring ingroups—are likely to yield different results when measured at explicit vs. implicit levels, such that system-justified processes are more apparent at the implicit level. Additionally, both gender roles—key to internalized sexism—and gender system justification have been conceptualized as primarily driven by unconscious, implicit biases. Internalized sexism, as a system-justified process and as a process informed by social gender roles, may also be more readily detected at the implicit level than at the explicit level.

There is also evidence to suggest that implicit attitudes may be particularly powerful predictors of prejudice-motivated behaviors. Following the 2008 Presidential general election, Payne et al. (2010) conducted a study on the relationship between implicit racial prejudice, explicit racial prejudice, and prejudice-motivated behavior. The researchers found that explicit racial prejudice partially mediated the relationship between implicit racial prejudice and unwillingness to vote for then-candidate Barack Obama, such that greater degrees of implicit prejudice predicted greater degrees of explicit prejudice, which in turn predicted greater unwillingness to vote for Obama. A particularly important part of this finding was that even when statistically controlling for explicit prejudice, the relationship between implicit prejudice and unwillingness to vote for Obama was still statistically significant, indicating that implicit prejudice could still be a powerful predictor of prejudice-motivated behavior, even after statistically removing the effect of explicit prejudice. We expected that this theoretical framework may also fit internalized forms of prejudice and that implicit internalized sexism may

predict behavior driven by internalized sexism even above and beyond the effect of explicit internalized sexism.

### **The Present Study**

To measure implicit internalized sexism, we developed a Single-Category Implicit Association Test (SC-IAT; Karpinski & Steinman, 2006) using women as the target category and “good” and “bad” as the evaluative dimensions. We chose to measure implicit internalized sexism using a Single-Category Implicit Association Test instead of a classical Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998) comparing men to women because, as discussed previously, internalized sexism occurs within the internal dynamics of groups of women and oftentimes does not directly involve the influence of men. The results of a traditional sexism IAT would represent associations with women *relative to* men, which—based on previous findings related to internalized sexism—may not appropriate to measure internalized sexism. For this reason, we felt it was important that men not be included as an opposing target category. To measure explicit internalized sexism, we used a 16-item shortened version of the Internalized Misogyny Scale (Piggott, 2004), excluding an item that had performed and been rated poorly in pilot studies.

We also administered measures of implicit and explicit self-esteem. As mentioned previously, implicit ingroup favoritism has been positively correlated with implicit self-esteem (Farnham et al., 1999; Jost et al., 2002). Therefore, we guessed that implicit outgroup favoritism, as in the case of implicit internalized sexism, may be negatively correlated with implicit self-esteem. Forms of explicit internalized oppression have also been negatively correlated with explicit self-esteem (David & Okazaki, 2006; Piggott, 2004), so we expected to see a negative correlation between explicit internalized sexism and measures of explicit self-esteem.

We chose to use internalized sexism-coded comments made in focus groups as the behavioral outcome in this study. We are interested in the potentially predictive nature of both implicit and explicit internalized sexism, so we wanted to choose an outcome that would be likely to be driven by internalized sexism and that would, to the extent possible, represent a real-world situation that women may find themselves in. In Zoom-based focus groups, groups of women were asked to discuss short clips from the reality television show *The Bachelor*. A moderator ran logistics, asked discussion questions after each clip was played, and made sure that discussions did not veer off subject.

Discussion questions were written in a manner that was meant to elicit internalized sexism; thus, this situation was not entirely naturalistic and results should not be interpreted as fully representative of real-world scenarios. The goal of this study was not necessarily to examine natural and un-prompted internalized sexism, but rather, to examine internalized sexism that can be elicited by the chosen discussion prompts. Participants still had the ability to not display internalized sexism in the focus groups. While the Zoom focus groups were not fully representative of natural conversations among women, it is clear that casual conversations about *The Bachelor* are a real-world scenario that might naturally occur for many women (as evidenced by *The Bachelor*'s ratings; Levin, 2020). The focus groups were designed to encourage discussion between participants in ways that closely emulated conversations that may occur naturally.

### ***Hypotheses***

Our primary hypothesis was that implicit internalized sexism would be significantly positively correlated with the proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments made in a focus group setting above and beyond the effect of explicit internalized sexism. We expected the

relationship between implicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments to remain significantly positively correlated even after partialing out the effect of explicit internalized sexism. Other hypotheses in this study included:

1. An average of 25% of comments made by participants in focus groups would qualify to be coded as internalized sexism.
2. Explicit internalized sexism and proportion of internalized sexism-coded focus group comments would be correlated to a statistically significant degree. We expected a moderate correlation of roughly  $r = .30$ . We expected that this correlation would be stronger than the correlation between gender-related explicit attitudes and criterion measures shown by Greenwald and colleagues (2009) because of our prompting of internalized sexism in focus groups.
3. Implicit internalized sexism and proportion of internalized sexism-coded focus group comments were expected to be correlated to a statistically significant degree. We expected a moderate correlation of roughly  $r = .25$ . Similarly to the above hypothesis, we expected that this correlation would be stronger than the correlation between gender-related implicit attitudes and criterion measures shown by Greenwald and colleagues (2009) because of our prompting of internalized sexism in focus groups.
4. Implicit internalized sexism and implicit self-esteem were predicted to be negatively correlated to a statistically significant degree.
5. Explicit internalized sexism and explicit self-esteem were predicted to be negatively correlated to a statistically significant degree.

## Method

### Participants

We conducted power analyses to test zero-order correlations and a partial correlation to inform sample size for this study. Using G\*Power (Faul et al., 2007), we found that we would need a sample size of 77 in order to obtain statistical power of .80 to detect medium effect size ( $r = .30$ ) correlations, as was hypothesized between explicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments. For our hypothesized correlation between implicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments ( $r = .25$ ), a power analysis indicated that we would need 110 participants to achieve .80 power. The power analysis conducted for our planned partial correlation suggested that to detect a partial correlation of .21 with .80 power, we would need 170 participants. We anticipated that we might not be able to meet this sample size goal given the time needed to run focus groups, but we ran as many focus groups as possible.

Using SONA, we recruited 122 participants for this study. Of these participants, 82 (67.21%) attended one of 25 focus groups. We retained the data of those who completed at least 80% of study materials. One participant, who attended a focus group, completed only 64% of the total study materials, so that participant's data were excluded from the analyses. As a result, the final sample consisted of 121 participants, 81 of whom attended a focus group. For any analyses including focus group data, data of those who had not attended a focus group was not included. For all other analyses, the full sample was used.

Participants were awarded course credit for their participation. Using a pre-screening tool built into the SONA website, only students who identified themselves as women were eligible to register for this study. Upon analyzing the data, we used the demographic survey to confirm that



only those who identified as women had completed the study. Participants were also told within the study description that they must have a working webcam in order to participate.

Participants were mostly freshmen or sophomores, White, and heterosexual. Participant ages ranged from 18-42 with a mean age of 19.72. In addition, most participants (69.42%) reported that they had seen at least a few episodes of *The Bachelor*. Table 1 contains more descriptive statistics regarding demographic variables.

## **Materials**

### ***Internalized Misogyny Scale***

To measure explicit internalized sexism, we used a shortened version of the 17-item Internalized Misogyny Scale (IMS; Piggott, 2004; See Appendix A). The IMS is a Likert-type scale with response options of 1-7 (“strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”).

Following the results of two pilot studies (Means & Lemm, 2021), one item from the IMS was removed for the purposes of the present study because of that item’s low student ratings on understandability and applicability to the modern world, and because of its use of outdated language. The item that was removed was “I am sure I get a raw deal from other women in my life.” In the second of the two pilot studies, the wording of the item was changed to “Other women in my life always treat me unfairly,” but the item still had lower reliability than other items of the scale and still aligned poorly to proposed factor structures. As a result of the item’s removal, the version of the IMS used in this study consisted of 16 items in total and was otherwise identical to the original version of the IMS.

Means and Lemm (2020) also revealed good internal reliabilities for the IMS,  $\alpha = .88$  in the first pilot study and  $\alpha = .89$  in the second. After we combined both samples, an exploratory factor analysis revealed factor structures similar to but not as stable as Piggott’s originally

proposed factor structure. The “Devaluing Women” and “Distrusting Women” factors were highly correlated in our analyses ( $r = .72$ ) and several of the items that fell on those factors cross-loaded and/or loaded weakly on their respective factor. The “Valuing Men Over Women” factor had only one item out of seven that loaded weakly. Internal reliabilities for all three factors were lower than the overall reliability of the IMS, ranging from  $\alpha = .74$  (“Valuing Men Over Women”) to  $\alpha = .82$  (“Devaluing Women”). While factor structure of the IMS was not stable, factor structure was overall similar to the original structure produced by Piggott. Table 2 summarizes the results of this factor analysis. Table 3 summarizes eigenvalues and percentage of variance explained by each factor.

Means and Lemm also tested convergent validity of the IMS by analyzing correlations between the IMS and related scales. The scales included were the Belief in Female Sexual Deceptiveness Scale (BFSD; Rogers et al., 2015), the Gender Role Stereotypes Scale (GRSS; Mills et al., 2012), the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the Updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA; McMahon & Farmer, 2011; Payne et al., 1999). Correlations between the IMS and related measures were acceptable, ranging from  $r = .38$  (GRSS) to  $r = .70$  (ASI). Correlations between the IMS and the BFSD ( $r = .56$ ) and the IMS and the IRMA ( $r = -.55$ ) indicated moderate linear relationships. Table 4 summarizes results of the convergent validity analyses.

### ***Measures of Implicit Associations***

To measure implicit internalized sexism, we developed a Single-Category Implicit Association Test (SC-IAT; Karpinski & Steinman, 2006) using “Women” as the single target category, and “Good” and “Bad” as the binary evaluative dimension. The SC-IAT has the ability to assess the strength of associations with a single target object without the need for a contrasting

object, unlike a classical Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998). Participants saw a series of words displayed one at a time on the screen, and they were asked to use left and right keys on their keyboards (or left and right indicators on mobile devices) to categorize each word that appears. Target words associated with the target category (e.g. “Women”) were paired with words representing one evaluative dimension (e.g. “Good”) on one response key, while the other evaluative dimension (e.g. “Bad”) corresponded with the other response key. The evaluative dimensions were then switched so that the other evaluative dimension was paired with the target category words on one response key. Each SC-IAT used in the present study included 24 practice trials and 72 critical trials in each critical block.

To disguise the hypothesis of the study, participants were also asked to complete the same SC-IAT using “Men” as the single target category instead of “Women.” We also administered a sexism Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998) in an attempt to demonstrate conceptual dissimilarity between the Sexism IAT and Internalized Sexism SC-IAT. Because internalized sexism and sexism are distinct but similar constructs, we expected that these implicit attitudes would be correlated to some degree, but not to a high degree. The Sexism IAT was adapted from an IAT template on the Millisecond website and included two opposing target categories (“Men” and “Women”) and the same two evaluative dimensions (“Good” and “Bad”) as the SC-IATs. The same words were used to describe the target categories and the evaluative dimensions across all implicit measures.

All evaluative dimension words were used for both SC-IATs (the Internalized Sexism SC-IAT and the Men SC-IAT) as well as for the Sexism IAT. Both sets of words representing evaluative dimensions (for “good” and “bad”) were taken directly from Karpinski and Steinman’s (2006) paper that described the development of the SC-IAT. Two words from the

“Bad” attribute list were changed because of current possible popular culture implications. “Nasty” was changed to “mean” because of possible associations with the 2016 United States presidential election in which Donald Trump referred to Hillary Clinton as a “nasty woman.” “Sickening” was changed to “repulsive” because of possible associations with drag/queer culture, in which “sickening” sometimes carries a positive meaning. Otherwise, both lists were identical to the original attribute word lists used by Karpinski and Steinman. The words used to describe the “Women” and “Men” target categories were devised by the principal investigator. The words chosen are commonly used to describe both categories, and the sets contain both singular and plural versions of each word. The list of target words and evaluative words are included in Appendix B.

