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The Incidence and Nature of Everyday Sexism in Filipino Women's Lives: Comparisons of Heterosexual and Sexual Minority Women's Experiences

Beatriz A. Torre

ABSTRACT

Everyday sexism, which encompasses expressions of gender prejudice and displays of gender-discriminatory behavior in people's daily lives, is a pervasive and impactful experience for many women. Most of the existing research on everyday sexism has been conducted in Western contexts, and has not explored possible differences among sub-groups of women, such as differences across sexual orientation. Drawing on insights from intersectionality theory and ambivalent sexism theory, the present research used an online survey to examine the incidence and nature of everyday sexism in the lives of heterosexual and sexual minority Filipino women and investigate how the intersection of gender and sexual orientation shape these experiences. Results showed an average frequency of one to two sexist events a day in women's lives. Regardless of sexual orientation, the three most commonly reported

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forms of everyday sexist events were (1) *comments reflecting gender roles and stereotypes,* (2) *jokes about women or girls related to their gender*, and (3) *ogling*. Sexual minority women reported significantly higher frequencies of certain types of sexist events under the categories of *traditional gender roles and stereotypes* and *sexual objectification* compared to heterosexual women. Qualitative data from an optional open-ended survey item also suggest generally negative reactions to experiences of harassment as well as differences in heterosexual and sexual minority women's evaluations of their experiences of benevolent sexism. Insights into the ways in which intertwining traditional ideologies of gender and sexuality give rise to these differences, as well as implications for further research about and efforts to challenge everyday sexism, are also discussed.

Keywords: Everyday sexism, intersectionality, ambivalent sexism

INTRODUCTION

> "Every day feels like a battle for a woman. Walking the street in normal clothes during the day, she gets catcalled. At night, the risk is worse as women who go home late are not considered by society as '*matitinong babae*' (decent women) no matter what their job is. I've even heard comments from other women saying, 'She went home alone at night and she's beautiful!' about a woman who was raped and killed [as if] it is her fault."
>
> —Emily,[1] 31, sexual minority woman

The day-to-day encounters and interactions of Filipino women take place in the context of a society that remains largely patriarchal—that is, in which men continue to be accorded greater status, power, and

[1] Not her real name.

privilege than women in various domains and social institutions. Despite claims about the Philippines' relative success in achieving gender equality (ABS-CBN News, 2018; Santos, 2013), women continue to experience unequal status in many ways: vulnerability to intimate partner violence, high rates of maternal mortality due to unmet needs for family planning, and being unpaid or underpaid for work, among others (Philippine Commission on Women, 2013).

This inequality is also manifested in seemingly trivial ways such as sexist jokes, verbal harassment, and objectifying comments. The quote above, taken from a participant's response to an open-ended survey question in the present study, describes just some examples of the relatively subtle, mundane manifestations of sexism that many women encounter on a day-to-day basis. While sexism encompasses a broad range of attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors that support the unequal status of women and men (Swim & Campbell, 2000), the term *everyday sexism* refers specifically to expressions of gender prejudice and displays of gender-discriminatory behavior embedded in people's daily lives (Swim et al., 2001). Everyday sexist experiences include negative behaviors or comments such as negative stereotypes about women's ability to do things (e.g., comments about women's low ability with mathematics or cars), use of derogatory terms to refer to women (e.g., bitch), and unwanted sexual attention (e.g., hearing catcalls), as well as seemingly positive behaviors or comments that support or perpetuate gender inequality such as hearing traditional positive stereotypes about women (e.g., comments about women being better than men at child care).

Research in Western contexts shows that experiences of everyday sexism are common among both women and men; for example, women report getting unwanted sexual attention in public spaces and being told that their place is "in the kitchen," while men report hearing that "men should not be nurses" and that it is embarrassing for a man to stay at home while his wife works and earns money. However, at the level of everyday interactions, women are more likely than men to experience impactful sexist incidents (such as traditional gender role stereotypes, demeaning comments and behaviors, and sexual objectification) during interactions with family, acquaintances, and even with strangers (Klonoff

& Landrine, 1995; Swim et al., 2001). Research on the incidence of everyday sexism in women's lives shows that it is a common experience for North American women across diverse ethnicities and social classes. Early research on everyday sexism showed that most women (97%) reported experiencing some form of sexism in the past year (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). Subsequent studies which encompassed a wider variety of forms of everyday sexism found that women reported observing or experiencing, on average, one to two sexist incidents per week (Swim et al., 2001) or even more than two sexist incidents each day (Brinkman & Rickard, 2009). Thus, everyday sexism seems to be a pervasive concern in the day-to-day lives of women.

While everyday sexism seems benign compared to more blatant forms of oppression such as overt discrimination and gender-based violence, research has shown that exposure to everyday sexist events negatively affects women in a number of ways. Experiences of everyday sexist events are associated with increased feelings of anger and depression, increased symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and decreased social state self-esteem (Berg, 2006; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Swim et al., 2001). Such experiences may also have negative consequences on women's mental resources. Experimental studies have found that women who were exposed to sexism tended to define themselves more in terms of relational attributes and less in terms of task performance (Barreto et al., 2009), and tended to exhibit decreased performance on tasks involving working memory, problem-solving, and other cognitive processes (Dardenne et al., 2007). Thus, for women who frequently experience everyday sexist events, the cumulative effects can be detrimental to their psychological well-being and cognitive resources.

Everyday Sexism in Filipino Women's Lives

While limited local research directly examines the phenomenon of everyday sexism, studies have illustrated a broad range of sexist experiences in the lives of Filipino women that are in line with the definition of this concept (Abregana, 2004; Agoncillo, 2016; David et al., 2018; Lanuza, 2004). In Abregana's (2004) study on campus sexism in Visayan universities, participants described common forms of sexism

experienced by female students including the use of non-inclusive language (in the classroom, in instructional materials, and in day-to-day conversations on campus), teaching of sexist content without balancing with feminist critique, using sexist jokes and examples in the classroom, gender tracking (advising female students against taking traditionally masculine courses such as engineering), and unwanted sexual attention from male faculty and students.

Meanwhile, in Lanuza's (2004) discourse analysis of college students' journal entries for a gender studies class, one theme that surfaced in students' writings was that of "personal experiences when they felt the burden of patriarchy" (p. 62). Sexual harassment, such as unwanted touching in public spaces, was one of the experiences frequently noted by female students, some of whom also expressed feeling too afraid to confront the perpetrators. As one female college student wrote in her journal: "brushing his hands on my arm, thigh, and hands … . My only mistake is that I don't know how to fight. I'm just afraid that he would do a lot worse" (Lanuza, 2004, p. 67). Female students also wrote about encountering sexism in their homes in the form of traditional gender-based division of labor, such as their fathers' and brothers' expectations that they would perform all domestic chores, and in the form of negative stereotypes about women, such as beliefs that women are "weak, stupid, and emotionally unstable" (Lanuza, 2004, p. 95).

