Master Thesis

Feminism -

An exploratory study of associations and attitude based on social identity and personality

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Abstract

Over the last few years, discussions about feminism and the need for gender equality have sparked again. All over the world, women raise questions about the social, political and economic differences based on gender. While striving for gender equality is widely accepted and positively associated, the identification with feminism is rejected in society. Research about the specific associations and attitudes of people is still superficial. Thus, this research deepens the understanding of people's associations with and attitude toward feminism with a focus on social identity, social perception and personality traits.

The data for this research was collected in two parts – a content analysis on YouTube (Study 1) and an online survey (Study 2). Information of strongly pro- or anti-feminist YouTubers (n=20) contributed to an in-depth understanding of existing associations. Inductive coding was used to translate YouTube content into 12 key codes. Questionnaire items were formulated based on these codes and created the new associations with feminism scale. This scale was included in the online survey (n=568). The focus of Study 2 was to test for correlations of demographics, personality traits and social identity with associations, attitude and social perception. Qualitative data on the associations with feminism and feminists was collected through open questions and categorized by inductive coding.

The findings of this research were that personality traits and social identity influence the associations with feminism and feminists. As expected, people identifying with feminism and womanism have more positive and men's right activists more negative associations with feminism and feminists. The same trend was found for the attitude and social perception of feminists. Egalitarianists were found to have a positive attitude toward feminism but negative associations similar to the men's rights movement. The final 12-item associations with feminism scale showed great reliability and validity and worked as a predictor variable for all four social identities. The African ethnicity was found to be the strongest predictor variable for adopting the feminist identity and rejecting the men's rights movement. The Afro American ethnicity was the strongest predictor for adopting the womanist identity. Next to that, the dark triad trait *Psychopathy* correlated negatively with all identities besides *Men's rights activist*. *Narcissism* correlated positively with *Attitude* and the social identities on the outer extremes of pro- and anti-feminism. *Openness to Experience* correlated positively with the social identities *Feminist, Womanist* and *Egalitarianist* but did not show a correlation with *Attitude* or the social perception of feminists.

Practical implications for this research is the gain of a deeper understanding of the influence of social identity and personality traits on associations with the feminist movement. A potential use is the development of communication strategies to rebrand the terms 'feminism' and 'feminist'.

Keywords *- feminism, personality traits, online survey, gender equality, social identity*

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Introduction

The position of women in society was widely discussed in the media and on social media channels over the last few years. Trump's presidential election led to thousands of women participating in women's marches. Memes pages, Instagram accounts and YouTube channels with large followings are dedicated to inform about wage gaps and unrealistic body standards for women. Also, #metoo and sexual assault claims make the news regularly.

The feminist movement

Overall, feminism is described as fighting for women suffering from discrimination based on their gender and a social, economic and political change is necessary to overcome this (Delmar, 1986). However, the movement has developed steadily from its beginnings until today.

The ideology and goals of feminists have changed continuously over several decades. Rampton (2015) describes the history of the feminist movement in four waves. The first wave started in the late nineteenth century. The main focus of the women's movement then was the suffrage, or the right to vote. Differences between men and women and how they were viewed in society started to be questioned. The second, more radical wave began in the 1960s and arose from anti-war, queer and civil rights movements. Sexuality and reproductive rights became central aspects of the feminist movement. A clear distinction was now made between sex and gender (Rampton, 2015).

During the mid-nineties, the third wave started (Rampton, 2015). Women, also called "grrls" now, portrayed themselves as being strong and empowered. Derogatory terms, like "slut" and "bitch", were appropriated within the movement and thus, deprived of their negative connotation when used by outsiders. Body, gender, sexuality and heteronormativity were critically questioned. Third-wave feminism is known for breaking boundaries and actually evaluating the term 'feminist' as too limiting and exclusive. One of the reasons for the negative associations with the term 'feminist' during the third wave were successful campaigns by the conservative press and media. Feminism was equalized with male-bashing and extremism. Additionally, African American women adopted the term 'womanism' instead (Taylor, 1998). Womanism, coined by Alice Walker, includes black feminists or feminists of color. They claim that the term 'feminism' holds racist and elitist historical baggage because of the earlier waves

being led by white middle- and upper-class women only. Another reason for womanists to reject the label 'feminism' might be the denial of femininity in Western feminism. Black women were denied 'feminine' qualities under oppression during the second wave to exploit their labor power instead (Taylor, 1998).

While the feminist movement during the third wave preferred the support for equal rights, the current fourth wave is rediscovering the unity of a feminist movement (Rampton, 2015). Issues that were central in the early stages of feminism are receiving national and international attention again: female representation, violence against women, rape, sexual abuse, unrealistic body standards etc. 'Feminism' is not considered as extreme anymore, nor is it for cis-women only. It is used as a provocative term for gender equality. A significant factor, distinguishing the fourth wave feminists from previous movements, is the use of the internet and social media to form an interconnected and global community (Munro, 2013). As a result, sexism, wage gaps and #metoo cases are being reported by media outlets all over the world.

Furthermore, the term 'postfeminism' was established as a break with the traditional feminism (before the third wave) (Gill, 2016). Forming an alignment with postmodernism, poststructuralism and postcoloniality, postfeminism emphasizes individualism, choice and agency, the diffusion of patriarchal power and the disciplining of women's bodies. Another key issue is the new popularity of feminist ideas in mainstream media. The feminist debate in Western countries is mainly taking place in the media. Despite it being the zeitgeist of the era, it needs to be considered that different fractions of feminism are unevenly visible. Representation, sexism (as an individual issue) and feminist activism (e.g., protests) make the news regularly. However, Black feminist organizations still receive less media attention, reflecting the ongoing racism and classism (Gill, 2016). Starting from the suffragettes, modern feminism became a global movement with the use of social media. The movement now faces the issues of individualism and missing representation.

A negative reputation

Modern feminists reclaim the label 'feminist' to generate greater attention for their purpose. Media attention and social media is leading to great exposure. More than ever, people are confronted with feminist debates. Still, people negatively evaluated the movement. A British poll states that 80% of participants think men and women should be treated equally in every way and that sexism is an issue in present society. However, only one third of the women would self-

identify as a feminist (YouGov, 2018). An earlier questionnaire by Callaghan, Cranmer, Rowan, Siann and Wilson (1999) indicated similar results: 27% 'never' considered themselves a feminist while only 5% of the participants 'always' thought of themselves as a feminist. Additionally, the study found feminists linked to being unreasonable, unattractive, extreme and lesbian (Callaghan et al., 1999). Another more recent study confirms these associations and also links feminism to being 'man-hating', 'lesbianism' and a lack of femininity (Scharff, 2016). Being associated with these traits is perceived negatively by opposing social groups and is likely a reason for women to avoid the identification with the term 'feminist'. At the same time, supporting gender equality and rejecting discrimination based on gender are common topics in this day and age. People care for gender equality but reject the identification with the belief system of feminism.

While previous research on feminism has presented some existing associations with the feminist movement, an in-depth understanding and collection of these associations is missing. Especially, the distinction between feminists, anti-feminists and people identifying in between these two extremes has not been made when researching associations and attitude. As a result, this study follows an exploratory approach when it comes to the distinction by social identification.

Study outline and aims

This research focuses on the general associations with feminism and feminists. Also, the attitude of people toward feminism is captured. Accordingly, the main research question is

RQ: What are people's associations with and attitudes toward feminism and feminists?.

The research design is divided into two phases: a content analysis (Study 1) and an online survey (Study 2). The content analysis is conducted with YouTube video content provided by popular pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers. This qualitative analysis is offering insights into existing associations among people with an extremely positive or negative attitude. These findings are considered the outer extremes of evaluating feminism and findings will be used for the development of a new questionnaire for the online survey. While Study 1 samples pro- and anti-feminists, Study 2 allows a better understanding of associations and attitudes shared by people who do not identify as one of the extremes. Overall, this research aims to:

(1) create an in-depth understanding of people's associations with feminism and

feminists, (2) capture the attitude of people toward feminism and feminists.

As for the practical implications of this research, the information gathered will allow a deeper understanding of existing associations with the feminist movement. It will offer opportunities for understanding target groups and for developing marketing strategies in order to possibly rebrand the terms 'feminism' and 'feminist'. The following sections will discuss the underlying theoretical framework and methods of this research.

Theoretical Framework

The feminist movement can be defined as a social group, a social identity and a belief system. Theories will be presented in this section that contribute to the understanding of feminism. Multiple theories are described below that are related to the formation of opinions, social identity, social comparison, categorization, stereotypes and prejudices and how they contribute to accepting a social group or dismissing it. Also, the influence of self-labeling as a social group member and the dynamics between in- and outgroup are evaluated. The FFM personality trait 'Openness to Experience' and the dark triad personality traits are discussed in relation to the perception of intergroup threat and the formation of prejudices. Lastly, the use of the stereotype content model dimensions is explained in order to capture social perception of a group.

YouTube and the formation of popular opinions

One of the most used social media platforms is YouTube. The social video-sharing platform YouTube has currently more than 2 billion users worldwide and 1 billion hours of video material watched daily (YouTube About, n.d.). The video content is diverse and created by professionals as well as amateurs (Laeeq Khan, 2017). According to the two-step flow model of communication by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), a small group of opinion leaders is mediating between the mass media and society (see Figure 1). Sharing information shared by mass media, leads to influence 'flowing' to a small group of opinion leaders who then influence their respective followers. This two-step model describes how a public opinion is formed. Opinion leaders in this case are defined as individuals who likely influence other people in their immediate environment (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).
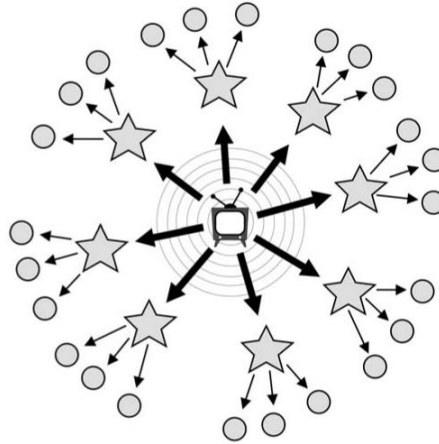
Figure 1: Two-step flow model of influence via opinion leaders (Watts & Dodds, 2007)

These people are not necessarily the classical leaders but more trendsetters and individuals who are respected and connected to other people (Watts & Dodds, 2007). Content creators on social media, like YouTube, with a large following are often called *influencers*. They can be seen as opinion leaders in society. They share information with a large group of people and therefore, shape society's opinion about certain topics. Existing negative associations with feminism are expected to be found back in the content analysis and the survey. People are being influenced by the information shared in mass media and by opinion leaders. The sub-question for the content analysis will be

SQ1: What associations do popular pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers have with feminism?.

Feminism as a movement, ideology and identity

Feminism, in general, can be seen as a gender ideology and an individual identity (Harnois, 2012). Sociological research has shown that gender is significantly influencing the likelihood to hold feminist beliefs. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) also indicated that opinions about gender roles within the family and the public life have continuously become more liberal between 1974 and 1998. Women are more likely to hold feminist beliefs than men. Also, the level of education seems to play a role. The higher the level of education, the higher the tendency to hold feminist beliefs (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004).

This research focuses on feminism as an individual identity. It might seem logical that identities should be similar to the ideologies shared within society, but differences in race, gender, ethnicity and social class all affect the individual feminist identity (Aronson 2003; Kane 2000; Peltola et al. 2004; Schnittker et al. 2003). African American women, for example, are less likely to claim the label 'feminist' than white women, even though they are devoted to feminist ideals (Harnois, 2005). In addition, differences in generation showed that individuals of the second wave of feminism are the most likely to use the term 'feminist' for their identity (Schnittker et al., 2003). In fact, the correlation between believing in a feminist ideology and identifying as a feminist was only significant for this generation (born between 1936-1955) (Schnittker et al., 2003). Also for the results of this study, age and generational differences are expected to play a role. It will be interesting to test for differences in attitudes and associations for third and fourth wave feminists.

As gender ideologies have liberated, attitudes toward women and gender equality have been established in overall society. The differences in ideology between the groups of feminists and non-feminists decrease (Reger, 2008). At the same time, self-identifying as a feminist still holds high risks. Scharff (2016) conducted forty semi-structured interviews with young women from Germany and the UK to find out in-depth information about their self-identification and associations with feminism from a cross-cultural perspective. It was found that the term 'feminist' is still closely associated with man-hating, lesbianism and a lack of femininity. Moreover, only two women out of forty self-identified as a feminist (Scharff, 2016). A British poll from 2018 confirms that women would rather not identify as feminists. Despite 80% thinking men and women should be treated equally in every way only a third of the interviewed women in the UK would consider themselves a 'feminist' (YouGov, 2018). Other studies claim that the rate of supporting feminist ideals while rejecting a feminist identity also low at 25-30% (Harnois 2008; Huddy et al. 2000; Schnittker et al. 2003). It becomes clear that people are influenced by existing biases toward feminism which prevents them from identifying with the movement.

A model of feminist identity development for women was developed by Downing and Roush (1985), derived from Cross's (1971) Black identity development theory. The model of feminist identity has five stages: passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis, and active commitment. Passive acceptance (Stage 1) describes unawareness and

denial. Revelation (Stage 2) is sparked by one or more contradictions that cannot be ignored anymore. Moving from Stage 1 to Stage 2 also depends on the readiness of the individual to change their way of thinking. During Embeddedness-emanation (Stage 3), women realize that one's rage has little effect on the dominant culture. Synthesis (Stage 4) includes the increase of valuing the positive aspects of being female and integrating one's own qualities into a positive and realistic self-image. Active Commitment (Stage 5) means developing the newly found identity into action (Downing & Roush, 1985). In support of this model, Erchull et al. (2009) found that younger women had higher revelation scores, while older women had higher active commitment scores. Also, Stage 1, Stage 3 and Stage 5 were related to the self-identification as a feminist (Erchull et al., 2009). Due to the Feminist Identity model being developed for women, it is unclear if these stages also apply to men.

Overall, women are expected to rate feminism more positively than men. This movement is trying to improve the situation for women while questioning the position of men within a patriarchal society. Furthermore, race, ethnicity and social class are found to influence the identification with feminism. A high social class and being white is expected to correlate positively with holding feminist beliefs and positive associations and attitudes. Other ethnicities and races are expected to correlate negatively with a feminist identification and positive associations and attitudes.

Social Identity Theory

An essential theory that is describing the identification with a group is Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972). The social identity is defined as an "individual's knowledge that he [or she] belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him [or her] of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). Belonging to a social group is an important source of self-esteem and sense of one's social identity (Tajfel, 1972). Tajfel and Turner (1979) proposed three mental processes to be involved. They are described in three stages - social categorization, social identification and social comparison.

As for the first stage, social identity theory claims that "the self is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.224). An individual is thus

aware of belonging to a social group and categorizes him- or herself into one. Thereby, the process of categorizing oneself into a social group can also be referred to as self-categorization (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Accordingly, calling oneself a "feminist" is the process of self-categorizing oneself into the social category and social group – the 'feminists'. A social group, in this case, is "a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.225). When a person becomes part of a social group, he or she then forms a social identity together with similar individuals sharing the same belief system. As a result, Social Identification takes place. People adopt the identity of the social group they belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Social Identity Theory also describes intergroup relations based on social identity of the individual members (Hogg, 2016). Social groups provide group members with a shared identity which determines their identity, belief system and behavior. People then make comparisons between groups - their own group (in-group) and the 'different' out-group. Naturally, the in-group is favorably evaluated by group members. This way a person's self-concept is protected (Hogg, 2016). It also has to be noted that social categories can only exist when contrasting them with other categories which differ in their characteristics (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Furthermore, social comparison can be used to describe interpersonal processes of social groups (Goethals & Darley, 1987). In its origin, this theory has two components: (a) "Individuals evaluate their opinions and abilities by comparing them with the opinions and abilities of other people" and (b) "In order to do this, they chose similar others with whom to compare" (Goethals & Darley, 1987, p.21). When comparing the characteristics of one's in-group against one's out-group, confirmation bias has to be considered. When interpreting and researching evidence, information is preferred that supports one's existing beliefs and expectations – the so-called confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998). This term, thus, describes the preference of evidence supporting one's own beliefs and beliefs of the in-group. This might explain an even further distinction and rivalry between in- and out-groups. When researching the evaluation of the feminism movement, it has to be considered that people supporting or opposing this social group have not objectively gathered information. Pro- and anti-feminists are biased in their opinions and beliefs.

Stereotypes and Prejudices

Other theoretical concepts related to categorization in groups are stereotyping, stigmatization and prejudices. Stereotypes are described as "pictures in the head of individuals looking out into their social worlds" (Lippmann, 1922). From another perspective, stereotypes are "represented as part of the social fabric of a society, shared by the people within that society" (Macrae, Stangor & Hewstone, 1996). Thus, stereotyping is happening within the minds of individuals but also as a reflection of the societal culture. However, stereotypes are referring to the associations with and attributes of a group (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses ,2010). Prejudices, on the other hand, capture the attitude reflecting an evaluation of a social group. It represents a psychological bias on an individual level toward a social group (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses ,2010). Therefore, stereotypes and prejudices are influential concepts when researching the evaluation of a social group. Both concepts are underlying the measurable associations and attitudes formed by people.

Stereotype Content Model

One specific theory deriving from stereotyping is the stereotype content model (see Table 1). The model defines warmth and competence as dimensions of social perception (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008). Warmth and competence in return predict perceived competition and status of a group. Combinations of the dimensions warmth and competence then lead to emotions like admiration, envy or pity (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008). The stereotype content model introduces four hypotheses: "(a) two primary dimensions are competence and warmth, (b) frequent mixed clusters combine high warmth with low competence (paternalistic) or high competence with low warmth (envious), and (c) distinct emotions (pity, envy, admiration, contempt) differentiate the four competence–warmth combinations. Stereotypically, (d) status predicts high competence, and competition predicts low warmth" (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002).

Rating a social group, like feminists, on the competence-warmth scale offers insights into the social perception of the movement. Eckes (2002) tested different female subgroups based on gender stereotypes and their rating on the warmth-competence scale. The subgroup of feminists scored significantly higher in competence than in warmth. The results also indicated that feminists were rated as one of the lowest in warmth and one of the highest in competence out of

all proposed subgroups. As a result, this group is being envied, respected, but also strongly disliked (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002).

As for this research, the findings of feminists being rated significantly lower in warmth than in competence are expected to be confirmed. Also, the scores for both dimensions are expected to be higher for people who label themselves as feminist (in-group). Meanwhile, people who label themselves as anti-feminist (out-group) are expected to rate feminism lower on both dimensions but higher on competence than warmth. The second sub question for the survey will be

SQ2: How are feminists perceived by people with different social and gender identities according to the stereotype content model dimensions?.

Table 1

Stereotype content model dimensions and resulting social perception

Competence Warmth	Low	High
High	Paternalistic prejudice: *Low status, pity, sympathy* e.g., elderly or disabled people	Admiration: *High status, pride, admiration* e.g., in-group, close allies
Low	Contemptuous prejudice: *Low status, disgust, anger, resentment* e.g., poor people	Envious prejudice: *High status, competitive, envy, jealous* e.g., Asians, rich people, feminists

Note: Fiske, Cuddy, Xu and Glick, 2002

Social identification

Conlin and Heesacker (2016) conducted an experimental study that assessed the relation between the self-labeling of women and the degree of reported activism. In general, feminists are engaging in more activism for gender equality than non-feminists. Still, the term "feminist" is perceived as stigmatizing. Thus, it was tested if the level of stigmatization of the term 'feminist' influenced the self-reported activism of women who do and do not identify as a feminist. The results of this study showed that women who labelled themselves as feminists were not influenced by different versions of stigmatizing language and reported no difference in activism.

Conlin and Heesacker (2016) then conclude that the strengthening of the self-labeling as a 'feminist' among women is a significant factor when wanting to increase activist participation.

Based on one's own self-identification with a group, group members then share an identity and a belief system (Hogg, 2016). Therefore, one reason for the lacking effect of presenting stereotypes and stigmas about feminists on feminists could be the positive evaluation of one's ingroup, especially against an outgroup with a different belief system. Thus, self-labeling or identifying oneself with a social group seem to be important variables when researching feminism within society. Self-labeling as a feminist is expected to be conformingly correlating strongly with positive attitudes and associations with feminism (ingroup). The opposite is expected to be found for the people who consider feminism as their outgroup. As seen in other studies and polls, attitudes and associations are also negative for people who are not clearly labeling themselves. Thus, it is expected for this research that people who do not clearly label themselves as belonging to the in- or outgroup still show significantly more negative associations and attitudes.