### ***Self-Esteem Measures***

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) is a widely used measure of self-esteem. The RSE consists of 10 items measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Half of the items of the RSE are reverse scored. Appendix C contains a copy of the RSE.

We chose to use the RSE for this study because of the possibility that internalized sexism could be correlated with low self-esteem. Logically, it may be the case that women who are biased against women may also apply that bias to themselves, resulting in lower self-esteem. Alternatively, it is possible that high degrees of internalized sexism may not affect self-esteem, as women who express bias against women may do so in a way that is psychologically distant from themselves. In other words, women’s biases against women may manifest in ways that result in them seeing themselves as exceptions to the rule. As referenced earlier in this paper, they may see themselves as “not like other women.”

While the RSE measures explicit self-esteem, we are also interested in the correlation between implicit self-esteem and internalized sexism. A measure of implicit self-esteem, the Self-Esteem IAT (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000) has been shown to be weakly correlated with measures of explicit self-esteem but conceptually distinct. The Self-Esteem IAT includes two target categories (“Self” and “Others”) and two evaluative dimensions (“Pleasant” and “Unpleasant”). Like the Sexism IAT described previously, and similar to other IATs, participants were asked to alternately associate both target words with the evaluative dimensions, with response latency indicating strength of automatic associations. Both target words and evaluative words were taken directly from the Self-Esteem IAT (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000). None of the target or evaluative words seemed likely to be associated with other confounding constructs. A full list of target words and evaluative words can be seen in Appendix D.

### ***Focus Group Clips/Discussion Questions***

Each focus group discussed four short clips from the reality television show *The Bachelor*, with each clip accompanied by 2-3 scripted discussion questions specific to that clip. *The Bachelor* was chosen as a stimulus for these focus groups because of its popularity among women in the United States, and because of its potential ability to elicit internalized sexism.

*The Bachelor* is a competition reality television show centered around a single male bachelor and the 25 women competing to win his affection. In each episode of the show, the bachelor goes on a series of dates with the women, either in groups or one-on-one, and at the end of the episode, he awards roses to all of the women he would like to stay. Women who do not receive a rose must leave the mansion (where all of the women live while filming occurs) and go home. At the end of each season, as the field of women gradually narrows, the bachelor chooses one woman to be the winner, to whom he sometimes proposes marriage. As the series involves

frequent dramatic sequences among the women, we thought that discussions around these dramatic sequences may prompt internalized sexism in women viewers. *The Bachelor* features an ample number of dramatic scenes in which women on the show are portrayed as jealous, manipulative, conceited, or otherwise lacking in character. Conversations around these scenes are likely to prompt participants to agree or disagree with sexist portrayals of women, thereby exposing existing internalized sexism.

We assumed that most college women would be at least somewhat familiar with *The Bachelor* and may have pre-existing strong opinions about aspects of the show, leading to robust conversations in focus groups. As part of the survey materials, we asked participants whether they had seen any clips, episodes, or full seasons of *The Bachelor*, and if so, which clips, episodes, or seasons they recalled watching. All of the participants in the focus group pilot study indicated that they had at least seen a few clips from *The Bachelor*, and 62.5% of participants had seen at least one full episode.

The Principal Investigator watched clips from *The Bachelor* and chose clips for the study based on their ability to generate lively discussion and to prompt any existing internalized sexism in participants. In clip 1, contestant Courtney went to the bachelor's hotel room outside of any official date times to ask him to go skinny dipping with her. Clip 2 depicted a confrontation between several contestants who claimed that one of the contestants, Corinne, was too immature for marriage. In clip 3, contestant Kelsey brought a bottle of champagne from home to share with the bachelor, but the bottle of champagne was mistakenly opened by another contestant and the bachelor, resulting in an emotional response from Kelsey. Lastly, in clip 4, contestant Krystal was upset that the losing team from a bowling group date was invited along to an after-party with

the bachelor when the bachelor had previously stated that only the winning team, which Krystal was a member of, would be allowed to attend the after-party.

All discussion questions were open-ended and designed to encourage discussion of concepts around gender and *The Bachelor*. As was also discussed in the Introduction section of this paper, the discussion questions and video clips chosen were chosen in a manner designed to prompt internalized sexism in focus group participants, so results should not be interpreted as a representation of natural, real-world instances of internalized sexism. A copy of the moderator's script is attached as Appendix E. This script includes links to the clips chosen as stimuli for the focus groups.

To test the usefulness of *The Bachelor* as a stimulus and to test the discussion questions, we ran a pilot study of two focus groups ( $N = 8$ ). This pilot study revealed that 27.2% of comments made in the focus groups ( $SD = 13.6\%$ ) were coded as internalized sexism. Two undergraduate research assistants coded the focus group transcripts, and, for each participant, coders' proportions of internalized sexism-coded comments were averaged. Each participant's average proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments amongst coders were then averaged across the sample, which resulted in the final mean proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments reported above. The proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments ranged from 12.5% to 58.3%, indicating that the stimuli used in this study were effective in eliciting internalized sexism from participants, and that there was variability between participants. When coding focus groups, coders were first asked to code for internalized sexism generally, indicating whether each coding unit contained internalized sexism or did not. An analysis of interrater reliability of this dimension indicated that coders agreed 80.9% of the time. Coders were then asked to assign sub-codes to internalized sexism-coded coding units. Internalized sexism sub-

codes indicated the type of internalized sexism contained in that coding unit (e.g. Construction of Women as Conceited, Construction of Women as Emotional, etc.). An analysis of interrater reliability revealed that coders agreed on at least one internalized sexism sub-code 79.5% of the time and agreed on all internalized sexism sub-codes 77.1% of the time. Further details on the coding process can be seen in the Data Analysis Plan section of this paper and a copy of the coding manual can be seen in Appendix F.

## **Procedure**

When signing up to participate in the study, participants first signed up for a focus group time slot and were then directed to complete a consent form. As part of the informed consent process, participants were told that the researcher is interested in women's opinions of the reality television show *The Bachelor* and attitudes about women. To indicate consent, participants were asked to enter their names, which were used to connect survey responses to focus group responses.

After indicating their consent, participants were asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire as part of the same online survey, which included questions about how much of *The Bachelor* each participant has seen, and what seasons/episodes/clips they recalled watching. The consent form as well as all self-report measures were administered through Inquisit Web software (Inquisit 6.2.2, 2020). The next block of the survey contained the 16-item Internalized Misogyny Scale and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The self-report measures were followed by the Internalized Sexism (Women) SC-IAT, the Men SC-IAT, the Sexism IAT, and the Self-Esteem IAT. The order of these implicit measures is consistent with Karpinski and Steinman's (2006) recommendation that SC-IATs precede IATs when both measures are used in the same study. Additionally, the ordering of implicit measures following explicit measures is also



consistent with recommendations in the literature (Greenwald et al., 1998). After completion of the IATs, participants were thanked for their participation and reminded to attend their scheduled Zoom focus group.

Each focus group was made up of between two and six participants. Modal focus group size was three participants. Registration for each Zoom focus group closed 20 hours before the focus group was scheduled to begin so as to ensure that participants had time to complete all study materials prior to their scheduled focus group. After registration for each focus group ended, roughly 20 hours prior to the focus group's start time, the principal investigator used SONA to send emails to all participants registered for that time slot. The emails contained a link and password for the Zoom focus group as well as a reminder that all online study materials must be completed prior to participation in the focus groups. Participants were instructed to use their names as usernames during the Zoom sessions.

At the beginning of each scheduled focus group, the principal investigator (also the moderator of the focus groups) checked all participant names against a list of all participants who had indicated their consent on the Inquisit consent form. If any participants were not included on the current list of those who had indicated consent, they were asked to leave the session. After all participants were confirmed as having indicated consent, the moderator asked each individual participant to say the word, "testing," so that any potential audio troubleshooting could occur before the focus group began. When it was clear that all participants had indicated consent and had audio working correctly, the moderator let participants know that the recording was about to begin before clicking the "record" button on Zoom.

As soon as the focus group recording began, the moderator read a list of guidelines for focus group participation, emphasizing that participants should refrain from disclosing any

identifying information about themselves or others, that what is said in the focus group may not be repeated outside of the focus group, and that any disagreements that arise should be discussed respectfully. Participants were allowed to ask questions before the moderator moved on. Next, the moderator gave a brief introduction to the structure and rules of *The Bachelor*, and then introduced the first clip for discussion.

For the duration of the focus group, the moderator introduced each of the four clips, played the clips using Zoom's screen-sharing feature, and then asked the scripted discussion questions. The moderator had a list of specific statements to utilize in the case that discussions went off track, that disagreements were not expressed respectfully, or that identifiable information was revealed. If any identifiable information was revealed in the course of any focus group, that portion of the transcript was redacted during the transcription process. At the end of each focus group, participants were allowed to ask questions of the moderator before the Zoom session was closed.

All focus groups were recorded to the Zoom cloud, secure storage accessible only via the principal investigator's Zoom account. The recordings were set to allow automatic transcription by Zoom, so audio recordings, video recordings, and accompanying automatically generated transcriptions were available for the principal investigator to download. The principal investigator watched the Zoom video recordings and edited the automatic transcriptions for accuracy. Only audio from the focus groups was transcribed. The principal investigator also replaced participant names with the unique arbitrary identifiers assigned to participants by Inquisit. When each transcript was finalized by the principal investigator, all video recordings and audio recordings of that focus group were permanently deleted. The finalized transcripts included no identifying information.

## Results

### Data Cleaning and Preparation

#### *Coding*

Transcripts were coded by undergraduate research assistants (RAs) unaware of the hypotheses of the study. RAs received a detailed coding manual (Appendix F) with instructions for coding as well as examples and non-examples of all codes. Coding units in this study were sentences spoken by each participant. While editing Zoom's automatic transcript for accuracy, the principal investigator broke speaking turns into sentences based on participants' natural breaks in speaking. Coding units were allowed to be assigned multiple codes, but not from multiple code families. Code families included No Code, Not Internalized Sexism, Resistance to Internalized Sexism, and Internalized Sexism. The only code family containing multiple codes was Internalized Sexism, and the sub-codes within this family represented different types of internalized sexism.

The principal investigator developed the coding manual by reading through transcripts of the pilot study focus groups and using a primarily inductive coding technique to identify themes within participant speech. Influential to the development of this coding manual was Bearman and colleagues' (2009) qualitative study on internalized sexism in which the researchers coded catch-up conversations between women for instances of internalized sexism. Particularly useful were the codes for "Construction of Women as Competitive" and "Construction of Women as Objects." When reading through the pilot focus group transcripts, the principal investigator identified ways in which participants constructed women in accordance with gendered stereotypes, and these gendered stereotypes largely drove the codes ultimately used in the coding manual.

### *Data Cleaning*

To calculate the outcome variable in this study, we subtracted each participant's number of comments coded as Resistance to Internalized Sexism from their number of comments coded as Internalized Sexism. We then divided this value by the total number of comments made by each participant, not including coding units identified as No Code. No Code coding units were identified as such because they contained information irrelevant to the purposes of the study (i.e. asking clarifying questions, speaking about something unrelated to *The Bachelor* or its themes, etc.). The final outcome variable therefore represented each participant's proportion of comments coded as internalized sexism, corrected for resistance to internalized sexism. For all analyses, we also used the frequency of internalized sexism-coded comments. No results were meaningfully different between frequency and proportion outcome variables.