In the two studies cited above, sexual harassment emerged as one of the forms of sexism commonly experienced by female Filipino college students. This finding is further supported by data from a 2016 Social Weather Station (SWS) survey conducted in two barangays in Quezon City, in which 60% of women respondents reported having experienced a form of street harassment or sexual violence in public places at least once in their life, with 15% reporting that they had experienced this at least once a week in the past year alone (Agoncillo, 2016). The survey, which was commissioned by the UN Women as part of its Safe Cities Global Initiative, also found that half of the women respondents who had experienced harassment said they did not report these incidents to the authorities. Reasons cited by women for choosing not to report harassment included feeling overcome by fear and concern that reporting

would place them in greater danger, suggesting that such incidents take an emotional toll on at least some of the women who experience them.

Mundane forms of sexism are also part of the day-to-day lives of Filipino women in various workplaces. Some examples of these were described by David et al. (2018) based on data from interviews with women in high-level industry positions:

> In industries that are male-dominated, where the upper levels are referred to (by interviewees) as "boys' clubs," the working environment can be hostile to women. The few women in the high-level positions are given what women refer to as "GRO" duties—to entertain others, greet guests, order the food in a restaurant, be in charge of arranging socials and other tasks that when doled out in a gendered way, are discriminatory and sometimes can be demeaning. Women, even at the executive levels, report experiencing being subject to inappropriate sexual propositions or advances. (p. 34)

According to David and colleagues, such practices may not always be recognized as discriminatory or sexist in intent, yet may contribute to the obstacles that prevent women from pursuing careers in male-dominated industries and from advancing to leadership positions.

These local studies suggest that sexism in day-to-day interactions is a common experience for Filipino women in various settings and contexts. They also illuminate possible negative consequences of these experiences on women's well-being, showing how experiences of sexism could elicit negative emotions such as distress and fear or form a climate that is detrimental to women's career advancement. However, none of these studies focused specifically on investigating the phenomenon of everyday sexism in the Philippine context. This is one gap that can be addressed by the present research.

Theoretical Framework

The current study is informed by intersectionality theory, which simultaneously considers the meaning and consequences of multiple categories of identity, difference, and disadvantage (Cole, 2009), and

ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1997, 2001, 2011), a social psychological theory that has emerged as a useful lens for the study of sexism. Intersectionality has its roots in the work of Black feminists in the United States, most notably legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Over the past few decades, intersectionality theory—which asserts that one's experiences of disadvantage and/or privilege are not determined by membership in any single social group (i.e., gender), but from the interaction of multiple social identities that are necessarily inextricable (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008)—has increasingly informed social psychological research on women's social identities and experiences of prejudice and discrimination. Feminist psychologist Cole (2009) argues that one way to incorporate intersectionality into research on the experiences of a social group is to attend to the question of "Who is included within this category?" (p. 171), which can call attention to subgroups that have been systematically underrepresented in psychology research. In psychological research on women, one such underrepresented group has been sexual minority women—that is, women who are non-heterosexual in at least one dimension of sexual orientation (such as attraction, behavior, and identity) and "includes women who partner with or have had sexual experiences with women, women who are attracted to or desire sexual experiences with women, women who adopt a lesbian, bisexual, or related identity, and women who have any combination of these characteristics" (Bradford & Van Wagenen, 2013, p. 77). As lesbian psychologist Kitzinger (1996) has argued, the field of feminist psychology has a history of giving only token attention to the experiences of sexual minority women. Kitzinger's criticism appears to apply to research on everyday sexism. Most of the studies I cited in the previous sections did not pay particular attention to participants' sexual orientation, potentially giving the impression that their findings apply to all women regardless of sexual orientation. One exception is Berg's (2006) correlational study on everyday sexism and PTSD in women, which notes that lesbian participants reported more everyday sexist experiences than heterosexual participants—although this finding is not discussed in further detail other than pointing out that this may be linked with societal homophobia.

However, there are areas of research on more blatant or obvious forms of sexism that have attended more closely to the experiences of sexual minority women. For instance, survey research on women's experiences of sexual harassment and assault in academic and other workplace contexts has shown greater incidence of sexual harassment and assault against lesbian and bisexual women compared to heterosexual women (Cortina et al., 1998; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Schneider, 1982). In addition, research on sexual minority college women's experiences of discrimination has shown that they experience events that simultaneously convey prejudice on the basis of their gender *and* their sexual orientation, such as being assaulted for not acting according to traditional gender roles by refusing a man's sexual advances and for not being gender conforming in appearance (Fernald, 1995; Friedman & Leaper, 2010). Researchers argue that these findings reflect the deeply intertwined, intersectional nature of oppressions based on gender and sexual orientation, particularly traditional gender norms of male dominance and female subordination and traditional beliefs about heterosexuality as the only natural and acceptable form of intimacy (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Friedman & Leaper, 2010).

Ambivalent sexism theory (AST) (Glick & Fiske, 1997, 2001, 2011), which underscores the psychological processes that operate in justifying gender prejudice and details the contents of ideologies that are involved in legitimizing the gender status quo, also provides useful insights into the importance of examining differences between heterosexual and sexual minority women's experiences of sexism. AST posits that, instead of being a purely antipathic attitude towards women, sexism takes an ambivalent form such that seemingly positive, "benevolent" views of women as pure but weak creatures to be cherished and protected coexist with—and even bolster—more overtly negative, "hostile" views of women as incompetent and malicious. According to this theory, hostile sexism refers to an adversarial view of gender relations in which women are stereotyped as seeking to control men, while benevolent sexism refers to subjectively benign attitudes that characterize women as pure but weak creatures who should be protected and adored. By casting women who adhere to traditionally feminine roles and norms as "pure" but weak beings who

need protection and depicting nontraditional women as maliciously seeking to control men, the ambivalence of sexist beliefs legitimizes and maintains existing power differentials between women and men.

Research utilizing AST supports the notion that, despite its seemingly positive nature, benevolent sexism can operate to legitimize the gender status quo and perpetuate inequality. For instance, a series of experiments by Becker and Wright (2011) showed that women who were exposed to statements expressing benevolent sexist beliefs such as "Women have a way of caring that men are not capable of in the same way" (p. 65) were more likely to perceive the gender system as just and to see advantages of being a woman, which in turn was associated with decreased intentions to engage in collective action on behalf of women. In addition, survey research among heterosexual female college students found that greater exposure to benevolent sexism in everyday experiences is associated with increased relational sex motives (reflecting a desire to engage in sex as a means to foster partners' sexual satisfaction) and decreased condom use (Fitz & Zucker, 2015). These studies demonstrate AST can be a useful framework for examining everyday sexism, showing that everyday sexism can also take the form of benevolent, seemingly positive comments or interactions, and that these events can affect women's intentions, motives, and behaviors in ways that may undermine their well-being and their engagement in actions towards gender equality.