FFM and Dark Triad personality traits

The five-factor model (FFM) predicts individual differences in personality based on five basic factors (Roccas, 2002). Neuroticism, Openness to Experience, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness are the dimensions of human personality traits. Traits are consistent patterns, including thoughts, feelings and actions. The consistency makes them useful psychological constructs to capture personality (Roccas, 2002). At the same time, personality is also determined by subclinical 'dark' traits – Psychopathy, Machiavellianism and Narcissism (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Machiavellianism represents cold and manipulative behavior. Narcissism includes dominance, entitlement and the feeling of superiority. High impulsivity, low empathy and low anxiety are belonging to the concept of psychopathy. Together, these personality traits form the dark triad with signs of aggression and emotional coldness and self-promotion. While partly overlapping with the Big Five personality traits, the dark triad of personality is a distinct construct (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Hodson, Hogg and MacInnes (2009) found that the three dark personalities together are latently predicting the feeling of intergroup threat and, as a result, the formation of prejudices. Also, it was found that Openness to Experience, as the only Big Five trait, is indirectly negatively predicting intergroup threat and

prejudice.

As discussed above, the formation of prejudices is an influential factor when evaluating social groups. Thus, the dark triad personality traits and Openness to Experience are expected to be correlating with the positive or negative evaluation of the feminism movement as a social identity. High scores on psychopathy, Machiavellianism and narcissism and low scores on Openness should be related to the feeling of intergroup threat and result in more negative associations and attitudes. It can then be argued that high scores on openness leads to fewer prejudices toward a social group and thus, a more positive evaluation of feminism. Whereas high scores on the dark triad traits leads to a greater formation of prejudices and negative evaluation of the feminist movement.

Other factors that influence the formation of prejudices are the dark triad personality traits - psychopathy, Machiavellianism and narcissism - and the FFM trait Openness to Experience (Hodson, Hogg & MacInnes, 2009). Both have been found to (latently) predict the perception of intergroup threat and, as a result, the formation of prejudices.

The third sub question will include multiple concepts discussion in this theoretical framework. These concepts are expected to influence people's associations with and attitude toward feminism. The sub question will be

SQ3: What influence do social identification, dark triad personality traits and Openness to Experience have on people's associations with and attitudes toward feminism?.

Study 1 - Content Analysis

Methods Content Analysis

This research combined quantitative and qualitative methods. The data for that was collected in two steps: a qualitative content analysis on YouTube (Study 1) and a quantitative online survey (Study 2). The focus of Study 1 was an in-depth understanding of associations when clearly considering feminists one's in- or outgroup. A content analysis, in general, allows to detect and reflect on cultural patterns and beliefs of individuals and groups (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). The video content of popular pro- and anti-feminists was analyzed with regard to presented associations, considering feminists an in- or outgroup and characteristics of the content stereotype model. Findings of Study 1 were coded as qualitative data and used to create additional questionnaire items for Study 2.

Study 2 included the launch of an online survey to capture demographics, associations, attitudes, personality traits, stereotype content model dimensions and self-labeling with feminism as a social group. The focus of the survey was to find possible correlations between the independent variables, like demographics, self-identification, personality traits, stereotype content model dimensions, and the dependent variables, associations and attitudes. Moreover, Study 2 prioritized the sampling of the large group of people in society who do not consider themselves as clearly pro- or anti-feminist.

Sample

The content analysis was conducted with a sample of 20 videos (n = 20). Each video was uploaded by a different content creator and published openly on the video-sharing platform YouTube. Half of the videos were shared by pro-feminist YouTube channels and the other half by anti-feminist YouTube channels. Consequently, the video content was reflecting the channels negative or positive opinion about feminism.

Via selective sampling based on blogs and expert review, popular channels from both sides who discuss feminism were found. The online research for blogs listing anti- and pro-

feminist channels was conducted with the untraceable browser search engine DuckDuckGo. As for the pro-feminist channels, a search was conducted with the term '*feminist YouTube channels*'. Then, channels named in the first four blog entries were considered for the initial sample. As for the sampling of anti-feminist channels, searches were conducted with the terms '*anti feminist youtube channel*' (no results) and '*anti women youtube channel*'. The first four blog entries showing up in the search queue were considered for the sampling. Additionally, 10 specific pro- and anti-feminist YouTube channels were added based on researcher familiarity.

Afterwards, the found YouTube channels of each side were ranked based on their number of subscribers. The 10 channels with largest number of subscribers were considered for the video selection. In order to select one popular video per channel, a search was then conducted on each YouTube channel with the term 'feminism'. Channels, that were initially added to the list based on number of subscribers but did not have videos directly related to feminism, were removed again from the final sample (see Table 2). In case of multiple video results related to feminism per channel, the video with the highest view count was chosen for the analysis (see Appendix A).

Table 2

List of YouTube channels included in the content analysis based on number of subscribers and available content related to feminism

Pro-Feminist YouTube channels	Anti-Feminist YouTube channels
Samantha Maria	Paul Joseph Watson
Laci Green	ShoeOnHead
Just between us	The Amazing Atheist
Arielle Scarcella	StevenCrowder
Shaun	Black Pigeon Speaks
iHeart Media	Sargon of Akkad
Feminist Frequency	Dr Shaym
Kat Blaque	Laura Southern
Jouelzy	No B.S.
Amy Poehler's Smart Girls	Hunter Avallone

As for the videos, their length ranged from 2:22 to 56:46 minutes. Moreover, the view count ranged from 34,414 to 4,319,088 for the feminist side and from 189,578 to 18,068,755 for the

anti-feminist videos. All videos had English as their spoken language. The countries of origin of the videos are 75% USA, 20% UK and 5% Canada for the pro-feminist content creators and 55% USA, 25% Canada and 20% UK for the anti-feminist YouTubers.

Furthermore, the gender and skin color of the YouTubers were considered. The pro-feminist YouTubers were 90% female, 10% male, 80% white and 20% black. As for the anti-feminist YouTubers, 80% were male, 20% female and 70% white. The remaining 30% could not be identified based on the video image due to the YouTuber not being visible in the frame at any point.

Procedure

After selecting the videos for the content analysis, each video was watched once. The order of the videos per side was randomized. The focus of the analysis was to select associations with feminism and feminists, the self-identification of the YouTubers and indications about the social perception of feminism based on the stereotype content model dimensions. All videos were coded partly which means that only relevant information related to self-identification, social perception and associations was selected and noted down as quotes with a time frame.

Overall, an inductive coding process was applied to the data. The process of inductive coding includes the identification of meaningful units in a dataset (Thomas, 2003). These units are then assigned to newly labeled categories. Afterwards, additional units are added to the relevant category and, eventually, a description of the category is developed. Appropriate quotes are selected that reflect the core theme of a category. Categories may also be linked to each other (Thomas, 2003). In accordance with the inductive coding process, every selected video was watched and meaningful units about the associations with feminism were selected. After every video, the preliminary category scheme was extended with the new information. This way, categories (here codes) were developed and added continuously based on the recently analyzed video. Also, already known codes were considered again for the following videos. Based on the units being sorted into the codes, descriptions and example quotes were formulated.

Differing from usual inductive coding according to Thomas (2003), an extra step was taken at the end of this analysis procedure. Quotes that could not be coded initially were evaluated again after the main categorization. These quotes, for example, showed the use of strong and offensive language in relation to feminism. After discussing these units with a second researcher, a new category *Repulsion* was created to include these last statements. The coding

process was closed off after relevant quotes were categorized into the coding scheme.

One of the purposes of the inductive approach is the development of a model or theory existed in the underlying structure of the raw data (Thomas, 2003). After finishing the categorization for this analysis, a model was drafted which indicated (1) to what group (pro-, anti-feminist or both) the codes belonged and (2) suggested possible relations between the codes. These relations were based on the previously discussed theories and concepts in the theoretical framework. For example, categories related to one's social identity (in- and outgroup) were linked again to stereotyping and holding prejudices against an outgroup. Whereas the ingroup was evaluated positively and showed almost no biases toward feminism.

In a following step, questionnaire items were developed for each code. This way the codes itself and possible relations could be tested with an online survey in Study 2.

Data Analysis

The content analysis contributed data in form of quotes and codes about pro- and anti-feminists' existing associations with feminism. A qualitative approach was used to analyze the raw data provided by 20 YouTube videos. In order to increase the objectivity of the data collection, the main focus of the sampling was the oral and textual information shared in the videos. However, prominent and reappearing visual patterns were also considered.

An inductive coding approach was chosen to categorize the data. This allowed findings to be based on frequent and dominant themes taken directly from the raw data. In deductive analyses, key themes are often overread or left out due to preconceptions (Thomas, 2003). The inductive approach for this analysis was applied to the data sample. However, four preliminary categories were formulated based on the nature of opposing social groups within the sample: *Ingroup, Outgroup, Rational (related to competence), Emotional (related to warmth).*

Furthermore, quotes from both pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers were evaluated and coded with the same coding scheme to be able to compare the associations of both sides.

Results Content Analysis

The content analysis showed that YouTubers used the words 'feminist', 'woman' and 'female' interchangeably when referring to members of the feminist movement. As a result, no difference

was made between these terms for the further analysis.

Based on this sample, eleven codes were found (see Table 3). Six of them were found with pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers. While the content of these codes can be found on both sides, the orientation is the opposite. This is listed as the range of the code e.g.; *Social Identity* means feminism was either considered as their Ingroup or their Outgroup. Five more codes were found in the data set but exclusively on one side, e.g. *Repulsion* against feminism was only found for anti-feminist YouTubers.

Table 3

Coding Scheme developed from associations with feminism by pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers

Code	Range	Description	Example Quote
Emotionality	Rational - Hysterical	Arguing that feminists are highly emotional in their actions and argumentations. Also, feminists appearing rational and calm.	Rational: *'I'll give a very measured answer'* Irrational: *'because of females repeatedly violently assaulting me'*
Gender Equality	Female Supremacy (FS) – Gender Equality (GE) – Male Supremacy (MS)	Naming gender equality or female supremacy as one of the goals of feminism. Also, discussing the current situation in society in relation to (in-)equality.	FS: '*women enjoy far more advantages in 2018.'* GE: *'I believe in gender equality.'*
Social Identity	Outgroup – Ingroup	The identification with feminism as an In- or Outgroup.	Outgroup: *'It's not women, we don't like- It's you!'* Ingroup: *'I, Laci Green, am a feminist.'*
Relevance of feminism	Relevant - Irrelevant	Discussing the relevance of feminism based on past achievements or society nowadays.	Relevant: *'Feminism is still relevant and necessary.'* Irrelevant: *'You have all your rights. So, stop trying to turn yourself into a victim.'*
Men	Pro - Anti	Positioning feminism or feminists in relation to men.	Pro: *'It's really annoying for men as well. […] They have to compensate for the man not paying.'* Anti: *'Even when they [feminists] care about men's issues, it is still men's fault.'*

Societal vs biological differences	Societal - Biological	Arguing the situation of each gender based on structural or biological terms.	Societal: *'Some choices have ramifications beyond ourselves and reinforce harmful patriarchal ideas.'* Biological: *'Most women want to have babies and so, women end up leaving the workforce.'*
<u>Anti-Feminist</u>			
Stereotyping	N.A.	Generalizing women who are identifying as feminists, as well as naming known stereotypes.	*'I will say in general women are not as funny as men.'*
Repulsion	N.A.	Being strongly opposed to the idea of feminism or feminists.	*'these ungrateful bitches make me sick.'*
Extremism	N.A.	Naming radical activism in relation with feminism.	*'Women who are critics and anti-free speech and want to censor media.'*
<u>Pro-Feminist</u>			
Diversity	N.A.	Considering feminism a diverse social group that underwent changes over time.	*'I had to kinda come to realize that feminism is not monolithic.'*
Socio-cultural Awareness	N.A.	Being aware of different social groups and their position in society.	*'You don't wanna take up space in a movement that is not about you. I struggle with this for Black Lives Matter.'*

During the coding process, it was found that 80% of the pro-feminist YouTubers clearly stated to be a 'feminist' or used the pronoun 'we' when referring to the women's movement. They considered feminism as their ingroup. Meanwhile, 80% of the Anti-feminist YouTubers clearly defined feminism as their outgroup. This was manifested by only using the pronouns 'they' or 'feminists' when referring to the women's movement.

The found associations of feminist and anti-feminist YouTubers for *Emotionality* ranged from *rational* to *irrational*. Anti-feminist YouTubers mainly used emotionality in a negative context. They described or portrayed feminists as emotionally driven and dramatic. Examples for this are The Amazing Atheist stating that *'feminists cheer like banshees, ecstatic that they've used bully tactics'* or Dr.Shaym who said that *'If feminists argued with logic and evidence, instead of feelings, people would not think that'*. Another reappearing theme was feminists

showing aggressive behavior at Women's marches or directly toward men. Laura Southern, for example, showed feminist activists screaming over her and pushing protest signs in front of the camera lens. The feminist YouTuber Laci Green, on the other hand, addressed the stereotype of being made out for *'another angry feminist'* when simply expressing anger. While the topic of *Emotionality* in relation to feminism was not discussed directly by feminist YouTubers, their rational and fact-based approach to explain arguments was taken as an indirect measure. 40% of the feminist YouTubers presented definitions and statistics to undermine their claims. It can be concluded that feminists are aware of the stereotypical 'angry feminist' and choose to present as calm and rational. Anti-feminists, on the other hand, used the emotionality of feminists to discredit them as delusional and aggressive.

As for the code *Gender Equality*, the range was defined from *female supremacy* (FS) to *male supremacy* (ME). It was found that Anti-feminist YouTubers connected feminism with striving for female supremacy, e.g. Dr.Shaym said *'what I am afraid of is gender inequality which is what feminists are actually pushing for'*. Another anti-feminist YouTuber Steven Crowder insinuated that *'they [young men and women] see a lot of disadvantages that men experience. Not as a result of patriarchy, but as a result of feminism'*. Moreover, a prominent theme for the anti-feminist YouTubers was to equal gender equality with existing equal rights in Western countries**.** However, women seem to enjoy far more privileges in society nowadays. Hunter Avallone was convinced that *'if anyone has privilege, it's women'* which was another indication that feminists actually strive for *female supremacy*. Feminist YouTubers, on the other hand, mentioned the existence of male privileges in society, e.g. Laci Green found **'***there were 700 bills proposed to regulate a woman's body. And for men? The rightful number: zero'*. However, the majority of feminist YouTubers (60%) stated to believe in and support gender equality, e.g. Just between us said *'Feminism is about equality, not women'* or Laci Green who said *'I believe in gender equality'***.** It can be concluded that feminists understand feminism as equal to striving for gender equality, but argue that males are privileged in society at the moment. Meanwhile anti-feminists associate feminism with striving for female supremacy and argue that the society at the moment is offering females privileges while males are disadvantaged.

Furthermore, the code *Relevance* ranged from *relevant* to *irrelevant*. Feminist YouTubers argued for the *Relevance* of feminism in nowadays society in the Western world, but

also worldwide. Shaun talked about how *'there are plenty of countries in which women still do not have equal rights and legal protection'*, followed by *'the current situation [in the Western world] is not fixed'*. Amy Poehler's Smart Girls agreed that *'feminism is something very important'*. Anti-feminist content creators, on the contrary, repeatedly named the *irrelevance* of feminism. Sargon of Akkad said that feminism is an *'annoying activism about first world problems'* and feminists show an *'unwarranted professional victim complex'*. Also, Hunter Avallone asked if one cannot *'just be a woman without labeling yourself as a feminist?'*. Furthermore, anti-feminists used the existence of equal rights for men and women in their arguments to demonstrate the irrelevance of feminism nowadays. To conclude, feminist YouTubers demonstrated the relevance of the movement and anti-feminist YouTubers argued for irrelevance of feminism.

Feminists were accused to act directly against, in particular, *Men*. 80% of the anti-feminist YouTubers associated feminists with being *anti-men*. One example was shared by The Amazing Atheist who told *'[feminists] pulled a fire alarm in order to stop a men's rights seminar'*. Hunter Avallone and Paul Joseph Watson both used the same footage of a feminist activist being overly aggressive towards a by standing man. Furthermore, ShoeOnHead stated that *'even when they [feminists] care about men's issues, it's men's fault'*. Black Pigeon Speaks and Dr. Shaym made feminists out to drink '*male tears*' and to seek the destruction of men's lives via #metoo. Thus, the notion that feminists directly target men and take actions against them was a prominent topic among anti-feminist content creators. Meanwhile, two pro-feminist YouTubers talked about the feminist movement actually improving the situation for men, e.g. Samantha Maria explained *'I think it is really annoying for men as well. […] as if it takes away from his manhood that he is not paying'* and Laci Green argued *'because male victims of rape are not believed'*. At the same time, some comments from feminist YouTubers that were directly targeted toward men could be interpreted as *anti-men*. For example, Arielle Scarcella stated *'Personally, I do not want a man or a male gynecologist'* or Kat Blaque said about having feminist conversations *'I just can't have those conversations with men on average'*. One half of the feminist YouTube duo Just between us even openly accused the other woman of being *'anti-men'* and that the man, asking her a question about if men could be feminists, was *'risking [his] life'*. While anti-male associations with feminism were more prominently discussed on the anti-feminist side, three feminist YouTubers made comments targeted toward men. Other feminist

YouTubers actually explained the benefits of feminism for men and how they would like to improve their position in society as well.

The code *Patriarchy vs. Biology* captured how the position of men and women within society were explained differently by pro- and anti-feminists. Pro-feminists used societal structures, like the *patriarchy* and sexism, and anti-feminists argued from a biological or evolutional standpoint. Examples for this code are the pro-feminist channel Feminist Frequency who stated *'understanding how [desires and interests] are often shaped by capitalism, patriarchy and white supremacy'* and anti-feminist channel No B.S. who said *'complaining about the persistence of male suitors is like complaining about human biology or evolution'*. Also, anti-feminists often connected women with the natural desire for motherhood. As a result, they cannot own the same positions as men in their work fields. It seemed to be characteristic for feminists to argue for these structures to be man-made. The opposite side explained differences between men and women and their position based on set variables in genetics and evolution.

As stated above, five codes were found without a matching counterpart on the opposing side: *Diversity, Socio-cultural Awareness, Stereotyping, Repulsion* and *Extremism*. The first two codes were found on the pro-feminist side, the last three on the anti-feminist side.

Feminist YouTubers were aware of other social groups, like women of color (WOC) or the LGBTQ+ community, and their position in society. This was coded as *Socio-cultural Awareness*. Laci Green named that she was a feminist *'because people still say that asexual, bisexual and transgender folk don't exist'*. Also, Shaun admitted to be *'relatively sheltered from a lot of issues'* due to being white and male. No comments about other social groups in society and their issues were found on the anti-feminist side.

The code *Extremism* was found with anti-feminist YouTubers. They considered feminists radicals. For example, Hunter Avallone said *'I know that not every feminist is a radical that wants to kill men and castrate them but at the end of the day some are'*. According to the YouTubers, feminist activists are striving for extreme goals beyond equal rights for men and women.

This content analysis also indicated that feminist YouTubers acknowledged the *diversity* of and within the feminist movement. Several content creators addressed different groups of feminist activists, the changes of the feminist movement over time or their personal journey in relation to feminism. Examples for this were Feminist Frequency stating that *'being a feminist is*

a lifelong learning endeavor and [...] we will make some mistakes on the way'. Also, Kat Blaque explained *'I had to kinda come to realize feminism is not monolithic. Yeah there are a lot of feminists who did this or did that and are racists. [...] But that's not all of feminism, right?'*. A relation was found between identifying as a feminist and addressing the *diversity* of their own movement.

Another prominent theme for anti-feminist content creators was the expression of their *repulsion* against feminists. The Amazing Atheist called feminists *'mindless cackling cunts'*. Also, ShoeOnHead made her aversion clear when she explained that she would like to *'witness these creatures in real life and see them interact with each other. I want to be like Steve Irwin. [...] I mean I want to fucking die'*. Often, strong language was used to this end.

Anti-feminist YouTubers engaged in generalizations and used stereotypical descriptions of feminists. These quotes were categorized as *Stereotyping*. The Amazing Atheist, for example, claimed that overall *'feminists don't understand jokes'* and *'in general, women are not as funny as men'*. Anti-feminist YouTubers (e.g., Laura Southern) also used similar footage of feminists screaming at protest marches. The footage of women showing aggressive and provoking behavior in one particular setting was used repeatedly to draw conclusions about the whole social group. It was argued that this is a form of stereotyping as well.

For this content analysis, videos of pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers were used in order to find out about their self-identification and existing associations with feminism. Moreover, the findings were used for the development of questionnaire items measuring the different aspects connected to feminism. The significance of these codes and items will be tested further and more different social groups in Study 2.

Study 2 - Online Survey

Methods

For this study, a cross-sectional research design is proposed. It allows associations between tested variables in a survey. Also, it indicates prevalence within a representative sample (Sedgewick, 2014). Therefore, this study will test for possible relationships between variables. Moreover, it aims to equally represent groups within the sample.

Variables like gender, nationality, educational-, cultural background, social identification, stereotype content model dimensions and personality traits will be tested as independent variables throughout this research study. Dependent variables are associations and attitude.

Material

The online survey for this research was a combination of existing questionnaire scales and additional items based on Study 1 (see Appendix E). The questionnaire gave clear instructions to all participants to avoid ambiguities. It was created and uploaded in Qualtrics Survey Software.