Before analyzing, all variables were assessed for skew and outliers. Average IMS response was positively skewed (skewness = 1.002) and included one outlier over four standard deviations above the mean ( $z = 4.18$ ). We assessed the source of this outlier and concluded that the outlier was not the result of a data entry error or rapid responding. To preserve presumably natural variability in average IMS responses, we did not remove this datapoint and instead, square root-transformed the variable. The transformed variable was approximately normally distributed (skewness = -0.014). All analyses reported below were also conducted with a version of the dataset that excluded the extreme outlier; results with and without the outlier were not meaningfully different.

The frequency distribution for proportion of internalized sexism was also positively skewed (skewness = 0.765). Similarly to the average IMS response variable, the proportion of IS comments variable was also square root-transformed and the transformed variable was

approximately normally distributed (skewness = 0.035). Age was also positively skewed (skewness = 5.555), but because we did not use Age as a predictor in any analyses, this variable was not transformed. How much of *The Bachelor* participants had seen was slightly negatively skewed (skewness = -0.116), but because skewness was relatively low, this variable was also not transformed.

Because positive scores on the Women SC-IAT indicated more positive associations with women, analyses involving implicit internalized sexism used the inverse of Women SC-IAT *D* scores. After inverting the Women SC-IAT scores, positive *D* scores represented more negative associations with women, or more implicit internalized sexism.

All predictor variables in this study (square root-transformed average IMS response, average RSE response, and *D* scores for all measures of implicit associations) were standardized using Z-transformations. Z-transformations were performed using the grand mean and grand standard deviation rather than group means and group standard deviations. Therefore, values for these variables indicate standard deviation differences from the grand mean.

### **Measure Reliability and Validity**

Cronbach's alpha calculations revealed high internal reliabilities for both the IMS ( $\alpha = .84$ ) and RSE ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

Interrater reliability of focus group coding manual was high, with coders agreeing on whether coding units contained internalized sexism or not 87.3% of the time. We also calculated Cohen's kappa, which statistically removes the probability that agreements occurred simply by chance. Kappa for whether coding units contained internalized sexism or not was .822. There is some disagreement over interpreting the magnitude of Cohen's kappa, but within either of the

two most widely used guidelines for interpretation, the kappa for this type of interrater agreement is considered excellent.

Because multiple codes were contained within the internalized sexism code family, representing different types of internalized sexism, we also calculated a percent agreement on at least one type of code. Within basic agreements on whether the coding unit contained internalized sexism or not, we assessed whether at least one of the codes assigned to each coding unit was agreed upon by both coders. Because the internalized sexism code family was the only code family that contained multiple codes, and coding units could not be assigned codes from multiple families, disagreements in this category referred to disagreements on type of internalized sexism codes specifically. The percent agreement on at least one type of code was high at 85.6%. Cohen's kappa cannot be calculated if codes are not mutually exclusive (Cohen, 1960), so kappa was not calculated for agreement on at least one type of code. Types of internalized sexism code will not be used in any inferential analyses for the purposes of this study.

### **Descriptive Statistics**

On average, participants responded below the midpoint of the 0-6 IMS response scale, indicating low internalized sexism ( $M = 1.13$ ,  $SD = 0.78$ ). For the RSE, average responses were near the midpoint of the 0-3 scale ( $M = 1.77$ ,  $SD = 0.45$ ).

The Women SC-IAT, on which  $D$  scores above 0 indicate increasingly more negative attitudes toward women, or higher levels of implicit internalized sexism, had a mean  $D$  score of  $-0.28$  ( $SD = 0.31$ ). According to guidelines set by Greenwald et al. (2003) and within the context of SC-IATs, the average participant in this study displayed a slight positive association with women, or slightly low implicit internalized sexism.

The Men SC-IAT, on which *D* scores above 0 indicate increasingly more positive attitudes toward men, had a mean *D* score of -0.11 (*SD* = 0.27). On average, participants displayed little to no meaningful difference between positive and negative associations with men, though the *D* score was negative, indicating slightly more negative than positive associations.

The Sexism IAT, on which *D* scores above 0 indicate increasingly strong associations between “Men + Good” and “Women + Bad”, had a mean *D* score of -0.53 (*SD* = 0.28). On average, participants displayed a stronger association between “Women + Good” and “Men + Bad” than the opposite pairings, indicating moderately low levels of patriarchal sexism.

The Self-Esteem IAT, on which *D* scores above 0 indicate increasingly strong associations between “Self + Pleasant” and “Other + Unpleasant,” had a mean *D* score of 0.36 (*SD* = 0.29). On average, participants displayed a stronger association between “Self-Pleasant” and “Other-Unpleasant” than the opposite pairings, indicating moderately high implicit self-esteem. Table 5 contains descriptive statistics for all measures.

In focus groups, 16.29% of total comments were coded as internalized sexism while 0.91% of comments were coded as resistance to internalized sexism and the remaining 82.80% of comments were coded as not internalized sexism. On average, each participant made 65.17 comments and 10.62 of those comments were coded as internalized sexism. Within internalized sexism-coded comments, the most common types of internalized sexism codes were Construction of Women as Emotional, Construction of Women as Deceptive, Construction of Women as Jealous or Competitive, and Construction of Women as Conceited. Proportion of comments coded as internalized sexism was significantly negatively correlated with total number of comments made ( $r = -.30, p = .006$ ), meaning that as participants made more comments, their

proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments tended to decrease. Table 6 contains more descriptive statistics regarding focus group codes.

### **Hypothesis Testing**

We pre-registered and planned the following analyses: a partial correlation analysis statistically removing the effect of explicit internalized sexism from the correlation between implicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments; zero-order correlations between implicit internalized sexism and internalized-sexism coded comments, and between explicit internalized sexism and internalized-sexism coded comments; and zero-order correlations between implicit internalized sexism and implicit self-esteem, and between explicit internalized sexism and explicit self-esteem.

We also ran several exploratory analyses to address the original research questions in additional ways and further explore the data. Exploratory analyses included zero-order correlations between implicit internalized sexism and implicit sexism, between implicit attitudes toward men and implicit sexism, and between implicit internalized sexism and implicit attitudes toward men; a zero-order correlation between proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments and total comments made; a hierarchical linear regression testing the effect of adding implicit internalized sexism to a model predicting internalized sexism-coded comments from explicit internalized sexism; and multilevel modeling using a varying intercept model and Bayesian Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods.

### ***Correlations Between Study Variables***

Before testing our primary hypothesis stating that implicit internalized sexism would predict internalized sexism-coded comments above and beyond the effect of explicit internalized sexism, we first examined zero-order correlations among study variables. We did not find



evidence of significant associations between either implicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments ( $r = .19, p = .10$ ) or explicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments ( $r = .20, p = .07$ ).

We also did not find evidence of associations between internalized sexism and self-esteem. Correlations between implicit internalized sexism and implicit self-esteem ( $r = -.03, p = .75$ ) and between explicit internalized sexism and explicit self-esteem ( $r = -.09, p = .34$ ) were not statistically significant. While measures of internalized sexism were not correlated with measures of self-esteem, implicit self-esteem was significantly correlated with implicit attitudes toward men ( $r = -.20, p = .035$ ), indicating that higher self-esteem was associated more negative associations with men. Implicit self-esteem was also negatively correlated with implicit sexism ( $r = -.24, p = .01$ ), indicating that people with higher implicit self-esteem tended to show less implicit sexism. Lastly, higher implicit self-esteem was associated with greater explicit self-esteem ( $r = .38, p < .001$ ).

Implicit internalized sexism was significantly positively correlated with implicit sexism ( $r = .31, p < .001$ ). Implicit attitudes toward men were also significantly positively correlated with implicit sexism ( $r = .38, p < .001$ ). However, implicit attitudes toward women and implicit attitudes toward men were not correlated with each other ( $r = .02, p = .81$ ). How much of *The Bachelor* participants had previously seen was not correlated with implicit attitudes toward women ( $r = .17, p = .07$ ), explicit internalized sexism ( $r = .12, p = .19$ ), or proportion of comments coded as internalized sexism ( $r = .05, p = .68$ ).

### ***Primary Hypothesis Testing***

We tested the primary hypothesis of this study in several ways. Because we hypothesized that implicit internalized sexism would predict the proportion of internalized sexism-coded

comments above and beyond explicit internalized sexism, we were able to test this question using both a partial correlation analysis and hierarchical linear regression. However, due to the nested nature of this data, with 80 participants nested in 25 focus groups, we also used an analytic approach that accounted for variability due to clustering.

A partial correlation between implicit internalized sexism and the proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments, with the effect of explicit internalized sexism statistically removed, was not statistically significant ( $r = 0.18, p = .11$ ). We also tested a partial correlation between explicit internalized sexism and proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments, with the effect of implicit internalized sexism statistically removed. This partial correlation was also not statistically significant ( $r = 0.13, p = .25$ ).

For the hierarchical linear regression, we tested the effect of adding implicit internalized sexism to a regression equation predicting proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments from explicit internalized sexism. Adding implicit internalized sexism did not explain significantly more variance in proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments,  $F(1,77) = 2.241, p = .138$ . The change in  $R^2$  due to adding implicit internalized sexism to the equation was .027. Standardized slopes for explicit and implicit internalized sexism were not statistically significant in either the explicit internalized sexism-only model or the full model. Table 7 summarizes the results of the hierarchical linear regression.

Lastly, because the outcome variable in this analysis was nested within focus groups, we also used a multilevel modeling approach that statistically accounted for clustering in responses. Because the number of level two units, or focus groups, was relatively small at 25, we used a Bayesian analysis strategy for the multilevel model. In samples with a small number of level two

units, Bayesian Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods have been recommended to reduce biased parameter estimates (Baldwin & Fellingham, 2013; McNeish & Stapleton, 2016).

Before fitting a Bayesian multilevel model, we first had to identify appropriate priors for the analysis. For estimates of the model intercept, we specified the prior as a normal distribution with a mean of .20 and a standard deviation of .10. The mean of the intercept distribution was chosen based on hypotheses of the study, representing the mean value of proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments at the mean of either explicit or implicit internalized sexism. We expected the standard deviation of this distribution to be roughly .10. While the outcome variable in this analysis was not standardized, predictor variables were, meaning that we were able to use more generic weakly informative priors for the remaining prior specifications. For betas for both coefficients (implicit and explicit internalized sexism), we specified a normal distribution with a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1. For standard deviation and sigma estimates, we specified Cauchy-distributed priors with means of 0 and standard deviations of 1.

Because the lack of research in this area meant that our estimates, particularly for specifying the intercept prior distribution, were very approximate, we also ran the model using default priors specified by the brms package (Bürkner, 2018) in R statistical software (R Core Team, 2020). After performing posterior predictive checks of the models using chosen priors and default priors, it appeared that using the chosen priors resulted in slightly more variation in posterior estimates than the default priors. See Figure 1 for posterior predictive checks of both models. Although the models with default priors and chosen priors both resulted in acceptably high effective sample sizes over 1000 for all parameters and trace plots that did not indicate divergence, using the chosen priors resulted in two parameter estimates with  $R_{hat}$  values over

1.000, indicating potential issues with model convergence. For these reasons, we ultimately chose to use the brms-specified default priors in building the final Bayesian multilevel model.

The default priors employed in our final model specified the intercept using a Student's  $t$  distribution with 3 degrees of freedom, a mean of .40 and a standard deviation of 2.5. Betas for both coefficients were specified using improper flat distributions. Standard deviation and sigma were specified using Student's  $t$  distributions with 3 degrees of freedom, means of 0 and standard deviations of 2.5. The model as a whole was specified using a Gaussian distribution. We ran four chains of 4000 iterations of Monte Carlo Markov Chain estimations, 1000 of which were warmup iterations. Because of our small sample size, we used posterior medians rather than posterior means to summarize the posterior distributions. Only the intercept of the model, and not slopes for either coefficient, was specified in a way that allowed for it to vary by focus group. Because of the way this study was structured, we would expect that baseline proportions of internalized sexism-coded comments would likely be somewhat influenced by focus group membership. We would not expect that the magnitude of the relationship between measures of internalized sexism and proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments would vary by focus group because participants were not grouped into focus groups during the completion of either implicit or explicit measures of internalized sexism.