While the two studies on ambivalent sexism cited above did not investigate any possible differences across sexual orientation, ambivalent sexism theorists have pointed out that the ideologies that legitimize gender inequality rest on assumptions about intimate *heterosexual* interdependence (Rudman & Glick, 2008). Thus, AST can also provide relevant insights into the intersection of oppression on the basis of gender and sexual orientation. In particular, benevolent sexism includes the belief that men and women need each other and the belief that women should be adored and protected by men. These beliefs encourage women to be "good" (e.g., to conform to traditional notions of femininity) in order to be loved and protected by men. Because of the romanticization of this normative model of gender relations within heterosexual relationships, many women may endorse benevolent sexism and may not be motivated

to attend to it as a form of sexism that limits women to prescribed roles and characteristics. However, the appeal of benevolent sexism may not be as apparent for women who are less likely to benefit from men's paternalistic protection and adulation. In particular, because sexual minority women may not desire this kind of treatment from men to the same extent that most heterosexual women do, they may be less likely to romanticize benevolent sexism. These insights from AST inform my analysis of heterosexual and sexual minority women's experiences of and views about everyday sexist events, particularly those that take a benevolent form.

Objectives of the Present Study

As most of the existing research that specifically examines everyday sexism was conducted in Western contexts, the current body of knowledge in this area may not reflect the experiences of Filipino women. This study aims to address this gap by examining the incidence and nature of everyday sexism in Filipino women's lives. The present study also seeks to use the lenses of intersectionality theory and ambivalent sexism theory to investigate how the intersection of gender and sexual orientation shapes women's experiences of sexism, including both hostile and benevolent forms, in everyday interactions. By doing so, I hope to raise awareness about Filipino women's experiences of mundane, subtle forms of sexism which, although often normalized or dismissed as inconsequential, may have negative effects on their well-being and perpetuate their unequal status in society. By using what Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) describe as an intercategorical approach to intersectional research, I also hope to contribute to our understanding of possible differences as well as similarities in heterosexual and sexual minority Filipino women's experiences and views of various forms of sexism, which may yield insight into ways in which feminist advocates can engage women of diverse sexual orientations in meaningful discussions towards raising their consciousness of the prevalence and persistence of sexism.

As a feminist researcher, I also hope that participants in this study benefited from having an opportunity to attend to the subtle ways in which they experience sexism in their own lives and day-to-day

interactions. Given previous findings that paying attention to daily encounters with sexism can effectively reduce women's endorsement or internalization of sexist beliefs (Becker & Swim, 2011), it is hoped that this research encouraged participants to be critical of sexism in their own lives.

The present study also has various limitations that must be acknowledged. First, this research is limited to Filipino women age 18 and above and does not aim to capture the experiences of girl-children and adolescent girls. The research sample is also limited to cisgender women—that is, women whose assigned sex at birth is female and whose gender identity during the time of data-gathering was female. Thus, this study does not provide insight into Filipino transwomen's experiences of everyday sexism—an important topic which merits further research informed by Western and local scholars' work on the intersections between sexism and transnegativity in transwomen's experiences of stigma and prejudice (Serano, 2007; Silan et al., 2016).

The research sample is also not representative of Filipino women in terms of age range, educational attainment, and religious affiliation, among other characteristics. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 40, with most participants in their 20s at the time they completed the survey. All participants had at least some college education, and majority described their religious affiliation as Roman Catholic or Christian, with very few participants identifying themselves as Muslim or Buddhist. These limitations may have been due at least in part to the sampling and data-gathering procedures used. I relied primarily on convenience sampling and snowball sampling by reaching out to contacts in my personal and professional networks, including organizations that I was part of or had worked with, in order to recruit participants. Because of this, it is possible that the pool of potential participants I was able to reach was composed predominantly of individuals with a demographic profile similar to my own. The use of an online survey to gather data may also have influenced the characteristics of the sample: Data from the Pew Research Center (Schumacher & Kent, 2020) show that, in the Philippines, internet use is much higher among younger people (ages 18 to 29) and people with higher levels of completed

education compared to older individuals and those with lower educational attainment. Due to these limitations, this study is not able to examine the experiences of women beyond the age of 40, women with lower levels of completed education, and women from minority religious groups. While the present research focuses on the intersection of gender and sexual orientation, I recognize the heterogeneity of Filipino women and hope that the findings of this study can be useful as a starting-off point for future research into experiences and responses to everyday sexism of a more diverse population of women.

METHODOLOGY

I gathered data using an anonymous retrospective online survey that measured women's lived experiences of sexism over the previous two weeks using mainly items that generated quantitative data, with the inclusion of an optional open-ended question that generated some qualitative data as well. While some scholars argue that intersectionality is more compatible with qualitative methods than quantitative methods (e.g., Shields, 2008), other feminist researchers maintain that "an intersectional approach can be used with rigorous quantitative methods in order to deepen and expand the psychology of women" (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016, p. 161), such as by shedding light on differences and similarities among people at different locations of an intersection. With these points in mind, I chose to use a survey based on existing measures of everyday sexism that I believed would allow me to describe and compare the experiences of heterosexual and sexual minority Filipino women, while also including an open-ended question that would allow participants to elaborate on their responses if they wished to do so. The decision to disseminate and administer the survey online was also made with careful consideration of the limitations of online data-gathering, some of which have been discussed in the previous section, as well as its advantages, particularly in terms of accessing less visible populations including LGBT individuals (Riggle et al., 2005).

Instrument

The measure consisted of an informed consent form, a page requesting personal information including age, educational attainment, and self-identified sexual orientation, and a modified version of the Checklist of Sexist Events (adapted from Brinkman & Rickard, 2009; Becker & Swim, 2011). The original measure was developed as a structured diary by Brinkman and Rickard (2009) based on events listed by participants in previous studies of everyday sexism (Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Swim et al., 2001). For the current study, I modified the checklist to include events that reflected benevolent sexism based on the work of Becker and Swim (2011).

Prior to the actual data-gathering, I conducted a pilot test of the survey by asking seven women (comprised of five self-identified heterosexual women, one self-identified bisexual woman, and one self-identified lesbian woman) to complete a beta version of the online survey and provide comments and suggestions which I used to further modify the measure.

The final checklist of everyday sexist events used in the current study consisted of 18 items, including five items under the category of *traditional gender role stereotypes* (i.e., "Heard comments that women should behave in a certain way or should possess particular personality characteristics"); four items under the category of *sexual objectification* (i.e., "Heard unwanted sexual comments, whistles, or 'catcalls'"); five items under the category of *demeaning/exclusionary comments or behaviors* (i.e., "Called a demeaning or degrading label related to your gender such as slut, bitch, *pokpok*, etc."); and four items under the category of *benevolent sexism* (i.e., "Received help from a man with a task because he assumed that, as a woman, you should not have to grapple with it").

