The angry internet

A threat to gender equality, democracy & well-being

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Content

Executive summary

The Nordic Council of Ministers has in 2020 requested an assessment of the extent of online misogyny and antifeminism in the Nordic countries.

This request emerged out of two primary concerns: firstly a democratic concern regarding a skew in participants, topics, and tone in online public debate and the backlash against gender equality, and secondly the recent international terrorist attacks with clear traces and connections to misogynistic forums online (e.g. Toronto 2018, Christchurch 2019, Bærum 2019, boogaloo-shootings 2020). There is an interest to see whether an actual movement is on the rise in the Nordic countries, and, if so, to understand the potential democratic and societal implications. Additionally, it is the wish of the Nordic Council of Ministers that recommendations to dealing with this issue be put forth.

In the current report these concerns are sought answered. Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative measures, an estimate of the extent of online misogyny among Nordic men is reached. Based upon a comprehensive dialogue with field experts from the project's advisory groups, three large social media platforms, Twitter, Reddit, and 4chan, each representing to a varying degree both mainstream and underground misogynistic communities, were selected and subsequently analysed for misogynistic content.

Each platform was analysed using an assemblage of different search strategies. At the center of these assemblages were two search keys, the misogynistic search key and the Nordic search key, developed in collaboration with experts and representatives from the different Nordic countries over the course of several iterations. The two search keys contained words, phrases, terms, names, places, and neologisms stating a relation to the misogynistic ideology, and the manosphere or to Nordic countries respectively. Through this approach over 100.000 potential misogynistic content pieces of Nordic origin (posts and comments) were harvested from the three platforms. Subsequently, a representative sample of 10% was manually coded to assess the level of accuracy for the search strategies and estimate the total number of active Nordic users.

In this report it is concluded that specific Nordic misogyny is present on all three platforms though the amount varies from platform to platform - from 0.4% on Twitter, over 1.6% on Reddit, to 5.0% on 4chan[1]. Based on these numbers, it was estimated that a total of up to 850 active Nordic users had posted misogynistic and antifeminist content on the three select forums during the last year. Further, Nordic users appear to be posting as independent individuals, with no visible systemic movement or organization underlying the users' engagement. Hence, the Nordic participants do not appear to constitute a delimited subculture or movement.

While the estimated amount of up to 850 Nordic aggressively misogynistic users can seem trivial in a political perspective, it does not take into account how many passive consumers of the 850's rhetoric there is. These passive consumers are at risk of being desensitized to the violent and anti-progressive rhetoric used by the 850. Through qualitative interviews and field observations the analysis identified spillover effects of misogynistic content, in the form of phrases, neologisms, ideologies, and worldviews, migrating into 'mainstream social media'. This spillover effect risks establishing a discourse of acceptance toward misogynistic rhetoric, which in turn could deter women (especially young) to refrain from participating in the public online debate.

One important point established in interviews with participants on aggressively misogynistic forums, and through observations on the same forums, was that many of the users had originally sought emotional and social support from the forums.

Later these supportive structures had given way to narratives thought to be less "un-manly", dealing less with vulnerability and unhappiness, and more with vengeance, assertiveness and ideas of (taking) power (back). Some of these forums were formulated in perspective of a "men vs. women" idea, and as such had a (male) user base already feeling alienated from the usual inter-gender socializing. The users often describe themselves as "losers" or (socially) unattractive, but seem to lack pro-social and pro-male communities, outside of these.

In order to deal with the issues of misogyny the following main recommendations[2] are put forth:

- **Forming partnerships with the most troubled forums to educate current moderators, or by installing volunteers, to help establish and reaffirm the support systems that these online communities are for many of their users.** By mitigating the echo- chamber effect that these forums can often hold, and by trying to build bridges to the society that the users feel have shunned them, the brunt of the harmful "us-and-them" rhetoric and mindset could be avoided.

- **Building literacy and developing a more equal perspective on the possibilities and capabilities of each gender.** Such engagement should target both children, youth, adults, and professionals, through a greater focus on gender, gender identity, and gender development. Furthermore, this can lead to changing and expanding gender norms and ideals to become more inclusive and to create room for diversity and standing up against traditional and stereotypical gender roles.

- **Requiring identity authentication in order to create accounts on social media platforms would diminish the amount of fake accounts considerably.** Additionally, such engagement will also hold users to a certain standard, seeing as they would not be completely anonymous. This, of course, is only relevant on platforms where an account is needed to post content.

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1   The numbers reflect the percentage of analyzed content living up to the qualitative inclusion criteria for determining misogyny and nationality. Thus, the percentages reflect the amount of Nordic misogynistic content in the misogynistic "communities" here investigated.

2   For a more detailed list see the "Recommendations" section.

It was estimated that a total of up to 850 active Nordic users had posted misogynistic and antifeminist content on the three select forums during the last year.
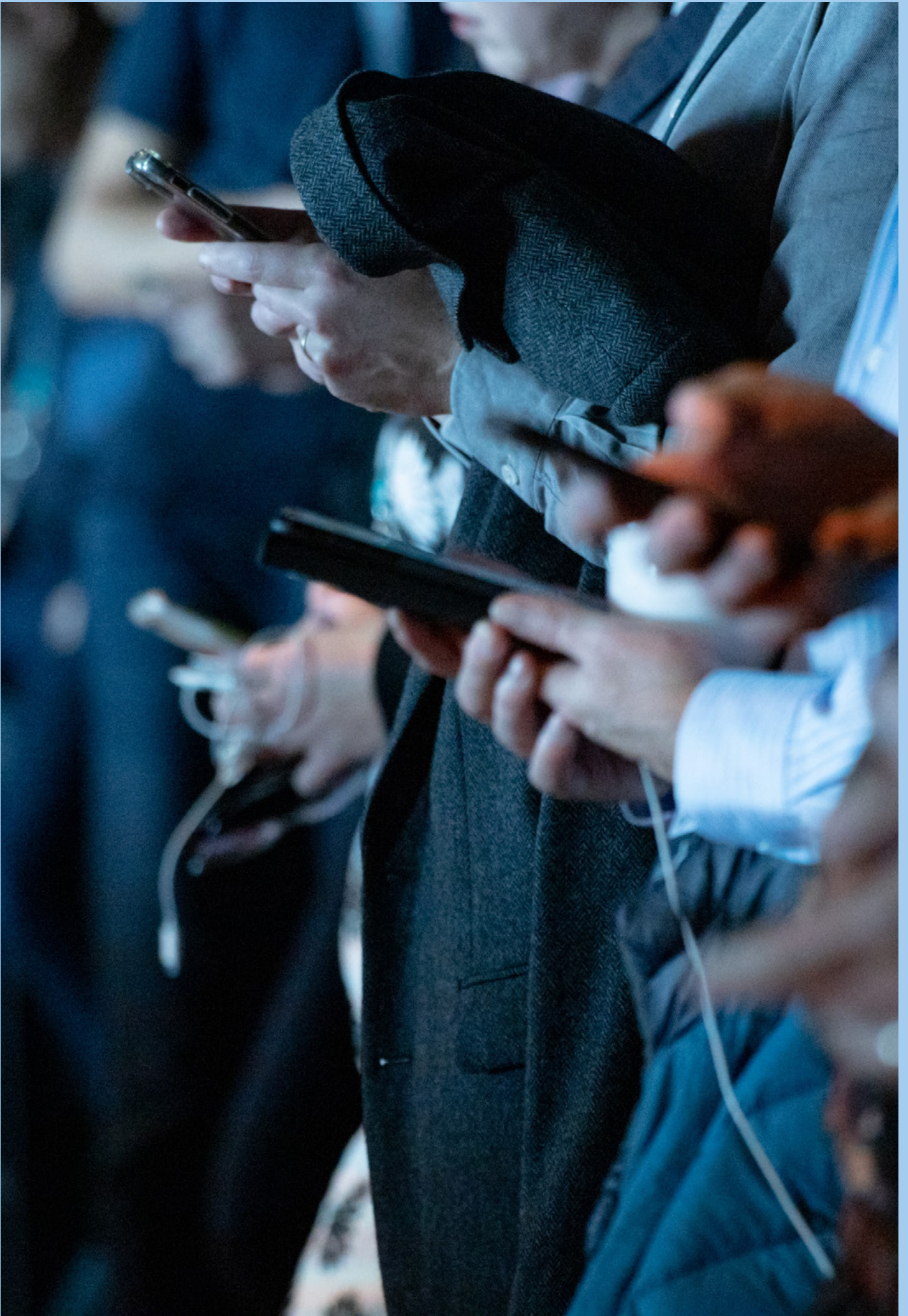
Introduction

The Nordic Council of Ministers has in 2020 requested an assessment of the extent of online misogyny and antifeminism in the Nordic countries. This request has arisen due to mainly two factors: 1. democratic concerns regarding a skew in participants, topics, and tone in online public debate and the backlash against gender equality, and 2. recent terrorist attacks with clear traces and connections to misogynistic forums online (e.g. Toronto 2018, Christchurch 2019, Bærum 2019, boogaloo-shootings 2020, etc.). There is an interest to see whether an actual movement can be traced in the Nordic countries, and, if so, what implications this has politically, democratically, societally, and interpersonally. It is the wish of the Nordic Council of Ministers that recommendations to dealing with this issue be put forth.