Prior to investigating posterior estimates of the model, we found the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC), representing proportion of variability in internalized sexism-coded comments accounted for by focus group membership. The ICC for a null model including neither predictor but acknowledging random variability in proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments was .205, indicating that over 20% of variance in internalized sexism-coded comments was accounted for by clustering in the dataset. After running the full model including both explicit

and implicit internalized sexism as predictors of proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments, the posterior median estimate of the standard deviation of the intercept across focus groups, indicating variability in the intercept between focus groups, was meaningful at .045. The 95% credible interval for this parameter ranged from 0.005 to 0.089, meaning that we can be 95% certain that the true median standard deviation of the intercept lies within this range.

The posterior median estimate of  $\beta$  for implicit internalized sexism was 0.018 and the 95% credible interval ranged from -0.007 to 0.042. The posterior median estimate of  $\beta$  for explicit internalized sexism was 0.017 with a 95% credible interval that ranged from -0.006 to 0.041. Neither of the posterior median estimates of effects of implicit or explicit internalized sexism on internalized sexism-coded comments were meaningful. We also used Bayes factors (Bürkner, 2018) to compare the final model to a null model, which included no predictors but did account for nestedness in the intercept. The estimated Bayes factor provided extreme evidence for the null model over the final model ( $BF_{10} = 0.003$ ). We also compared the final model to a model including only explicit internalized sexism as a predictor, effectively testing the addition of implicit internalized sexism. The estimated Bayes factor provided strong evidence for the model including only explicit internalized sexism over the final model ( $BF_{10} = 0.037$ ). Additional information about the Bayesian multilevel model can be seen in Table 8. Plots of all posterior distributions can be seen in Figure 2 and trace plots can be seen in Figure 3.

### Discussion

The majority of women who participated in the focus groups displayed internalized sexism in their conversations about *The Bachelor*. While the video clips and discussion questions were effective in eliciting internalized sexism, the majority of our hypotheses were not supported by the data. We did not find support for our primary hypothesis, that implicit internalized sexism

would predict internalized sexism-coded comments above and beyond explicit internalized sexism. Furthermore, while we did find weak positive correlations between both implicit internalized sexism and comments and explicit internalized sexism and comments, these correlations were not statistically significant. Correlations between implicit internalized sexism and implicit self-esteem and between explicit internalized sexism and explicit self-esteem were negative and weak. While these correlations were in the expected direction, they were not statistically significant.

As a type of internalized oppression, we expected that internalized sexism may follow some patterns demonstrated by research on other types of internalized oppression. However, the data did not follow the patterns of what we would expect to see with internalized oppression. Past research on internalized oppression has found associations with lower self-esteem (David & Okazaki, 2006), but we did not observe this association. There were no significant associations between any measure of internalized sexism and implicit or explicit self-esteem.

Our primary hypothesis was driven largely by findings by Jost et al. (2004) suggesting that outgroup favoritism may be more apparent at the implicit level, rather than the explicit level. Furthermore, Payne et al. (2010) suggested that prejudice-driven behavior may be predicted by implicit prejudice even above and beyond the effect of explicit prejudice. Based on these findings, we hypothesized that participants' proportions of internalized sexism-coded comments made in focus groups would be predicted by implicit internalized sexism even after statistically removing the effect of explicit internalized sexism. Through several analyses, we did not find any evidence supporting this hypothesis. Neither explicit internalized sexism nor implicit internalized sexism were significantly associated with proportion of internalized-sexism coded comments.

## Limitations

As discussed in the introduction section of this paper, only a handful of empirical studies have been conducted on the subject on internalized sexism specifically (Bearman et al., 2009; Becker, 2010; McCullough et al., 2020; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski et al., 2009; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010, Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014). Because of this, our hypotheses were largely driven by research in related but distinct areas. The research cited on internalized oppression, for example, was mostly conducted on the subject of internalized racism. While it is possible that internalized sexism may function in similar ways to internalized racism, these constructs are undoubtedly distinct. Racism and sexism carry different historical legacies and lead to different psychological outcomes (Grillo & Wildman, 1991; Remedios et al., 2012; Stevens-Watkins et al., 2014). As such, it is possible that our hypotheses were too driven by research not pertaining to the intricacies of internalized sexism itself.

It is also possible that the engineered nature of conversations in focus group led to responses that were more driven by the stimuli than by individual differences. The vast majority of participants made at least a small handful of comments that were coded as internalized sexism. In other words, it is possible that our attempt to elicit internalized sexism in participants was too effective in eliciting internalized sexism, such that those who demonstrated low implicit and explicit internalized sexism were still likely to make internalized sexism-coded comments.

While power analyses suggested that we had adequate power to detect the hypothesized zero-order correlation between explicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments, we did not recruit enough participants to obtain statistical power of .80 for the correlation between implicit internalized sexism and internalized sexism-coded comments, or for the partial correlation analysis. For analyses involving focus group comments, we had a total of

81 participants, fewer than the 110 needed for the implicit internalized sexism and comments correlation and fewer than the 170 needed for the partial correlation analysis. As a result, the majority of our analyses involving focus group comments were likely underpowered, which may have contributed to non-significant results. For correlations involving only survey data or measures of implicit associations (i.e. correlations between internalized sexism and self-esteem), our sample size of 121 was likely adequate to detect medium-sized effects.

Our frequentist analyses were underpowered, but the statistical power of our Bayesian analysis appeared to be sufficient. Though traditional power analysis is not compatible with Bayesian statistics (Kruschke & Liddell, 2018), Bayesian statistics can be used to investigate whether the data are or are not sufficiently sensitive to detect effects. Quintana and Williams (2018) suggest that when comparing an alternative model to a null model, Bayes factors near 1.00 could be indicative of insensitive data, potentially caused by sample sizes that are too small. When comparing our model to a null model, the Bayes factor was much lower than 1.00, meaning that the null model was much more likely than the alternative given prior expectations and the data. Therefore, for the Bayesian multilevel modeling analysis, there was no clear indication that our sample size was too small to detect effects.

One other potential limitation of this study was selection bias. Because the study's connection to *The Bachelor* and gender was advertised in recruitment materials, our sample was likely not representative of the department participant pool at large. Nearly 70% of participants reported having seen at least one episode of *The Bachelor*, indicating that our recruitment materials likely attracted participants who were more interested in *The Bachelor* than the average undergraduate student. The proportion of participants who identified as non-heterosexual in our sample was also likely not representative of the undergraduate student population. Nearly half of



our sample identified as non-heterosexual. In past research (Means & Lemm, 2021), non-heterosexual women scored significantly lower than heterosexual women on explicit internalized sexism. In future investigations of internalized sexism, researchers should ensure that recruitment materials do not reveal enough about the subject of the study to result in selection biases and potentially non-representative samples.

### **Directions for Future Research**

In future investigation of the research questions posed by this study, special attention should be paid to ensuring that the outcome variable is sensitive to individual differences in internalized sexism. A naturalistic experiment may be better suited for this purpose. However, an unstructured discussion between women, for example, may not lead to any expressions of internalized sexism. Future researchers investigating this subject should be careful to allow authentic behavioral expressions of individual differences while ensuring that situational context is powerful enough to elicit those expressions of internalized sexism.

While choosing a different behavioral outcome for this study may have led to different results, it is possible that quantitative hypotheses related to internalized sexism will continue to lack support until more exploratory research is conducted on the subject. Research emphasizing qualitative findings will likely be particularly informative to future research development. In emerging areas of research, qualitative data can play a crucial role in informing quantitative hypotheses as the area of research develops over time (Stebbins, 2001). Guided by patterns seen in the qualitative focus group data in this study, we will discuss several potential future directions for exploratory research on internalized sexism.

### *Internalized Sexism and Resistance Contagion*

According to the intraclass correlation found as part of the multilevel modeling analysis, over 20% of the variance in proportion of internalized sexism-coded comments could be accounted for by focus group membership. This statistic suggests internalized sexism-coded comments were highly affected by clustering in the data. The qualitative data also support this. When participants made internalized sexism-coded comments, other focus group participants would often echo, agree with, or elaborate on the internalized sexism-coded comments. In this way, internalized sexism-coded comments appeared to somewhat infectious within focus groups.

As an example of this, one participant mentioned that they doubted the authenticity of Krystal's emotions in clip 3, saying, "Like I really, like again playing the victim and like maybe she... She definitely knew, maybe. Like what was the angle here, because it did seem more like an act than a true emotion type thing, if that makes sense." Immediately following this, another participant agreed, saying, "I agree, because like I'm sure that Kelsey knew that Hannah Ann and Ben were on a date and so why would she set it up like right there when they, when she knew that it wasn't like their time to hang out."

Very rarely, participants would deliberately break cycles of agreement like the one seen above. When participants explicitly disagreed with a comment or action coded as internalized sexism, those comments were coded as resistance to internalized sexism. Only 26 of the 81 total focus group participants made any resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments at all. Resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments made up less than 1% of total focus group comments.

These comments sometimes explicitly mentioned stereotypes about women, such as this comment about contestant Krystal in clip three:

Like it's just a stereotype that is already with women that they're emotional and then when they're also women being pitted against each other for male attention... Then it's like, it just, it felt, I felt bad for her being called like weepy and emotional.

Other resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments implored other participants to give women on the show the benefit of the doubt, citing *The Bachelor*'s producers as the sources of much of its engineered drama. In reference to clip three, one participant said, "Like it definitely was the production team's fault." In reference to contestant Corinne in clip two, another participant said, "I feel like you're also kind of set up to dislike her."

The sparseness of resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments suggests that breaking through a group consensus around internalized sexism is difficult. However, once that consensus is broken, it appears that other group members feel more empowered to make resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments. Just as internalized sexism-coded comments seemed to be infectious within focus groups, resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments appeared to be as well. When one focus group member initiated a conversation about stereotypes, for example, other group members often agreed with the initial points made or displayed resistance in related ways. In fact, one participant's comment of, "I feel like you're also kind of set up to dislike her" was in direct response to another participant who brought up stereotyping. That participant said, "And, like, it's very easy to stereotype people and like what fake may look like to us. And so I think it's like hard to make that assumption about if she's fake or not."

It appears that, although it is difficult to break through group consensus around internalized sexism, spoken resistance to internalized sexism may influence other group members. Future research should investigate the extent to which internalized sexism is driven by

group consensus and how that consensus can be broken. Understanding resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments, and how and why consensus is created around resistance, could provide crucial insight into effective confrontations of internalized sexism. In addition, investigating what kind of individual differences might predict the likelihood to make resistance to internalized sexism-coded comments could illuminate what makes some individuals more or less likely to display resistance.

### ***All-Women and Type-of-Woman Stereotypes***

Most of the statements characterized as internalized sexism in this study did not explicitly generalize to all women or even to specific “types” of women. Participants’ endorsement of stereotypes about women were coded as internalized sexism even if they were referring to one woman in particular. However, some statements more directly implied that all women exhibit certain specific traits or behaviors while others referred to “the type of woman” who might exhibit certain specific traits or behaviors. While in the minority of all comments, these comments represent less insidious and more overt displays of stereotyping.

When participants made comments that generalized to all women, they sometimes prefaced them with some qualification, acknowledging that those comments reflected a stereotype but essentially endorsing the stereotype regardless. The following comment, in reference to potential jealousy arising because of Courtney’s actions depicted in clip 1, is one example of this:

I mean, not to push the whole stereotype that like girls are catty and stuff like that, but I mean there is some truth to if you put X amount of girls into a room, a few of them are bound to say something about someone.