In the final version of the measure, each checklist item was presented as a separate page of the online survey. For each item, participants were instructed to indicate whether they had or had not experienced the specific event described within the past two weeks. This timeframe was determined based on recommendations for researchers studying mundane events based on insights from memory research (Belli, 1998)

in consideration of the challenges of measuring everyday sexist events discussed by researchers who have done previous work in this area (Swim et al., 2001). If a participant did not report having experienced an event within the timeframe of 2 weeks, the measure proceeded to the next item on the checklist. If they reported having experienced an event within the past 2 weeks, the measure proceeded to a follow-up question asking them to indicate how many times they had experienced the event within the past 2 weeks.

When they had completed the checklist, participants could then choose to elaborate on their responses by answering the following optional open-ended question:

> Would you like to elaborate on any of your experiences of the kinds of interactions described in the previous questions (for example, share details about an experience that you found memorable, or explain why you found an experience to be flattering or annoying)? If yes, please do so on the space provided below.

Participants

A total of 179 Filipino women ranging in age from 18 to 40 years ($M = 23.87$, $SD = 4.22$) completed the retrospective online survey. Participants were recruited via convenience sampling and snowball sampling: a link to the online survey form was shared via e-mail and social networking sites, and participants were also requested to share the link with their friends who fulfilled the participation criteria (Filipino women ages 18 and above currently residing in the Philippines). Participation was not limited to any particular institution/s or geographical location/s within the Philippines.

Of the participants, 105 (58.6%) identified as heterosexual; 49 (27.4%) identified as bisexual; 10 (5.6%) identified as lesbian; and 15 (8.4%) selected the "Other" option. Participants who selected "Other" described their sexual identities using a variety of words and phrases including "demisexual," "gender-fluid," and "pansexual." Because the limited number

of participants in all non-heterosexual categories did not allow for statistical comparisons among specific subgroups, participants who selected "bisexual," "lesbian," and "other" in the sexual identity question were grouped into the category "Sexual minority women" for the purposes of the succeeding analyses. A total of 74 (41.3%) of the participants were included in this group. (See Table 1.)

In terms of educational background, participants included 87 (48.6%) women who were currently enrolled as undergraduate or postgraduate students, and 92 (51.4%) women who had already obtained an undergraduate degree at the time they completed the survey. Majority of the participants (59.2%) described their religious affiliation as Roman Catholic or Christian; the next largest subgroup (39.1%) in terms of religion were those who described themselves as having no religious affiliation (i.e., "N/A," "agnostic," "atheist," "none"). Of the remaining participants, two described their religious affiliation as Islam and one identified as a deist.

Table 1
Participants' Self-Identified Sexual Orientation

Self-identified sexual orientation	Frequency
"Heterosexual (get attracted to men)"	105 (58.6%)
Sexual minority women	74 (41.3%)
"Bisexual (get attracted to both men and women)"	*49 ((27.4%)*
"Lesbian (get attracted to women)"	*10 (5.6.%)*
"Other"	*15 (8.4%)*
Total	179

Procedure and Ethical Considerations

All potential participants who clicked the link to the online survey were first presented with a page containing the online consent form, which included information about the aims and potential risks associated with the study and an option to indicate whether or not they consented to participate. Those who indicated their consent to

participate then proceeded to the next page, where they provided personal information. Participants then proceeded to the adapted checklist of sexist events.

Upon completion of the checklist, participants were directed to the final page in which they were thanked for their time and effort. They were also provided with the researcher's contact information should they wish to ask further questions or seek professional help in relation to any of the experiences that were explored in the study.

Previous research has shown that even everyday sexist events can cause women to feel distress, anxiety, and other negative consequences. To address these possible outcomes, the last page of the online survey included an offer of referrals to mental health service providers if any participants wished to seek professional help in relation to any of the experiences that were explored in the study.

Participation in the survey was voluntary, and participants' identities and their responses to any of the measures or tools used throughout the study were kept confidential. Participants were anonymized through the use of participant numbers as the only identifying characteristic.

Data Analysis

Prior to analysis, measures corresponding to frequencies of everyday sexist events were evaluated using the procedure described below.

The Adapted Checklist of Everyday Sexist Events yielded participants' reported number of times over the previous 2 weeks they had experienced each form of everyday sexism that appeared as an item in the checklist. Instances when a participant reported that she had not experienced a particular form of sexism over the 2 two weeks were simply recorded as zero. Overall frequency of each everyday sexist event included in the checklist was computed by adding up each participant's reported frequency for each checklist item they had experienced at least once over the past 2 weeks. Thus, for each participant, each item in the checklist had a corresponding frequency score indicating the number of times she had experienced the described event within the previous 2 weeks. Since the items could be grouped into four separate categories (*traditional gender role stereotypes*, *sexual objectification*, *demeaning/exclusionary comments*

or behaviors, and *benevolent sexism*), I also computed frequency scores for each category for each participant by adding up the frequency scores for all items under that category. For the total sample, mean frequency scores for each individual item were computed by summing up the individual participants' frequency scores for each particular item and then dividing the total by the number of participants. Similarly, mean frequency scores for each category were computed for the total sample by summing up the individual participants' frequency scores for each category and dividing the total by the number of participants.

Descriptive statistics including means and standard deviations were computed as a broad picture of participants' reported experiences of sexist events. Independent t-tests were then used in order to assess possible differences in Filipino women's reported experiences of sexist events across sexual orientation, including reported *total* frequency of experiences of everyday sexism over the previous 2 weeks, reported frequency of experiences of each *category* of sexist events, and reported frequency of experiences of the event described in each *individual item*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Incidence of Everyday Sexist Events

Reports of everyday sexist events were common across the women in the sample: 175 participants (98%) reported having experienced at least one event from the checklist at least once over the previous 2 weeks. The most commonly reported event was *hearing comments that expressed prescriptive ideas about the characteristics or behaviors that women "should" show*, with 67% of participants experiencing an event of this nature at least once over the previous 2 weeks. Other everyday sexist events that were experienced by a relatively high percentage of participants were *hearing jokes about women or girls related to their gender* (60.9%), *being ogled* (59.8%), and *hearing traditional positive stereotypes about women* (51.4%). The percentages of women who reported having experienced events from the checklist at least once over the previous 2 weeks are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Percentage of Participants Who Reported Experiencing Checklist Items at Least Once Over the Previous 2 Weeks