The focus of this report is not on the perpetrators of school shootings or other acts of terrorism, and the extent of such issues. Nor is it on perpetrators of hateful messages directed at female journalists, and the extent of such issues. Rather, the focus of this report is on the culture of misogyny online in the Nordic countries, and the effects this has on the willingness of participants to engage in certain actions, but also, in a broader perspective, the effects on democracy and the backlash on gender equality including in the wake of #metoo. The focus of this report has been on misogynistic utterances and groupings of a radical and extreme nature.

The current report will therefore focus on three aspects in order to shed light on misogyny and antifeminism in a Nordic context:

1. What is the manosphere?
2. Where do the men in question meet?
3. How widespread is the manosphere in the Nordic countries and is there a spillover effect of certain ideologies to mainstream society?

As such, a description of different movements and subcultures within the manosphere along with an analysis of the motivation behind being drawn to such forums and online spheres will be presented. Furthermore, descriptions of forums of interest where misogynistic and antifeminist views are expressed and cultivated will be brought, along with analyses as to the culture within these forums and what these forums have to offer their users in a broad, international perspective. The extent of online misogyny in the Nordic countries is estimated along with an assessment of whether or not a concrete movement can be traced.

Furthermore, the extent of spillover from the misogynistic environments to mainstream society will be analyzed. It is enticing to understand the digital anti-feminist movements in a scale of terror attacks, murder, and international news bulletins: Virgin Rampage, Rage of The Virgin, "Like a war scene", Van Massacre and so on. The headlines are designed to catch our attention and make us focus on the atrocity of the attacks. Applying their approach in an effort to understand the scope of the effect of the digital anti-feminist movement will be detrimental, as it will draw focus to only the most extreme cases.

Current research shows, that internet and technology is still thought of as a man's world[1&2], in both schools, workplaces and society as a whole.[3] Corollary, the counter-movement to the fourth wave of feminism[4] is extremely prevalent in online communities, in which the rhetoric attributed to women's rights and any feministic egalitarian movement is both extremely condescending and often aggressive. Few of these forums are specifically targeting women's rights, but are designed to elaborate and build men's rights and further men's well-being, but many do so by formulating a fight against women and oppressive feministic societies. It is important to note that the furtherance of men's rights and well-being is not mutually exclusive with that of women's.

In these digital environments, both the symptoms of a non-equal world, and the social tools to keep it as such are found. In this report both aspects will be researched, and political, societal, and pedagogical initiatives that could mitigate both will be suggested.

Methodology

In order to assess the scope of the issue of online misogyny in the Nordic countries, data has been gathered both qualitatively and quantitatively through multiple methods: field observations, interviews with experts, quantitative extent analysis, focus groups, and advisory groups[5]. The methods have complimented and informed one another, and several have been employed simultaneously, creating the possibility of constantly testing newfound insights through different data gathering measures. For instance, the outset of the quantitative analysis was made after extensive observations, literary analysis and interviews, as a scientific way to prove, test and qualify the preliminary analysis herein. In turn, as the quantitative data and initial analysis was concluded, it directed and qualified further observations and interviews. As a result, the final report holds a mutually complementary cross-disciplinary approach. Any recommendations and conclusions are done in regard to both.

1   Bundsgaard, J., Bindslev, S., Caeli, E. N., Petterson, M. & Rusmann, A. (2019). Danske elevers teknologiforståelse. Resultater fra ICILS-undersøgelsen 2018. Aarhus Universitetsforlag

2   DEA (2018). Litteraturstudie: Unges vej til STEM.

3   Worth noting here is that ICILS 2018 points out that young women in Denmark have a better grasp of digital tools and troubleshooting, yet everybody still believes the men to take the lead - a trend that seems to be mirrored in all the Nordic countries.

4   Intersectionality, #MeToo, Systemic problems

5   For a more comprehensive description of each method see the chapter "Qualitative methodology"

It is important to note that the furtherance of men's rights and well-being is not mutually exclusive with that of women's.

Results & discussion of analysis

The following chapter will combine the quantitative findings with the qualitative analysis, to establish a fuller understanding of both the concerning communities, the men using them and the women targeted and affected. The section will be introduced by a brief sociological analysis of the digital aspect of modern life, followed by a psychological perspective on the men involved in the communities and a pedagogical understanding of group dynamics.

As described in the section *Nordic Feelings*, the base for a Nordic analysis is substantially different from one made in The US, or any other cultural and geographical region. The Nordic countries are extreme cultural outliers in especially a masculine cultural understanding, and also in individualism and accepted distance to power and influence. Although feelings of inadequacy, involuntary celibacy and powerlessness might be geographically universal, these Nordic traits greatly affect the reaction to them. It is argued in the section that a comparison between e.g. the American anti-feminist and anti-progressiveness communities and those in the Nordic countries cannot be made.

Within this project it will further be argued that some of the political, social and masculine groups covered, have been part of a male exodus into digital fringe communities, many of which devolve into anti-feminist and anti-democratic movements.

There will still be an overlap between mainstream[1] social media, and the new communities, as social media migrants seldomly close down profiles on media, rather they just use them less. This means that there will be a group of users on "standard"[2] social media, whose primary social and political input comes from closed off forums, some with the characteristics of echo chambers, partaking in the democratic debate on more open platforms like Facebook, Twitter, commentary sections on newspapers and more. This enables a spillover effect of rhetoric and attitude cultivated in those forums with a very select user base, and can risk antagonizing debaters not familiar with this tone or attitude, and drive them from the open debate. This holds especially true for those targeted and talked about in those forums: Women (esp. feminists), sexually and socially successful men, ethnic or religious minorities and more.

As can be seen in a report by The Danish Institute for Human Rights[3], women and youth withhold participating in online debates, due to being harassed based on gender and sex in the debate.

When a group of aggressive debaters - irrespective of their gender and political conviction - argue an extreme point, they will seldom be agreed with, but they will often be successful in moving the frame of acceptable semantics and rhetoric[4].

Within this project it will be argued that some young men feel left out of the societal and social influence and attention, and therefore make digital efforts to "opt out" of it. They choose not to keep trying to fit in or be popular, as they are certain any efforts are futile. Instead they migrate into online groups with peers, and as a psychological coping mechanism, they talk less and less about own feelings of social and individual inadequacy,

and more about those that potentially could be the ones keeping them there: They formulate an enemy as to establish themselves as fighters rather than victims. There seems to be an unwillingness for men to acknowledge vulnerability and to qualify negative emotions, but a strong inclination to portray oneself as a "resistance movement", fighting against a superior but amoral oppressor.

This tendency is exemplified by several pop-cultural references found on most such boards and communities, where (anti-)heroes like Rorschach (from The Watchmen), V (from V For Vendetta) and Joker (from Joker) and their shared narrative of the masked victim of society fighting back against the evil establishment and its unfair social norms and ditto elite, are hailed as heroes. The narrative of having endured so much unfairness that you start pushing back - or simply explode - is an easier framing of one's situation than to acknowledge vulnerability and powerlessness.