All-women comments were most often in reference to clips 1 and 2 and nearly all of these comments expressed the same basic idea: that gatherings of women inevitably lead to discord or drama. Several participants specifically referred to “cattiness” as an unavoidable consequence of gatherings of women. One participant revealed some of the reasoning behind this idea when explaining why other contestants might be jealous of Courtney from clip 1: “Yeah, just because she like got the guy and like even outside of the competition, like within the show, that is something that is a competition usually with girls and like can cause jealousy.” This participant seemed to suggest that there is a natural sense of competition for men amongst heterosexual women and that this competition is likely to lead to conflict within groups of women.

The subject of type-of-women comments were more varied. Some comments referred to the type of woman who competes on *The Bachelor*, implying that there is something about this type of woman that is inherently different and presumably inferior to other women. In reference to clip 3, one participant argued that producers were responsible for the mix-up with the champagne and engineered this situation because they knew what “type” of women tend to be on the show:

And then she's going to just make a huge scene because they know that they're going to do that and they know the type of women that they're working with and they know that these women will do whatever it takes to cut another woman out and throw her under the bus.

Other comments referred to Kelsey from clip 3 as “...the type of woman who would be really into her looks and appearance and be devastated by something like [champagne exploding on her face]” and Corinne from clip 2 as “...the type of girl who would throw other women

under the bus to get like, to get a guy or something.” These comments imply that there are entire sub-categories of women who tend to be overly attentive to their appearances or throw other women under the bus.

All-women and type-of-women statements like the ones discussed above represent more overt stereotyping than endorsement of stereotypes that refer to a specific woman or group of women. One potential avenue for future research on internalized sexism is to examine how more overt expressions of internalized sexism might differ from more covert expressions. It is possible that individual differences, for example, would be more predictive of more overt or extreme statements than covert statements. In future research, assigning more weight to more overt expressions of internalized sexism or choosing an outcome that recognizes variability in comment severity may result in different results than what was observed in this study.

### ***“Pick-Me Girls”***

Two separate participants in two separate focus groups used the phrase “pick-me girl” to describe women on *The Bachelor*. One participant used this phrase to describe Courtney from clip 1 and the other participant used this phrase to describe Corinne from clip 2.

The phrase “pick-me girl” was recently popularized on the social media platform TikTok (Eckert, 2021) and is new enough to common vernacular that it has not yet been used in any empirical articles. The phrase refers to women or girls who are seemingly desperate for male attention and will go to any length to obtain that attention, even if that means putting down other women or distancing themselves from womanhood in general (Eckert, 2021). This trope bears resemblance to the trope discussed at the beginning of this paper, the woman who insists she is not like other girls. Some definitions of pick-me girls seem to imply that the phrase is really a feminist reaction against some women’s tendency to defer to men or to cater to the male gaze.

While this reaction could be positive if it were focused on disrupting the systems that lead to these conditions, it seems that online, the term has been more commonly focused on individuals, leading to cyberbullying and accusations that other women or girls are pick-me girls (Eckert, 2021).

As of March 2021, over 16% of all TikTok users were women and girls under the age of 20 (Tankovska, 2021). It is clear that new manifestations of internalized sexism are emerging on social media and, particularly given TikTok's popularity among young women, these emerging tropes are crucial to understand. While this study did not provide evidence of any associations between internalized sexism and self-esteem, other research has suggested that internalized oppression and outgroup favoritism may be associated with negative self-esteem (David & Okazaki, 2006; Farnham et al., 1999; Jost et al., 2002; Piggott, 2004) and other negative psychological outcomes (Moradi & Subich, 2003; Neal-Barnett & Crowther, 2000; Parmer et al., 2004; Ross et al., 2007; Szymanski, 2005; Thomas et al., 2005).

Future research could investigate "pick-me girl" or "not like other girls" tropes more directly. It appears that endorsement of these tropes is common especially among younger women. Investigating these emerging brands of internalized sexism may be particularly useful in probing any potential association between internalized sexism and negative psychological outcomes. This research could have particularly important implications for literature related to the development of gender bias.

## **Conclusions**

When *The Bachelor* contestant Olivia Caridi, referenced at the beginning of this paper, insisted she was not like other women on the show, she did so by endorsing stereotypes about women. Like Olivia, participants in this study endorsed stereotypes as they discussed *The*

*Bachelor*, and these stereotypes were expressed at a relatively high rate. Although participants in this study knew they were being observed by a researcher during focus groups and were surrounded by strangers, they still expressed agreement with stereotypes about women. It would be reasonable to suspect that the stereotypes that are endorsed and perpetuated in more private conversations among groups of women who know each other may be even more frequent and/or overt than what we observed. *The Bachelor*, watched by millions weekly (Levin, 2020), is a cultural phenomenon, and conversations surrounding *The Bachelor* are likely fertile ground for the internalized sexism. Due to the vast influence of the show and our observed prevalence of internalized sexism, additional research on this subject may provide crucial insight into the contexts that lead to expressions of internalized sexism and group consensus around internalized sexism. These findings could also inform effective confrontations of internalized sexism.

While this study did not illuminate the relationship between measures of implicit and explicit internalized sexism and comments made in focus groups, or the relationships between internalized sexism and self-esteem, it raised important questions to be addressed by future research. Internalized sexism describes the role that women unwittingly play in their own oppression. Researching women's expressions of internalized sexism and the potential for the proliferation of internalized sexism in groups is therefore a vital element in dismantling the system of patriarchal sexism as a whole.



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**Table 1***Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Variables*

Demographic characteristic	<i>n</i>	%
Year in School		
Freshman	47	38.84
Sophomore	32	26.45
Junior	10	8.26
Senior	28	23.14
5+ years	4	3.31
Race/Ethnicity		
White	79	65.29
Multiple races	15	12.40
Hispanic/Latinx	13	10.73
Asian	11	9.09
Black	1	0.83
Pacific Islander	1	0.83
Native American	1	0.83
Sexual Orientation		
Straight	62	51.24
Bisexual/Pansexual	38	31.40
Lesbian	5	4.13
Questioning	5	4.13
Queer	4	3.31
Asexual	3	2.48
Multiple	1	0.83
No response	3	2.48
How much of <i>The Bachelor</i> have you seen?		
None	17	14.05
1 or more clips, but not a full episode	20	16.53
1 or more episodes, but not a full season	35	28.92
1-2 full seasons	18	14.88
More than 2 full seasons	31	25.62
Total	121	100

**Table 2***Exploratory Factor Analysis Using Both Pilot Study Samples*

Q #	<u>F1</u> Devaluing Women	<u>F2</u> Valuing Men Over Women	<u>F3</u> Distrusting Women
1. Women exaggerate problems they have at work	<b>0.80</b>	-0.02	-0.03
2. Women are too easily offended	<b>0.86</b>	0.03	-0.02
3. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men	<b>0.48</b>	-0.03	0.21
4. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against	<b>0.54</b>	0.05	0.10
5. It is generally safer not to trust women too much	-0.05	0.03	<b>0.81</b>
6. When it comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful	0.01	-0.01	<b>0.89</b>
7. I think that most women would lie to get ahead	0.19	0.04	<b>0.57</b>
8. I am sure I get a raw deal from other women in my life / Other women in my life always treat me unfairly <sup>a</sup>	<b>0.30</b>	0.07	0.21
9. Sometimes other women bother me by just being around	0.19	0.13	<b>0.23</b>
10. I believe that most women tell the truth <sup>b</sup>	<b>0.25</b>	0.11	0.17
11. When I am in a group consisting of equal numbers of men and women and a woman dominates the conversation, I feel uncomfortable	0.05	<b>0.33</b>	0.15
12. I am uncomfortable when I hear a woman speaking with authority on male dominated topics such as football or horseracing	0.04	<b>0.40</b>	0.10
13. I prefer to listen to male radio announcers than female	0.04	<b>0.53</b>	0.00
14. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men	0.09	<b>0.41</b>	0.04
15. I prefer to work for a male boss	-0.06	<b>0.71</b>	-0.08
16. If I were to beat another woman for a job I would feel more satisfied than if I beat a man	0.01	<b>0.50</b>	0.11
17. Generally, I prefer to work with men	0.04	<b>0.67</b>	0.02

*Note.* Bolded values indicate highest factor loadings for each item.

<sup>a</sup> The reworded version of Item 8 follows the slash.

<sup>b</sup> Item 10 was reverse-coded.

**Table 3***Eigenvalues and Proportion of Variance Explained by Each Factor*

Factors	Eigenvalue	Proportion of Variance Explained
1. Devaluing Women	2.53	0.36
2. Valuing Men Over Women	2.17	0.31
3. Distrusting Women	2.38	0.34

**Table 4***Pearson's Correlations Between IMS and Related Measures*

Scale <sup>a</sup>	1	2	3	4	5
1. IMS	—				
2. BFSD	.56	—			
3. GRSS	.38	.27	—		
4. ASI	.70	.50	.55	—	
5. IRMA	-.55	-.35	-.24	-.45	—

*Note.* Scales in order are the full Internalized Misogyny Scale (IMS), the full Belief in Female Sexual Deceptiveness Scale (BFSD), the full Gender Roles Stereotypes Scale (GRSS), the full Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), and the full Updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA).

<sup>a</sup> All correlations were statistically significant at  $p < .05$ .

**Table 5***Measure Descriptive Statistics*

Variable	Possible range	Reported range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
IMS average response	0 - 6	0 - 4.28	1.13	0.78
RSE average response	0 - 3	0.30 - 2.70	1.77	0.45
Internalized sexism SC-IAT	-2 - 2	-1.07 - 0.45	-0.28	0.31
Men SC-IAT	-2 - 2	-1.04 - 0.83	-0.11	0.27
Sexism IAT	-2 - 2	-1.12 - 0.42	-0.53	0.28
Self-esteem IAT	-2 - 2	-0.62 - 1.10	0.36	0.29

**Table 6***Focus Group Descriptive Statistics*

Code	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	% of total <sup>a</sup>
Internalized sexism (IS)	860	10.62	6.17	16.29
IS-E	376	4.64	3.28	—
IS-C	93	1.15	1.58	—
IS-A	71	0.88	0.98	—
IS-J	159	1.96	1.87	—
IS-D	147	1.81	2.32	—
IS-P	28	0.35	0.82	—
IS-M	10	0.12	0.46	—
IS-L	1	0.01	0.11	—
IS-U	41	0.51	0.95	—
Not internalized sexism (NIS)	4,371	53.96	28.36	82.80
Resistance to internalized sexism (RIS)	48	0.59	1.09	0.91
Total	5279	65.17	31.11	100

*Note.* Means and standard deviations represent frequency of codes per participant.

<sup>a</sup> Because multiple internalized sexism codes could be assigned to each coding unit, it was not possible to calculate a proportion of total codes for internalized sexism sub-codes.