In the beginning, participants were asked to briefly present their own associations with the terms 'feminism' and 'feminist': (1) *What do you associate with feminism? (Name 1-3 keywords)* and (2) *What do you associate with feminists? (Name 1-3 keywords)*. These open questions were proposed in the beginning of the questionnaire to avoid manipulation of the participant's opinion. Furthermore, possible differences between the two terms could be detected within the qualitative data.

Afterwards, quantitative data was gathered. The online survey included items about demographics, including age, gender, nationality, educational and ethical background. Followed by information about the self-labeling of the participants. The single-item social identification measure (SISI) (Postmes, Haslam & Jans, 2012) was used. This measure shows high correlation with comparable scales measuring identification with social groups while reducing it to the single statement 'I identify with X' captured with a 7-point Likert scale (Postmes, Haslam & Jans, 2002). This statement was used to measure the identification of the participants with the four social identities Feminist, Womanist, Men's Rights Activist and Egalitarianist.

As for the personality traits, Jonason and Webster (2010) developed and validated the 12-item scale for the Dark Triad. This measure was implemented in the online survey and used to

capture the personality traits narcissism, psychopathy and Machiavellianism. Moreover, a 10-item measure was added to capture the FFM personality trait 'Openness to Experience' (John & Srivastava, 1999). The Dark Triad and Openness to Experience both predict the likeliness to form prejudices toward a social group (Hodson, Hogg & MacInnes, 2009).

In the second part of the survey, the focus was on measuring one's social perception of feminism, attitude and associations. The participants were asked to rate feminism on an 8-item scale according to the dimensions of the stereotype content model. (Fiske et al., 1999; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). Conclusions could be drawn about the social perception of feminists as a social group.

As for directly measuring the attitude of people, a 10-item Likert scale was developed to test attitude toward feminism and the women's movement (Fassinger, 1994). The formulations of two items of this questionnaire were found unsuitable to test the attitude toward modern feminism. The last two items originally read '*Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world*' and '*I am overjoyed that women's liberation is finally happening in this country*'. These items were slightly adjusted to current standards: '*Feminists are a harm to this nation and the world*' and '*I am overjoyed that equality is finally happening in this country*'.

The last part of the survey consisted of newly formulated items based on the findings of the content analysis (see Table 4). 12 items were added to capture the associations of the participants with feminism. One additional item was added to test for the association of feminism with being white. These items were measured on a 5-Point Likert scale. Six items represented the polarization of codes in Study 1 and were designed as a two-sided scale. The six other items were designed to capture one concept.

In order to reduce the required time and workload per participant, the chosen scales and its number of items were minimized. In total, the online survey had 61 items and two open questions.

Table 4

Preliminary scale created from codes to measure associations with feminism

Code	Name	Questionnaire item
Two-sided		
Emotionality	Q1	Feminists are
		Rational – Hysterical
Social Identity	N.A.	N.A.
Gender Equality	Q2	Feminists strive for
		Female Supremacy – Gender Equality
		In nowadays society, there is
	Q3	Female privilege – Male privilege
Relevance	Q4	Feminism is
		relevant – irrelevant
Men	Q5	Feminists are
		Pro men – Anti men
Patriarchy vs. Biology	Q6	Differences between men and women in society are due to
		Evolution - Patriarchy
One-sided		
Awareness	Q7	Feminists think about the position of other social groups in society.
Diversity	Q8	Feminists are a diverse social group.
	Q9	Feminism has changed over time.
Repulsion	Q10	Feminists are repulsive.
Extremism	Q11	Feminists are radicals.
Stereotyping	Q12	Feminists are all the same.
Whiteness	Q13	I associate feminism with whiteness.

Pre-test Online Survey

A pre-test, in the form of cognitive interviews, was conducted to decrease ambiguity and increase understanding of the online survey. The participants (n = 9) were female with an age range from 19 to 28. For the pre-test, people read through the draft version of the survey. This included a participant information sheet (PIS) with consent form, followed by the 61 questionnaire items. Before every predefined scale measuring a certain concept within the survey, a short introduction was added that described the topic of the scale and gave instructions on how to answer the proposed questions.

Based on the findings of the cognitive interviews, several changes in formulation were applied. Participants criticized the option of 'transgender' as a separate gender in the

demographics section. This option was removed. Furthermore, the question about one's ethnicity caused problems. Two participants were confused why this information was collected and suggested a short explanation before. Additionally, the pretest led to the removal of 'two or more ethnicities' as a possible choice due to the missing informative value of it. Other people were unsure about the meaning of 'Caucasian' and could not answer the item. To avoid misunderstanding this answer choice was changed to 'Caucasian/European'.

Next people read through the possible choices for their education level. It was mentioned that the item only offered answer choices for academic degrees. As a result, the answer choice 'Apprenticeship/ Training' was added as an additional form of education.

All participants stated to not know the terms egalitarianism and womanism. Also, men's rights activism was not known to most people. Explanations for these terms were added to the introduction text before the self-identification scale (Postmes, Haslam & Jans, 2012): Men's Rights Movement fights the reversed discrimination against men in every political, economic and social regard (Kimmel, 2013); Egalitarianism "favors equality of some sort: People should get the same, or be treated the same, or be treated as equals" (Arneson, 2013).; Womanism is "a form of feminism focused especially on the conditions and concerns of black women" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

Several words were named as unknown and, as a result, caused ambiguous answers. The most named words were: 'remorse', 'special breaks', 'callous' and 'patriarchy'. As for the first three words, a synonym was added in brackets behind the word: 'remorse (*guilt*)', 'special breaks (*special opportunities*)' and 'callous (*indifferent*)'. For the term 'patriarchy', a short explanation was added to the introduction of the question: "a society controlled by men in which they use their power to their own advantage" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

As for the scale measuring the attitude toward the women's movement (Fassinger, 1994), every participant pointed out the last two items as being confusing and difficult to answer. This seemed to have two reasons: (1) the first and the last item were constructed differently than the other items of the scale and (2) the items used the term 'members of the group'. It was suggested to use 'feminists' instead in this case. Also, the first and last item were perceived as a double-statement that could not be answered with the same result. Thus, these items were each separated and formed two extra questions in the survey to avoid confusion. Additionally, this scale used the terms 'feminist' but also 'women's movement'. People wondered if 'women's movement'

and 'feminism' are interchangeable terms and suggested to only use one of them to avoid confusion. It was decided to replace 'women's movement' with the previously used term 'feminism'.

During the cognitive interviews, the term 'hysterical' used in a scale as the opposite of 'rational' was discussed multiple times. People pointed out the sexist connotation of the term but also suggested 'irrational' to be better understood as the opposite of 'rational'. Therefore, 'hysterical' was replaced with 'irrational'.

Participants

The participants for Study 2 were collected through the student population of the University of Twente, the researcher's social network and online forums. The link of this survey was shared within an anti-feminist forum on the online platform 4chan.org. A large number of participants providing the data for the survey were part of this extremist forum. Despite the cleaning of inappropriate entries from the data set, the origin of these participants should be considered when interpreting the findings of this study.

The respondents had to have a good understanding of the English language in order to understand the questions and the content of the survey. In the end, 808 out of the initial 1376 responses were rejected. A progress rate of lower than 95% and a standard deviation of 0 were the first two exclusion criteria. Next, entries were sorted out by unrealistic or inappropriate answers given for the demographic questions. As for age, this meant the removal of entries that indicated an age below 18 or above 100. Unrelated answers that did not indicate an age number (e.g., '*Old enough*') were also removed from the data set. Moreover, the data was cleared of entries based on unrelated or inappropriate answers on the participants' gender (e.g., '*There are only 2*' or '*Attack Helicopter*'). The same procedure was applied for the text entries of the question about the participants' country of origin (e.g., '*Kekistan*' or '*bigmac*'), ethnicity (e.g., '*frog*' or '*jew*') and education (e.g., '*4chan school*' or '*some college*'). As a result, the responses of these participants were removed from the dataset used for further analysis. Accordingly, 568 (n=568) responses were accepted into the quantitative data analysis.

As for the analysis of the qualitative data captured by the two open questions in the beginning of the survey, these 568 responses were considered for the analysis. However, a

second round of data cleaning was conducted in order to remove responses that included empty, unrelated or offensive entries (e.g., '*Some butthurt troll put your survey link on 4chan /b/ They will probably nuke your survey.*'). This led to the final acceptance of 540 (n = 540) responses for the open question about associations with feminism and 539 (n = 539) responses for the open question about associations with feminists.

As for the demographics of the sample, the majority of the participants identified as male (n=264), followed by female (n=218), non-binary (n=47), prefer not to answer (n=33) and other (n=6). The age ranged from 18 to 72 years with a mean score of 26.0. Furthermore, the respondents were stating their ethnicity. The largest group was Caucasian (n=329), followed by Latino/Hispanic (n=49), African American (n=44), Asian (n=34), prefer not to answer (n=31), other (n=27), African (n=26), Arabic (n=21) and unknown (n=7).

When asked about the highest level of completed education, participants answered Bachelor's Degree (n=180, 31,7%), High School (n=171, 30,1%), Master's Degree (n=110, 19,4%), PhD or higher (n=40, 7,0%), Apprenticeship/Training (n=39, 6,9%), prefer not to answer (n=15, 2,6%), other (n=11, 1,9%) and Middle School (n=2, 0,4%). More than half of the sample had an academic degree of some sort.

When it comes to the respondents' country of origin, the largest number named USA (n=214, 37,7%), followed by Germany (n=126, 22,2%), The Netherlands (n=37, 6,5%), Canada (n=34, 6,0%) and United Kingdom (n=32, 5,6%). The remaining respondents (n=125) were spread across 53 different countries.

Procedure

The BMS Ethics Committee of the University of Twente ethically approved the study. The participants were directed to the online questionnaire via a shareable link or through the test subject pool system SONA of the University of Twente. In exchange for their participation, the students received an incentive in the form of credits within the SONA system. The first page of the survey showed a short introduction text about feminism and the aims of the research. Then, the participant had to agree with the presented consent form to continue to the questionnaire.

Afterwards, the survey started with two open questions that allowed participants to freely share their associations with feminism and feminists. This was followed by the collection of

demographic information, items about the one's social identification and personality traits. While the first part of the questionnaire was focused on the participant's identity, the next part captured information about one's view on feminism - social perception, tested with the stereotype content model dimensions, and attitude toward feminism. The last part contained the items based on the previously created scale after the content analysis on associations with feminism.

After finishing the survey, the participant was asked once more to confirm their consent to share their data. Additionally, the option was given to contact the researcher for eventual questions via email.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data

The responses for the open questions about associations with feminism and feminists were analyzed based on inductive coding (Thomas, 2003). After the entire coding, the coding scheme was reviewed once again. The names of the codes were checked in terms of inclusivity of aspects within the code. For example, *Traditional sex and gender roles* was changed to *Progressiveness* in order to demonstrate the prevalence of entries directly calling feminists progressive. On the other hand, other codes were including a wide range of entries that were not captured yet by the initial code name. As a result, *Fighter* was changed to *Activist personality* to accurately represent the entire content of the code.

In order to gain more insight into the associations people have, the sample was then divided into four categories based on the participants' social identity. The answers 'Agree' and 'Somewhat agree' on the social identities *Feminist, Womanist, Men's Rights Activist* and *Egalitarianist* were used as the inclusion criteria to be sorted into one or more of the four categories. Afterwards, the associations presented for every social identity were analyzed using the coding scheme created with the data of the entire sample.

Quantitative data

Before the analysis, scores of reversed items were adjusted to match the remaining item scores. The entire data analysis was conducted with the statistics software IBM SPSS Statistics 25. Additionally, the self-identification of the participants was captured. Four conditions indicated the identification with feminism, men's rights activism, egalitarianism and womanism. The inclusion criteria for a participant to be considered as identifying with one of the four conditions was a value of 4 or higher on a 5-point Likert scale.

Exploratory factor analysis

The questionnaire items created from the associations found in Study 1 formed an additional new scale. This scale included 13 5-Point Likert scale items measuring associations with feminism.

An exploratory factor analysis is used to reduce the set of variables in order to find underlying concepts (Rummel, 1970). These key concepts, or factors, allow placing variables into meaningful categories (Yong & Pearce, 2013) and, therefore, easier interpretation (Rummel, 1970). Two main techniques can be applied – Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) (Yong & Pearce, 2013). CFA is used to confirm hypotheses. EFA is used to find patterns and a first step when developing a new scale (Yong & Pearce, 2013). Due to the development of the scale with newly created items for the associations with feminism, an Exploratory Factor Analysis with varimax rotation was applied to this dataset. Values below .3 were suppressed in the rotated matrix. Also, factors with Eigenvalues of below 1.0 were not considered as relevant for this analysis.

A preliminary EFA was conducted. Items that showed a negative factor loading were classified as reversed. As a result, the seven items *Q1*, *Q4*, *Q5*, *Q7*, *Q8* and *Q9* were considered reverse coded in order to create consistency across all items.

Afterwards, Cronbach's Alpha was calculated in order to test the reliability of the scale. To ensure acceptable reliability, the value for Cronbach's Alpha should be above 0.7 (Gliem & Gliem, 2003). The remaining items measuring the concept of feminism were added up to create an index variable. This variable was used for further analysis and validity testing.

Ordinal data

A Pearson's chi -squared test is a nonparametric statistical method (Zibran, 2007). It is used to test for the dependence or independence of two or more classifications of the data sample.

However, a found statistical association does not imply a causal relationship (Zibran, 2007). The strength of the found significant associations can be tested using Cramér's V (Acock & Stavig, 1979). Accordingly, the ordinal data retrieved from single items in the survey was tested for significant associations with a Pearson's chi-squared test. In case of a significant result, this was followed by Cramér's V in order to determine the strength of association.

Continuous data

The continuous variables *Openness to Experience, Psychopathy, Narcissism, Machiavellianism, Attitude*, stereotype content model dimensions *Competence* and *Warmth* provided interval data. Pearson's r correlation coefficient was used to test for significant correlations (Schober & Schwarte, 2018). The assumption of normal distribution was tested by calculating the skewness and kurtosis (Schober & Schwarte, 2018). This assumption was met by the variables named above.

For the testing of mixed pairs of continuous and ordinal variables, the non-parametric Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (Hauke & Kossowski, 2011) was used. It measures the strength of association between two variables. It is a measure that can be used when the assumption of linearity is not met for a Pearson's correlation coefficient (Hauke & Kossowski, 2011). Thus, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was also used for the testing of the continuous variable *Age* that did not meet the linearity assumption.

Stereotype content model

For the analysis of the social perception of feminists using the stereotype content model, eight different groups were defined. Four groups based on the participants' social identity: *Feminist* (n=181), *Womanist* (n=120), *Men's rights activist* (n=178) and *Egalitarianist* (n=326). Participants were defined as identifying with either one of these social groups when answering 'Somewhat agree' or 'Agree' on a 5-Point Likert scale. Moreover, three groups were included based on gender: Male (n=264), Female (n=181) and Non-binary (n=47). The eighth group included in the analysis was the overall sample (n=568).

Warmth and *Competence* were measured on a 5-Point Likert scale from low (5) to upper (1). Both concepts were included in the survey with two items each. Afterwards, the overall mean scores for warmth and competence were used for the further analysis. Using the software

IBM SPSS Statistics 25, descriptive statistics were applied to the defined groups in order to estimate the mean score and standard deviation. Next, the results were plotted and compared on a warmth-competence scale according to Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick (2002). This allowed to sort the different perceptions of feminists of each group into one of four quadrants. Further conclusions about the perceived status and competition could be drawn from the positioning within the quadrants.

Logistic regression

Logistic regression is used for describing and testing relationships between categorical outcome variables and categorical or continuous predictor variables. The logistic model predicts the odds of predicting the outcome variable with one or more predictor variables (Peng, Lee & Ingersoll, 2002). The continuous predictor variables for this study were *Age, Openness to Experience, Psychopathy, Narcissism* and *Machiavellianism*. Categorical predictor variables were *Gender, Ethnicity* and *Education*. The outcome variables were the four social identities: *Feminist*, *Men's rights activist*, *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist*. This analysis aimed to predict the likelihood of identifying with one of the four social groups based on the independent predictor variables.

In order to measure the ordinal variables capturing social identity, these variables were recoded into categorical outcome variables. The answers of the 5-point Likert scale were recoded into dichotomous categories: 'No' (previously 'Disagree', 'Somewhat disagree' and 'Neither agree nor disagree') and 'Yes' (previously 'Agree' and 'Somewhat agree'). This way of coding allowed direct conclusions about the factors motivating or hindering one to identify with one of the social groups.

The predictor variable *Education* was removed from the final results of the logistic regression analysis (Peng, Lee & Ingersoll, 2002). Due to an unequal distribution of respondents per category, the prediction value of *Education* could not be tested reliably within the frame of this research.

Results Online Survey

Open associations with feminism

As for the first open question about associations with feminism, 1329 associations were coded

into 13 categories (see Table 5)**.** The most occurring code was *Emotionality* (16.6%). This code was dominated by negative associations with feminism e.g., 'hate', 'anger', 'destruction', 'aggression', 'subversion' and 'whining'/'complaining'. These entries were related to emotionality, irrationality and destructive behavior. Due to the negativity of the entries for this code, the respondents were most likely rejecting feminism.

The category *Political activism* (15.6%) was the second largest code. The most prominent entry for this category was 'rights'. Rights was stated by itself but also in combination as 'human rights', 'civil rights' and 'women's rights'. A strong focus on feminism fighting legally for the rights of women but also other societal groups. Other entries were related to political activism (e.g., 'social justice warrior', 'agenda', 'justice', 'politics' and 'activism'). Reoccurring associations within this code were the political ideologies 'Marxism, 'leftist' or 'left-wing', 'liberalism', 'fascism', 'communism' and 'ideology'. Feminism seems to be connected to liberal ideologies and to argue from this point of view. However, many respondents named multiple different political ideologies as associations with feminism. This might indicate that these answers were stemming from anti-feminist participants of the forum 4chan. The category political activism includes associations related to political ideology and activism.

Within the code *Gender Equality* (12.6%), the term 'gender equality' was most named. Feminism was closely connected to this term but also to other entries about the same topic e.g., 'equality of the sexes' or 'equality of men and women'. Next to that, a few participants named 'inequality', 'female superiority', 'emancipation' and 'superiority over men'. Therefore, associations related to gender equality or inequality are sorted into this category.

The *Relevance* of feminism (12.3%) was discussed by the participants. Examples for the irrelevance of feminism were the entries 'radicalism', 'victimhood', 'extreme', 'misguided' and 'unnecessary'. The relevance of feminism was described with the words 'important', 'necessary' and 'good'. This code shows a clear polarization of associations between people who are supporting or rejecting the feminist movement. This category also included answers describing important topics discussed by feminism: 'abortion', 'equal pay', 'divorce', 'rape', 'suffragettes' and 'voting rights'. It should be noticed that especially modern feminism was criticized harshly (e.g., '3rd wave insanity' or '1st wave good.. third wave deadly'). Also, feminism was associated with being outdated. The category *Relevance* includes answers that are directly or indirectly linked to the relevance or irrelevance of feminism. For example, societal issues that are

addressed in the feminist agenda are directly demonstrating the feeling of necessity of a women's rights movement. On the other hand, connecting feminism with extremism and radicalism indirectly questions the necessity of such movement.

As for the category *Empowerment* (8.9%), the most named words were empowerment/power, strength/strong, independence and fairness. Other prominent topics of this category were 'freedom (of choice)', 'liberty', especially 'sexual liberty', and 'body positivity'. At the same time, feminism was associated with 'unfairness', 'fear' and 'removing freedom of choice'. *Empowerment* describes mainly positive entries related to 'strength', 'liberation', 'power' and 'freedom'. This code was most likely dominated by people being in favor of feminism.

The code *Aversion* (8.2%) consisted of negative and insulting associations. Examples for this category were the terms 'annoying', 'stupidity', 'degeneracy', 'retardation' and 'social/moral decay'. Moreover, entries related to mental illness were coded into this category (e.g., 'mental illness' and 'depression'). The entries of this category demonstrated repulsion and aversion toward feminism as a movement and belief system. People stating these responses were clearly not identifying themselves with feminism.

The category *Gender of feminism* (6.6%) was dominated by entries relating women to feminism. The most occurring answers were 'women', 'woman' and 'female'. Both 'men and women' in relation to feminism was only found four times in the dataset. This code demonstrates that mostly women or the female gender are associated with feminism.

Characteristics of feminism (5,0%) was mostly described by negative answers like 'division', 'self-destruction', 'unhappiness', 'oppression' and 'intolerance'. Furthermore, participants experienced feminism as 'polarizing', 'contradictive', 'corrupt' and 'demonstrating an inferiority complex'. At the same time, the movement was also related more positive terms like 'happiness', 'respect', 'diversity' and 'inclusiveness'. This code contains answers describing both positive and negative attributes of the feminist movement. Participants also described the *Characteristics of feminists* (4.3%). Feminists were seen as 'narcissistic', 'ugly', 'overweight' and having 'colored hair'. Overall, this category includes almost exclusively negative associations with members of the feminist movement.

Privilege (3.3%) was connected to feminism. Examples for this code were the answers 'arrogance', 'privilege', 'entitlement' and 'elitism'. Three participants stated to associate

feminism with 'whiteness'. This category summarizes answers about feminism in relation to privilege demonstrated by entitlement, whiteness and elitism.