This absence of male emotional empowerment in turn leads to an increased antagonization of the communities, in which they find a common goal and a sense of belonging - against "the others". As they re-enter some of the classic open social media, now strengthened and in numbers, their antagonistic semantics and rhetoric will keep those targeted from partaking in the debates and discussions.

Therefore the emotional and digital exodus of these young men, are problems concerning their own wellbeing and happiness, and the democratic process of those targeted of said antagonism. Within this project democracy and mental wellbeing will be addressed first and foremost.

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1   Mainstream is a word often used quite broadly to define something common in society - for instance when describing platforms known by most users of the internet we attribute them mainstream status. However, it can be argued that mainstream (social) media in regards to the target group of this report (Nordic males engaging in misogynistic speech online) is the actual forums and platforms investigated here, and not, for instance, Facebook, Instagram and TikTok, seeing as the platforms here to some extent reflect their media of choice.
In a broader societal perspective, however, these platforms and forums are still quite niche to the average user of the internet when taking both gender, age, and nationality into account. Therefore, in the current report the term "mainstream media" will be used broadly to characterize the easily accessible, used-by-a-broad-and-diverse-audience platforms.

2   Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, Reddit etc.

3   Zuleta, L. & Laursen, S. K. (2019). Demokratisk deltagelse på Facebook. Institut for Menneskerettigheder

4   Often referred to as The Overton Window: https://www.mackinac.org/bio.aspx?ID=12

There seems to be an unwillingness for men to acknowledge vulnerability and to qualify negative emotions, but a strong inclination to portray oneself as a "resistance movement", fighting against a superior but amoral oppressor.

Choosing an abusive brotherhood

The psychological motivation to be part of something bigger than the individual stems from a fundamental human motivation to engage in meaningful, enduring relationships[5] - to belong - in order to not experience feelings of loneliness and social jealousy. With the ever increasing digitization of human interaction the need to belong can, for some, be fulfilled to a satisfactory extent solely through online contact.

It should be noted that the digital contact seldom is the first choice, but rather becomes a refuge for avoiding further exclusion and rejection in the analogue space. As the digital arenas are many and diverse, they provide the individual with a multitude of possibilities of fitting in, not constrained by physical proximity.

This, coupled with the digital anonymity, makes socialization online less risky and vulnerable for the users, and the rejection will not be as brutal, as when it happens in the offline context, where the individual might not have anywhere else to go - and doesn't have the possibility to simply mute or close the platform of the rejection.

For Nordic men engaging in online misogyny, being a part of such a community offers a seductive sense of being part of a "brotherhood", having one's male value and manliness validated through sheer numbers. However, to be included in said brotherhood, some users accept or reaffirm their allegiance to the accepted ideologies of the brotherhood, as challenging them would mean ostracization, and having to move on to yet the next digital community. The need to belong can easily trump the need for righteousness, and individuals needing to belong more than to further democratic ideals,

could be readily motivated to join such aggressively anti-democratic movements, just to fit in.
On a personal level, these communities and "brotherhoods" can also have detrimental effects.

There can be a tendency amongst users to "one-up" each other in regards to their commitment to their own hopelessness, which can lead to a competition of "who has it worst?", ultimately having the potential to lead to a glorification of self-harm or directed hatred.

Across the platforms investigated in this report, the tone differs widely, with Twitter being the most civil, Reddit a bit more harsh, and 4chan quite rude, very direct, and with many adjectives. That being said, Twitter still has a fair share of misogyny. Specifically, out of 43.073 posts and/or comments, that matched at least one word in our misogyny search key and at least one geographical indicator, 5.0% of posts lived up to our criteria of being both misogynistic and with the poster being of Nordic origin on 4chan. Another 0.95% were somewhere in the gray area between sexism and misogyny. In comparison, the same amount for Twitter is 0.4% out of 55.293 posts and comments. As for Reddit, the sample size is much smaller - only 5.107 posts and/or comments in total. 1.6% posts live up to our inclusion criteria.
When asked, students in secondary education (ages 16-20) referenced misogynistic phrases, movements and experiences primarily from digital environments, but also being casually mentioned or joked about among peers in school or social gatherings. Even though a lot of this is undoubtedly referenced in a joking manner, both online and in the schoolyard, it shows how a potential digital anti-feminism can spill over into everyday life, and how the vocabulary from closed forums can find its way into many other discussions and forums. Though the

5   Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological Bulletin, 117, 497-529.

vocabulary might not be used with malicious intent, many targeted users refrain from participating in the public democratic debate for exactly these reasons, as Zuleta & Laursen point out. The mainstreamification of these words can disregard the intention of them, and as such can also unknowingly detract from democratic participation; a joke made is not always a joke understood.

The individual seeking a digital place to belong often has multiple past experiences of failed face-to-face interaction, prompting him to avoid physical social contact as much as possible. Thus, rejection is a constantly recurring theme on several of the here mentioned forums. A user on incels.co, who calls himself JosefMengelecel, writes

"Rejection can give you PTSD. This is why rejection is even worse than heterosexual rape. Getting rejected is the worst thing that can happen to you and should be illegal"[6]

Comparing social rejection with rape can easily be understood as a sardonic exaggeration, but for users like JosefMengelecel, having probably only experienced one, and understanding this as the bane of his life, it's also understandable. Furthermore, when the comment is made in a sexually focused forum (incels.co) where the mentioned heterosexual sex is the goal of most users, "heterosexual rape" is undestandably not emphatically understood, especially not compared to rejection, which is the common social denominator.

When growing up in a Nordic society, that allegedly has equality and room for the "soft" men, being met with rejection and at the same time feeling limited in terms of acceptable emotional reactions, can create an urge to flee said society, and seek its digital counterpart. It goes for all the Nordic countries that they preach equality, diversity, and broadness while at the same time, more or less consciously, upholding gender stereotypes of "the strong man" and "the damsel in distress" leaving little to no room for the vulnerable or sad man in need of support and comfort. As such, seeking a digital refuge seems an obvious and healthy solution and coping strategy.

It is therefore important to note that for most young men in the Nordics, frequenting such online environments will neither pose a mental health risk nor be the onset of radicalization.

Most men, especially in the Nordics, have well-established networks supporting or fulfilling the social and psychological needs that such networks also cater to. Welfare societies and "happy" countries will serve as a protective factor in creating resilience towards external influences, but also in offering emotional support when the need arises. This leads to a possible explanation of the usage of the forums still, as their active usage might be perceived as boundary seeking behaviour, and a morbid curiosity rather than a misogynistic statement.

"Talking specifically about an orientation towards these aggressive fringe forums, then it's primarily done by young men. Anything "uncomfortable" or morbid is more widespread among young men. Also this [online violent statements, eds.].

One factor affecting this, is the aggressive personality. These cases develop in the interaction between feelings of marginalization and aggression, and aggression is just higher in groups of young men. Other than that, there can be certain social dynamics in play; young men feeling left to their own devices. They are less successful than women in both education and romantic options etc. In their experience, they [the young men, eds.] are the vulnerable social group, who's unfairly treated by society as a whole.

Then they are agitated by a society concerning itself with feminism and progressive equality. They will think "Hey! We are the one's having a problem, not the privileged women."

In our research, our best assessment is that when one is feeling extremely marginalized, and also has aggressive tendencies, then one way to increase one's status is through domineering. Understood in a developmental psychology context, this means that one tries to increase respect and influence through threat of violence and power. This is basically what some of these communities do; both establishing social relations, but also trying to show the rest of the world that they are a force to be reckoned with, and that they should be respected. This is why aggression is paramount to a lot of the rhetoric."
Michael Bang Petersen, Aarhus University

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6   https://incels.co/threads/is-there-any-way-to-forget-all-your-past-rejections-failures.243673/

In most instances such environments will offer a place to belong, and a source of recognition, respect and confirmation, which the users feel that they are unable to get elsewhere. Daniel Sallamaa, who researches movements within arenas such as the one's investigated here, corroborates this claim:

"It is my view that online communities in general may offer a sense of belonging and camaraderie that their users might be unable to attain offline. This is also true with respect to online communities that act as an "exhaust valve" for the expression of views and attitudes that might trigger a strong counterreaction if communicated publicly offline."
Daniel Sallamaa, University of Helsinki

For the most part, these online communities offer a place to belong and a place to vent, which cannot be found or attained in their analogue counterparts.