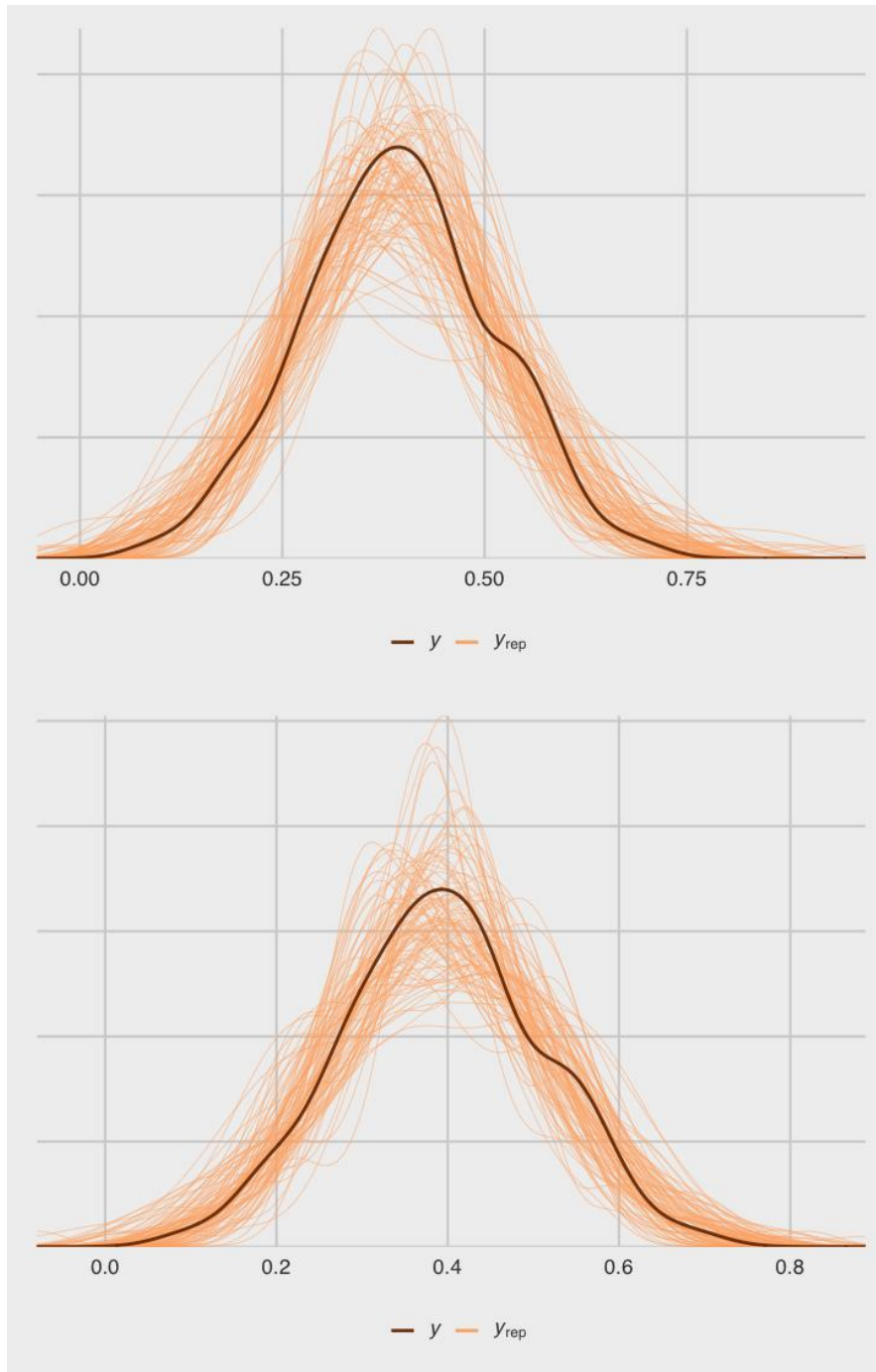
**Table 7***Hierarchical Linear Regression Predicting Internalized Sexism-Coded Comments*

Predictor	Model 1			Model 2		
	$\beta$	SE $\beta$	95% CI	$\beta$	SE $\beta$	95% CI
Explicit IS	0.022	0.11	-0.003, 0.046	0.020	0.11	-0.005, 0.044
Implicit IS				0.019	0.11	-0.006, 0.045
$R^2$	.039			.066		
$F$ for $R^2$ change	3.174			2.733		

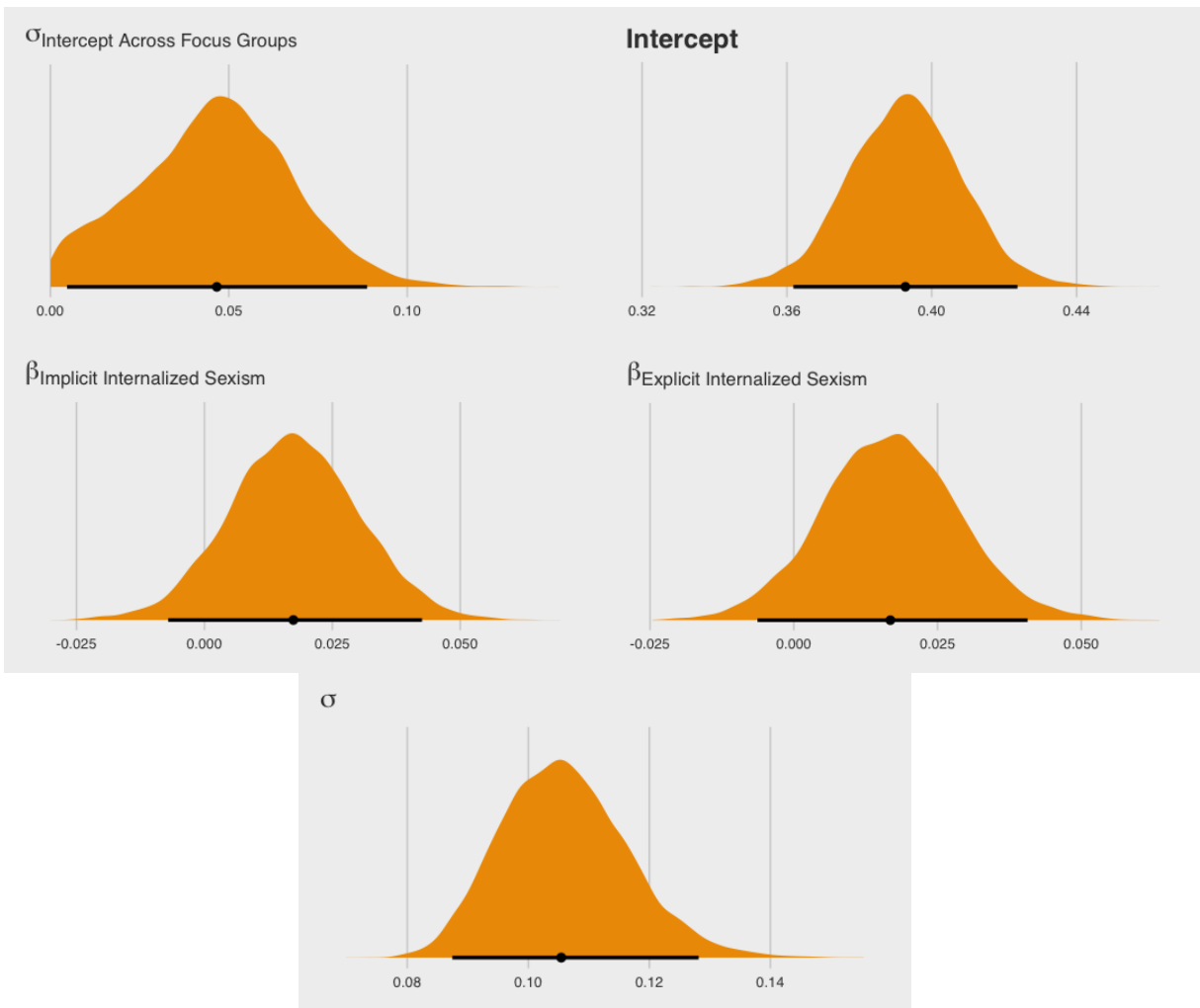
*Note.* No slopes were statistically significant ( $\alpha = .05$ ) in either model.  $F$  tests for  $R^2$  change were also not statistically significant.

**Table 8***Bayesian Multilevel Model Predicting Internalized Sexism-Coded Comments*

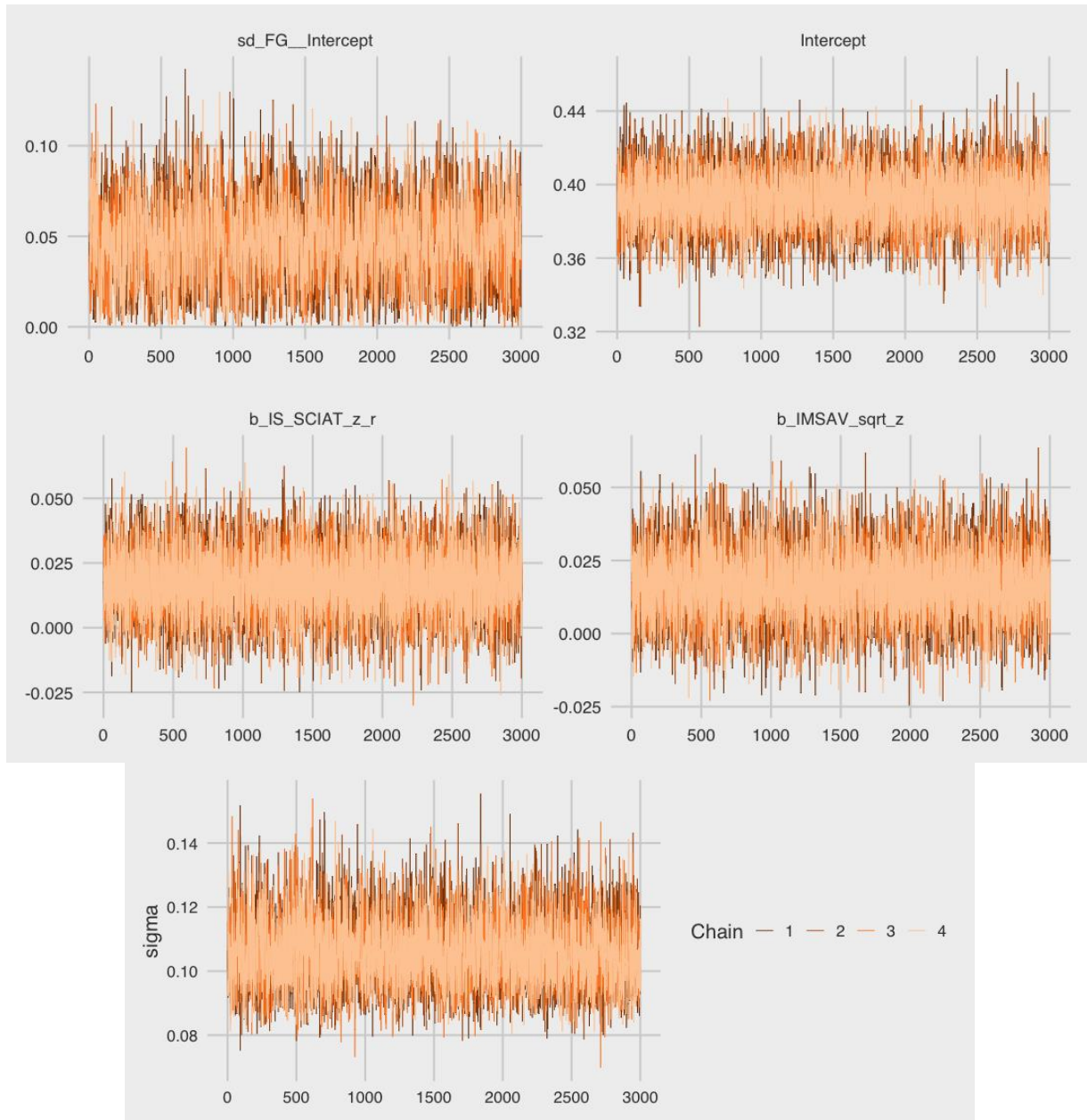
Variable	Posterior Median	95% Credible Interval
Random effects		
SD of intercept	0.045	0.005, 0.089
Fixed effects		
Intercept	0.394	0.363, 0.425
$\beta_{\text{Explicit}}$	0.017	-0.006, 0.041
$\beta_{\text{Implicit}}$	0.018	-0.007, 0.042
Population-level effects		
$\sigma$	0.105	0.088, 0.128

**Figure 1***Posterior Predictive Check Comparison*

*Note.* The posterior predictive check depicted by the top plot represents the model fit with priors chosen by the principal investigator. The bottom plot represents the model fit with default priors as assigned by the brms package. Light orange lines represent posterior distributions while the dark orange line represents the distribution of the observed data.