Some answers named the connection of feminism and *Men* (2.9%). Participants responded with, for example, 'misandry', 'man-hating', 'castration' and 'anti-male'. Entries in this category were showing exclusively negative associations of feminism with men.

Feminism was associated with *Progressiveness* (2.9%). Answers referred to 'progressiveness' itself but also 'regression'. Especially the role of family and the woman in a family unit were central themes: 'destruction of family', 'single motherhood', 'childlessness', 'dislike for children' and 'bad parenting'. As a result, this code describes replies about progressiveness, breaking traditions and the role of family in relation to feminism.

The last code *LGBTQ* was counted 11 times (0.8%). It described feminism being associated with terms like 'lesbian', 'dyke' and 'gay'. Also, 'LGBTQ rights' was coded once. Thus, this category contains answers connecting feminism to the LGBTQ+ community.

Table 5

Open associations with feminism

Code	Description	Examples	Absolute Numbers (%)
Emotionality	Relates feminism to emotional, destructive and irrational behavior.	e.g., hate, anger/angry, destruction	220 (16.6%)
Political activism	Sees feminism as part of or resulting from political ideologies and as a form of activism.	e.g., Marxism, leftists/left-wing, rights	207 (15.6%)
Gender Equality	Names gender (in-)equality in relation to feminism.	e.g., gender equality, inequality, emancipation	168 (12.6%)
Relevance	Discusses the (ir-)relevance of feminism.	e.g., abortion, good, victimhood, radicalism	163 (12.3%)
Empowerment	Considers feminism as powerful and freeing. Also, increasing body positivity.	e.g., empowerment/power, strength, independence	118 (8.9%)

Aversion	Expresses repulsion and aversion toward feminism.	e.g., degeneracy, annoying, stupidity	109 (8.2%)
Gender of feminism	Argues how feminism is connected to gender.	e.g., women, women, female	88 (6.6%)
Characteristics of feminism	Names attributes of the feminist movement.	e.g., division, oppression/oppressive, intolerance	66 (5.0%)
Characteristics of feminists	Names members of the feminist movement and their characteristics.	e.g., narcissistic, ugly, colored hair	57 (4.3%)
Privilege	Connects feminism with being privileged in society based on education or skin color.	e.g., entitlement/entitled, privilege, arrogance	44 (3.3%)
Men	Positions feminism in relation to men.	e.g., misandry, man-hating, anti-male	39 (2.9%)
Progressiveness	Links feminism to being progressive or regressive. Also, discussing family units and the women's role in it.	e.g., destruction of family, progressiveness, regressive	39 (2.9%)
LGBTQ	Connects feminism to the LGBTQ community.	e.g., lesbian, dyke, LGBTQ rights	11 (0.8%)
		Total	1329 (100%)

Note: n=539

Afterwards, the associations with feminism were divided and compared by social identity. Trends were visible when ranking the codes (see Table 6) by group. Great differences in numbers are marked in the table by underlined numbers.

      The code *Gender Equality* was named most often when adding up the four identities. It was also named more than twice as often by *Feminists* and *Womanists* in comparison to *Men's Rights Activists* (*MRAs*). Also, it was the code with the largest percentage for *Feminists* and *Womanists*. The code with largest percentage for *MRAs* was *Emotionality.* This confirms the negativity of entries found for this code overall. *Political Activism* and *Gender Equality* were the second and third most prevalent codes for *MRAs*. These three codes together account for 44.4% of the associations. *MRAs* strongly associated feminism with being emotionally driven, but also a political movement related to gender equality.

The largest percentage for *Egalitarianists* were *Political Activism*, followed by *Gender Equality* and *Emotionality*. All three codes together account for 47.7% of the associations. *Egalitarianists* seem to have a focus on feminism as a political movement but also consider it emotionally driven.

As for Feminists and Womanists, the focus of associations was predominantly on *Political Activism* and *Empowerment*. Both codes were already found to be dominated by positive associations. The three codes *Gender Equality, Political Activism* and *Empowerment* accounted for 65.8% for *Feminists* and 65.6% for *Womanists*. The same three codes still accounted for 42.2% for *Egalitarianists*, but only 33.2% for *MRAs*.

As expected, *Aversion* toward feminism was mainly expressed by *MRAs* and *Egalitarianists*. But also, the connection of *Privilege* and *Men* with feminism was traced back to stem from people rejecting feminism. This matching the negative associations presented within these codes. Interestingly, *Characteristics of feminists* was found to be dominated by negative terms but all four social identities contributed to this code equally.

Table 6

Open associations with feminism divided by social identity

	Feminist (in %)	Womanist (in %)	Egalitarianist (in %)	MRAs (in %)
Gender Equality	<u>27.1</u>	<u>28.1</u>	15.6	11.7
Political Activism	17.5	19.3	17.1	13.4
Empowerment	<u>21.2</u>	<u>18.2</u>	9.5	8.1
Emotionality	3.6	5.8	<u>15.0</u>	<u>19.3</u>
Relevance	10.0	8.0	13.5	11.2
Gender of feminism	<u>10.0</u>	<u>10.9</u>	6.9	7.1
Characteristics of feminism	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
Aversion	0.9	1.4	<u>4.7</u>	<u>7.8</u>
Privilege	1.3	0.3	<u>3.9</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Characteristics of feminists	0.6	1.0	<u>3.0</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Men	0.6	0.7	<u>2.7</u>	<u>4.8</u>
Progressiveness	2.0	1.4	2.3	2.0

LGBTQ	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.7

Note: Percentages of each code divided by the four social identities *Feminist, Womanist, Egalitarianist* and *Men's Rights Activist* (MRAs).

Open associations with feminists

As for the second open question about associations with feminists, 1376 entries were coded into 13 categories (see Table 7)**.** The most prominent code *Emotionality* (17.4%) contained answers relating feminists to 'aggression', 'destruction' and being emotionally driven. Participants stated to largely associate feminists with, for example, 'anger', being 'angry', 'hateful', 'loud' and 'protesting'. Moreover, feminists were classified as being 'unreasonable', 'hysterical', 'bitter', 'aggressive' and 'complaining'. On the other hand, participants also wrote down the terms 'logic', 'sharp-minded' and 'cold'. This code was almost exclusively including negative terms. An indication for this code to mainly consists of people rejecting the feminist identity.

Participants described personality traits and interests of feminists which was summarized as *Personal Characteristics* (15.6%). Among the most noticeable associations were being 'naïve', 'lonely', 'selfish' and 'insecure'. As well as being 'hypocritical', 'narcissistic' and 'unhappy'. Feminists were said to be 'moral high horses', show 'moral posturing' but, on the other hand, also show 'immorality'. Two other conflicting pairs of associations were being 'open-minded' and 'narrow-minded' and being 'young' and 'older' at the same time. While the last associations are likely a result of polarized opinions about feminism, the overall tone of voice is also negative for this code.

Furthermore, feminists were attributed a strong, active *Activist personality* (15.0%). They were described as 'determined', 'independent', 'powerful', 'honest' and 'brave'. Also, respondents used the terms 'activist' and 'fighter'. Fighting for their beliefs was a reoccurring topic. Next to that, 'strength' and being 'strong' were named often by itself and in combination with additional attributes (e.g., 'strong opinions', being 'strong willed' or 'strong women'). On the contrary, few associated feminists with the opposing characteristics of being 'weak', 'lazy', 'fragile' and 'dishonest'.

Entries of the code *Political ideology* (10.1%) described political ideologies, parts of the feminist political agenda and the feminist movement. The most prominent associations were

'equality'/'equal rights', 'rights' (e.g., 'women's rights') and 'sexism'. Also, being 'idealistic', politically 'left-wing' and a 'social justice warrior'. Just like feminism, feminists were also associated with the ideologies of 'Marxism' and 'Communism'. Examples for the feminist political agenda were '#metoo', 'emancipation', 'pro-choice' and 'patriarchy'.

Participants of the online survey noted specific associations with the *Appearance* of feminists (10.0%). The most common descriptions were 'colored hair', 'haircut', being 'fat', 'obese' or 'ugly'. Other external characteristics were 'piercings', 'tattoos', 'glasses' and being 'hairy'. Moreover, people named 'bare breasts' or 'bareness' in connection with feminists.

Aversion (7.9%) consists of swearwords and entries expressing aversion or repulsion toward feminists. For example, 'annoying', 'stupid', 'idiots' and 'evil'. Also, 'satanism', 'negativity', being 'laughable' and a 'failure' were written down as answers for this open question. On the other hand, participants also acknowledged feminists to be 'stigmatized', 'stereotyped' and 'misunderstood'. Besides that, feminists were named to be 'vilified' and connected to 'lots of negative press'. This code summarizes responses that express strong aversion but also people who acknowledge the stereotypes and stigmas used to talk about feminists as one homogenous social group.

The code *Gender of Feminists* (7.6%) included comments about the gender or sex of feminists. The most named examples were 'women', 'woman' and 'female'. However, this code also includes answers demonstrating gender diversity within the social group e.g., 'people', 'women and men', 'men' and 'not only female'. One person also associated the male American actor Chris Pratt and the Indian politician Rahul Ghandi with feminists. However, both names were stated by a participant associating a terrorist with feminists. Thus, these two celebrities are not necessarily identifying as a feminist or in favor of the feminist movement.

Associations summarized by the code *Delusion* (5.8%) question the mental state of feminists and the legitimacy of their ideas. Feminists were associated with 'ignorance', 'mental illness' and 'victimhood'/'victim mentality'. Moreover, they were called 'brainwashed', 'misguided' and 'delusional'. Most entries within this code expressed strong doubt about the people identifying as feminists and could be seen as a form of discreditation of their ideas by an outgroup.

Feminists were found to possess a certain level of societal *Privilege* (3.3%). Feminists were connected to being 'entitled', 'privileged', 'arrogant' and 'white'. Other themes were

'education' (e.g., 'educated', 'universities', 'high IQ'), an 'upper-class background' and being 'rich'.

Another code was *Extremism* (2.5%). The answers classified feminists as being extreme or radical in their views and behaviors. Associations were 'extremism', 'radicalism', being 'self-destructive' and 'attention-seeking'. People also emphasized to have these associations from time to time or only with modern feminists (e.g., 'sometimes exaggerated', 'nowadays mentally ill').

Next to that, feminists was discussed in regards to *Men* (2.3%). Participants linked feminists to 'misandry', being 'man-hating', being 'jealous of men' and having an extremely negative attitude toward them (e.g., 'men haters', 'throw men under the bus', 'mad at all men'). It should also be noted here that 'men' was also named to be associated with being feminists in combination with 'women' or 'woman' coded as *Gender of feminists*.

LGBTQ+ (1.6%) included answers referring to the sexuality of feminists and their attitude toward the LGBTQ+ community. Feminists were connected with the terms 'lesbian', 'dyke' and 'gay'. But also, 'homophobia' and being intolerant of the LGBTQ+ community were written down as associations.

Sex and Gender Roles (0.9%) summarized entries that relate to biology of the sexes and societal gender roles. People associate feminists with being 'childless', 'spinsters', 'divorce' and 'abortion'. Others noted 'biology rejection' and 'unnaturalness' as connections with feminists.

Table 7

Open associations with feminists

Code	Description	Examples	Absolute numbers (in %)
Emotionality	Relates feminists to emotional, destructive and irrational behavior.	e.g., angry, hateful, aggression	239 (17.4%)
Personal Characteristics	Describes personality traits and specific characteristics of feminists.	e.g., naïve, insecure, lonely	215 (15.6%)
Activist personality	Connects feminists to specific personality traits related to being activistic.	e.g., fighter, independent, strong, powerful	207 (15.0%)

Political ideology	Names political ideologies or parts of the feminist political agenda.	e.g., equality, left-wing, sexism	139 (10.1%)
Appearance	Demonstrates external features of feminists.	e.g., colored hair, ugly, fat	138 (10.0%)
Aversion	Expresses aversion and repulsion toward feminists.	e.g., annoying, stupid, idiots	109 (7.9%)
Gender of feminists	Connects feminists with one or more genders.	e.g., women, female, people	104 (7.6%)
Delusion	Questions feminists' mental state.	e.g., victim complex, ignorant, brainwashed	80 (5.8%)
Privilege	Describes feminists' level of societal privilege.	e.g., privileged, entitled, white	45 (3.3%)
Extremism	Classifies feminists and their actions as radical and extremist.	e.g., extremist, radical, self-destructive	34 (2.5%)
Men	Presents the presumed attitude of feminists toward men.	e.g., misandry, man hating, penis envy	31 (2.3%)
LGBTQ+	Connecting feminists to the LGBTQ community.	e.g., lesbian, dyke, gay	22 (1.6%)
Sex and Gender Roles	Discusses feminists in relation to biological facts and societal gender roles.	e.g., divorce, childless, biology rejection	13 (0.9%)
		Total:	1376 (100%)

Note: n=540

When comparing the associations with feminists of the four social identities, similar trends could be found (see Table 8). The greatest differences in numbers were marked by underlining. *Activist personality* was the most prevalent code for *Feminists, Womanists* and *Egalitarianists*. The political engagement was strongly associated with being a feminist for these three social identities. On the other hand, *MRAs* associated feminists mostly with *Emotionality* and *Personal Characteristics.* This is reflected by the negative associations within these two codes. *Egalitarianists* share a strong association of feminists with *Emotionality* and *Personal Characteristics*. The associations of *MRAs* and *Egalitarianists* demonstrate a prevalence for defining feminists by their behavior and individual attributes. When adding up the percentages for the related codes *Personal characteristics*, *Appearance* and *Emotionality*, they account for 47.6% for *MRAs* and 39.6% for *Egalitarianists*. However, only 19.8% of *Feminists* and 19.9% of

Womanists share these associations.

      Feminists and *Womanists* only associate feminists on an individual level when it comes to their gender. *Gender of feminists* is the second most found code for both groups. This is followed by the code *Political ideology*. The politically motivated codes *Activist personality* and *Political ideology* account for 52.2% for *Feminists* and 52.3% *Womanists*. For *Egalitarianists*, it is still 29.3% and *MRAs* 21.9%.

Table 8

Open associations with feminists divided by social identity

	Feminist (in %)	**Womanist (in %)**	**Egalitarianist (in %)**	**MRAs (in %)**
Activist personality	37.1	37.8	18.2	11.5
Emotionality	8.0	8.0	17.7	19.9
Political ideology	15.1	14.5	11.1	10.4
Personal characteristics	9.1	9.8	15.3	16.4
Gender of feminists	15.1	15.2	8.2	6.2
Appearance	2.7	2.1	6.6	11.3
Aversion	2.9	2.9	6.3	8.8
Delusion	2.5	2.1	6.1	4.6
Privilege	2.2	2.1	3.2	3.4
Extremism	2.7	2.1	2.7	1.8
Men	1.6	1.4	2.5	3.0
LGBTQ+	0.4	0.7	1.3	1.1
Sex and gender roles	0.0	0.7	0.3	1.1

Note: Percentages of each code divided by the four social identities *Feminist, Womanist, Egalitarianist* and *Men's Rights Activist* (MRAs).

In order to further distinguish the associations with feminists, the use of words for each group were compared. As for the code *Emotionality*, being 'angry' and showing 'anger' was a prominent association for all four social identities. However, *Feminists, Womanists* and *Egalitarianists* often used the context of protesting when describing feminists while this was not prominent for *MRAs*. *MRAs* most often described feminists as being 'aggressive' and connected to hatred.

As expected, *Feminists* often showed more positive associations with feminists themselves than *MRAs*. This is also true for the codes *Appearance*, *Men* and *Personal Characteristics*. *Feminists* and *MRAs* both associated 'dyed hair' with the *Appearance* of feminists. But the first group also described them as 'beautiful' while the second one often used the term 'ugly'. *Feminists* associated feminists with being 'sometimes again men' or 'want to get back [at them]'. *MRAs* used the terms 'misandry', 'man haters' and ''jealous of men'. The *Personal Characteristics* were described as 'open-mined', 'confident' and 'smart' by *Feminists* and as 'selfish', 'naïve' and 'evil' by *MRAs*.

Furthermore, *MRAs* and *Egalitarianists* were found to use stronger and less nuanced language. One example is that *Feminists* and *Womanists* associated *Extremism* in feminists with the terms 'sometimes annoying' or 'sometimes exaggerated'. *Egalitarianists* and *MRAs* rarely use any adverbs to nuance these associations.

Based on the similar percentage distribution of associations per code, *Feminists* and *Womanists* were expected to show similar word associations. This could be confirmed e.g., both used the terms 'strong' and 'powerful' for the *Activist personality* or 'open minded' and 'confident' for *Personal Characteristics*.

The terms found for *Egalitarianists* is a mixture of the positive associations by *Feminists* and *Womanists* and the negative associations of *MRAs*. It has to be considered that the associations for *Egalitarianists* were more similar to the ones of *MRAs*. E.g., the code *Men* included the terms 'man haters', 'misandry' and 'throw men under the bus'. Also, *Extremism* in feminists was associated with 'looking for attention', 'extremists' and being 'power hungry now'.

Next, the associations of each group with feminism were analyzed. Great differences in associations could be found for the codes *Men, LGBTQ+* and *Progressiveness*. *Feminists* and *Womanists* only connected *Men* and feminism with 'mansplaining'. *Egalitarianists* and *MRAs* used the terms 'misandry', 'man hating' and 'anti-male'. As for *LGBTQ+*, *MRAs* and *Egalitarianists* connected feminism with being 'lesbian'. *Feminists* themselves only once used the term 'LGBT rights', *Womanists* did not present any associations with this code. *Progressiveness* was described as 'progress' or 'progressive' by all four groups. *Feminists* and *Womanists* added the associations 'revolution' and 'change'. *Egalitarianists* also often associated it with being 'regressive' and the destruction of the traditional family. *MRAs* used

even stronger language by naming the destruction of the family and the 'hatred for tradition'.

Overall, the trend of *MRAs* having more negative associations with feminism than *Feminists* and *Womanists* could be confirmed. E.g., the most used terms for the code *Relevance* were 'equal pay' for *Feminists*, 'important' for *Womanists* and 'victim mentality' for *MRAs*. The same was true for the code *Emotionality* that was described as 'protest' and 'anger' by *Feminists* and as 'anger' and 'destruction' by *MRAs*.

At the same time, the associations for *Empowerment* were very similar for all four social identities. All groups described feminism to be connected with 'empowerment', 'strength' and being 'strong'. Moreover, the associations presented by *Egalitarianists* were also here found to be a mixture of terms with a negative tendency e.g., the *Relevance* of feminists was described as a 'mistake' and 'decline' and the *Characteristics of feminists* as 'lying' and 'narcissistic'. The overall tendency of *Egalitarianists* to use similar terms as *MRAs* was found for the associations with both feminism and feminists. Also, the ranking of the codes was very similar between *Egalitarianists* and *MRAs*.

Associations with feminism scale

An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted for the newly created 13-item scale measuring associations with feminism based on Study 1. The EFA provided a varimax rotated matrix presenting the factor loadings (see Table 9). These items measured two different underlying factors. *Factor 1* accounted for 56.5% of variance with an Eigenvalue of 7.3 and consisted of 11 items. *Factor 2* accounts for 8.3% of variance with an Eigenvalue of 1.08 and showed loadings for three items. *Factor 2* was measured unambiguously with a high factor loading by *Q9*. Moreover, *Q10* and *Q12* loaded weakly onto *Factor 2*, but also moderately onto *Factor 1*.

The aim of the scale was to measure aspects of feminism as a single underlying factor. In order to improve the quality of the scale, the ambiguous item Q9 representing *Diversity (over time)* that loaded highly onto the second factor was removed from further analysis. Also, the second factor was not explored any further.

As a result, the remaining 12 items formed the scale that was used for further analysis. Five of these items were reverse coded. *Factor 1* was renamed capturing aspects of the

underlying concept *Feminism*. The 12-item scale was named Associations with feminism scale which will be used beyond this point. Cronbach's Alpha was .93 which ensures an excellent reliability of the scale. After aligning the items into one underlying factor, an index variable was created. By combining the 12 items, the new variable allowed testing for validity and possible correlations with this scale.

Table 9

Exploratory factor analysis of associations with feminism scale

Name	Items	Factor Loadings	
		Factor 1	Factor 2
Q1 (R)	Feminists are	.85	
	Rational – Irrational		
Q2	Feminists strive for	.87	
	Female Supremacy – Gender Equality		
Q3	In nowadays society, there is	.73	
	Female privilege – Male privilege		
Q4 (R)	Feminism is	.73	
	relevant – irrelevant		
Q5 (R)	Feminists are	.81	
	Pro men – Anti men		
Q6	Differences between men and women in society are due to	.82	
	Biology - Patriarchy		
Q7 (R)	Feminists think about the position of other social groups in society.	.54	
Q8 (R)	Feminists are a diverse social group.	.72	
Q9 (R)	*Feminism changes over time.*		*.85*
Q10	Feminists are repulsive.	.75	.38
Q11	Feminists are radicals.	.78	
Q12	Feminists are all the same.	.54	.58

Q13	I associate feminism with whiteness.	.69

Note: Varimax rotated matrix, values below .3 suppressed

Social Identity and Associations

 Demographics and associations with feminism were tested for correlations with the social identifications *Feminist, Men's rights activist, Egalitarianist* and *Womanist*. It was found that most variables showed a significant, but relatively low strength of association. A strength valued 0.4 or higher was found for 13 correlations (see Table 10). The combination of variables with the highest strength of association were the social identification as *Feminist* and rating feminists from *Rational to Irrational*. This was followed by the social identification as *Feminist* and rating feminists' goal from *Female superiority to Gender equality*. Furthermore, the only pair of social identifications that showed an association strength higher than 0.4 were *Feminism* and *Womanism*.