However, in order for users and their posts to be accepted and acknowledged, a certain jargon and phrasing must be present for others to take it seriously. This can require individuals seeking advice on these forums to use language and wording they would not normally use, making it quite difficult to determine whether these individuals are actually identifying with the attitudes expressed, or are just using this way of speaking in order to fit in. Furthermore, exposure to certain ways of speaking can create a numbing effect, where the individual becomes less likely to take offense at this sort of language and more prone to use it him- or herself. In this way, what might start out as a reluctance to use certain words or phrases may, in time, become one's everyday way of speaking.

The Right('s) Misogyny

Early observations and interviews gave credence to the notion that far-right forums often also carried a strong antipathy towards feminism, women and any classically progressive societal movements. Although there is no political agenda for trying to counter these, many far- and alt-right movements see feminism etc. as a digression

from the better patriarchal conservative governance of society and people, and is therefore actively and aggressively fighting it. Furthermore, some forums expressed a core belief that they needed to "fight" immigration to not be victims of *the great replacement*[7], and as feminists (and other "leftists") were proponents of rights for immigrants (and other "dissidents") the fight against feminism and progressiveness was one of national security.

This coupling of anti-feminism with a belief in protection of one's country is often attributed to Anders Breivik, the terrorist from the attacks in Utøya and Oslo, 2011:

The latest wave of radical feminism has severely wounded the family structure of the Western world.
Breivik, 2083 - A European Declaration of Independence, 2011

Feminist culture will eventually end up being squashed, because the men have either become too demoralized and weakened to protect their women, or because they have become so fed-up with incessant ridicule that they just don't care anymore.
Breivik, 2083 - A European Declaration of Independence, 2011

Well congratulations to Western European women. You've succeeded in harassing and ridiculing your own sons into suppressing many of their masculine instincts. To your surprise, you didn't enter a feminist Nirvana, but paved the way for an unfolding Islamic hell.
Breivik, 2083 - A European Declaration of Independence, 2011

The narrative of the feminist attack on society is also noted by several of the experts interviewed for the report:

"I was called an extremist. I was compared to terrorists. Part of it was that I was out to destroy society as a whole. Erode the constitution of the country."
Emma Holten, feminist and political activist

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7   The conspiracy that Middle Eastern and North African immigrants will take over countries by out-populating the original citizens. Often cited by alt-right movements. Made popular by Renaud Camus in 2011.

Is there cause to worry?

The quantitative analysis of data estimates up to 850 active Nordic users posting misogynistic and antifeminist content on the investigated forums.

The analysis cannot conclude whether the Nordic countries are currently facing a threat from anti-feminist terror and mass murder. It finds no proof of this, but the threat may exist despite the relatively small estimate of active Nordic users posting misogynistic content, seeing as it only takes one person acting on his beliefs and ideologies for lives to be in danger. Current research also suggests, that it is not the *speakers* or *central figures* of radicalized or extremist communities that are ready to commit violent attacks in the name of the community, but rather silent members on the outskirts of the communities, those that just listen and seek to find relevance by grandiose actions[8].

However, neither the qualitative analysis of the data collected nor the experts interviewed have given the project group any reason to fear a Nordic attack in line with terrorist bombings or shootings in Isla Vista, Virginia or Montreal. Data shows many attacks on general feminism, female empowerment and women in positions of power, but extremely few directed at specific proponents of these causes. The following is a example of this, posted by a presumably Swedish user:

"A society where Women have equal rights as Men gets destroyed. A society where Men is not allowed to control his inferior counterpart -a women, turn to shit. Its the most bad for women themselves, and they dont fucking realize this. The fucking irony is it will be women that will be the most hurt by this in the end. As true in their heart, a women hate to make decisions and want to be lead and follow a leader. The new FemiNazi society is not allowing this. They are losing on it in the long-run. Men can take care of themselves better than Women and Men dont need to be afraid of rape etc.

The real redpill is ALL women are the same, they are the same fucking whores. Feminism did not change women, it only uncovered them. Basically women are spiritually closer to Satan, and Men are more spiritually closer to God. Letting a single women raise children make it ONLY worse for the child, women are shit leaders. There have been threads on this in the past here, that of several criminals etc 9/10 grew up without a father. Many strippers etc didnt have a father. Literally without Men, the world will become shit."[9]

Most Nordic misogynistic entries and posts were part of circular discussions, or discussions done in digital environments with a strong pre-defined attitude - i.e. the participants knew which answers to expect, and therefore the discussions seemed to be used to assert a level of belonging to a group.

The (anti)democratic effect

Hate speech and aggressive communication will both deter the targets from participating in the debate, thereby demoting the democratic effect and participatory foundation for the discussion. The malicious rhetoric is more often than not a symptom of a subject in distress. Therefore, the primary cause for worry should be the (anti)democratic effect, and the social state and wellbeing of both the originators of these comments, and their targets.

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8   Lindekilde, L., Malthaner, S., & O'Connor, F. P. (2019). Peripheral and embedded: relational patterns of lone-actor terrorist radicalization. Dynamics of Asymmetrical Conflict, 12(1), 20-41. Elaboration by Lindekilde at Nordic Conference on Violent Extremism 2019: Expanding the Field - New Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Questions, at Aarhus University.

9   4chan.org/pol, post-id: 239127833

It is important to note that the quantitative analysis of this report is not focused on the effects on democracy of misogynistic content. Rather, the quantitative analysis has an exclusive focus on the extent of online misogyny by Nordic users and the estimation of the number of users behind this content. However, applying a qualitative analysis to the quantitative data, it seems plausible that misogynistic content leads to diminished participation in public democratic debate online of certain groups in society. Thus, the antidemocratic effect of misogynistic content refers to the qualitatively found and corroborated reluctance of members of society to participate in public discourse.

This interpretation further corroborates the conclusion reached by Zuleta & Laursen[10], where it was found that women refrain from participating in the public debate on social media, as they are targets of hate speech not on their political convictions, but on their gender, sexuality and look.
This was confirmed by several interviewed parties:

"My gender and age has been a very large part of the nature of the criticism and attacks directed at me. It has been very different than that directed at my male colleagues.

I withdrew from the debate for a couple of years because of harassment. Not just the very serious harassment - threats of murder and rape - but also the undercurrent of aggressive disrespect. That part took up so much of my interaction with the rest of the world. Particularly on social media. I didn't stop "doing feminism", I just only do so in person now.

The structure of social media has a lot to say here - you're constantly reminded and presented with every tiny opinion about your person here.
The algorithms foster either total dedication or extreme opposition. Everything on social media is exaggerated. It is hard to live with everything being based on your gender, and gender identity.

When a woman takes a step forward, it's considered an outright provocation. It's not about the content, it's more… "How dare you (women) stand there and have an opinion, just like that?" Many of the attacks on me were based on "Why do you even think anyone wants to listen to you?" and "Why are you even here?"
Emma Holten, feminist and political activist

Furthermore, sources in strongly misogynistic groups and experts reaffirmed that participants in these groups are often *"At the lowest point of their life"[11]*, and that they use the groups to gain democratic and social clout by sheer power in numbers and social loudness, as well as establish an alternate community, usually in opposition to ones they feel they have been cast out of.

"I think that we first and foremost should perceive some of the things happening only as a smoke detector alarming us to some troubling structures in our society. I don't necessarily believe that we should tell ourselves, that any person putting forth hate filled comments online, is someone who wants to act on them. We can see very serious cases where self-proclaimed members of these communities have put their threats into action, but as a general rule these comments online are not a precursor for violent attacks.
I think that one way in which we should definitely take this seriously, is that this points to some exclusion dynamics and polarization mechanics affecting our society, which is very much worth looking at; increasing inequality, increasing mental problems, decreasing well-being for certain demographics. You shouldn't be afraid of everything you read online, but you should understand that they can very well be alarm systems pointing at serious things prefacing the hate speech.
We should address these problems both for the young women they often are targeted at, but very much also for the sake of the young men putting them forward."
Michael Bang Petersen, Aarhus University

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10   Zuleta, L. & Laursen, S. K. (2019). Demokratisk deltagelse på Facebook. Institut for Menneskerettigheder

11   Alexander Ash (screen name), founder of incels.co

"I think that we first and foremost should perceive some of the things happening only as a smoke detector alarming us to some troubling structures in our society."