Type of everyday sexist event	Sexual minority women (n = 74)	Heterosexual women (n = 105)	General sample (n = 179)
Traditional gender role stereotypes			
Heard comments that women should behave in a certain way or should possess particular personality characteristics	70.3	64.8	67.0
Heard traditional positive stereotypes about women	56.8	47.6	51.4
Heard comments that certain roles or jobs are not suitable for women	33.8	29.5	31.3
Heard comments that women possess lower ability compared to men	24.3	19.0	21.2
Heard comments that certain jobs or roles are only suitable for women	23.0	15.2	18.4
Sexual objectification			
Felt like you were being checked out, ogled, or leered at	70.3	52.4	59.8
Experienced unwanted sexual behaviors	14.9	18.1	16.8
Were the target of unwanted sexual gestures	14.9	13.3	14.0
Heard unwanted sexual comments, whistles, or "catcalls"	41.9	39.0	40.2
Demeaning/exclusionary comments or behaviors			
Heard jokes about women or girls related to their gender	56.8	63.8	60.9
Heard comments that expressed hostile or negative attitudes toward women	24.3	18.1	20.7
Called a demeaning or degrading label related to your gender such as slut, bitch, *pokpok*, etc.	18.9	14.3	16.2
Felt like your opinions carried less weight than the opinion of a member of the opposite gender	18.9	12.4	15.1
Ignored in a conversation by members of the opposite gender	12.2	13.3	12.8
Benevolent sexist events			
Were treated in a chivalrous manner by a man because he thought you needed special treatment	43.2	56.2	50.8
Received help from a man with a task because he assumed that, as a woman, you should not have to grapple with it	39.2	55.2	48.6
Were prevented by someone else from engaging in a particular behavior or activity, with the intention of protecting you	28.4	32.4	30.7
Received a compliment because you exhibited behavior that was assumed to be an ability particularly well-suited and appropriate for women	27.0	32.4	30.2
Overall	*98.6*	*97.1*	*98*

Women reported experiencing a mean of 17.64 (heterosexual women: 16.15; sexual minority women: 19.76) events from the checklist over the course of 14 days, suggesting an average of 1.26 events a day. The mean number of times that participants reported having experienced the kinds of everyday sexism described in the checklist, in general and broken down by sexual orientation, are shown in the first four columns of Table 3.

As Table 3 indicates, sexual minority women reported higher total frequency of everyday sexist events experienced over the past 2 weeks than did heterosexual women. However, this difference was not significant, $t = -1.401$, $p > .05$. Thus, the survey data suggests that, in general, everyday sexism is a common experience for women across sexual orientation.

The rightmost column of Table 3 also shows that different patterns emerge when comparing the four categories of sexist events on the checklist, as well as when comparing individual items on the checklist. Sexual minority women reported higher total frequency of sexist events across three out of the four categories on the checklist (traditional gender role stereotypes, sexual objectification, and demeaning/exclusionary comments or behaviors). This pattern was reversed when it came to the fourth category (benevolent sexist events), which heterosexual women reported as having experienced more frequently. However, none of these differences were significant except for sexual objectification, $t = -2.104$, $p < .05$, indicating that sexual minority women reported significantly higher frequencies of the sexist events under this category compared to heterosexual women. Sexual minority women reported significantly higher frequencies of two out of the four items under *Sexual objectification*: (1) *Experienced unwanted sexual behaviors such as being pinched, slapped, or touched in a sexual way* ($t = -2.377$, $p < .05$), and (2) *heard unwanted sexual comments, whistles, or "catcalls"* ($t = -2.588$, $p < .05$). While sexual minority women also reported higher frequencies of the other two items under this category (were the target of unwanted sexual gestures and felt like you were being checked out, ogled, or leered at), these differences were not significant.

Aside from these items under the category of sexual objectification, there was a significant difference in the reported frequency for a specific item under the category of *Traditional gender role stereotypes* which was

Table 3

Frequencies of Everyday Sexist Events by Categories and Individual Items Using Independent T-Test.

Everyday sexist events	General sample (n = 179)	Sexual minority women (n = 74)	Heterosexual women (n = 105)	T-Test
	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	
Traditional gender role stereotypes	4.83 *(5.42)*	5.74 *(6.14)*	4.19 *(4.78)*	-1.9
Heard comments that women should behave in a certain way or should possess particular personality characteristics	1.72 *(1.86)*	2.09 *(2.09)*	1.45 *(1.63)*	-2.22*
Heard comments that certain roles or jobs are not suitable for women	1.96 *(1.43)*	2.28 *(1.67)*	1.71 *(1.16)*	1.504
Heard comments that women possess lower ability compared to men	2.61 *(2.61)*	2.67 *(2.03)*	2.55 *(3.10)*	-.135
Heard comments that certain jobs or roles are only suitable for women	2.24 *(1.30)*	2.18 *(1.33)*	2.31 *(1.30)*	.296
Heard traditional positive stereotypes about women	2.99 *(2.22)*	3.05 *(2.50)*	2.94 *(1.98)*	-.230
Sexual objectification	4.37 *(7.63)*	5.96 *(10.42)*	3.25 *(4.52)*	-2.104*
Experienced unwanted sexual behaviors	2.90 *(2.25)*	4.09 *(2.84)*	2.21 *(1.51)*	-2.377*
Were the target of unwanted sexual gestures	1.96 *(1.97)*	2.64 *(2.62)*	1.43 *(1.09)*	-1.569
Heard unwanted sexual comments, whistles, or "catcalls"	3.06 *(2.73)*	4.06 *(3.59)*	2.29 *(1.49)*	-2.588*
Felt like you were being checked out, ogled, or leered at	3.98 *(5.24)*	4.63 *(6.90)*	3.36 *(2.84)*	-1.258
Demeaning/exclusionary comments or behaviors	3.47 *(5.01)*	3.74 *(5.44)*	3.29 *(4.70)*	-.601
Called a demeaning or degrading label related to your gender such as slut, bitch, *pokpok*, etc.	4.48 *(4.56)*	4.86 *(4.83)*	4.13 *(4.42)*	-.421
Heard jokes about women or girls related to their gender	2.28 *(1.53)*	2.17 *(1.19)*	2.34 *(1.72)*	0.584
Ignored in a conversation by members of the opposite gender	3.04 *(3.69)*	2.22 *(1.64)*	3.57 *(4.54)*	0.851
Felt like your opinions carried less weight than the opinion of a member of the opposite gender	2.37 *(1.76)*	2.50 *(1.99)*	2.23 *(1.54)*	-.391
Heard comments that expressed hostile or negative attitudes toward women	2.97 *(2.20)*	3.50 *(2.71)*	2.47 *(1.39)*	-.1463
Benevolent sexist events	4.97 *(5.73)*	4.31 *(5.38)*	5.43 *(5.95)*	.1287
Received help from a man with a task because he assumed that, as a woman, you should not have to grapple with it	3.10 *(3.22)*	2.90 *(1.90)*	3.21 *(3.74)*	.421
Received a compliment because you exhibited behavior that was assumed to be an ability particularly well-suited and appropriate for women	3.15 *(2.20)*	3.45 *(2.39)*	2.97 *(2.10)*	.77
Were treated in a chivalrous manner by a man because he thought you needed special treatment	3.46 *(3.1)*	3.09 *(2.19)*	3.66 *(3.5)*	.832
Were prevented by someone else from engaging in a particular behavior or activity, with the intention of protecting you	2.44 *(1.93)*	3.19 *(2.64)*	1.97 *(1.14)*	-.2006
Total number of reported experiences of items in the checklist	17.64 *(16.99)*	19.76 *(19.06)*	16.15 *(15.29)*	

Note: *$p < .05$

"*Heard comments that women should behave in a certain way or should possess particular personality characteristics*" ($t = 2.22, p < .05$). This indicates that sexual minority women reported hearing these kinds of comments from others more frequently than did heterosexual women.