Moreover, the variable combinations with the highest strength of association all included at least one of the three variables: *Feminist*, *Repulsion* and *Extremism*. The social identification *Feminist* was found to be strongly associated with the answers to seven associations. The associations were tested among each other. *Repulsion* and *Extremism* were found to be associated with *Emotionality* and *Gender Equality*. Also, *Extremism* was associated with *Men*. While these associations with feminism are distinct concepts, they seem to be related in some way. People tend to evaluate feminism in a similar manner when considering it as repulsive and extremist.

The combinations of variables that showed no significant association were the social identification *Men's rights activist* with *Gender* and the social identification *Egalitarianist* with the demographic variables *Gender*, *Ethnicity* and *Education*.

Table 10

Correlations between social identities and associations with feminism

	Feminist (SId)	**Repulsion**	**Extremism**
Womanist (SId)	$X^2(16) = 475.4^*$, $\varphi = 0.45$		
Repulsion	$X^2(16) = 454.5^*$, $\varphi = 0.44$		
Extremism	$X^2(16) = 369.1^*$, $\varphi = 0.40$		
Rational-Irrational	$X^2(16) = 527.4^*$, $\varphi = 0.48$	$X^2(16) = 436.5^*$, $\varphi = 0.44$	$X^2(16) = 431.9^*$, $\varphi = 0.43$
Pro - Anti men	$X^2(16) = 374.5^*$, $\varphi = 0.40$		$X^2(16) = 401.9^*$, $\varphi = 0.42$
Female Superiority – Gender Equality	$X^2(16) = 476.9^*$, $\varphi = 0.45$	$X^2(16) = 381.3^*$, $\varphi = 0.41$	$X^2(16) = 421.3^*$, $\varphi = 0.43$
Relevant - Irrelevant	$X^2(16) = 396.9^*$, $\varphi = 0.41$		
Biology - Patriarchy	$X^2(16) = 453.5^*$, $\varphi = 0.44$		

Note: Pearson's chi-squared test (*p < .01), followed by Cramér's V. These variables showed the highest strength of association of 0.4 and higher.

Attitude and social perception

 The ordinal variables *Gender, Ethnicity, Education* and social identities were tested for correlations with *Attitude* and the stereotype content model dimensions *Competence* and *Warmth*. The demographic variables showed significant correlations with the dependent continuous variables *Attitude, Competence* and *Warmth* (see Table 11). The participants' *Age* correlated positively with *Competence*, *Warmth* and *Attitude*. The participants' *Gender* correlated lowly but significantly positive with *Competence* and *Warmth*, but negatively with *Attitude*. *Ethnicity* and *Education* both correlated significantly positive with *Attitude, Competence* and *Warmth*. Overall, most demographic variables showed low correlations of below 0.3 with *Attitude* and the two stereotype content model dimensions. Only *Education* correlated, at least, moderately with *Attitude, Competence* and *Warmth*.

As well as the demographic variables, the Social Identities (SIds) were tested for correlation with the continuous variables *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth* (see Table 11). Being a *Feminist* showed the strongest significant correlations with all four continuous variables *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth*. The second highest correlations with all four continuous

variables were found for being a *Womanist*. *Egalitarianists*, on the other hand, showed significant but low correlations with *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth*. Furthermore, *Men's rights activists* were found to show low and negative correlations withal three variables *Competence*, *Warmth* and *Attitude*.

Overall, it was found that Attitude, Competence and Warmth act similarly when correlating with other variables. All three concepts showed the same orientation of correlation. The highest positive correlations were found for being a *Feminist* and *Womanist* with the three variables *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth.* On the other hand, being a *Men's Rights Activist* and *Gender* showed the lowest, but significantly negative correlations. As expected, the social identities *Feminist* and *Men's Rights Activist* showed opposite orientations (-/+) for their correlations with the dependent variables. Interestingly, being a *Womanist* and *Egalitarianist* correlated in the same direction as *Feminist*.

Table 11

Spearman's rank correlation for demographics, social identities and Attitude, Competence and Warmth

	Attitude	**SCM Competence**	**SCM Warmth**
Age	.28**	.28**	.27**
Gender	-.19*	-.16**	-.17**
Ethnicity	.23**	.20**	.20**
Education	.35**	.35**	.33**
Feminist (SId)	.73**	.65**	.67**
Men's rights activist (SId)	-.20**	-.17**	-17**
Egalitarianist (SId)	.15**	.25**	.23**
Womanist (SId)	.55**	.53**	.53**

Note: **p < .01, *p < .05; n = 568

The continuous variables *Openness to Experience* and the Dark Triad personality traits were tested for possible correlations with *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth* as well (see Table 12). The following values were calculated with a significance level of $\alpha = .01$. The few exceptive correlations used a significance level of $\alpha = .05$ and were labelled specifically.

The dark triad trait *Psychopathy* was found to be correlating lowly but significantly negative with *Attitude*, perceived *Warmth* and perceived *Competence* of feminists. On the contrary, *Narcissism* was found to be correlating positively with all three variables *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth*. Furthermore, *Machiavellianism* showed low, but positive correlations with perceived *Competence* and *Warmth*. The three dark triad personality traits showed moderate positive correlations among each other.

Openness to Experience showed no significant correlations with *Attitude*, *Competence* and *Warmth. Openness to Experience* was found to be lowly, but negatively correlating with *Psychopathy* and lowly, but positive with Narcissism. No significant correlation was found with the personality trait *Machiavellianism*.

Table 12

Pearson's r correlation for personality traits and Attitude, Competence and Warmth

	Attitude	**SCM Competence**	**SCM Warmth**	**Openness to Experience**	**Narcissism**	**Psychopathy**	**Machiavellianism**
Openness to Experience	.07	.05	.07	1	.11**	-.10*	-.06
Narcissism	.16**	.16**	.18**	-.11**	1	.27**	.51**
Psychopathy	-.17**	-.14**	-.15**	-.10*	.27**	1	.49**
Machiavellianism	.06	.09*	.125**	-.06	.51**	.49**	1

Note: **p < .01,* *p* < .05; n = 568

Personality traits and associations

Age and the dark triad personality traits, plus *Openness to Experience*, tested for correlations with the associations *Whiteness*, *Stereotyping*, *Awareness*, *Repulsion, Diversity* and *Extremism* from Study 1 (see Table 13). The results show that *Age* correlated lowly but significantly negative with *Whiteness*, *Stereotyping*, *Repulsion* and *Extremism*. Only *Age* with *Awareness* and *Diversity* showed a weak positive correlation.

As for the personality traits, *Openness to Experience* only correlated lowly with

Awareness and *Diversity*. *Psychopathy*, on the other hand, showed low but significant correlations with all six associations *Whiteness*, *Stereotyping*, *Awareness*, *Repulsion, Diversity* and *Extremism*. *Narcissism* correlated with the four associations *Whiteness*, *Awareness, Diversity* and *Repulsion*. The third dark triad trait *Machiavellianism* only correlated lowly with *Repulsion* and *Extremism*. It can be noticed that the correlations with *Awareness* show the exact opposite orientation from the correlations with the other associations.

The correlations of the personality traits and *Age* with the associations showed only low correlations of below 0.3. The highest correlations were found for *Age* with *Awareness, Diversity* and *Extremism* and *Psychopathy* with *Repulsion*. *Openness to Experience* showed almost no correlations with the associations. As for the dark triad traits, *Psychopathy* was the only trait to correlate lowly but significantly with all associations.

Table 13

Spearman's rank correlation for age, personality traits associations

	Whiteness (n=567)	Stereotyping (n=566)	Awareness (n=565)	Repulsion (n=567)	Extremism (n=566)	Diversity (n = 568)
Age	-.24**	-.13**	.23**	-.17**	-.29**	.23**
Openness to Experience	-.05	-.07	.09*	-.067	-.06	.09*
Psychopathy	.12**	.09*	-.13**	.21**	.17**	-.11**
Narcissism	-.18**	-.07	.09*	-.10*	-.05	.11*
Machiavellianism	-.06	-0.5	.02	-.09*	-.10*	.07

Note: **p < .01, *p < .05

Next, the dark triad personality traits tested for possible correlations with the scaled associations from study 1 *Rational-Irrational*, *Pro-Anti Men*, *Female Supremacy-Gender Equality*, *Female-Male Supremacy*, *Relevant-Irrelevant* and *Biology-Patriarchy* (see Table 14). *Psychopathy* correlated lowly but significantly with all six scaled associations. Likewise, *Narcissism* correlated lowly with all six scales. *Machiavellianism* correlated with five scaled associations. It did not show a significant correlation with *Relevant-Irrelevant*.

Table 14

Spearman's rank correlation for dark triad personality traits and associations

	Rational-Irrational (n=566)	Pro-Anti Men (n=566)	Female Supremacy – Gender Equality (n=565)	Female-Male Supremacy (n=566)	Relevant – Irrelevant (n=563)	Biology – Patriarchy (n=563)
Psychopathy	-.21**	-.20**	.23**	.18**	-.20**	.24**
Narcissism	.14**	.12**	-.12**	-.13**	.15**	-.14**
Machiavellianism	.10*	.09*	-.10*	-.15**	.07	-.12**

Note: *p < .01, **p < .05.

Additionally, *Age* and *Openness to Experience* were tested for correlation with the scaled associations (see Table 15). *Openness to Experience* showed very low correlations with the three scales *Pro-Anti Men*, *Relevant-Irrelevant* and *Biology-Patriarchy*. *Age* showed moderate correlations with all six scales. While *Age* correlated positively with *Rational-Irrational*, *Pro-Anti Men*, *Relevant-Irrelevant*, it showed negative correlations with *Female Supremacy-Gender Equality*, *Female-Male Supremacy* and *Biology-Patriarchy*.

Table 15

Spearman's rank correlation between age, openness to experience and associations

	Rational-Irrational (n=566)	Pro-Anti Men (n=568)	Female Supremacy – Gender Equality (n=567)	Female-Male Supremacy (n=568)	Relevant – Irrelevant (n=565)	Biology – Patriarchy (n=565)
Age	.29**	.31**	-.31**	-.30**	.28**	-.27**
Openness to Experience	.07	.08*	-.08	-.08	.12**	-.08*

Note: *p < .01, **p < .05

Personality traits and social identification

Moreover, the personality traits and *Age* were examined for a possible correlation with the social identities *Feminist*, *Men's rights activist*, *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist* (see Table 16). *Age* showed low positive correlations with the social identities *Feminist* and *Womanist*. *Openness to*

Experience showed low but significant correlations with being a *Feminist*, *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist*.

As for the dark triad personality traits, *Narcissism* correlated positively with being a *Feminist*, *Men's rights activist* and *Womanist*. *Psychopathy*, on the other hand, correlated negatively with the social identities *Feminist*, *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist*. The third dark triad trait *Machiavellianism* showed a low positive correlation with being a *Feminist* and *Womanist*.

Only low correlations below 0.3 were found for the personality traits and *Age* with the social identities. However, it can be noticed that only being a *Feminist* and *Womanist* correlated either positive or negative with all personality traits. *Men's Rights Activists* showed a low positive correlation with only *Narcissism*. Contrarily, *Egalitarianist* did not correlate with *Narcissism* but negatively with *Psychopathy* and positively with *Openness to Experience*.

Table 16

Spearman's rank correlation between age, personality traits and social identity

	Feminist	**Womanist**	**Egalitarianist**	**Men's rights activist**
Age	.25**	.24**	-.04	-.05
Narcissism	.19**	.17**	.05	.08*
Psychopathy	-.21**	-.18**	-.13**	.05
Machiavellianism	.16**	.14**	.01	.06
Openness to Experience	.10*	.10*	.15**	.06

Note: *p < .01, **p < .05

As for the entire results, patterns can be observed. Whenever the dark triad personality traits tested for correlations, the results showed that *Psychopathy* always showed a different orientation in comparison to *Narcissism* and *Machiavellianism*. Moreover, *Psychopathy* was found to correlate negatively with all social identities except for *Men's rights activists*. *Openness to Experience* correlated positively with the social identities except for *Men's rights activists*.

Moreover, the social identities *Feminist* and *Womanist* correlated highly with each other and showed similar results for all correlations. Both social identities and *Age* correlated positively with *Attitude, Warmth* and *Competence*. Interestingly, *Age* also correlated positively with the social identities *Feminist* and *Womanist* but negatively with *Men's rights activist*.

Social perception of feminists

As for the stereotype content model, the dimensions *Warmth* and *Competence* were used to calculate the perception of feminists. Eight groups from the sample were defined and compared: the overall sample, four groups based on social identification and three groups based on gender (see Table 17). The scores for the dimensions are inverted. The mean scores of the warmth dimension ranged from 2.43 to 4.03. The mean scores of the competence dimension ranged from 2.05 to 3.56. The scores for competence were overall lower than for warmth. This means the competence of feminists was perceived higher than their warmth by all groups.

The groups with the most positive perception on both dimensions were participants with the social identifications *Feminist* and *Womanist* and the gender identification *Female*. Participants who identified with feminism and womanism were the only two groups with ratings of both dimensions lower than 3.0. Participants with the gender identification *Female* and social identification *Egalitarianist* rated the *Competence* of feminists high with values lower than 3.0.

The groups who showed the lowest perception of feminists for both dimensions were participants with the gender *Male*, *Non-binary* and the social identification *Men's rights activist*. The group with gender identification *Male* had the lowest perception of feminists on the warmth scale.

Table 17

Social perception of the social group 'feminists' on stereotype content model dimensions

	Warmth		Competence	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Overall sample (n = 568)	3.64	1.32	3.20	1.34
Gender Male (n= 264)	4.03	1.10	3.56	1.19
Gender Female (n= 218)	3.01	1.39	2.65	1.39
Gender Non-binary (n = 47)	3.96	1.26	3.45	1.27
Feminist (n=181)	2.43	1.04	2.05	1.01
Men's Rights Activist (n = 178)	3.87	1.30	3.51	1.35
Womanist (n = 120)	2.58	1.28	2.15	1.19

| Egalitarianist (n = 326) | 3.45 | 1.27 | 2.96 | 1.28 |

Note: scores are inverted

The results of the stereotype content model dimensions are illustrated on a warmth-competence scale (see Figure 6). The quadrants indicate the perception of feminists as high or low in warmth and competence. Participants that identified themselves as *Feminist* and *Womanist* sorted feminists into the quadrant 'high in warmth/high in competence'. The group *Female* perceived feminists as high in competence but voted their warmth right below the line, sorting them into the category 'low in warmth/high in competence'. The identification *Egalitarianist* also resulted in the perception of feminists as relatively high in competence but low in warmth.

The majority of groups showed a perception of feminists as low in warmth and low in competence. The identification with the men's rights movement and the gender identification *Male* and *Non-binary* sorted their perception of feminists into the 'low in warmth/low in competence' quadrant. Also, the mean scores of the overall sample placed feminists in the same quadrant.

Figure 6

The perception of feminists on a warmth-competence scale
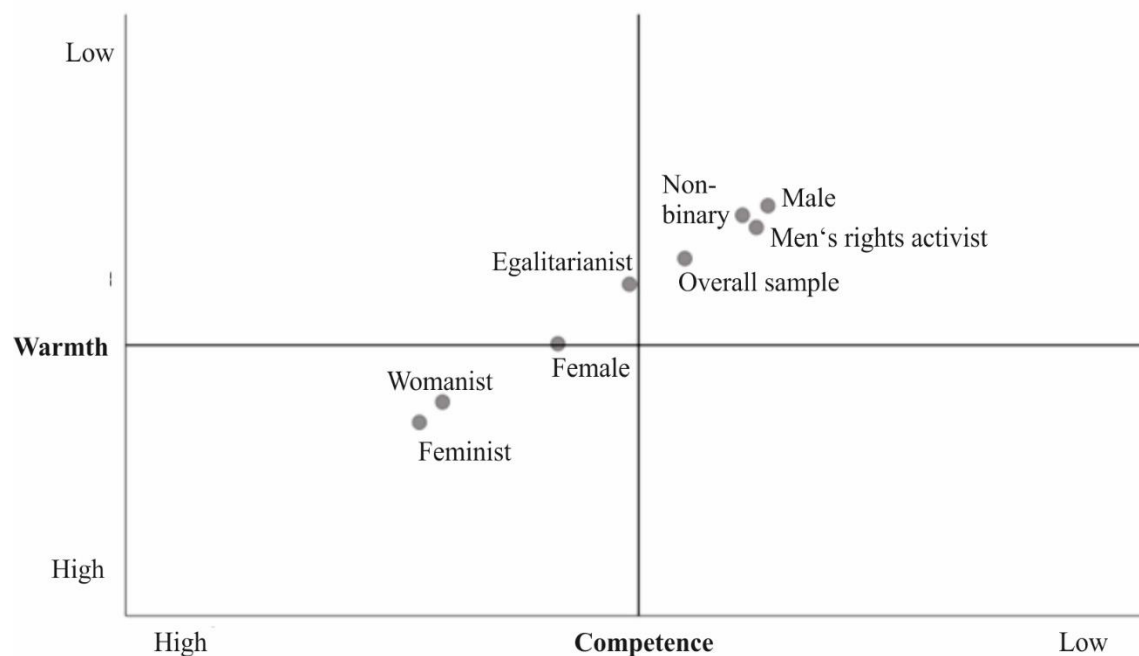
Note: Classification into quadrants based on the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002)

Likeliness of social identification

A logistic regression analysis was conducted to investigate the relationship between the predictor variables *Age, Education, Ethnicity, Gender, Openness to Experience, Psychopathy, Narcissism* and *Machiavellianism* and the likeliness of adopting one or more of the social identities *Feminist*, *Men's rights activist*, *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist*.

The model predicted the odds ratio of the outcome variables *Feminist* and *Men's Rights Activist* considering the different predictor variables (see Table 18). One significant decreasing effect was found for the ethnicity *African* as a negative predictor for the social identity *Men's Rights Activist*. No significant predictor variables increasing the odds ratio for identifying as a *Men's Rights Activist* were found within this sample.

Moreover, multiple predictors increasing the odds ratio for the social identity *Feminist* were found. Ordered by the likeliness to adopt the feminist identity, the seven predictors were the ethnicities *African, Caucasian/European, African American* and *Asian*, followed by the personality traits *Machiavellianism, Openness to Experience* and *Narcissism*. Four predictor variables decreased the odds of identifying as a *Feminist* significantly. Ordered from highest to lowest, these were *Psychopathy* and the genders *Male, Female* and *Non-binary*. It can be concluded that the likeliness to identify as a *Feminist* was strongly predicted by having an *African* or *Caucasian* ethnicity, next to scoring high on the traits *Openness to Experience* and *Machiavellianism*. People were found to be less likely identifying as a *Feminist* when scoring high on the trait *Psychopathy* and being *Male*.

Table 18

Logistic regression analysis for the social identities Feminist and Men's rights activist

Predictor		Feminist				Men's Rights Activist			
		p	*B*	*SE*	*Odds Ratio*	*p*	*B*	*SE*	*Odds Ratio*
Age		.998	.000	.018	1.000	.494	.010	.015	1.010
Gender									
	Male	.000	**-1.368*****	**.265**	**.255**	.395	.195	.230	1.216
	Female	.000	**-1.854*****	**.458**	**.157**	.407	.316	.381	1.372

	p	B	SE	Odds Ratio	p	B	SE	Odds Ratio
Non-binary	.030	**-2.396***	**1.103**	**.091**	.387	1.005	1.162	2.733
Ethnicity								
Caucasian/European	.014	**2.029***	**.826**	**7.608**	.846	-.094	.486	.910
African	.000	**2.225***	**.596**	**9.250**	.033	**-.751***	**.352**	**.472**
African American	.003	**1.501***	**.508**	**4.485**	.065	.715	.388	2.045
Latino/Hispanic	.517	-.298	.460	.742	.221	-.466	.381	.627
Asian	.033	**1.357***	**.635**	**3.886**	.076	-.840	.472	.432
Middle Eastern/Arabic	.591	-.272	.507	.761	.686	-.176	.435	.839
Personality traits								
Openness to Experience	.016	**.501***	**.207**	**1.651**	.068	.291	.160	1.338
Psychopathy	.000	**-.778***	**.166**	**.459**	.418	.100	.124	1.105
Narcissism	.007	**.398***	**.147**	**1.489**	.500	.080	.119	1.083
Machiavellianism	.001	**.513***	**.152**	**1.670**	.653	.054	.119	1.055
Associations with feminism scale	**.000**	**-.374***	**.039**	**.688**	**.018**	**.049***	**.021**	**1.050**

Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001; n = 568

Furthermore, the logistic regression model was applied to test for the odds ratio of the outcome variables *Egalitarianist* and *Womanist* considering the different predictor variables (see Table 19). Two significant predictor variables were found for the likeliness of adopting the social identification *Egalitarianist*. The odds ratio was increased by the personality trait *Openness to Experience* and decreased by *Psychopathy*.