**Figure 2***Bayesian Multilevel Model Posterior Distributions*

*Note.* The above plots depict posterior distributions for model parameters. Clockwise from top left, the plots depict posterior distributions for the standard deviation of the intercept across focus groups, the intercept, the standardized slope of explicit internalized sexism, sigma, and the standardized slope of implicit internalized sexism. The black lines at the bottom of each plot indicate 95% credible intervals and the black dot on that line indicates the posterior median.

**Figure 3***Bayesian Multilevel Model Posterior Trace Plots*

*Note.* The above trace plots depict Markov chains over time. As indicated by the key above, the darkest color indicates the first chain and progressively lighter colors indicate progressively later chains. None of the trace plots indicated divergences.

[illegible]

	Strongly Disagree 1	Moderately Disagree 2	Slightly Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Slightly Agree 5	Moderately Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
the conversation I feel uncomfortable.							
12. I am uncomfortable when I hear a woman speaking with authority on male dominated topics such as football or horseracing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. I prefer to listen to male radio announcers than female.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. I prefer to work for a male boss.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. If I were to beat another woman for a job I would feel more satisfied than if I beat a man.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Generally, I prefer to work with men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

\*Item that will be removed for the purposes of this study.

\*\*Items that are reverse-coded

## Appendix B

### Attribute and Target Words for Implicit Measures (SC-IATs and Sexism IAT; adapted

from Karpinksi & Steinman, 2006)

#### Attribute A: Good

Beautiful  
Celebrating  
Cheerful  
Excellent  
Excitement  
Fabulous  
Friendly  
Glad  
Glee  
Happy  
Laughing  
Likable  
Loving  
Marvelous  
Pleasure  
Smiling  
Splendid  
Superb  
Paradise  
Triumph  
Wonderful

#### Attribute B: Bad

Angry  
Brutal  
Destroy  
Dirty  
Disaster  
Disgusting  
Dislike  
Evil  
Gross  
Horrible  
Humiliate  
Mean  
Noxious  
Painful  
Revolting  
Repulsive  
Terrible  
Tragic  
Ugly  
Unpleasant  
Yucky

#### Target A: Women

Woman  
Women  
Girl  
Girls  
Lady  
Ladies  
Female  
Females

#### Target B: Men

Men  
Man  
Boy  
Boys  
Guy  
Guys  
Male  
Males



## Appendix C

### Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965)

	Strongly Agree 4	Agree 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I certainly feel useless at times*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

\*Items that are reverse-coded.

## Appendix D

### Attribute and Target Words for the Self-Esteem IAT (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000)

#### Attribute A: Pleasant

Joy  
Warmth  
Gold  
Happy  
Smile  
Pleasure

#### Attribute B: Unpleasant

Gloom  
Agony  
Pain  
Stink  
Filth  
Death

#### Target A: Self

I  
Me  
My  
Mine  
Self

#### Target B: Other

They  
Them  
Their  
Theirs  
Others

## Appendix E

### Focus Group Moderator Script

#### Introduction:

Hello everyone. Thank you for taking part in this focus group. My name is Kira Means and I'm a graduate student working toward my master's in Experimental Psychology here at Western. I'm the principal investigator of this study and will also be the moderator of this focus group.

I'm interested in women's responses to the reality television show *The Bachelor*. In this focus group, I'll show you four separate short video clips from *The Bachelor*, and each clip will be followed by 2-3 discussion questions. This focus group will last no more than one hour.

Before we begin, I'm going to lay out a few guidelines and rules for the discussion:

- Please silence your cell phones and computer notifications and attempt to limit any potential distractions during this hour.
- Please ensure that your camera is on for the duration of the focus group.
- What is said in this focus group must stay here. You may not reveal any information (particularly identifying information) stated by other participants in this focus group to anyone else once you leave.
- Please do not disclose information that could be used to identify yourself or anyone else. In the event that anyone does accidentally disclose identifying information, that portion of the transcript will be redacted during the transcription process.
- This focus group will be video-recorded and then transcribed using the audio only. When the transcript is complete, the video recording will be deleted, meaning that no identifying information will be connected to the transcript. The initial video recording will be saved to my computer only and will only be viewed by me before I delete it.
- These focus groups are small in order to encourage discussion from all participants, but please try to stay on the topics of *The Bachelor* and its themes. I may call on you if I haven't heard from you in a while, as we want everyone to fully participate in the discussions.
- There are no right or wrong answers to any of the discussion questions. Please be honest in your responses and know that it is okay to agree or disagree with others. If you disagree with another participant, please do so respectfully and wait for a turn to speak, so that we only have one participant speaking at a time.
- I'm very aware that discussions on Zoom can be awkward, but I'd like to encourage you to push past any shyness or discomfort you might be feeling so we can have productive conversations. Please don't hesitate to speak up and respond to discussion questions.

Are there any questions?

[Yes] Answer questions.

[No] Alright, then let's get started.

## Introduction to The Bachelor

Some of you may be very familiar with The Bachelor and The Bachelor franchise, but I'm going to give a quick introduction to the show's structure before we dive into the clips. In each season of The Bachelor, 25 women vie for the affection of one male Bachelor. Dates with The Bachelor are scheduled either in groups or as one-on-one dates. On these dates, women can earn roses from The Bachelor, which means that they are safe from elimination that week. At each week's rose ceremony, a number of women do not receive a rose from The Bachelor and are therefore sent home. Ultimately, The Bachelor narrows the field of women to one, with whom he'd like to continue a relationship, and he sometimes proposes marriage.

### First clip: Courtney and Ben Skinny Dip

In the first clip we'll discuss, Courtney, a contestant on Ben Flajnik's (pronounced Fla-nick) season of The Bachelor, goes to Ben's hotel room to convince him to go skinny dipping with her. Ben indicates that Courtney "kind of breaks the rules" by going to his hotel room, but this is actually a pretty common occurrence on both The Bachelor or The Bachelorette. No one has ever been eliminated from the show explicitly because they sought out The Bachelor or The Bachelorette outside of the official date times.

<https://youtu.be/etHxoLavFPg?t=8>

1. What do you think about Courtney's confidence (i.e. "I'm hoping I'm a vision for him after a long day...") in this clip? What is your impression of Courtney generally?
2. Why do you think Courtney says that the other women will hate her forever when they find out?
3. Do you think the other women *should* feel that way?

### Second clip: The Ladies Confront Corinne

This clip depicts a confrontation between Corinne, a contestant, and other contestants. The other contestants refer to a few incidents when talking with Corinne, which I'll give you some background on before we watch the clip. When the other contestants talk about napping, they're referring to a time that Corinne had already received a rose, meaning she couldn't be eliminated that week, and took a nap instead of attending the rose ceremony, when women are eliminated. Additionally, the women had previously shoveled manure as part of a group date and Corinne sat out the date because she said she couldn't move her fingers.

<https://youtu.be/O1mBZTRIZHo>

1. Judging from the information provided in this clip, who do you think is in the right in this situation?
2. How would you describe Corinne's behavior given what you know about her?
3. How would you describe the behavior of the other women in this clip, given what you know about them?

### Third clip: Kelsey's Champagne-Gate

The next clip we're going to discuss seems to provide most of the context needed to understand it, but if you have questions about context, please feel free to ask those questions after the clip is over.

<https://youtu.be/aVp2c-PAo1A>

1. What do you think about where blame was placed in this situation?
2. What is your impression of Kelsey after watching this clip?

### Fourth clip: Krystal Throws A Tantrum

This clip depicts events following a bowling group date where Arie, the Bachelor on this season, initially told the women that the winning team—half of the women present—would be invited to attend an after-party, and the losing team would not be able to go. After the blue team won, which contestant Krystal was a member of, Arie changed his mind and invited both teams to attend the after party.

<https://youtu.be/ILDWTUe3XEI> – End after “Come find her and chase her”

1. Does Krystal's response to Arie changing his mind seem reasonable to you?
2. Do you agree with the contestant claiming that Krystal just wanted to get attention, and that her intention was for Arie to have to come find her?

### Ending speech

That concludes our discussion of The Bachelor. Thank you so much for participating. When this focus group has concluded, I will immediately go into SONA to award you all full credit for your participation. If there are any issues, please feel free to email me at meansk2@wwu.edu. Are there any questions before we end the focus group?

[Yes] Answer questions.

[No] Alright, then thank you again for your participation. If you have any further questions after leaving the Zoom session, feel free to email me. Have a great day, everyone.

### If participants are silent:

I'm going to encourage you all to please respond to the questions I'm asking. The purpose of this focus group is to hear how you feel about these clips and discussion questions, so it's important that we have some conversations

If conversation veers off track:

These are good conversations, but I want to make sure we stay on topic. [Either ask question again if it hasn't been answered or move onto next question/clip.]

If there is inappropriately voiced conflict between participants:

As a reminder, I want to urge everyone to express differing opinions respectfully. We also need to stay on topic. [Either ask question again if it hasn't been answered or move onto next question/clip.]

If conversation leads to personal information being revealed:

Thank you. I value your input here, but I don't want this conversation to get overly personal or for any identifying information to be revealed, so I'm going to ask that we move on from this conversation. [Either ask question again if it hasn't been answered or move onto next question/clip.]

## Appendix F

### Focus Group Coding Manual

#### CODING RULES

##### CODING UNITS

The coding units (CUs) in this study are sentences, or all words spoken by one participant before an audible sentence break occurs. Some participants naturally speak longer sentences than others, so some coding units may be longer than others.

**Coding units can be assigned multiple codes.** All parts of speech within a coding unit are codable, so if multiple codes within the Internalized Sexism code family apply to different parts of speech within the coding unit, all applicable codes should be listed. Importantly, coding units should not be assigned codes from more than one code family. More on this can be seen in the Code Structure section below.

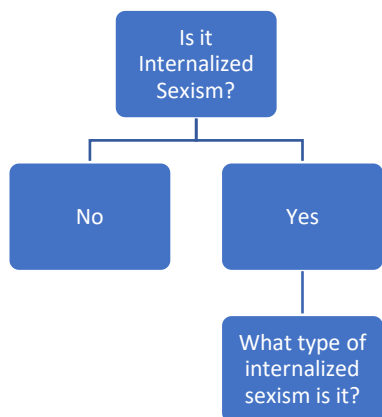
##### CODE STRUCTURE

All codes exist within a code family. Code families in this study are No Code, Not Internalized Sexism, and Internalized Sexism. Within those code families (illustrated below), one or more codes should be assigned to all CUs.

**Though CUs can be assigned multiple codes, if a CU is assigned any code within the Internalized Sexism code family, it should not also be assigned a code from another code family. The same rule applies to any code family; CUs should not list codes from more than one code family.**

The Internalized Sexism code family supersedes all others when assigning codes. If any part of speech within a CU can reasonably be coded as Internalized Sexism, that code or codes should be listed instead of codes within the Not Internalized Sexism code family.

##### THE CODING PROCESS



1. Open the focus group transcript in Excel and have the coding manual and moderator script ready to reference.
2. Going down the transcript, read each CU carefully and adhere to the following process to assign codes to every CU.
3. First, identify whether the CU represents internalized sexism. Carefully read over the definition of internalized sexism seen in the Codes section on pg. 4 of this manual.