Overall, data from the adapted online checklist of sexist events demonstrates the pervasive and varied nature of everyday sexism in Filipino women's lives. These findings show that Filipino women experience a broad variety of forms of sexism in their day-to-day lives, including incidents that may be more easily identifiable as offensive or prejudiced, such as unwanted sexual advances and negative comments or stereotypes about women, as well as those that may not fit many people's notions of sexism such as jokes, compliments about possessing characteristics or skills that fit women's traditional gender roles, or chivalrous behavior. These findings are comparable to results obtained from everyday sexism research in Western contexts (Brinkman & Rickard, 2009; Friedman & Leaper, 2009; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Swim et al., 2001), and the high frequency of reported everyday sexist events provides a counterpoint to reports of Philippine society as relatively gender-equal (Santos, 2013).

From an intersectionality perspective, these findings can be further investigated by considering the subgroups within Filipino women and examining similarities and differences across these subgroups—in other words, by asking the questions "Who is included within this category?" and "Where are the differences and/or similarities?" (Cole, 2009). Comparisons between heterosexual and sexual minority women show a mix of similarities and differences. While there was no significant difference in terms of overall frequency of everyday sexist events, sexual minority women reported significantly higher incidence of certain categories and specific types of sexist events, namely unwanted sexual behaviors, unwanted sexual comments, whistles, or catcalls, and prescriptive comments about what women's personality or behavior should be like. These findings suggest that, in the Philippines, sexual minority women are as likely as heterosexual women to experience everyday sexism, and perhaps more likely to be the target of certain types of sexist events—a pattern which has also emerged in Western research on women's experiences of harassment and mundane prejudice (Fernald, 1995; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Schneider, 1982).

Why do sexual minority Filipino women experience similar overall rates of everyday sexist events compared to heterosexual women, yet report a higher incidence of unwanted sexual behaviors and comments and prescriptive remarks about how women should act? Intersectionality theory and ambivalent sexism theory both provide insights that help understand this finding. In contrast to earlier "additive" approaches to the study of individuals belonging to multiple disadvantaged social groups (i.e., women who are sexual minorities), which assumed that "a person with two or more intersecting identities experiences the distinctive forms of oppression associated with each of his or her subordinate identities summed together" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 2), intersectionality theorists argue that multiple identities *construct* distinctive experiences (Parent et al., 2013). Instead of viewing women's experiences of prejudice as the sum of the effects of their gender and their sexual orientation, the intersectionality perspective considers the ways in which the identities of "woman" and "sexual minority" shape unique experiences of prejudice within the context of the social ideologies and norms through which these identities are constructed. In the Philippines, traditional gender ideologies that define women's roles in terms of reproductive and nurturing functions and men's roles in terms of productive and community functions persist in educational practices and materials, in media, and in workplace dynamics (Java & Parcon, 2016; National Economic and Development Authority, 2019; Prieler & Centeno, 2013). Heteronormative ideologies that view sexual minorities as deviants and privilege intimate partnerships between men and women over those of sexual minorities are also evident in Philippine institutions and practices, including religious teachings of the powerful Roman Catholic Church and the Family Code which defines marriage as a union between a man and a woman (Lim et al., 2013). Within this context, sexual minority women may be seen as violating both heteronormative and patriarchal expectations regarding socially acceptable behaviors, gender expression, and intimate relationships. Thus, their experiences of prescriptive comments and unwanted sexual behaviors and utterances may reflect perpetrators' attempts to police these violations and enforce traditional gender roles. This is similar to claims made by Western feminist scholars who argue that the higher incidence of sexual

harassment and assault of sexual minority women may be due to the widespread perception among the general population that sexual minority women are gender-nonconforming or even threatening to heteronormative worldviews because they do not adhere to one of the most fundamental aspects of women's traditional gender role—that of seeking out and engaging in romantic and sexual relationships with men (Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Rich, 1980).

Feminist theorists have also pointed out the intersections between gender and sexuality, particularly how gender ideologies are linked with heteronormativity—the privileging of heterosexual relationships and the assumption that men and women are "made for each other" (Jackson, 2006, p. 113). Because sexist attitudes and behaviors are often embedded in heteronormative assumptions, women's sexual identities may be particularly salient in shaping their experiences of sexism as well as their awareness of these events. For example, sociologist Schneider (1982) posited that her findings of higher incidence of sexual harassment reported by lesbian workers might reflect their perception that these events are grounded in heteronormative prescriptions that reinforce their position as outsiders, leading them to be more conscious of sexualized harassment perpetrated by men. Similarly, sexual minority participants in the present study may have paid more attention to their experiences of unwanted sexual attention and prescriptive comments about women's behavior or appearance because of an underlying perception that these events are grounded in heteronormative expectations, leading them to report a higher incidence of such events compared to heterosexual women.

Insights From Qualitative Responses: Filipino Women's Thoughts and Feelings About Everyday Sexist Events

While the structured nature of the checklist of sexist events did not provide opportunities to examine women's views about the events they had experienced, the optional open-ended question at the end of the survey which asked women to elaborate on their answers to the checklist yielded responses which provided additional insights into their thoughts and feelings about these events. Out of the 179 participants, 26 women opted to answer this item. Responses reflected varying themes, including both

negative evaluations and impacts of specific everyday sexist events, mixed feelings about benevolent sexism, and views of everyday sexism as a common experience.

Negative Evaluations and Impacts of Specific Everyday Sexist Events

Several participants mentioned having negative thoughts and feelings during and after experiencing some of the items in the checklist. This was particularly salient in women's responses about their experiences of harassment such as unwanted sexual attention and advances, which they described as very common and even unescapable. Participants generally expressed negative emotions like discomfort, fear, and annoyance about such events:

> It can be discomforting to be subject to men looking at me … I once had an experience when I was leaning down to examine an item in a grocery shelf. Someone touched my rear end. I was shocked to say the least, but I couldn't do anything except stare at the guy who smiled sheepishly, as if he couldn't help it. It really bothered me. (Heterosexual woman, 25)

> I had a terrifying experience of being hit on by an old foreigner in a mall. I had my headset on, was dressed up in regular old jeans and a baggy shirt and what I first thought was a question on directions turned into questions about my personal life. When he saw he wasn't getting anywhere, he tells me that he just wanted to talk to me since I was beautiful and left. I ran all the way back to the safety of my dad who had a meeting in the area. (Heterosexual woman, 22)

> Every single day on the street, we get catcalled, we experience sexual harassment for simply walking in the street … . Even when I wear loose jogging pants and big t-shirts, I still get harassed. (Pansexual woman, 31)

Others wrote about having heard comments expressing endorsement of traditional gender roles and stereotypes—such as the belief that men are better leaders than women and the belief that women should perform domestic tasks—and reported negative feelings about these events:

> I sing in a choir in our school … . We had a little power vacuum for a while because our choir director (a woman) refused to appoint a woman as the choir President in spite of the fact that there were no men who were more qualified for the position. Our choir director insists that the President must be male, just because women *daw* tend to get in "catfights" when they have disagreements, because people listen to men more than they listen to women, and because only a man would be calm and level-headed enough to balance out her being "overly emotional" (which she attributed to being a woman.) This was really, really annoying for me. (Bisexual woman, 25)

> I don't know how to cook and my dad told me that it's bad for a woman not to know how to cook. He even told me that my future husband would LEAVE me if I didn't know how to prepare a goddamn meal. I find it very sexist and demeaning. *Parang yung* purpose *lang namin is maging katulong ng asawa namin, 'di kami pinanganak para silbihan mga asawa namin no.* [It's as if our sole purpose is to become our husband's maids, we weren't born to serve our husbands.] (Heterosexual woman, 21)

Some participants expressed annoyance regarding negative comments about their appearance (i.e., attire) or prescriptive comments about how they should look:

> My overly-conservative relatives would always tell us that wearing shorts, dress, and skirt while commuting would get us raped. It's kind of annoying … . It prevents us from dressing how we want and at one point, it made me view men as pigs, who only think of women as sex objects and not a human being. (Heterosexual woman, 21)

Mixed Feelings About Benevolent Sexist Events

Not all instances of everyday sexism were construed as unwanted or negative events by the participants. When it came to events that fell under the category of benevolent sexism, participants' responses ranged from positive feelings, ambivalence, or even downright negative feelings. Some wrote that they had perceived certain experiences of a more benevolent or chivalrous nature as "sweet," or as expressions of respect and affection:

> One experience I found really flattering, though, is when my boyfriend accompanies me from the office to my house. He takes pride in taking care of me. I allow it because he feels better for doing that for me, and I feel so loved, so lucky to have him care so much. (Heterosexual woman, 25)

> *[N]aramdaman kong babaeng-babae ako nung nagka*-boyfriend *ako, yung 'pag ikaw yung* apple of their eyes*, may* automatic *na magpapaupo sa'yo, aalalay sa'yo, magse*-serve *sa'yo,* and all other kind gestures, *kahit na hindi mo hinihingi.* [I felt like a real woman when I got a boyfriend, like when you're the apple of their eyes, there's someone who will automatically give you a seat, help you, serve you, and all other kind gestures, even if you do not ask for it.] (Heterosexual woman, 20)

On the other hand, other participants expressed mixed or downright negative feelings about seemingly positive behaviors which they perceived as having underlying negative implications:

> Just as a side comment, even though some things are flattering or down-right sweet, doesn't entirely blind me to the fact that these acts are sexist. To be told by my boyfriend's family, for example, that they like the fact that I am a talented baker, and that I am good with kids (generally, I would make a good wife for their son), is more than sweet and entirely favorable. But as a person, I should be aware that a collective belief on putting value on a person for her gender-specific capabilities is

> problematic. So for these things, yes, I do find them flattering. But I'd rather if they didn't. (Heterosexual woman, 20)

> I also find it annoying that if I want to carry heavy things, the boys would sometimes want to take it away from me. (Sexual minority woman, 19)

> I had my mom confide to me that she feels uncared for by my dad because my dad doesn't "take care" of her like a woman. She says since she's naturally weaker than my dad, my dad shouldn't be making emotional demands on her by sharing his work problems and by being so pessimistic. I didn't comment even though I disagree because my mom was just venting and needed somebody to talk to. (Bisexual woman, 25)

Views of Everyday Sexism as a Common Experience

Some participants elaborated on their reported experiences of sexism by describing how these could be attributed to certain spaces or environments in which they spend some portion of their daily lives:

> I currently work in a team where most of the time I am the only girl, so biased comments are frequent. (Heterosexual woman, 26)

> In that one street that I cross every day, it's always the delivery trucks or trucks that does the whistling and honking. (Heterosexual woman, 27)

Data from the online survey also showed that a small number reported *not* having experienced any of the items on the checklist over the 2 weeks prior to their completion of the measure. Several participants elaborated on this by citing the limitations of the given timeframe or the nature of their current work environment:

> You made me realize how thankful I am that I am not in a "normal job" anymore. Things I would have experienced as routine in the workplace, being talked over by men, being told

> you can't do certain things are distant memories now since I left mainstream jobs. (Pansexual woman, 31)
>
> I work in a very liberal and politically conscious environment so I have no problems in my workplace. Furthermore, I am involved in the mass movement, where people are very conscious about gender politics. (Heterosexual woman, 24)

These responses suggest that even women who reported experiencing few to none of the items on the checklist viewed these as common experiences, and believed that there were possibly unique aspects of their circumstances over the previous 2 weeks (i.e., jobs outside of the "mainstream") which made them less likely to experience events like these compared to women in more typical contexts. At the same time, responses like these suggest that everyday sexism is not necessarily a fixed, unchangeable element of Filipino women's lives; there are possibilities for spaces and social contexts in which more egalitarian values and practices are the norm.

Although these qualitative responses come from a small subset of the research sample, they provide valuable insight into participants' thoughts and feelings about experiences of everyday sexism that helps enrich the quantitative findings that were previously discussed. In particular, it is noticeable that responses involving positive feelings about experiences of benevolent sexism (such as feeling flattered, cared for, and loved) came mostly from heterosexual women, while responses expressing mixed or downright negative feelings about these events (such as feeling annoyed) came mostly from sexual minority women. These findings can be further scrutinized through the lenses of intersectionality and ambivalent sexism theory.

Ambivalent sexism theorists have pointed out that, although benevolent sexism appears innocuous and even beneficial, it may actually operate as a legitimizing ideology by idealizing heterosexual intimacy and seemingly positive constructs of women who conform to traditional gender roles, thereby playing a powerful role in perpetuating gender inequality by undermining women's resistance to male dominance (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Benevolent sexism is believed to

operate in three distinct parts—complementary gender roles and stereotypes, heterosexual intimacy, and protective paternalism—all of which contribute to belief in a gendered hierarchy. Social psychologists Rudman and Glick (2008) argued that heterosexual women might justify or even appreciate a man's protectively restrictive behavior because they associate it with potential benefits, especially in the context of romantic relationships and interactions. However, an intersectional perspective reminds us that benevolent sexist comments and behaviors may be experienced differently by other subgroups of women—particularly sexual minority women, whose attractions and relationships do not neatly fit these heteronormative constructs and ideals. This may provide some understanding into the present study's findings that, compared to heterosexual women, sexual minority women were less likely to romanticize benevolent sexist behaviors and more likely to consider its negative implications.