Identifying as a *Womanist* was significantly predicted by four variables. The odds were increased by stating to be *African American* and the personality trait *Openness to Experience*. On the other hand, the odds for the identification as a Womanist were decreased by the genders *Male* and *Female*.

Table 19

Logistic regression analysis for the social identities Egalitarianist and Womanist

Predictor	**Egalitarianist**				**Womanist**			
	p	*B*	*SE*	*Odds Ratio*	*p*	*B*	*SE*	*Odds Ratio*
Age	.222	-.017	.014	.983	.265	.022	.019	1.022
Gender								
Male	.956	.012	.216	1.012	.000	**-1.105***	**.286**	**.331**
Female	.980	-.009	.356	.980	.000	**-1.715***	**.457**	**.180**
Non-binary	.594	.488	.916	1.629	.642	-.586	1.262	.556
Ethnicity								
Caucasian/European	.286	.496	.465	1.642	.100	1.770	1.075	5.871

African	.770	.103	.353	1.109	.287	.537	.504	1.711
African American	.489	.225	.326	1.253	.043	**1.169***	**.578**	**3.218**
Latino/Hispanic	.590	.206	.382	1.228	.249	-.542	.470	.581
Asian	.147	.683	.471	1.981	.363	.568	.624	1.764
Middle Eastern/Arabic	.203	.535	.421	1.708	.146	-.713	.491	.490
Personality traits								
Openness to Experience	.008	**.394****	**.149**	**1.482**	.005	**.598****	**.215**	**1.818**
Psychopathy	.014	**-.288***	**.117**	**.750**	.065	-.304	.165	.738
Narcissism	.642	.052	.112	1.054	.905	.017	.145	1.018
Machiavellianism	.262	.129	.115	1.137	.140	.225	.153	1.253
Associations with feminism scale	**.008**	**-.052****	**.020**	**.950**	.000	**-.170*****	**.027**	**.844**

Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001; n = 568

Overall, the highest odds ratios predicting a social identity could be found for belonging a certain ethnicity. The ethnicities *Caucasian/European, African, African American* and *Asian* increased the odds to be a *Feminist* by 9.3 to 3.9 times. Also, the odds of being a *Womanist* increased greatly by more than 3.2 times when having the ethnicity *African American*.

Other predictor variables showed high values decreasing the odds to identify with a social group. *Psychopathy* decreased the odds for being *Egalitarianist* by 0.8 times and also 0.4 times for being *Feminist*. The personality trait *Openness to Experience* increased the odds for all three social identities *Feminist, Egalitarianist* and *Womanist* by 1.5 to 1.8 times.

The ethnicity *African* decreased the odds to identify as a *Men's Rights Activist* by 0.5 times. Next to that, the gender *Male* decreased the odds to identify as *Womanist* by 0.3 times and as a *Feminist* by 2.6 times.

Furthermore, the index variable of the associations with feminism scale was included as a predictor variable. It was found to be a significant predictor for all four social identities. This further confirms the validity of the new scale measuring important concepts that are connected to the self-identity of people.

Discussion

Previous studies (Scharff, 2016; Callaghan et al., 1999) contributed first attempts to capture the associations with feminism but mainly focused on the rejection of the feminist social identity.

This research study allows an in-depth and detailed understanding of people's associations with and attitude toward feminism. Moreover, a new scale measuring the associations with feminism was developed. The key concepts forming this scale capture the existing associations with feminism and feminists. This scale can be used for further testing in the future. The findings of this research study are especially relevant because of the differentiation of people by social identification. This allows a new way of comparing and refining the results.
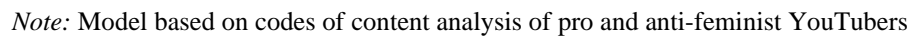
Associations of pro- and anti-feminists YouTubers

Study 1 consisted of a content analysis of YouTube videos of popular pro- and anti-feminists discussing feminism. This way their opinions could be captured and compared to people who do not self-identify as one of the extremes. The sub question for Study 1 was

SQ1: What associations do popular pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers have with feminism?

The results of the inductive coding process showed eleven codes in total. Six of these codes were found on both sides but, as polar opposites. As expected, the competing groups of pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers presented opposing associations and opinions in relation to feminism. Five codes were found for only one of the groups, either pro- or anti-feminist YouTubers. A model was developed that demonstrates the findings and possible relations between the eleven codes (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

Associations of pro- and anti-feminist YouTubers with feminism

Note: Model based on codes of content analysis of pro and anti-feminist YouTubers

As for the code *Gender Equality*, ambiguity in understanding of equality was found. The anti-feminist side interpreted gender equality strictly as having equal rights. They argued that women and men factually own the same rights in Western society. Whereas the feminist YouTubers used the term in relation to formal rights but also social equality of men and women. For example, they discussed the wage gap or being catcalled as signs of inequal treatment of women. Consequentially, feminist YouTubers stated that men own privileges in society. The anti-feminist side saw more female privileges in society. As expected, both sides defended their own opposing beliefs shared by their ingroup. The evaluation of *Relevance* for feminism seems to be closely related to these beliefs. Based on the own interpretation of equality and its existence or absence in society, each side concluded feminism to be still relevant or irrelevant.

The groups also showed opposite opinions on the topic of how feminists view and treat *Men*. Feminist YouTubers considered themselves and the feminist movement to be improving the position of men in society. Anti-feminist YouTubers claimed feminism and feminists to be willingly boycotting men and their already inferior position in society. Scharff (2016) also had already demonstrated the strong association of feminists with being man-hating.

Moreover, the code *Patriarchy vs. Biology* captured how feminists believed societal structures to be purely man-made, whereas anti-feminists believed in an evolutionary and biological base for the position of men and women. Interestingly, both sides agree that the societal structure is based on a higher force that cannot be influenced much on an individual level.

As expected, the group of pro-feminists was largely positive about the movement and its members. Anti-feminist content creators were exclusively negative about the feminist movement and its members. This phenomenon can also be found back in the five single codes that were exclusively found on one side. The codes *Diversity* and *Socio-cultural Awareness* were found with feminist YouTubers and emphasized the variety of feminists within the social group, the development of the movement over time and the awareness of other social groups in society. These attributes of feminism are positive. The positive image and the acknowledgment of *Diversity* might stem from positively evaluating one's ingroup and experiencing these nuances of feminism firsthand. One possible explanation for feminists being highly aware of the possibly different position of other social groups might the questioning of their own position in society. *Socio-cultural Awareness* could be linked to seeing the relevance of feminism for oneself and, as a result, for others.

On the other hand, the codes with a negative connotation *Repulsion*, *Extremism* and *Stereotyping* were found with the anti-feminist YouTubers. Based on the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972), seeing another social group as a competing outgroup will result in a negative evaluation of this group. This might then explain the negative feelings toward feminism found in content made by anti-feminists. Moreover, one's own social identity seems to influence the formation and use of stereotypes toward an outgroup. Having little knowledge and no sympathy toward the group might lead to a greater possibility to distance oneself from the group, stereotype feminists and find them repulsive. Additionally, classifying feminists as extremists and radicals could be a consequence of considering feminism irrelevant in nowadays society. Thus, feminist activists would be striving for extreme goals beyond equal rights for men and women.

Overall, it was found that the YouTube videos of the anti-feminist group had higher view counts than the pro-feminist group. Consequently, the opinions and associations shared in these videos could be widely spread and, thus, prevalent in society. As a result, these negative

associations found with anti-feminist YouTubers could influence people who do not clearly identify as pro- or anti-feminist. At the same time, these associations could also be a reflection of the societal opinion.

Social perception of feminists based on gender and social identity

The second sub question was

SQ2: How are feminists perceived on the stereotype content model dimensions based on one's gender and social identity?

The results demonstrated that the social identification and gender of participants had a visible impact on the perception of feminists on the warmth and competence dimensions based on the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002).

As expected, identifying oneself with the feminist movement or womanism resulted in a positive evaluation of feminists in, both, warmth and competence. Consequently, feminists are sorted into the quadrant 'Admiration'. Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick (2002) found that one's own ingroup is positively rated on both dimensions and perceived as admirable. *Feminists* themselves and *Womanists* perceive feminists as not competitive and high in status. *Womanists* are assumed to also consider feminists their ingroup. After all, womanism is a movement for feminists of color (Taylor, 1998).

Participants identifying as *Female* or *Egalitarianist* rated feminists as high in competence but low in warmth. Sorting them into the 'Envious stereotype'. This quadrant stands for being perceived high in status and, at the same time, high in competition. This is confirming the findings of Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick (2002) whose research found feminists to be often perceived as the 'Envious stereotype'. It is noticeable that people identifying with the female gender do not perceive feminists as admirable and, as a consequence, as their ingroup. Other studies also already demonstrated the strong hesitation of women to self-identify as feminists despite supporting feminist ideals (e.g., Scharff, 2016; Liss, Hoffner & Crawford, 2000).

As expected, identification with the men's rights movement resulted in a negative perception of feminists being low in warmth and low in competence. As a result, feminists are sorted into the quadrant 'contemptuous stereotype' which is described as having a low status and

being low in perceived competition (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002). The same is true for participants who identified with the gender *Male* or *Non-binary*. As for the male participants and supporters of the men's rights movement, this negative perception could be based on the perception of feminists as their opposing outgroup (Hogg, 2016). Also, Scharff (2016) found the term 'feminist' to be closely associated with being man-hating. However, the gender identification *Non-binary* within this sample rated feminists low on both dimensions. A previous study demonstrated a positive correlation between self-labeling as feminist and identifying as a fluid or flexible gender (Molin et al., 2020). Contemporary feminism is also found to be elaborative on new frameworks for gender and sexuality in order to avoid a binary power system (Gamble, 2001). One explanation for the differing findings of this study concerning the answers of non-binary people could be within the sample itself. While 8.3% of the participants of this study identified themselves as non-binary, only 4% of the overall Dutch population is considered transgender. How many of the people summarized under the umbrella term transgender are identifying as non-binary is still unclear (Levie, 2021). However, the group size for this study is almost double. These inflated numbers could be related to the inclusion of data provided by extremist internet trolls of the platform 4chan.org. This would explain the strong anti-feminist attitude and negative social perception of non-binary people in this study. Also, it is noticeable that the social perception is very similar to the groups *Men's rights activists* with an anti-feminist agenda. Other groups drawn from the sample seem less affected by irregularities due to their sample size and their clear difference in social perception matching the attitude toward feminism.

When considering the mean score of the overall sample of this study, feminists are sorted into the quadrant 'contemptuous stereotype' (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002). Despite an almost equal number of participants identifying as *Male* and *Female* and as *Feminist* and *Men's rights activist*, the overall perception of feminists was negative. This study suggests a low perception of feminists' competence and warmth which results in a low status while also being high in competition (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002). Previously, Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick (2002) actually indicated a perception of feminists as the 'envious stereotype' (low in warmth, high in competence). And Eckes (2002) also confirms the perception of feminists, among other non-traditional, successful female subgroups, as the 'envious stereotype'. Therefore, the results of this research study differ from previous studies. The perception of feminists is even lower,

especially the perceived low status. Further research is necessary to determine the reason for this difference in perception.

The influence of social identification and personality traits

The third sub question was

SQ3: What influence do social identification, dark triad personality traits and Openness to Experience have on people's associations with and attitudes toward feminism?.

In order to answer this question, the influence of personality traits on the attitude and associations will be discussed first. Followed by the influence of social identification on associations and attitude.

The most significant finding for the influence of personality traits on the associations and attitude of people was that *Psychopathy* was behaving differently than *Narcissism*, *Machiavellianism* and *Openness to Experience* in all cases. Correlations showed an opposite orientation in all cases. This makes the trait *Psychopathy* an influential and distinguishing factor for people's associations and attitude. In general, *Psychopathy* is defined by high impulsivity, low empathy and low anxiety (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). It had a negative effect on the social perception of feminists and attitude toward feminism. At the same time, *Psychopathy* also behaved differently for the social identification *Men's rights activist*. It did not show a negative correlation in comparison to the other three social identities. This pattern is strengthened by the finding of high scores on *Psychopathy* decreasing the odds to identify with feminism and egalitarianism. Psychopathy seems to be an influential factor when rejecting the feminist identity and demonstrate a negative attitude toward feminism while not rejecting the identification with the men's rights movement. Previous research suggest that male people have higher levels of psychopathy overall. One example is the study of Salekin, Rogers and Sewell (1997) that investigated levels of psychopathy among incarcerated males and females. It was found that the numbers of males with high levels of psychopathy were 10-15% higher than for females. Another study by Nevin (2015) found that people exhibit more psychopathic behavior online than offline. This was especially true for male subsamples. The same study demonstrated that online psychopathy correlated positively with the tendency and acceptability of online

misconduct such as trolling or cyber stalking. It can be assumed that the people of this research study scoring high on psychopathy were mostly male and internet trolls from the forum 4chan. This is matching the finding of people with the personality trait psychopathy having a stronger aversion toward the feminist, womanist or egalitarianist identity and express very similar associations with feminism previously found in content of anti-feminists.

At the same time, *Narcissism* was found to increase the odds for being a *Feminist*. It also correlated positively with *Attitude*, the social perception of feminists and the social identities *Feminist, Womanist* but also *Men's rights activist.* This split is also seen by *Narcissism* correlating with associations previously connected to pro-feminists (e.g., negative correlation with *Whiteness*, *Repulsion* and *Extremism*) and anti-feminists (e.g., female supremacy and society being dominated by female privilege). *Egalitarianists* did not show a correlation with *Narcissism*. Scoring higher on narcissism could increase the odds to identify with a social group and hold beliefs on the outer extremes. *Narcissism* is linked to entitlement and feeling of superiority (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). The dark triad personality traits were tested for their influence on extreme political attitudes (Moss and O'Conner, 2020). It was found that the dark triad traits and the feeling of entitlement explained a great portion of variance among extreme left and right attitudes. Opposing extreme political attitudes showed a similar dark triad profile among the participants. Especially *Narcissism* and *Psychopathy* could also in this study be linked to the social identification with one or both of the opposing extremes *Feminist* and *Men's rights activist*. Another interesting link between the dark triad and social identity is the fact that people experiencing uncertainty about their social identity tent to prefer autocratic leaders (Hogg, 2018). This leadership style favors people high on the dark triad personality traits. People looking for certainty about their identity could be another factor in the formation and voicing of extreme opinions by people with a dark triad profile.

Openness to Experience correlated positively and increased the odds for all three social identities *Feminist*, *Womanist* and *Egalitarianist*. This could be an indication that people identifying with one of these social groups generally score higher on *Openness to Experience.* Costa and McCrae (1992) relate this trait to curiosity, embracing novel ideas and intensely experiencing emotions. However, no correlation was found for this trait with *Attitude* and the social perception of feminists. Also, the influence of *Machiavellianism* in this sample was less clear and conclusive. The exact role of *Openness to Experience* and *Machiavellianism* in relation

to feminism and feminist identity needs to be determined by future research.

As expected, the social identification *Feminist* was correlating highly with the *Attitude* toward feminism. Naturally, feminists had a more positive attitude toward their own social group. *Womanists* and *Egalitarianists* both showed a positive attitude toward feminism as well. A more positive evaluation of a social group and their values could indicate a perception of feminism as an ingroup (Hogg, 2016). The only social group with a significantly negative attitude toward feminism was the *Men's Rights Activists* (*MRAs*). By implication, this confirms the perception of feminists as their outgroup. This perception is strengthened by its negative correlation with the stereotype content model dimensions *Competence* and *Warmth*. *Feminists*, *Egalitarianists* and *Womanists* were found to rate feminists' social perception higher on both dimensions.

Additionally, the demographic variable *Ethnicity* was found to have the strongest predictor for our social identity. One or more *Ethnicities* influenced three out of four social identities. The ethnicities African, Caucasian, African-American and Asian greatly increased the odds of identifying as a *Feminist*. While Caucasian was expected to be the strongest indicator for being a *Feminist*, it was actually the African ethnicity. Modern African feminism is prominently impacting the political, social and economic structures in Africa. They advocate gender equality among different social, ethnic and economic groups (Gaidzanwa, 2013).

Naturally, it was expected that positive predictors for the social identity *Feminist* were negative predictors for identifying as a *Men's rights activist*. This was true for the ethnicity African which greatly increased the odds for being a *Feminist* and, at the same time, significantly decreased the odds for being a *Men's rights activist*. The odds for identifying as a *Womanist* were increased by the African American ethnicity. This can be explained by the formation and coining of the term womanism being strongly related to the African-American writer Alice Walker (Taylor, 1998). Moreover, being African American also increased the odds for identifying as a *Feminist*. One explanation could be the similarity of values shared by feminism and womanism. Taylor (1998) also states that womanism is a movement for feminists of color.

People's associations with feminism and feminists

The main research question for this study was

    RQ: What are people's associations with and attitude toward feminism and feminists?.

       The specific associations of people and the influence of their self-labeling were tested by the qualitative analyses in Study 1 and 2. The coding revealed a high similarity of associations between feminism as a movement and belief system and feminists as its supporters and members of this movement. In both cases, the category *Emotionality* was the most prominent code. Both feminism and feminists were associated with aggression, anger and destruction. These findings are similar to the results of the content analysis. Emotionality, and specifically being emotionally driven, was often used in a negative context by anti-feminist YouTubers with the function to discredit feminists. Also, aggressive behavior of feminists was a prominent topic in the anti-feminist YouTube videos. This link of holding anti-feminist views and the association with *Emotionality* was confirmed by Study 2. A visible influence of social identification was found on the distributions of the key codes and the use of words for each group. *Egalitarianists* and *Men's rights activists* put the emphasis on feminists' aggression and behavior during protests.

       Feminists and *Womanists* mainly associated feminism with striving for gender equality and feminists with their political engagement. They related feminism and feminists to strength, empowerment and independence. Overall, it was found that *Feminists* and *Womanists* used more positive terms and nuanced expressions when describing feminism and feminists. This confirms the behavior of positively evaluating one' ingroup in contrast to one's outgroup (Hogg, 2016).

       Egalitarianists and *Men's rights activists* focused strongly on the appearance and characteristics of feminists. Both groups shared very negative associations with feminists on an individual level (e.g., 'ugly, 'narcissist'). As expected, it was found that *MRAs* as the outgroup used fewer positive descriptions and stronger language. Similar to the anti-feminist YouTubers, *MRAs* are considering feminism to be irrelevant and expressed their aversion to a great extent. *Egalitarianists* were found to be less extreme in their opinions than *MRAs* but showed strong tendencies towards a negative image of feminism and feminists. Also, the distribution of associations among the social identities revealed a similar outcome for *MRAs* and *Egalitarianists*. No significant correlation was found between the two social identifications. This is a strong indicator of a prevalent negative image of feminism and feminists among people who do not identify with one of the outer extremes. Even though egalitarianism is defined as equality

of people's wellbeing and equality of factors that affect their lives (Hirose, 2014). The majority of people striving for equality do not seem to consider feminists as their ingroup with shared values and striving for the same goal. At the same time, a positive correlation was found between identifying with egalitarianism and the attitude toward feminism and social perception of feminists. While the associations of *Egalitarianists* were similar to the ones of *MRAs*, the positive attitude and social perception was more similar to *Feminists* and *Womanists*. This contradiction could be explained by people sharing established negative stereotypes but having a more positive attitude toward feminism nowadays. For example, advertising is using female empowerment more often which is challenging gender roles (Drake, 2017). This is contradicted by the finding of *Age* correlating positively with the attitude toward feminism and the social perception of feminists. While the topics female empowerment, women's marches and feminism are prevalent in the media, younger generations do not seem have a more positive attitude. A research study of Aronson (2003) revealed that more than half of the young women interviewed were ambiguous about their attitude toward feminism. They embraced some aspects of feminism while rejecting others. But just like the sample for this study, the young women in Aronson's research (2003) who adopted a more positive attitude were mostly white and college educated. This might be another possible explanation for the contradicting findings with age. The research sample for this study does not evenly represent age groups. The missing data on older age groups in this sample could limit the visibility of trends caused by age related differences.

This study found a strong link between the associations with feminism and social identification. To test these associations, the associations with feminism scale was developed. An Exploratory Factor analysis confirmed the reliability of the scale with one underlying factor. The final scale consists of 12 items representing 11 different key codes. The scale was found to be a significant predictor variable for all four social identities. This indicates a strong validity of the new measurement tool including the important concepts predicting one's self-identification with a social group.

Future research and limitations

Naturally, this research study has certain limitations. Because of limited time and resources, only a limited number of YouTube videos was included in Study 1. This might have influenced

the generalizability of the results. Moreover, the inclusion criterium for videos was view count. But the view count does not allow a broad and diverse inclusion of a variety of content creators. Also, it does not account for algorithms of YouTube itself systemically filtering specific accounts and expanding their reach.