What can be done?

If the anti-democratic extreme political hostility that is the output of many such groups is not initiated by a sudden political awakening, but rather by an emotional decline in the perpetrators, any equalitarian worry should extend not only to the targets of such hostility, but also to the perpetrators themselves.

One often cited solution to any such problems of hate speech or gender- or minority targeted aggressive rhetoric is to close down the platforms. De-platforming the ideas, and hoping that they dissipate. Even if the notion of de-platforming carried any anti-radicalizing merit, it would largely negate the problem initiating the complex situation to begin with: The men feel lost in society and left behind, and lashing out is the only perceived acceptable solution; being *the vengeful man* is the narrative found in media and traditional masculine culture, whereas *the vulnerable man* is extremely rare.

De-platforming can be viewed as a tool to close down particularly problematic networks, but should not be done without any secondary action, to "catch" the users before they simply migrate from the now closed down forum, to the next - often to an encrypted or more elusive forum. Likewise, banning certain users will either motivate them to move on to other platforms or create new accounts. In the best of worlds, this will solve the democratic problem of these users preventing minorities and women from participating in the democratic processes of discussions online, but will not solve the problem of the wellbeing of the men themselves. Therefore, different strategies should be employed.

Having a place to talk about one's problems is often a good thing, seeing as this can offer relief, and thereby limiting the probability of the individual needing a physical (or verbal) outlet. On the other hand, the culture on these platforms can also further fuel already budding thoughts, cementing them as peer-qualified political and social opinions. In essence, there is a fine line between having a place to vent, seek boundaries, and develop one's identity, and fostering societally undesirable beliefs and attitudes. The former is a positive, while the latter poses the risk of causing harm to others, physically and/or emotionally.

If one accepts the idea that this problem is in large initiated by young men's exodus from society as a reaction to already feeling excluded, any solution must look to solve this problem as well. Either by mitigating the exodus from the men, or in helping them from feeling excluded in the first place. Therefore, tackling this issue requires interventions on multiple fronts. Creating a change in culture requires early intervention, but such changes take a long time to take effect. Therefore, more immediate action is required as well.

Early intervention could be in the form of educating child caregivers to be less gender stereotypical in their daily interactions and verbal exchanges with the children. Instead of lauding girls for their princess-like appearances and niceness, whilst at the same time complimenting the boys on being tough, fun or assertive, a more gender-neutral approach should be considered.

These small day-to-day interactions are part of a bigger picture, forming the way children see themselves and others in terms of gender, what is expected of each gender, and what each gender is and is not capable of. As parents and caregivers become increasingly aware of not attributing different values to certain personality traits dependent on gender, and thereby treating everyone equally when interacting with children, children will grow up with more equal expectations as to what they and others can and cannot do and can and cannot achieve in life. The authors of this report see it as evident, when observing in male-dominated online communities, that men more easily identify with aggressive emotions and strategies than "weak" and emotional ones. This trait can lead to the problems being re-framed as political and gender-oppressing of men, and a call-to-arms to fight back against perceived evil oppressors, instead of daring to talk about the negative feelings that led the men there in the first place.

In essence, there is a fine line between having a place to vent, seek boundaries, and develop one's identity, and fostering societally undesirable beliefs and attitudes. The former is a positive, while the latter poses the risk of causing harm to others, physically and/or emotionally.

As noted in an earlier section, there is a large cultural discrepancy when comparing "angry men" from the Nordic countries, to the rest of the world. The unique Nordic culture of supportive communities, socially including groups and active outreach programs must be taken into consideration both when evaluating the extent of the problem in the Nordic countries, but also in regards to the solution. Having this cultural inheritance to build on lets the Nordic countries further elaborate on strategies to reach the young men who feel left out of the social inclusion; some of the established programs and strategies could be tailored to this specific demographic, and establishing them in the first place will not be met with the same level of reluctance as in countries where social outreach programs aimed at boys and young men are rare. It is of utmost importance though, that this field is concerning itself with young men with whom the usual programs have not gained traction, so either a specialized attempt must be made, or a dedicated effort to include these young men.

In a technical perspective, requiring some form of identity authentication in order to create a profile on social media would decrease the amount of fake profiles while at the same time making it more risky to express certain opinions due to not being 100% anonymous. However, this of course only works on platforms where user accounts are needed in order to post.
Many users on the anonymous forums use these forums specifically because of the anonymity offered. Hence, creating authentication requirements would have the same effect as deplatforming, causing users to migrate to more encrypted forums, where anonymity is guaranteed. There is, however, still the discussion of a place to vent vs. birthing of radical opinions, which should always be taken into account, when searching for solutions to the issue of online misogyny.

Furthermore, throughout this report, and in previous research, it has been pointed out that people need a place to belong, a place to have meaning, and a place where they are respected and acknowledged, and feel a sense of worth. Hence, it seems counterintuitive to be telling the users of these platforms, who have finally found a place where they feel at home, that the community they have found is not good enough, and is not desirable. If that is the message being sent to them, then they are once again being told that they have failed. Many of these men have a lot of failed interactions with other people in their past. Many of them are therefore quite fragile and are battling low self-esteem and self-worth, making it even more crucial not to serve them another failure.

The community is filled with people who are at their lowest. They suffer, they are alone, and while they can talk about their plight on other spaces, most people simply don't get their issue. They will be suggested to keep trying, man up, be more confident, etc; many of these are unreasonable, unrealistic, or make little of the suffering the person is going through.
Thus, many people were left "homeless" when the [other forum] was banned. The forum attempts to recreate such a home for some of them.
**Alexander Ash[12], founder of incels.co**

Therefore it seems ill advised to outright combat a community - as it is thousands of users' online home - whether or not one agrees with the sentiments posted there. Instead, either qualifying the community itself, or trying to mitigate the social dynamics that lead the men there in the first place, would be optimal. If a change is to happen it has to come from within the users themselves. They will react negatively to any form of formal education and cautionary rhetoric put forth by well-meaning professionals, and will see this as coming from the *elite of blue-pilled normies*. Furthermore, if one was to guide the user away from a certain forum, there is a good chance that he would feel neglected and alone once again. Many of these men have finally found a place where they are actually understood, where their suffering is taken seriously, where they are heard, listened to, and supported. Remove that safety net, or tell them that it is not good for them, and they will be left completely alone once again. Therefore, the best way forward is to acknowledge the value of these forums to these men, and to gain a comprehensive understanding of what these forums have to offer these men, which they cannot find elsewhere. At the same time it is important to qualify the support that these forums offer, so that the support doesn't become an echo-chamber where vulnerable men can plot strategies to fight back at others, instead of working with and understanding themselves.

With such an understanding comes the possibility of offering alternatives in either the digital or the physical world - alternatives which would resonate with the men in question. However, it is still a question of balancing on a very fine line between them feeling understood and them feeling demeaned or mocked. Being the object of analysis is never fun, and it makes it even worse when you feel that the people analyzing you do not actually understand you.