- a. If you determine that the CU does not contain internalized sexism, use code NIS.
  - b. If you determine that the CU does contain internalized sexism, identify the type of internalized sexism using the instructions that start on pg. 4 of this manual and use an IS sub-code accordingly (IS-E, IS-C, IS-A, IS-J, IS-D, IS-P, IS-M, or IS-L)
  - c. If you determine that the CU does contain internalized sexism, but the CU does not neatly fall into any of the available codes in the Internalized Sexism code family, use code IS-U.
4. During coding, please use the Excel sheet's notes column liberally to keep track of your thought process when making coding decisions.
  5. When the transcript is entirely coded, read through the transcript again to ensure that the codes you have assigned are as accurate as possible and no errors occurred during the coding process.
  6. When the transcript is finalized, save it as an Excel file. Save frequently during the transcription process to ensure your work is not lost.
  7. When finished coding each transcript, email the Excel files to the PI at meansk2@wwu.edu.

#### OTHER CODING RULES

- If one participant audibly agrees with another participant, they should be assigned the same code(s) as the CU that they agreed with. If they say more, they could also be potentially assigned additional codes.
- If a participant is recognized only as having nodded in response to someone else speaking, they should *not* be assigned that CU's codes as though they had agreed with that participant. If participants nod in response to another participant's remarks, the moderator will attempt to prompt nodding participants to speak. That speech should be coded normally.
- In cases where a coder believes that a CU is incorrectly specified (i.e. if the coder has reason to believe by reading the transcript that multiple CUs should be combined because they represent one sentence, or that one CU should be broken up because it represents more than one sentence), they should note those instances and code the CU normally. These instances should be discussed with the PI when coding is complete.
- Similarly, in cases where the coder believes that a CU has been inaccurately pre-coded as NC, or where the coder believes that a CU that has not been coded as NC should be coded as such, they should note those instances for later discussion with the PI and code the CU normally.
- References to *The Bachelor*'s production team should not be coded as internalized sexism unless a specific woman or group of women are mentioned in a negative way. Coders must determine whether a woman or group of women (although production teams may



include some women, vague references to production would not qualify) is implicated when making all decisions about whether CUs contain internalized sexism.

- If a statement/action by a cast member of *The Bachelor* would be coded as internalized sexism, and a participant audibly agrees with the cast member's statement, the participant's agreement should be coded as internalized sexism as well. The sub-code assigned should be the same as the sub-code that would be assigned to the cast member's statement.
- If a participant simply repeats or recounts a statement/action by a cast member of *The Bachelor* that would be coded as internalized sexism but does not indicate agreement or disagreement with that statement/action, the participants' statement would not be coded as internalized sexism.
- If a participant repeats the same idea in multiple coding units (or continues a thought in multiple sentences), all instances of that idea should be coded in the same manner. For example, if a participant says something that would reasonably be coded as IS-C in one coding unit and then repeats that idea in a way that preserves the original meaning in the following coding unit, both coding units should be assigned the IS-C code.

#### A NOTE ON CONTEXT

While context (provided by previous coding units, other participants' comments, and stimuli materials) will be needed to understand the meaning of individual coding units, the codes assigned to each coding unit should specifically reflect *that coding unit's meaning*. If the meaning of a coding unit reflects internalized sexism, that coding unit should be assigned a code within the internalized sexism code family accordingly.

### CODES

#### NO CODE

##### **NC – No code**

This code has been pre-assigned by the principal investigator (PI) to all pieces of the transcript that need not be coded. This includes all instances of the moderator speaking, and anything deemed irrelevant to the purposes of the study. This also includes instances where the moderator asked a clarifying question of a participant, but the participant did not expand on their previous answer. These portions of the transcript should not be coded by research assistants (RAs) but may be useful in understanding the context of participant speech.

RAs will not need to use this code. If something is plainly not internalized sexism, but is relevant within the discussion of *The Bachelor*, the NIS code should be used instead.

#### NOT INTERNALIZED SEXISM

##### **NIS – Not Internalized Sexism**

This code should be used for any CUs that do not contain an instance of codable Internalized Sexism. Importantly, if a coding unit contains speech that is very ambiguous or would require a significant amount of interpretation to view as internalized sexism, that coding unit should be assigned the NIS code. In other words, coders should err on the side of assigning NIS codes when not sure about whether a coding unit contains internalized sexism.

Examples of NIS: “I think she handled that really well,” “Her confidence is inspiring,” “She was understandably emotional about the situation”

Not examples of NIS: “She totally acted like a slut when she did that,” “Girls act like that for attention,” “They were all acting like they were so much better than her”

## INTERNALIZED SEXISM

### **Definition of Internalized Sexism:**

“Internalized sexism ... is the experience of taking in messages about the inferiority of women, believing them, and enacting them on oneself and other women.” (SAGE Reference)

In this study, internalized sexism is conceptualized specifically as explicit or implicit endorsement of sexist gender tropes of women (i.e. that women are overly emotional, conceited, or manipulative).

### **IS-E – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Emotional/Sensitive/Illogical**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as any of the following:

- Overly emotional: Emotional to the point of not being in control of emotions; emotional to the point of losing sight of logical responses
- Over-reacting: Reacting in a way that is disproportionately emotional
- Overly sensitive: Similar to over-reacting; reaction disproportionate to event
- Immature: Often referenced in connection to lack of emotional control; actions or reactions suggest childlike emotionality

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their emotionality/sensitivity/immaturity. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women’s emotionality/sensitivity/immaturity is a positive trait.

Examples of IS-E: “She was acting totally crazy,” “They were being dramatic,” “She didn’t have to react that strongly,” “All of her crying was really immature”

Not examples of IS-E: “She thinks she’s better than them,” “She’s just in touch with her emotions,” “She seems to always be scheming”

### **IS-C – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Conceited**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as any of the following:

- Conceited: Thinking of oneself in an excessively favorable light; thinking of oneself as better than others
- Vain: Excessively proud of one's appearance or achievements
- Appearance-centric: Valuing one's appearance over other qualities of the self
- Over-confident: Inappropriately high level of confidence in one's appearance or achievements

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their conceitedness. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women's conceitedness is a positive trait.

When referring to confidence specifically, this code should only be used if the participant has implied that a woman or group of women are *overly* confident or inappropriately confident. References to confidence in which the woman or group of women are portrayed positively should not be assigned this code.

Examples of IS-C: "She acts like she's better than the other women," "She's always looking down on the others," "You can tell she thinks she's all that"

Not examples of IS-C: "She was playing up the drama to get what she wants," "She's really confident," "She was being a bitch"

### **IS-A – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Attention-Seeking**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as the following:

- Attention-seeking: Looking to gain the attention of anyone else, or looking to be the center of attention in a group of people

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their attention seeking. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman's attention seeking is a positive trait.

This code may commonly appear in conjunction with IS-C, in that one could interpret that seeking to be the center of attention is related to feelings of vanity or overconfidence. It may also appear alongside IS-D, in that participants may imply that the attention-seeking was done in a deceptive or dishonest way.

Examples of IS-A: “You can tell she loves the attention,” “She wanted him to only focus on her, so I can see why the other women would be mad,” “She just needs to be the center of every situation”

Not examples of IS-A: “She was acting really crazy,” “Of course she wanted his attention; this is a competition,” “I don’t think she was really *trying* to make herself the center of attention”

### **IS-J – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Jealous/Competitive**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as any of the following:

- Jealous: Feeling or showing envy toward someone else
- Overly competitive: Striving to gain something or win by superiority over others; doing so in a way that is inappropriate or negative
- Possessive: Excessive desire to possess something or someone
- Insecure: Related to jealousy and competition; insecurity, or lack of confidence, is often the implied reason for jealousy or competition

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their competitiveness. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women’s competitiveness is a positive trait. Additionally, this code should not be used if the participant is stating indisputable facts about the nature of *The Bachelor*, which is a competition-based reality show.

Examples of IS-J: “They were jealous because she seems so perfect,” “She was upset because that other girl was succeeding”

Not examples of IS-J: “Production wanted competition like this,” “She went behind her back,” “She thinks she’s all that”

### **IS-D – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Deceitful/Manipulative**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as any of the following:

- Deceitful: Lying or misleading others in a way that misrepresents a truth, often with the intention of personal gain
- Manipulative: Intentionally controlling a situation or person to obtain personal gain
- Not trustworthy: Implication that a woman should not be trusted

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their deceitfulness/manipulativeness. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women’s deceitfulness/manipulativeness is a positive trait.

Examples of IS-D: “She was playing it up for attention,” “They’re right to be wary of trusting her,” “They’re acting upset but they aren’t really”

Not examples of IS-D: “She was so emotional, she couldn’t think straight,” “They’re upset that she got away with breaking the rules,” “She was hiding how she really felt because she felt like she had to”

### **IS-P – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Peacekeepers**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as any of the following:

- Disrespectful of the sisterhood: Implication that women have an obligation to the unwritten rules of sisterhood, or women in general, and that this woman or group of women have violated this obligation
- Breaking the peace between women: Implication that groups of women have obligation to be peaceful to each other and that this woman or group of women have violated this obligation
- Kept the peace between women: Implication that groups of women have obligation to be peaceful to each other and that this woman or group have

This code is based around a positive stereotype of women as peaceful and collectivistic. Therefore, when participants represent a woman or group of women as violating this positive stereotype, this would most likely imply that the woman or women in question have diminished value because of their lack of ability to be peaceful within groups of women and/or respectful of the bonds of sisterhood.

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their lack of ability to be peaceful within groups of women and/or respectful of the bonds of sisterhood. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women have violated the positive stereotype of women as peacekeepers but that this is a positive trait.

This code should also be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women are adhering to the positive stereotype of women as peacekeepers, that this is a positive trait, AND ALSO the woman/women in question were not expected to keep the peace. This is the only IS code in this study that represents a positive stereotype and can therefore be assigned to a CU even if a participant implies that adhering to the stereotype is a positive trait.

Examples of IS-P: “She shouldn’t have disrespected the other women by going after him,” “She broke the unwritten rules, so of course they’d be upset,” “She did the right thing by not letting her anger out on the other women”

Not examples of IS-P: “He needs to watch out for that kind of behavior from her,” “She really thought she was above them,” “Yeah, there was some conflict, but she was just keeping it real”

### **IS-M – Internalized Sexism - Construction of Women as Dangerous to Men**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant represents a woman or group of women as the following:

- Potentially dangerous or harmful to a man/men: The woman/women have the potential to cause harm or other negative impact to a man/men; related to the idea that men should be wary of women

This code should only be used if the CU in question contains a specific reference to a man or men.

This code should only be used if the participant states or implies a lack of value in a woman/women due to their potential to cause harm to men. This code should not be used if the participant states or implies that a woman/women's potential to cause harm to men is a positive trait.

Examples of IS-M: “He needs to watch out for her,” “If he stays with her, he’ll need to watch his back,” “You can tell that she just wants to control him”

Not examples of IS-M: “She was such a bitch,” “They were acting like an angry mob,” “She thinks that she can act like that just because she’s a model and full of herself”

### **IS-L – Internalized Sexism - Derogatory Language**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which a participant uses derogatory language to refer to a woman or group of women. Derogatory language refers to the following words:

- Bitch
- Cunt
- Whore
- Slut
- Tease (If used as a noun to describe a woman)

This code should only be used if the participant uses the word to derogate or imply a lack of value in the woman/women. This code should not be used if the participant uses the word in a way that is clearly meant to reclaim its meaning or that is used to imply positive values.

Examples of IS-L: “She was being such a bitch to them,” “She acted like a slut,” “She was being slutty”

Not examples of IS-L: “They were just teasing her,” “She acted high and mighty,” “She handled the situation well”

### **IS-U – Internalized Sexism – Uncategorized**

This code should be used to identify CUs in which the coder has reason to believe that internalized sexism is represented in the coding unit, but none of the other categories of sub-codes listed in this coding manual accurately describe the internalized sexism. This code should be used very sparingly, only after all other options of internalized sexism sub-codes are exhausted and determined to be not applicable.