Another limitation is the absence of a second coder during the coding process of Study 1 and 2. While appearing difficulties and issues were discussed with another researcher, a second coder would have been favorable to ensure objectivity.

As for the second study, the sampling strategy should have a great impact on the interpretation of the results of this research. The dataset contained data collected from internet trolls and extremists of the platform 4chan.org who likely caused small irregularities and ambiguity within the data. This cannot be disregarded despite a thorough data cleaning beforehand. Moreover, the dataset showed a large share of college-aged people with a Caucasian and highly educated background. This decreases the generalizability of the presented findings. While ethnicity was found to be a predictor variable for social identification, the role of education and age could not be tested thoroughly due to insufficient representation of the different educational level within the sample.

This is considered an exploratory study. It created original categorizations based on real world discourse. Because of this approach, the results cannot be compared directly but be linked to and confirm related findings. Building on this research, future studies should focus their efforts on deepening the understanding of the associations with feminism and feminists and the attitude of people towards this social group.

Especially, the influence of personality traits and demographic factors could be analyzed further to allow a more detailed profile of people holding certain beliefs about feminism. Future research should focus their efforts on determining the role of openness to experience and Machiavellianism on people's attitude and associations with feminism. Both personality traits showed significant correlations but no clear pattern in comparison to the other two personality traits narcissism and psychopathy.

A new scale measuring the associations with feminism was created. This scale is a measurement tool that allows a deeper understanding of people' associations with the feminist movement. The reliability and validity of the scale were confirmed. Yet, the items and

formulations should be tested under different circumstances and for different samples in the future.

Conclusion

To conclude, personality traits, ethnicity and social identification were found to strongly influence people's associations with and attitude toward feminism. The African ethnicity was found to be the strongest predictor variable for adopting the feminist identity and rejecting the men's rights movement. The Afro American ethnicity was the strongest predictor for adopting the womanist identity. Next to that, the dark triad personality traits *Narcissism* and *Psychopathy* seemed to have a link with social identity. While *Psychopathy* correlated negatively with all identities besides *Men's rights activist*, *Narcissism* correlated positively with *Attitude* and the social identities Feminist, Womanist and *Men's rights activist*. *Psychopathy* is linked to the anti-feminist men's rights movement and negative *Attitude*. *Narcissism* seems to be linked to identifying with the outer extremes of pro and anti-feminism. *Openness to Experience* correlated positively with the social identities *Feminist, Womanist* and *Egalitarianist* but did not show a correlation with *Attitude* or the social perception of feminists.

Social identity influenced the associations and attitude of people. *Feminists*, *Womanists* and *Egalitarianists* shared a positive *Attitude* toward feminism. However, *Egalitarianists* also shared negative associations with feminism very similar to the men's rights movement. It seems that people who do not identify strongly with pro or anti-feminism have very negative associations with feminism. At the same time, *Egalitarianists* have a positive *Attitude* toward feminism and a positive social perception of feminists. The negative associations with feminism prevail for most people while tending to positively evaluate the movement.

Based on the associations presented by pro and anti-feminists, the associations with feminism scale was developed. The 12-item scale showed great reliability and validity. It captures important concepts associated with feminism and works as a predictor for all four social identities.

Broadening the understanding of the interplay of demographics, personality traits and social identity could be used to influence people's associations and attitude toward feminism. A communication strategy could be formulated in the future to rebrand the terms feminism and feminists and increase their acceptance.

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Pro Feminist Channels and Videos for Content Analysis

Channel	Country of Origin	No. Of Subscribers	Video (Views/Upload Date/*Length in min*)	Notes
Laci Green	USA	1.41M	WHY I'M A… FEMINIST *gasp*(4,319,088/Apr 24, 2014/ 4:50) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UwJRFClybmk	
Bria and Chrissy		862k		LGBTQ+, No content found about feminism
Just between us	USA	706K	Can Men Be Feminists? (276,564/Sep 21, 2015/ 3:41) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gsJ753-cBrM	LGBTQ+
Pop culture detective		692K		No content found about feminism
Arielle Scarcella	USA	668k	**JK Rowling's Feminism Vs "Trans Activism" (34,414/Jun 10, 2020/ 7:45) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s-cIGoeeeMU**	LGBTQ+
Shaun	UK	334K	Feminism – WHY YOU NEED IT! – A Response to Chris Ray Gun (232,346/Nov 5, 2016/ 9:40) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DqlD3ISx--Q&t=308s	
iHeart Media/ Stuff Mom never told you	USA	270k	Are thongs anti-feminist? (55,735/Jun 30, 2015/ 2:22) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19ji5M3nmnI	
Chescaleigh		245k		No content found about feminism
Feminist Frequency	Canada/ USA	221k	Anita Sarkeesian: 'How to be a feminist' (All About Women 2015) (161,765/Mar 25, 2015/ 5:37) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uOmIIAact4s	
StyleLikeU		469k		Focus on self-acceptance, No content about feminism
HartBeat		421k		Comedian, No content about feminism
Kat Blaque	USA	218k	68. Women Against Feminism (72,344/Aug 21, 2016/ 8:38) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SgyHw9_MP5A	
Jouelzy	USA	205k	Beyonce's Feminism Can't Be Trusted (47,625/ May 19, 2016/ 9:30) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXGDmEezOGw	Focus on POC
Amy Poehler's Smart Girls	USA	141k	The Feminist: Smart Girls w/ Amy Poehler (242,826/ May 7, 2012/ 6:33) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJqTAVJB_x8	

		92.3k		Part of Just between us
Gaby Dunn		92.3k		Part of Just between us
Samantha Maria	UK	1.78m	GIRL TALK | Feminism, Sexism & Objectification (198,518/Mar 24, 2016/ 13:33) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aw1xDz1RYbw	Found by anti feminist reaction to her video discussing feminism

Anti-Feminist Channels and Videos for Content Analysis

Channel	Country of Origin	No. of Subs	Video (Views/Upload Date/ Length of Video), Link	Notes
Paul Joseph Watson	UK	1.81m	How to Spot a Feminist (772,892/ May 25, 2015/ 3:30), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eI0BbL-EYtc	
ShoeOnHead	USA	1.44m	How much of a feminist are you (quiz) (2,242,219/Aug 2, 2016/ 11:49) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8d66uiTC_SA	
The Amazing Atheist	USA	1.01m	FEMINISM vs. FREEDOM OF SPEECH (2,509,431/Apr 9, 2013/ 7:43) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2KPeMcYsuc	
StevenCrowder	USA/ Canada	4.46M	DEBATE: Feminist asks Crowder to Check Privilege (Maria Del Russo Uncut)| Louder with Crowder (2,851,876/Mar 1, 2018/ 56:43) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C6nFdvnFpFc	One prank video with 28m views but removed from the analysis because it lacked content, just indirect associations
Stefan Molyneux	Canada	928k	SCHOCKING! Former Feminists Ticking Biological Clock Causes Major Panic! (365,857/Mar 14, 2018/ 1:10:57) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_p0rYaTzJo	Banned from YouTube
Sargon of Akkad	UK	954K	Everything Wrong with Feminism in 8 Minutes or Less (598,744/Dec 27, 2014/ 8:11) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hiTYDJ15r_c	
ContraPoints		936K		Left Wing
Dr Shaym	USA	723K	36 STUPID FEMINIST QUESTIONS ANSWERED (18,068,755/ Feb 13, 2016/ 31:56) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8M7KGe2UnmE	Reaction to BuzzfeedYellow
Laura Southern	Canada	684K	Asking Feminists: Women's Rights or Islam? (1,416,785/Nov 29, 2017/ 5:48) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZHuFah0uds	Focus on Migration
No B.S. / No Bullsh**t	USA	654K	Another Feminist Thinks Everything is Sexist, that's Bullshit (339,201/Apr 12, 2016/ 12:50) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4PI1b8JJv1A	Reaction to Samantha Maria

Hunter Avallone	USA	644K	Feminist Lies About Everything (1,104,649/Apr 1, 2016/ 8:08) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L_bVR7FyVEg	
Black Pigeon Speaks	Canada	548k	The Misogynistic WAR on FEMINISM (189,578/ Dec 18, 2018/ 10:36) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PulfEkq4NkI	

Appendix B

Pro Feminist YouTube Channels found based on Blogs

Channel	Number of Subscribers	Notes
Rekt Feminist Videos	81.1K	Now Rekt Videos, No content related to feminism
Laci Green	1.41M	
ShoeOnHead	1.44M	Anti-Feminist
Feminist Frequency	221k	
Karen Straughan	214k	Anti-feminist on Header
Jouelzy	205k	Focus on POC
Amy Poehler's Smart Girls	141k	
Kat Blaque	218k	
Marina Shutup	85.3k	
Riley J. Dennis	89.4k	LGBTQ+
Rowan Ellis	85.9K	LGBTQ+
50 Shades	414k	Anti-feminist
Chescaleigh	245k	
Engage by Uplift	3.56k	Online Communities Against Sexual Violence
Staceyann Chin	4.9k	Discusses different topics with daughter
Arielle Scarcella	668k	LGBTQ+
Just between us	706K	LGBTQ+
Gaby Dunn	92.3k	
iHeart Media/ Stuff Mom never told you	270k	
StyleLikeU	469k	Focus on self-acceptance
HartBeat	421k	Comedian
Bria and Chrissy	862k	LGBTQ+, No content on feminism?
Pop culture detective	692K	
Jonathan MacIntosh		From pop culture detective?
Taylor Avella	26.3K	

Shaun	334K	
Angie Speaks	35.7K	

https://blog.feedspot.com/feminist_youtubers/	https://www.bustle.com/articles/149242-5-feminist-youtube-channels-to-follow-because-knowledge-really-is-power	http://www.dailylife.com.au/news-and-views/dl-culture/six-feminist-youtubers-everyone-should-be-watching-20141009-3hml8.html	https://www.theodysseyonline.com/7-feminist-youtubers	Recommended by R. Jacobs
Rekt Feminist Videos	Laci Green	Arielle Scarcella	Laci Green	Thom Avella
Laci Green	Feminist Frequency	Feminist Frequency	Gaby Dunn	Pop culture detective
ShoeOnHead	Chescaleigh	Laci Green	Stuff Mom never told you	feminist frequency
Feminist Frequency	(Franchesca Ramsey)	Chescaleigh	StyleLikeU	shaun
Karen Straughan	Engage by Uplift	Marinashutup	HartBeat	jonathan mcintosh,
Jouelzy	Staceyann Chin	Amy Poehler's Smart Girls (also Smart Girls Channel)	Bria and Chrissy	
The Smart Girls Channel			GirlfriendsTV (made by Arielle Scarcella)	
Marina Shutup			Just between us	
Kat Blaque				
Riley J. Dennis				
50 Shades				
Rowan Ellis				
Chescaleigh				

Appendix C

Anti-Feminist YouTube Channels found based on Blogs

Channel	No. of Subscribers	Notes
Paul Joseph Watson	1.81m	
ShoeOnHead	1.44m	
Black Pigeon Speaks	548K	
Sargon of Akkad	954K	
Angry MGTOW		Cannot find channel
Hunter Avallone	644K	
The Amazing Atheist	1.01m	
Steven Crowder	4.46M	
No B.S. / No Bullsh**t	654K	
Laura Southern	684K	Focus on Migration
AmoredSkeptic	507K	
ContraPoints	936K	Pro Feminist
Shaun	334K	Pro Feminist
Dr Shaym	723K	
Bearing	539K	
Mgtow TV		Cannot find channel
Undoomed	288K	
TL;DR		Cannot find channel
Stefan Molyneux	928k	

https://www.thetoptens.com/annoying-anti-sjw-youtube-channels/	https://www.reddit.com/r/AskFeminists/comments/9s7zhb/how_can_the_antife	https://www.reddit.com/r/MensRights/comments/ewga7c/good_anti	https://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20160607164139AAFb2rt&guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly9kWNrZHVja2dvLmNvbS8&guc	Recommended by R. Jacobs:

	minist_youtube_problem_be_fixed/	feminist_youtube_channel/	e_referrer_sig=AQAAAIdqDPM7K-bozwouotJe8hq3d5nvbx4Fl9-mAO7vqrIs58olVkDGVPrEJcVL8nvss6Dnb42rGmtQB6CVl6VG4wQJA75zBLUKgwI5W50YIA_0n5m-gEMU7s7g7_35-Kkyb5ME0VRbfpREAWTnRe4GrWHrmdgq9JRap-oHfPsbnBIf	
Paul Joseph Watson	ShowOnHead	Dr Shaym	Bearing	Black pigeon speaks
Laura Southern	AmoredSkeptic	Mgtow TV	Laura Southern	Steven crowder
Steven Crowder	ContraPoints	Bearing	Undoomed	Sargon of akkad
No Bullsh**t/No Bullshit	Shaun (pro feminist?)		TL;DR	Stefan molyneux
The Amazing Atheist	Black Pigeon Speaks		Sargon of Akkad	Info wars (e.g. paul joseph Watson)
Hunter Avallone			ShoeOnHead	
Angry MGTOW			Louder With Crowder	
Sargon of Akkad			Armored Skeptic	
ShowOnHead			Black Pigeon Speaks	
Black Pigeon Speaks			Amazing Atheist	

Coding Scheme + Coded YouTube Videos

Coding Scheme (with color coordination)

Emotionality	Gender Equality	Relevance	Social Identity	Men	Society vs. Biology
Emotional/ Hysterical	Gender Equality	Relevance	Ingroup	Pro	Society
Rational	Gender Inequality	Irrelevance	Outgroup	Anti	Biology

Diversity	Stereotyping	S-C Awareness	Repulsion	Extremism

Pro Feminist (1)

Laci Green (04:50m) – female, white	Just between us (m) – female, white	Arielle Scarcella (m) – female, white	Shaun (09:41m) – male, white	iHeart Media (02:23m) – female, white
(00:15)'I, Laci Green, am a feminist'	'I'll give a very measured answer' (00:40)	(01:38) 'let's look up the definition of sex'	(00:12) 'Shaun and Jen have finally hoisted the old feminism flag'	' designer Rudi Gernreich credited with inventing the modern thong in 1974' (00:28)
Feminism is 'Kick-ass and important' (00:30)	'That you are anti-men, loud and scary' (01:02)	(02:05)'here is a list of the human rights of females that radical trans activism is eliminating. Removing the legal right of females to assemble without the presence of males, eliminating sex-based crime statistics [...]. Removing the legal right of women to be free from the presence of males in public areas where nudity might occur, removing the right of females to create reproductive clinics, rape crisis centers, support groups and other programs. [...] Personally, I do not want a man or a male gynecologist' (2:54)	(00:40 - 01:08) feminists can be 'women fighting for equality and equal rights or some people use feminist for women who 'are critics and anti-free speech and want to censor media that they don't like and force everyone to think like they do'	'thongs developed a not so feminist reputation of being worn for the pleasure of gentlemen ' (01:19)
(00:32) Presents definitions of feminism on screen: 'A social movement for gender and sex equality' and 'A Personal commitment to understanding ach achieving gender equality in everyday life'	'Feminism is about equality, not about women' (01:07)	(03:22) 'being born female, living as a woman is different than being born male and having gender dysphoria and going through that transition' (03:27)	'feminism is still relevant and necessary' (03:45)	'judging women's underwear styles according to some feminist spectrum also suggests that gender equality requires we wear a particular uniform rather than the choice to wear whatever' (01:47)
(00:52) 'one in four young women are sexually assaulted and society still asks 'What was she wearing?''; Accompanied by a woman with a sign at a protest 'Men get raped. Kids get raped. Were their tits showing too?' (00:55)	' The only issue comes up when men try to take over feminism', 'Men should identify as feminists', 'One thing that annoys me is when men try to make themselves leaders in feminism' (01:16-01:38)		(04:03) 'there are plenty if countries in which women still do not have equal rights and legal protections' (04:06)	'When I wear one [a thong] I suddenly don't care if I get paid less than a man for the same work', 'close that wage gap' (02:07 - 02:20)
(00:56) 'Because male victims of rape are not believed'	'You don't wanna take up space in a movement that isn't about you. I struggle with this for Black Lives matter' (02:30-02:33)		(06:07) About feminism in the Western world: 'the current situation is not fixed'	

(01:25) 'Because this [armpit hair] shocks and terrifies people'; On screen: 'In general, shaving is considered optional for men and mandatory for women'	' Thank you, Chase, for risking your life and asking this important question (03:30)		(06:53) 'I think it's not enough to just win your rights as long as there are people out there who would take those rights away from you, they have to be defended.' (07:01)	
(01:47) 'because in 2013, there were 700 bills proposed to regulate a woman's body. And for men? The rightful number: zero' (01:54)			(07:42) 'I think the abortion issue is one good argument for the use of the word feminism, in place of something like egalitarianism, because it is an issue that disproportionately affects women' (07:52)	
(03:26) 'because people still say that asexual, bisexual and transgender folk don't exist. I'm a feminist because same sex marriage is a no brainer' (03:33)			(08:56) 'being a straight white guy and, you know, relatively sheltered from a lot of issues' (08:59)	
(04:15) 'when I dare to get pissed off at injustice, I am just another angry feminist who is on her period (04:18)				
(04:28) 'I believe in gender equality'				

Pro-Feminist (2)

Feminist Frequency (Anita Sarkeesian) (05:38m) – female, white	Kat Blaque (08:38m) – female, black	Jouelzy (09:30m) – female, black	Amy Poehler's Smart Girls (06:33m) – female, white	Samantha Maria (13:34m) – female, white
'I had to learn how to be a feminist' (00:10)	(02:22) 'I think that a lot of people get very caught up in the label of feminism. And It's not that I don't understand it. [...] I had to have a conversation with people to understand that my work was feminist, right? ' (02:41)	(01:39) 'my feminism'	(01:48) Little girl: 'I think boys and girls are of equal value. That means if a boy can do the monkey ring, so can a girl' (01:54)	(00:35) 'I am not gonna sit here and haul lots of figures and facts and things like that. I feel if I just sit here and haul lots of facts at you that would make me angry and make you angry, even though they are really good to know' (00:45)
'When she was younger: 'My impression of feminism was completely wrong' (01:12)	(02:44) 'I used to be very much anti-feminist before. I made a video about that'	(06:15) 'the value of women who choose to stay home, who seek to be wives, who love to be mothers. If only just mothers, they are fine with that calling and who am I to define what one seeks as a woman?' As her own being. Isn't that the beauty of feminism? Giving	(01:58) Little girl ' Feminism is something very important. If a feminist woman did not do that for us girls and us boys, we would not be like we are right now' (02:10)	(01:40) 'feminism is basically equal rights for men and women. Socially, economically, politically, personally. And I feel like a lot of people think that feminism is about these angry women who just hate men or are against men. And it is not. ' (01:54)

		women the right to be who they want (06:36)		
She learned, especially from women of color and queer women from all over the world' (01:19)	(02:54) ' At this point, I don't have an issue anymore with referring to myself as a feminist, and call my work feminism. [...] But I don't think that it is important for everyone to call themselves a feminist, to identify as a feminist, to present their work as a feminist work.' (03:09)	(08:03) 'we are not less of a feminist for loving another, for having said love betrayed, for going through the emotions and finding that love or a new love again that we can move beyond that moment where we feel less than that. we should never be invisible. We should find pride in our vulnerability' (08:18)	(02:11) Little girl: 'The ladies who have created feminism for us, like Rosa Parks [...]. They helped us women to get the right to vote. But here is a thing. Even though it has changed here for us and some other countries it hasn't changed' (02:32)	(03:08) About her mother being pro-women: 'She has just always been very non-judgmental of women. If you like to do something, just go and do it' (03:13)
'many contemporary discourses in and around feminism tend to emphasize a form of hyper individualism which is informed by the neoliberal worldview.', 'the idea that anything that any woman chooses is a feminist act.', 'choice feminism' (02:11 - 02:29)	(03:16) 'I would rather somebody care about the issues then wear a badge that says 'feminism' on it	(08:32) about women: 'we are each very different and deserving of celebration'		(04:58) 'The more I was kind of listening to talks, reading books about it, opening my mind a bit more to it and awakening, the more I could look back at my own life and think oh that was sexist' (05:08)
'some choices have ramifications beyond ourselves and reinforce harmful patriarchal ideas about women as a group and about women's bodies and our wider shared culture' (03:12 03:20)	(03:35) 'When I meet women who are very distinctly anti-feminist, who don't want to talk, don't want to support women's issues, don't want to fight for women's rights, don't care what feminism has done for them. [...] you are literally sitting at a better place in society now because there were feminists. [...] It is annoying to me' (04:20)	(08:42) 'how the identity of black women has evolved in the 21st century'		(08:06) 'I think it is really annoying for men as well. You know in a men's way; it is like I feel like a lot of men they have to compensate for the man not paying or as if it takes away from his manhood that he is not paying. And I think that is pretty ridiculous' (08:17)
(04:03) ' so when we talk about how to be a feminist, for me that is means being committed to something larger than ourselves. It's understanding what role you play in our collective movements for liberation. It's reexamining our desires and interests and understanding how those are often shaped by capitalism, patriarchy and white supremacy. It's understanding our own intersections of privilege and oppression and how that will fundamentally change our behaviors and attitudes and values.' (04:31)	(04:23) 'I had a lot of things that really put me off on feminism, but then I had to kinda come to realize that feminism is not monolithic. Yeah, there are a lot of feminists who did this and did that and are racists. [...] But that's not all of feminism, right? (04:36)			(09:03) 'If I've got something to say that is not beauty or fashion and that is quite opinionated. It is causing a shock and people getting really angry if I have an opinion about other topics' (09:15)