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12   "Alexander Ash" is an online pseudonym and not the founder's real name

The community is filled with people who are at their lowest. They suffer, they are alone, and while they can talk about their plight on other spaces, most people simply don't get their issue.
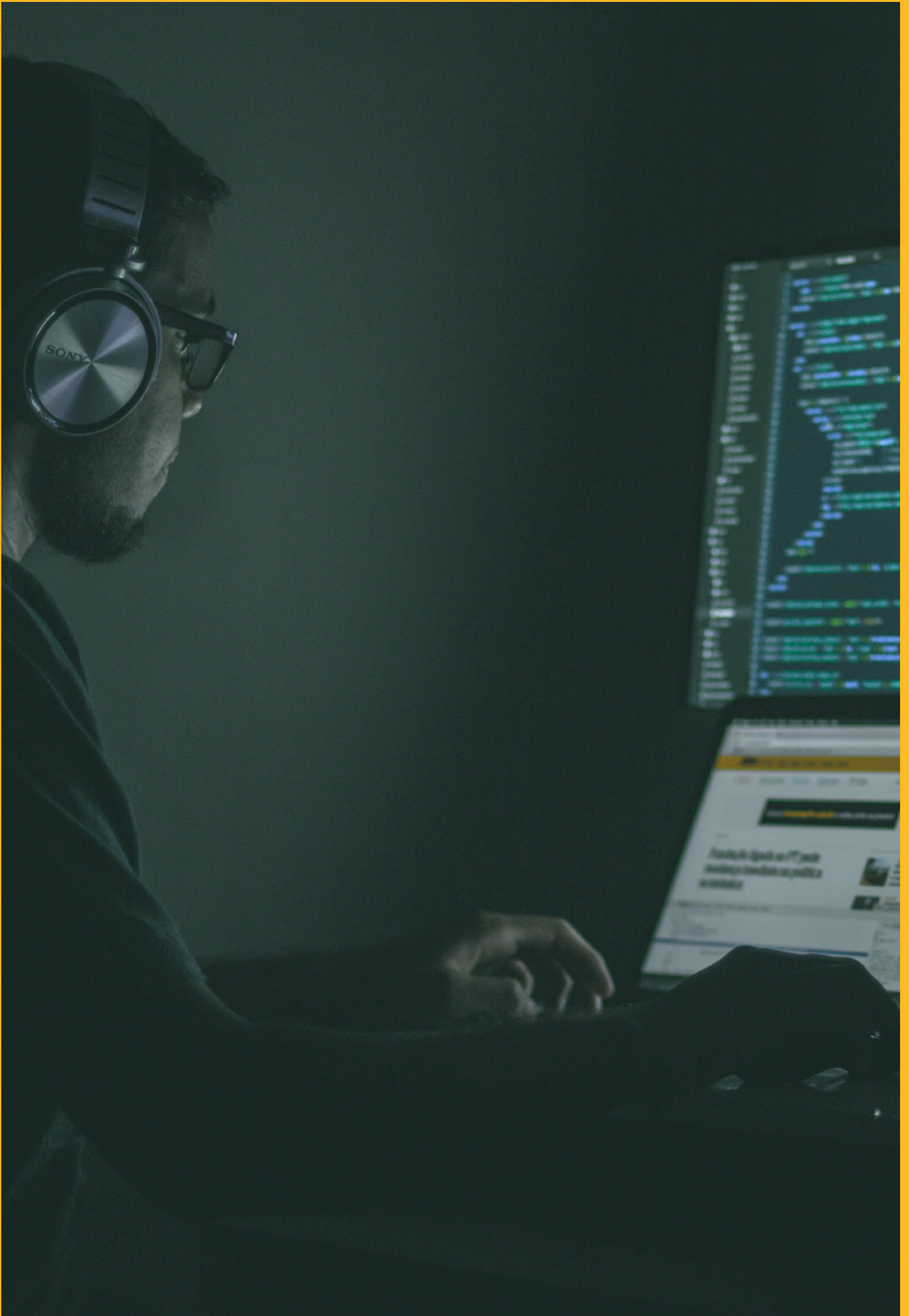
Cultural analysis and preliminary conclusions

For many men, the online forums which they frequent comprise communities characterized by support and brotherhood. Advice is offered to current life circumstances, support is given when things are tough, and experiences are shared to show that no one is alone. The communities offer a place to share positive experiences and be met with cheerful feedback, but at the same time, they are a place to vent and a place to turn with one's frustrations, challenges, and difficulties in life. This is not problematic in itself, but has the potential of cultivating hate, and of creating a hateful discourse and misogynistic online culture, which in turn has the potential of spilling over into mainstream media and society.

Such a spillover effect is detrimental to democracy, and the democratic nature and discourse of the Nordic societies, given that it can cause a backlash on gender equality due to entire groups in society withholding from participating in the public debate. Therefore, while participation in certain online communities may not pose a threat to the individual or to his immediate surroundings

per se, it can pose a threat to democracy at large, seeing as it can skew the debate and leave whole groups reluctant to participate by instilling hostile narratives instead of bridging the social and cultural gaps of the vulnerable men and society.

However, any solution must consider the fact that the young men, engaging in the communities whose rhetorical spillover could undermine democratic participation, do not initially seek to join such digital warfare. As the communities are often meant as a safe haven to discuss male vulnerability, hardships and social troubles - as well as the freedom to hold politically unpopular opinions in a freedom of speech-based forum, it is for these reasons, not any derived toxified or malicious intent, that the men initially seek them out.

Any democratic problems such forums amass, must therefore be considered to be prefaced by a social and well-being crisis in the men. Any solution seeking to solve the democratic problem must include a strategy to help the men as well.

As can be seen from the data, online misogyny and antifeminism is present in the Nordic countries. The presence of misogyny is not equal to the presence of a threat to do physical harm though. As professionals and "outsiders" we are tasked with distinguishing between shitposts, actual opinions, and intentions of action - a distinction that can be quite difficult to make. For instance in most of the forums investigated in this report, there is a clear "us vs. them" discourse. For Nordic men this is exemplified by the current, unacceptable state of the world being due to an ever more feminine (and female) government, and the misery of most men being due to Nordic women only wanting to sleep with top tier Chad. For instance, an allegedly Danish user on 4chan's /pol writes

"Women evolved to be controlled by men and to be followers. Allowing them to lead was opening pandoras box. Women do all sorts of maladaptive shit when they get authority. They can handle it about as well as an 8-year old."[1]

which quite clearly frames how he, along with the majority of users on 4chan, see the feminization of government as problematic. The user does

not himself say anything about an urgency to act upon the feminization of society. However, there is no way of knowing whether or not he feels this way and, more importantly, whether or not others interpret his statement as a call-to-arms.

In the data gathered for this report, however, no indications of intentions to act upon misogynistic opinions have been noted.

The numerous and vulgar displays of misogyny seems rather to take the form of venting, seeking advice, establishing strong in- and out-groups, rather than expressions of intention to act. This further speaks to the notion of these forums and online communities, as support groups and, as one interviewee expressed it, "emotional homes" for vulnerable men.

In the Nordic countries a systematic misogynistic movement cannot be traced. It is not a gathering of men, with an appointed leader and a club house where they meet weekly, and discuss their hatred of women, and plan their demise. But misogyny, antifeminism, and hatred of women does exist in the Nordic countries. Though the easily identifiable movements with catchy acronyms or portmanteaus for names do not have specific Nordic chapters, we do see their rhetoric and ideologies shared across the Nordic countries, most stemming from the US. As such it is estimated that up to 850 users of Nordic origin have published misogynistic content (posts, comments, tweets, and retweets) on Twitter, Reddit, and 4chan within the past year.
Considering the international attention which has been given to the misogynistic communities, the estimated number might appear low. However, the quantitative data offers no options of concluding anything about passive consumers of misogynistic content and how their role as bystanders in these online societies might affect their beliefs and opinions as well as their worldview.

The internet's anonymity often promotes an aggressive and sometimes borderline violent environment when opinions clash. This is true for both men and women. We see the online hatred directed at women being more focused on gender, sex, and appearance and to be more threatening and outspokenly terrorizing, when compared to hatred directed at men. Many men do not feel

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1   4chan.org/pol, post-id: 245850364

that current available support systems are able to understand or help them, and in turn choose to heed the symptomatic "Just man up!"-advice. This can lead to the anonymous internet becoming an arena for venting their frustrations, and turning feelings of vulnerability into more masculine and acceptable ones - anger and violence. Combining this frustration and anger with a politicized freedom of speech-moniker, certain internet forums can become a hotbed of emblematic "free" hate speech, as both a psychological coping mechanism, and a socially inclusive tool. The freedom of speech must be upheld in any democracy, but it must be considered a threat to democracy when it becomes the weapon with which progressiveness is fought. Hateful and violent online communities are often targeting inclusiveness, diversity, equality and other progressive movements as these often seek to empower those that have historically not had power, i.e. anybody else than the average (white) man. Therefore those men, that feel that they do not have any such power, can feel overlooked or even threatened in such societal developments. This can naturally lead to a reluctance to join said development, or to even combat it actively. In the Nordic countries where equality, gender and inclusiveness are marks of pride, and have been political key points for generations, these international movements catch hold of some men that feel never to have had that power that they now see being relegated to others. They see power and happiness as a zero-sum game, where they lose what others win. They will fight the so-called democracy that denies them what they feel is rightfully theirs.