Of course, it is important to note that these observed differences across sexual orientation in the present study were not absolute; for instance, one heterosexual woman expressed critical thoughts about her experiences of benevolent sexist events as "problematic" despite finding them "flattering." Many other aspects of women's social identities and social group memberships—including religious affiliation, educational background, social class, disability status, and others—may contribute to shaping each woman's unique experiences of benevolent sexism and everyday sexist events in general, and are thus important to consider in future research in this area (Shields, 2008). Further, given that the responses to the open-ended question came from a small subset of the participants and were made in response to very broadly worded items, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from these data about generalizable differences across heterosexual and sexual minority women.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Sexism continues to be a reality in the day-to-day lives of many Filipino women. The present research revealed that Filipino women, regardless of sexual orientation, frequently experience everyday sexism

in varying contexts. This most often takes the form of comments that express prescriptive ideas about the characteristics or behaviors that women "should" show; while other forms of everyday sexism that women experience relatively commonly are hearing jokes about women or girls related to their gender, being ogled, and hearing traditional positive stereotypes about women. Women described feeling negative emotions (including annoyance, anger, distress, and fear) after experiencing these events. These findings support the notion that sexism does not always take the form of blatantly antagonistic attitudes and behaviors, but is also expressed and experienced in subtler, more mundane ways (Sue, 2010; Whitley & Kite, 2010).

My findings also show how intersectionality theory and ambivalent sexism theory can help illuminate differences between heterosexual and sexual minority women, particularly in terms of how gender and sexual orientation intersect to shape women's experiences of and views about everyday sexist events. Although everyday sexism may be a common experience for women in general, sexual minority women experience significantly higher incidences of unwanted sexual attention and prescriptive comments about how women should behave. In addition, certain forms of everyday sexism can have different meanings for the women who experience them: Heterosexual women may tend to associate benevolent sexist events with respect, care, and love, while sexual minority women may have more mixed or downright negative feelings about the same kinds of events. These differences may be understood in light of societal views of sexual minority women as violating deeply intertwined traditional gender roles and heteronormative beliefs about intimate heterosexual interdependence, as well as sexual minority women's own consciousness of their outsider status vis-a-vis these ideologies.

The findings presented in this paper show that insight can be gained by taking an intersectional approach to research on women's experiences, such as by considering subgroups within this social category (i.e., heterosexual women and sexual minority women) and possible differences among those subgroups rather than assuming homogeneity. However, because this study focused on the intersection of gender and sexual

orientation, it was not able to explore how unique combinations of other meaningful aspects to women's social identities, including their age, religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, and gender identity, also shape women's experiences of and views about everyday sexism. Future research could examine how women's membership in multiple groups on the basis of these other characteristics—whether relatively privileged or relatively devalued—intersect and interact to shape their everyday experiences of sexism and how they evaluate these experiences.

The use of surveys also posed some limitations because of the reliance on retrospection, which may have affected participants' recall of their past experiences and how they evaluated and responded to these experiences. Future research utilizing experience sampling methodology can minimize potential biases and distortions due to retrospection and may yield more nuanced insight into women's immediate thoughts and feelings upon encountering sexist comments or behaviors.

Further, the present paper does not directly examine how Filipino women evaluate and respond to the kinds of everyday sexist events measured in the checklist. Do Filipino women think of events such as being called demeaning or degrading names, receiving unwanted sexual attention, or being treated in a chivalrous manner as sexist? Do they try to challenge or resist the everyday sexist events they experience and, if so, in what ways? Are some groups of women (i.e., sexual minority women) more likely than others to evaluate certain sexist events as a form of prejudice, and engage in responses that aim to challenge such prejudice? Research findings show that responding confrontationally to a sexist incident can buffer women from its negative impact (Foster, 2013), and that confronting the person responsible for the sexist incident can be effective in reducing the future incidence of sexist behavior by the perpetrator (Mallett & Wagner, 2010). Future investigations of the processes that influence diverse Filipino women's evaluations of and responses to everyday sexism, including responses that challenge sexism, will be important in order to further develop our understanding not only of how women experience and are affected by sexism, but also of how we resist and stand up against it.

Despite the limitations discussed above, it is important to note that insights can also be gained by attending to the similarities between heterosexual and sexual minority Filipino women that were also found in the present research. Heterosexual and sexual minority Filipino women reported similar incidences of most of the sexist events included in the survey, and expressed similar views that such events are negative and common, although not inescapable, experiences in their daily lives. As Cole (2009) points out, attending to similarities challenges the tendency to see certain identities as totalizing and opens up the possibility of recognizing common ground across multiple groups and identities, which in turn can inform our understanding about the implications of shared challenges on women's well-being as well as on efforts towards addressing inequality such as political organizing and policy intervention.

In particular, these findings raise important questions about the potential implications of everyday sexist events on the mental health and well-being of Filipino women, whether heterosexual or sexual minority. Although the present study did not directly examine the impact of everyday sexist events on mental health, participants' responses to the optional open-ended question show that these experiences can elicit negative feelings such as annoyance, discomfort, distress, and fear—feelings which are part of the normal spectrum of human emotion, but which can take a toll on well-being if they occur frequently within women's day-to-day, mundane interactions and activities. These qualitative responses suggest parallels with research on everyday sexism in Western contexts showing that more frequent experiences of sexist incidents is associated with increased anger, depression, and PTSD symptoms as well as decreased social state self-esteem (Berg, 2006; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Swim et al., 2001). Further studies that directly investigate how everyday sexism impacts Filipino women's mental health and well-being can contribute useful information to ongoing conversations on mental health in the Philippines.

Finally, similarities between heterosexual and sexual minority women in the most commonly reported forms of everyday sexist events (comments reflecting gender roles and stereotypes, jokes about women

or girls related to their gender, and ogling) also give rise to insights on existing interventions that seek to eradicate some forms of gender-based harassment and sexism in Philippine society. Most notably, the enactment in 2019 of Republic Act No. 11313 (more popularly known as the Safe Spaces Act or the "*Bawal Bastos*" Law) which penalizes catcalling, wolf-whistling, misogynistic, homophobic, and transphobic slurs, unwanted sexual advances, and other forms of sexual harassment in various spaces has been hailed as an important step in challenging cultural norms that treat these everyday sexist events as normal and acceptable parts of our daily lives (Angsioco, 2019; Philippine Commission on Women, n.d.). Given the high incidence of sexist jokes and comments and unwanted sexual behaviors reported in the present study, I believe this policy development provides a relevant and much-needed mechanism to address challenges that Filipino women face in their daily lives. However, there are other common forms of everyday sexism such as comments reflecting gender roles and stereotypes, as well as seemingly benevolent behaviors like chivalrous treatment, which do not fit within the behaviors prohibited by the Safe Spaces Act but which can still negatively impact women's well-being and cognitive resources. As David et al. (2018) have pointed out, punitive approaches to preventing harassment and sexism are important, but may be just one of many strategies that feminists can use to challenge the common ways in which deep-seated gender prejudice and traditional ideologies are commonly expressed and perpetuated. Beyond punitive approaches, interventions that aim to educate and engage the public on gender sensitivity and to empower all individuals—women and men, sexual minorities and heterosexual individuals—to confront and challenge everyday sexism could play an important role in changing the patriarchal, heteronormative ideologies that underlie these seemingly innocuous incidents.

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