'being a feminist is a lifelong learning endeavor and that we will make some mistakes on the way.' (04:34-04:36)	(05:22) 'we get into these deep feminist conversations. And I just can't have those conversations with men on average'			(10:40) 'I have said things back in the past but I feel a lot of men then get quite aggressive' (10:43)
	(05:27) 'I never expect or assume that all women are gonna be chill with feminism. Because I think that most women probably don't. [...] Some people have a very contrived idea of feminism. [...] for some people, feminism is I'm not your mommy by Jennifer Lopez. [...] I'm not gonna do your dishes, you should be able to do your own stuff. I am a woman and I have choices' (05:53)			(11:38) 'and if you think that you are a feminist, that is amazing'
	(06:05) 'A lot of MRA types, men or women, all they do is regurgitate conversations, [...] a lot of people will take the most extreme version of feminism and prepare these pre-prepared points, right? Arguing against them, right? [...] Girl, I don't want to talk about the wage gap' (06:35)			
	(07:28) 'It's more comfortable to not be aware of these things[...]. I have a really hard time understanding how women can live in a society and not understand that sexism is a thing'(07:35)			

Anti-feminist (1)

Paul Joseph Watson () – Male, white	ShoeOnHead (11:49m) – female, white	The Amazing Atheist (07:73m) – male, white	Steven Crowder (56:44m) – male, white	Sargon of Akkad (08:11) – male, white

(00:12) From his own Tweet: **'#HowToSpotAFeminist - Usually fat & ugly, always inherently unlikeable, supremely** hypocritical, snarky, annoying, deluded, intransigent	(00:32) About equal pay: could be a reality. It is a reality god damn it'	'(00:02) ' recently there was a bit of a fiasco at the University of Toronto when a group of radical feminists pulled a fire alarm in order to stop a men's rights seminar in progress.' (00:11)	(07:30) 'I just want to make sure that we both agree on the premise 'no rights not afforded' [to women] (07:35)	**(00:15) 'insane, childless, octogenarians'**
Feminist activists showing aggressive behavior towards men, e.g. 00:56 or 02:01	(00:42) Sarcasm: 'because we all know that feminism holds a monopoly on equal rights' (00:46)	(00:29) the fire alarm goes off and the feminists cheer like banshees, ecstatic that they've used bully tactics to silence the opposing point of view.' (00:33)	12:59) On the supreme court consisting of only women instead of only men: 'I think that's a horrible and I mean [...] that's the worst answer possible' (13:05) (13:16) 'It's bad because I am all about [...] equal opportunity' (13:20)	00:42) 'Inexplicably requiring a political movement to justify what you do with your genitals' (00:46)
Feminist activists not taking care of themselves and, as a result, being unhygienic, e.g. 02:34	(01:14) About if she ever attended a women's or gender studies class: ' all of this just makes me want to go back. Witness these creatures in real life and see them interact with each other. I want to be like Steve Irwin. **That does not have anything to do with watching these people interact like animals. I mean I want to fucking die' (01:31)**	'mindless cackling cunts' **(00:59)**	(13:39) 'a big reason why young women and particularly young men, the dangers that we are seeing now, reject this idea of feminism, reject this idea of privilege and advantages because they see a lot of disadvantages that men experience. Not as a result of patriarchy, but as a result of feminism' (13:50)	(01:05) 'Annoying activism about first world problems'
A woman being dramatic on stage, e.g. 03:08	(02:19) About feminine symbols on women's toilets: 'who cares! Like what do they want? A vagina symbol on the door? They are still gonna find a problem with that because of the trans thing' (02:26)	'(01:52) 'she seems like that kind of girl that uh you know she'd go to a restaurant and order her sandwich with extra mustard and then they'd bring it to her and take a bite and she'd throw it across the room.' (02:04)	16:20) 'I think you are seeing everything through the prism of gender here and not through the prism of qualifications' (16:25)	(01:15) 'Completely unwarranted professional victim complex'
		(03:34) mimicking a feminist: 'don't you know we got a new platform now - female supremacy.' (03:37)	(20:55) 'because of females repeatedly violently assaulting me'	(01:22) 'Cult followers telling me about their beliefs'
	(06:12) 'I know what a 'Bad Feminist' is. **Yeah, all of them! (06:15)**	'let's see who the monster really is, Scoob.' (04:22)	(21:36) 'most of the time they are incredibly civil, ironically the only time I had people violently assault or scream have been feminists on campus' (21:44)	(01:38) 'Most feminists can't understand feminism'
	06:40) 'Why is everything has to be a feminist issue? Why do these people swallow everything whole. They also want to take credit for everything, like when gay marriage was legalized. All the	**(06:08) 'I think I figured out modern day feminism. [...] There's a lot of these girls and women who are completely unlikable cunts** who are shrill and annoying and evil and they think that no one likes them because they're women but really no one likes them because	23:33) 'the reason you are seeing more and more young women not identify as feminists is because they feel increasingly disconnected [...] they see only the feminists saying that's offensive for one two three reasons' (23:48)	(02:07) 'Feminism makes feminists uncomfortable'

	feminists were like 'hey you can thank us' (06:48)	they're horrible fucking people.' (06:26)		
	(09:01) 'this is a point I see feminists bring up a lot, like 'oh men are told not to cry because of the patriarchy'. So basically, men are told not to cry because men. Even when they care about men's issues, It is still men's fault ' (09:12)	**(06:49) 'horrible evil cackling bitches who silence dissent and treat everyone like shit.' (06:55)**	(25:02) 'there is a huge disconnect between the feminist movement, the media who supports them and mainstream Americans. And I mean left or right' (25:07)	(02:15) 'Feminism is problematic'
		(06:57) 'it's not women we don't like - It's you!'	(26:17) 'I sure do not disagree with the idea that there are advantages that men enjoy in society [...], just a litany of examples where there are advantages that women enjoy ' (26:28)	**(02:25) 'Feminists won't shut up and leave people alone'**
		(07:15) 'Let's just talk about gender equality without relating it to one gender or the other. [...] You can't have gender equality if you are too busy focusing on women's issues or men's issues. These are human issues.' (07:28)	(26:32) 'women enjoy far more advantages in 2018'	(03:01) 'Encouraging poorly-informed people to make incredibly important life choices'
			(33:15) 'this is where feminists disconnect from, most women want to make babies, most women want to have babies and so women end up leaving the workforce for at least 9 months' (32:24)	(03:20) ' Feminism is oppressive to black women'
			(42:18) 'this is what feminists do a lot, kind of like the pay gap, they use a stat that they know really is not accurate' (42:21)	03:29) 'Pandering to the male gaze by trying to make feminism sexy'
			(43:17) 'feminists reached back to take that study but we have other studies'	03:39) 'Feminism is sexist, racist and classist and feminists know it'
			(49:52) 'feminists talk about we are forced to live up to these expectations, we are forced to look a certain way, talk a certain way, act a certain way. [...] transgender men to women are basically pretending to be every negative stereotype you have talked about presented for women societally' (50:16)	**(04:32) 'Annoying upper-middle class white women who are continually talking over other people and complaining that nobody else gets to speak' (04:38)**

				(06:01) 'Groupthink'
				(06:10) 'Preachy, annoying, privileged, white, cis-gendered, heteronormative women'
				(07:46) 'Feminism abhors skepticism'

Anti-feminist (2)

Dr.Shaym (31:57m) – male, unknown	Laura Southern () – female, white	No B.S. () – male, unknown	Hunter Avallone () – male, white	Black Pigeon Speaks (10:36m) – male, unknown
(00:39)'are you trying to say Donald Trump is bad and Donald Trump is a man. Therefore, men are bad'(00:42)	(00:59) A feminist holding a sign 'A dog knows 'no'. Why don't you?', Also this woman is screaming over her (01:18)	(00:09) 'another makeup and style youtuber who decided to take a stab at social issues'	**(00:34) about feminism: 'you mean everyone's least favorite subject. The one they're sick and tired of hearing about'**	(00:37) 'being an ideology that is marinated in the politics of the extreme left' (00:42)
(01:14) 'Feminists like to bitch about poor representation of women in media intended for men because they promote body image issues and shit like that and I agree to at least an extent. But it is not any better for men when we're expected to be prince charming' (01:23)	Feminist activists screaming at a Women's March, e.g. 01:14	(00:45) About feminism being more prominent 'It's a good thing for women. **Fortunately, most of these people speaking about feminism are dummies and no one is taking them seriously.'**	(00:49) 'the modern-day feminist movement is filled with hypocritical women who claim to be oppressed by literally everything' (00:53)	(00:58) 'current ideology of fourth wave feminism is in fact misogynistic in not only is goals but the end results that it is attempting to create for society' (01:09)
(02:58) 'Instead of complaining about how writers depict women in their movies, maybe you should try being the change you want to see and write your own damn movie. Then you can make female characters sit around talk about whatever you want, like how men are oppressing them or how men are objectifying them or how men are such pigs' (03:09)	(02:20) Feminist activist walking away from the question after being questioned and cannot give answers anymore (02:27)	(00:56) 'you don't have any facts to support your upcoming arguments. Good to know'	**(01:06) 'pathetic movement and act like victims'**	(02:12) 'the reasoning goes if there is not total or near parity between men and women in STEM fields, in the legal profession or a plethora of other professional fields that it must be the fault of an overt patriarchal system as well as ingrained sexism' (02:28)
(04:24) 'I have seen feminists scoff at anything with a male lead [in a movie]'	(03:39) Feminist stating 'I just don't think it is a very pc question to ask people (03:42)	(01:11) 'I can see these facts making you angry since they would show you that our society has equality and your feminism is antiquated'	(01:27) 'you are a woman living in a first world country. You have all your rights. So, stop trying to turn yourself into a victim and blame someone else for your problems and if anyone has privilege, it's women' (01:34)	(02:30) 'very little lip service is given on wanting gender equality in occupations like oil drilling, construction or raw resource extractions' (02:42)
(04:23) 'But I will say that in general women are not as funny as men and I think most women will agree with that statement. I also think there is a reason for this. See if you understand what humor is and how it works, **which I am guessing you don't because you're feminists,** then you know that the things that make people laugh often have their roots in very dark subject matter [...]	(05:10) Feminist activist pushes her sign in front of Laura Southern to stop her from asking questions (05:13)	(01:51) 'we all know feminism isn't about equality anymore because men and women have equal right. I would ask you to name a right, women don't have, but you already said	Women screaming at a women's march 'bow to the women' (03:22 - 03:29)	(03:18) 'the recent #metoo movement is perhaps the most widely known public relations outreach program created by 4th wave feminists that seeks to destroy the lives of any man accused of harassment, whether justly or not' (03:32)

Men are socially conditioned to not talk openly and honestly about their feelings [...]. That's why we cultivate a sense of humor ' (06:34)		that you are not gonna use any facts'		
(06:41) 'Women have the privilege to not be subject to such social conditioning'	**(05:46) Laura:** 'Y'all are crazy'	(02:10) 'we think it is about angry women because feminism is dominated angry, man-hating women'	(03:41) 'It wasn't that long ago that feminists on Reddit talked about replacing Father's Day with castration day. And let's not forget that feminists also started the #killallmen hashtag' (03:50)	(05:32) 'women spending their prime child bearing years in school and after that in entry level jobs on their career ladder, as well as the social denigration of motherhood and femininity' (05:43); visuals of women and babies
(09:05) 'the feminist notion that all men are rapists which simply isn't true'	Feminists screaming 'No men on the march' and 'get him out' (05:26-05:38)	(03:02) 'her mom is not judgmental of women. I have a feeling she is not as kind to men.'	(03:51) 'I know that not every feminist is a radical that wants to kill men and castrate them but at the end of the day some are. **And that in itself is an issue. [...] Sometimes a house is so infested with termites, you just need to burn it down. That house is feminism' (04:07)**	(06:43) 'more financially or culturally rewarding industries are described as male dominated. And the only reason that women are excluded is due to a nebulous patriarchy. It's not the drive attributes or willingness to put in the hours to succeed at all costs. It's simply down to sexism' (06:58)
(09:19) Why women can't be leaders: 'maybe if feminists argued with logic and evidence, instead of feelings, people would not think that'		(04:29) 'disrespect is not cool. It's also not a women's only issue. Men get disrespected all the time. In fact, I would say men get it more men are just supposed to be tough and take it while women are given more respect because vagina'	Same footage of aggressive women kicking the sign; same as Paul J. Watson (04:20 - 04:27)	(07:15) 'even if they are able to find a partner, many of them [4th wave feminists] have missed the window to have children and for some this can be a horrific reality check because not all women ,or men for that matter, are built to be corporate logs' (07:29); visuals of men in suits
(12:15) 'the average man has about 50% greater upper body strength than the average woman. I am sorry but that is just simple biology' (12:30)		(05:23) 'you are just whining about everyday shit. Real people with real problems know their problems at the time.'	(06:28) 'can't you just be a woman without labeling yourself as a feminist'	(07:33) 'men and women are different. We have evolved together but our gender-specific survival strategies have also evolved but in radically different ways' (07:41)
(12:35) 'ungrateful, entitled women like you [...]. You, as a woman, are substantially less likely to die during your daily activities and you don't have to be worried about being called deadbeat for not risking life and limb in a factory or field for the benefit others, nor do you have to worry about being told that you don't have a real job because you work with computers' (12:50)		**(08:14) 'clueless beauty queen'**	**(07:46) 'pathetic, privileged feminists'**	(08:19) 'femininity and the attributes surrounding it are something I dare to say the vast majority of men seek out in a potential partner' (08:26)
(12:52) 'women work soft cushy jobs compared to men and that is why women make up only 7% of workplace fatalities despite making up 47% of the workforce. That is why you are perceived as the weaker sex' (13:01)		(08:56) 'complaining about the persistence of male suitors is like complaining about		

		human biology or evolution'		
(15:08) ' You are going to say that the social conditioning of men to not show their emotions is part of the patriarchy and feminism is fighting to change that. What heroes you are. Let me give you a little golf clap while you sip from your fucking 'male tears' mug while sitting in the comfort of your safe space where men are not allowed' (15:24) [accompanied by images of women drinking from cup that read 'male tears']		(11:18) 'Yes, men and women aren't equal. They are different but have equal rights'		
(16:08) 'I mean the invention of feminism is when everything suddenly became gendered'		(11:52) 'women like you can never have enough. You have equal rights but now you want more.'		
(16:22) 'maybe if false rape accusations were not systematically encouraged by feminism, we would not have a problem' (16:26)		**(12:36) 'these ungrateful bitches make me sick'**		
(17:47) feminists have abused the word rape to the point where it has lost all meaning. Everything is rape. (17:51)				
(22:47) 'what I am afraid of is gender inequality which is what feminists are actually pushing for' (22:50)				
(24:08) 'you can claim the definition of feminism as advocating gender equality all you want. But the action speaks louder than words and it is really hard to believe that the feminist movement is really a movement for equality. When you dismiss anyone, who brings up men's issues as misogynist' (24:19)				
(27:26) feminists don't understand jokes				
(29:03) 'I don't have privilege. I really don't. But you do. [...] just one legal privilege that I have which you don't also have' (29:12)				

Appendix E

Material for Online Survey

Dear participant,

Please take the time to read the following information carefully and then decide whether or not you would like to take part in this research study.

Purpose of the study
This study aims to create an in-depth understanding of people's associations with feminism and feminists. Also, it captures the attitude of people toward feminism and feminists.
This will be done through qualitative and quantitative data gathered in this questionnaire.
The information collected will be used for the completion of my Master thesis at the University of Twente.

Your role as participant
Involvement in this study is not related to any risks of physical or mental kind for you as the participant. Note that your participation is entirely voluntary. Refusal or withdrawal will involve no penalty, now or in the future. You are able to withdraw yourself from this study at any point. Your participation includes sharing your own associations with feminism and feminists. Additionally, you will be asked about your social identification and personality traits. The second part includes items about the social perception, attitudes and associations with feminism.

Personal data
Personal information, namely age, gender, nationality, ethical and educational background will be collected for demographic purposes.
All data will be secured on a separate hard drive to which only the researcher and supervisor will have access during the research period. When data evaluation is finished, the access will belong solely to the supervisor. The research has the potential to be published and therefore, the data will have a retention period of approximately 12 months.

Ethical review of the study
The project has been reviewed and approved by the *International Review Board*.

Informed consent

I have read and understood the study information. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.

Open Question

(1) What do you associate with feminism? *(Name 1-3 keywords)*

(2) What do you associate with feminists? *(Name 1-3 keywords)*

Demographics

(1) **Age**

- 17 or younger
- 18-20
- 21-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60 or older

(2) **Gender**

- Male
- Female
- Other

(3) **Race**

- White
- Black or African-American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific islander
- From multiple races
- Some other race (please specify)

(4) What is the **highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?**

- Less than high school degree
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g., Abitur)
- Associate degree

- Bachelor degree
- Graduate degree

(5) **What country are you from?**

- The Netherlands
- Germany
- Other EU country
- Outside EU

Single-item **social identification** measure (SISI) (on 5-point Likert scale)

(1) I identify with feminism

(2) I identify with men's rights activism

(3) I identify with egalitarianism

12-item scale for the **Dark Triad**.

Machiavellianism

Dark Triad_9 (1) I tend to manipulate others to get my way.

Dark Triad_2 (2) I have used deceit or lied to get my way.

Dark Triad_3 (3) I have used flattery to get my way.

Dark Triad_5 (4) I tend to exploit others towards my own end.

Psychopathy

Dark Triad_8 (5) I tend to lack remorse.

Dark Triad_6 (6) I tend to be unconcerned with the morality of my actions.

Dark Triad_10 (7) I tend to be callous or insensitive.

Dark Triad_4 (8) I tend to be cynical.

Narcissism

Dark Triad_7 (9) I tend to want others to admire me.

Dark Triad_11 (10) I tend to want others to pay attention to me.

Dark Triad_1 (11) I tend to seek prestige or status.

Dark Triad_12 (12) I tend to expect special favors from others.

10-items measuring **Openness to Experience** (on 5-point Likert scale)

I see myself as someone who…

1. is original, comes up with new ideas

2. Is curious about many different things

3. Is ingenious, a deep thinker

4. Has an active imagination

5. Is inventive

6. Values artistic, aesthetic experiences

7. Prefers work that is routine (Reversed)

8. Likes to reflect, play with ideas

9. Has few artistic interests (Reversed)

10. Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature

8- item **Competence-warmth** scale (on 5-point Likert scale)

Competence

(1) How confident are members of this group?

(2) How competent are members of this group?

Warmth

(1) How sincere are members of this group?

(2) How warm war members of this group?

Status

(1) How well educated

(2) How economically successful

Competition

(1) If members of this group get special breaks, this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.

(2) Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.

10-item developed to test **attitudes toward feminism** (5-point Likert scale)

(1) The leaders of the women's movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea.

R (2) There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women's movement.

(3) More people would favor the women's movement if they knew more about it.

(4) The women's movement has positively influenced relationships between men and women.

R (5) The women's movement is too radical and extreme in its views.

(6) The women's movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women.

R (7) Feminists are too visionary for a practical world.

(8) Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere.

R (9) *Feminists are a harm to this nation and the world*

(10) *I am overjoyed that equality is finally happening in this country*

Added items based on Content Analysis (all on 5-point Likert Scale)

Feminism and Whiteness

(1) I associate feminism with whiteness

Codes that are measured as a scale:

<u>Feminists are</u>

(1) Rational – Hysterical

<u>Feminists are</u>

(2) Pro men – Anti men

<u>Feminists strive for</u>

(3) Female Supremacy – Gender Equality

<u>In nowadays society, there is</u>

(4) Female privilege – Male privilege

<u>Feminism is</u>

(5) relevant – irrelevant

<u>Differences between men and women in society are due to</u>

(6) Patriarchy - Evolution

Codes measured as single concepts:

<u>Diversity</u>

(7) Feminists are a diverse social group

(8) Feminism has changed over time

<u>Stereotyping</u>

(9) Feminists are all the same

<u>Awareness</u>

(10) Feminists think about the position of other social groups in society

<u>Repulsion</u>

(11) Feminists are repulsive

<u>Extremism</u>

(12) Feminists are radicals

End of the survey

Thank you for your participation in this research!

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact the researcher via this email address: l.waldera@student.utwente.nl.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions, or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the Secretary of the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences at the University of Twente by ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl

Appendix F

The data set, syntax files and the sheets of the qualitative analysis of Study 2 can be found on Google Drive:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/142bIEblYHU0-pus_Qd-P0OVTevnVIn98?usp=sharing