The propensity to reduce all of these communities to cesspools of vile and vitriol is very real, and more than a few news stories have borne headlines decrying all involuntary celibate men, or those that choose to go their own way, as looming terror threats. But when interviewed, most of these men ask for compassion rather than assault rifles.

This is not a simple case of identifying these communities, and shutting them down. For many of their users they are the only support and peer system available. The strong democratic Nordic model must be able to include these men, and to acknowledge their situation, in an effort to extend that very branch of inclusion that they are often blamed for fighting against.

The recommendations to do so are both technical, pedagogical, social and societal in nature, and a precursory list follows below.

Recommendations

Recommendations in the analogue sphere

- Spreading awareness of certain online cultures and phenomena, not from a cautionary point of view, but with the intent of creating understanding and respect for the nature of these phenomena, both in youth and adults.
- **Establishing "health units" at schools,** consisting of teachers, other professionals, and students, that focus on the mental well being of students, and that understand the virtual aspects of student's lives.
- **Paying extra attention to the "quiet" children**, who have a tendency of going "under the radar", continuously offering them multiple opportunities to be part of several different positive social settings and interactions. Providing them with experiences of success in regards to other people, and offering them a place to turn, if things do not work out the way they had hoped.

Recommendations in the digital sphere

- **Partnerships with the most troubled forums** to educate current moderators, or by installing volunteers to help establish and reaffirm the support systems that these online communities are, for many of their users. By mitigating the echo-chamber effect that these forums can often hold, and by trying to build bridges to the society that the users feel have shunned them, the brunt of the toxic "us-and-them" rhetoric and mindset could be avoided.
- **Youth as active upstanders:** Through teaching materials and learning resources focusing on the tone of the public debate and the consequences of said tone to said debate, young people should be encouraged to become active participants and upstanders against foul language in the public, democratic debate online.
- **Requiring identity authentication in order to create accounts on social media platforms** would diminish the amount of fake accounts considerably while at the same time holding users to a certain standard, seeing as they would not be completely anonymous.

This, of course, is only relevant on platforms where an account is needed to post content.
- **Platforms should be held accountable for the content on their sites,** and should be required to meet certain standards and criteria in regards to freedom of speech, ensuring a tolerable tone, and protecting the users on the platform. Witnessing hateful, harsh, and derogatory content should not be a mandatory part of the experience on any platform.

Recommendations in the structural sphere

- **Early intervention in kindergarten and preschool** building literacy and developing a more equal perspective on the possibilities and capabilities of each gender. This can be achieved through a greater focus on gender, gender identity, gender development, and gender expression, and having these themes as mandatory courses in the education of teachers and other professionals working with children and youth.
- **Updating and reforming sexual education** in middle school, to reflect current society and empower both men and women to feel comfortable with themselves, their bodies, and their sexuality, and with standing up for themselves and others.
- **Legal juxtaposition of online and offline offenses:** Law enforcement is expected to understand threats or hate speech of violence, harm or any other anti-democratic means, on an equal level with those made in a physical space. Consequences, investigation and attention must be parallel, as cyberspace is no longer a separate arena, but a very real part of our world.
- **Offering a wider and more inclusive "masculinity ideal"** by breaking down the relatively constrictive and stereotypical ways of "being a man" that boys and young men are currently presented with. Thereby empowering boys and men to defy traditional masculine culture and values through education and information, and teaching them from an early age to see women as their equals, and men and women as having equal rights, opportunities, and abilities. This can be done

through creating room for open, curious, and nuanced discussions and dialogue on topics such as masculinity, femininity, gender, sex, emotions, and life challenges, both within society at large and the smaller, closed, more local milieus such as the classroom or the friend group, and thereby inviting everyone to be part of the change. Furthermore, this will lead to a change and an expansion of gender and masculinity norms by creating a narrative where it is okay to not feel okay, where anger isn't the only acceptable emotional outlet, and where negative emotions, such as sadness, loneliness, and feeling hurt, are not signs of weakness or vulnerability.

- **Creating a cultural and structural change** demanding more room for diversity and open mindedness, where executing one's freedom of speech does not come with the potential cost of being publicly or privately demeaned, degraded, shamed, attacked, and/or violated.

Nordic countries. Through the development of such technologies, a much broader and precise mapping of Nordic misogyny incorporating mainstream platforms (e.g. Facebook) and mainstream media forums (e.g. online newspapers) becomes possible.

Recommendations for future research

- Investigating spikes in the amount of content posted on certain platforms or forums, tracing these spikes over time, and assessing their connection to events in the analogue world.
- Determining the occurrence of misogyny and (everyday) sexism on mainstream platforms such as Facebook, and assessing the degree to which this is due to a spillover effect from less mainstream platforms.
- Tracing the journey from being lonely to finding a place to belong within The Manosphere by gathering data from active users of these communities and platforms rather than relying on anecdotal evidence.
- Examining the exodus from The Manosphere. Does the exodus mean the person has left his former ideology behind or has he rather "just" stopped being an active member?
- Investigating possible overlaps between incel culture and the far-right movement, as there appears to be certain overlaps in ideologies and worldviews.
- To gain a thorough understanding of the overall development and spillover of misogyny further investigation is needed. In this regard the use of artificial intelligence in the form of natural language processing has shown tremendous potential in other regions of the world. It is possible to "teach" hate speech algorithms to center around misogyny and use this artificial intelligence to provide a more comprehensive mapping of misogyny in the
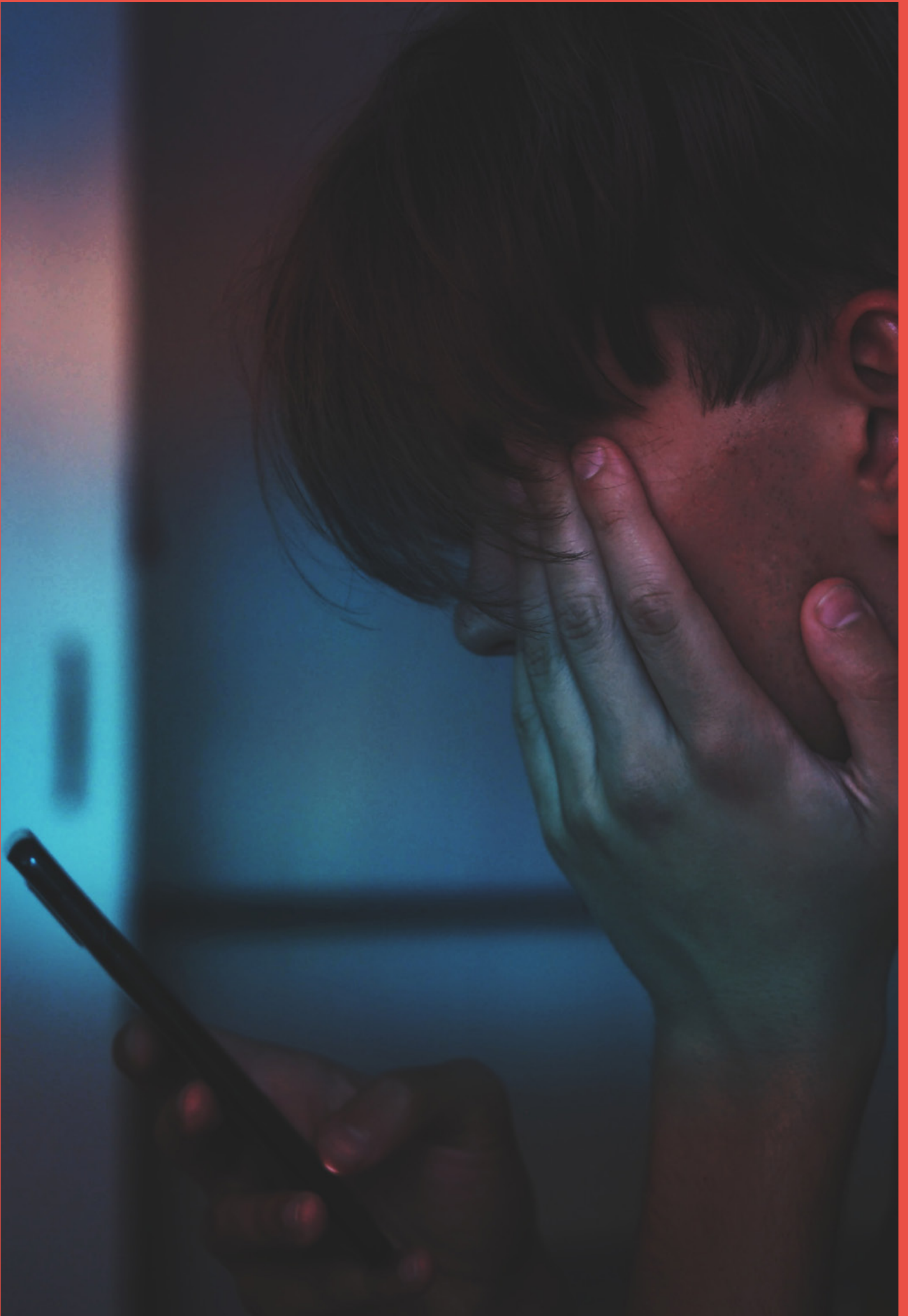
The Manosphere

The manosphere is a term used to describe online forums opposing feminism, where men gather to discuss gender, equality, and masculinity with a pro-male focus.

Within the manosphere are, among others, Involuntary Celibates (incels), Men's Rights Activists (MRAs), Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOWs), and Pick-Up Artists (PUAs). Each subgroup has its own specific ideology reflecting the views and challenges of its members, but the overall ideology of the manosphere primarily focuses on two aspects:

1. Gender-essentialism, where men and women are seen as completely different entities with biologically different personal and physical traits and

2. Anti-feminism, where feminism is seen as being designed to oppress men and men's rights thereby threatening the societal balance

Some subgroups are in adversarial relationships with one another, but they do all agree on the aspects above. Furthermore, racism, homophobia, and transphobia can often be found in comments and debates within the forums of the different groups.

In this section, cross cultural analyses of different parts of the manosphere will be brought followed by more culture specific analyses of the four aforementioned subcultures within the manosphere.

Nordic feelings

Feelings are universal, but the response to feelings and emotions, and the level of acceptance with which they are met from society and peers, is most definitely culturally determined.

Most high-profile cases of violent attacks from the Manosphere are from the United States and carry a certain americanized notion of the individual's fight against an unfair system. "*Humanity has never accepted me among them, and now I know why. I am more than human. I am superior to them all*." wrote Elliot Rodger, shortly before he set out to kill as many "Stacy's" and "Chad's"[1] as possible, and "*I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from the brink of destruction. Our European comrades don't have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders that plaque their country. They have no choice but to sit by and watch their countries burn*." wrote Patrick Cruisus before his attack on immigrants in an El Paso shopping mall, to save the US from the plight of democratic feminine politics.

To compare the Nordic countries with the US, the project group has applied Hofstede's theory of cultural dimensions. As a broadly applied tool in distinguishing culturally determined psychological baselines, it seems appropriate to establish a joint Nordic profile, and compare it to an American ditto.

The dimensions analyzed include:
· Distance to power,
· Individualism,
· (Societal) Masculinity,
· Uncertainty avoidance,
· Long term orientation, and
· Indulgence,

For this project particularly distance to power, individualism and (societal) masculinity will be of interest.

Distance to Power describes the feeling with which those in the lower strata of a social system - be it family, classrooms, workplaces or society itself, accept being outside of influence. A higher value shows a propensity for accepting unequal systems, and a lower will point to a culture of challenging perceived unequal systems.

Individualism describes the level to which members of society are integrated into groups, outside of immediate family. A high score will point to a culture where members consider themselves before the collective, and generally have fewer relationships in which they are loyal, and supportive in case of conflicts or threats.

(Societal) Masculinity describes the preference for historically male attributed traits and goals, such as achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards for successes. A low score indicates a preference for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and quality of life. Most societies will still exhibit a gendered cultural difference, but for both men and women it will be skewed towards the score for both.

The Nordic Countries score as follows in each category[2].

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1   Stacy and Chad are terms originating in Incel communities describing hypergamous women and sexually greedy men, both seen as enemies. Has since been adopted by many other online communities.

2   Numbers extrapolated from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/. Each category spans from 1-100, where 100 is total dedication to the category, e.g. a score of 100 in Masculinity will denote a totally Masculinity-oriented culture in a given country, whereas a score of 1 will be the opposite - an extremely feminine culture.

	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long Term Orientation	Indulgence
Denmark	18	74	16	23	35	70
Sweden	31	71	5	29	53	78
Norway	31	69	8	50	35	55
Iceland	30	60	10	50	28	67
Finland	33	63	26	59	38	57

Which presents a Nordic average of:

	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long Term Orientation	Indulgence
Nordic Average	28,6	67,4	13	42,2	37,8	65,4

n spite of few outliers (Denmark in Power Distance, Finland in Masculinity) the Nordic countries broadly fit into a joint understanding of a "Nordic culture" - here termed *The Nordics*.

The Nordics seem to consist of a culture that will challenge perceived injustice through the system itself, and seek to change it from within. I.e. a relatively low acceptance of distance to power, and a belief that a system, even though unjust, can be changed.

The Nordics have a moderately individualistic profile. With some cultural adherence to groups outside of the family, but still to a large degree consider themselves to be individuals before they are part of a group. This is not a social preference, but an analysis of status - meaning that the members of a largely individualistic culture can still be feeling a need for a group to belong to, but furthermore feel that these are not "normal" in that culture, and that they have a hard time finding one.

The Nordics have a low average score in Masculinity, even with Finland as the higher outlier at 26. Without the outlier the average would be only 9,75. This shows a Nordic culture that is, in Hofstede's terminology, very effeminate, and therefore will prefer social strategies that help the group, and will form supportive initiatives when members are in peril, and the members will in turn feel enabled to join these.

As such, for the report, a joint Nordic cultural profile will be employed.

The American profile is as follows:

	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long Term Orientation	Indulgence
The United States	**40**	**91**	**62**	46	26	68

In the three prioritized categories, large discrepancies to the Nordic profile can be seen.

The Nordic profile seems to question authority and power structures to a slightly larger degree than the American, and also to believe in systemic changes to unjust systems. The American profile is slightly more adhering to established hierarchies as a whole, which doesn't mean that all individuals in the culture accept the system, just that the culture as a whole does. This can lead to high degrees of frustration among such members.

The Nordic profile is moderately less individualistic than the American counterpart. This means that to a moderate degree, the culture is set up around systems, groups and communities outside of the immediate family, be it via schools, after-school programs or hobbies. This does not mean that all individuals in the culture are part of these, but rather that they are socially accepted and encouraged, and often established by society.

The Nordic profile scores extremely low in masculinity, and when compared to the American it becomes obvious that this might be the biggest difference between the two cultures. The Nordic profile shows an almost non-existent focus on being the hero, the fighter of oppressors etc. The low masculinity score instead shows a comparatively much larger focus in the Nordics, on helping others and providing supportive communities for those in need hereof.

In conclusion, this gives a profile of the Nordic scope of this challenge that strongly differs from the American or "Americanized" that has featured in most headlines. It would seem to provide a reasonable understanding of the problem of angry young men to have different symptoms in different countries.

Whereas the American culture has a propensity for "heroism", gun-love and jumping on the proverbial grenade to save one's (digital) brothers, the Nordic alternative might focus on fighting the perceived evil system (feminism and the effeminate society) in different ways. The cultural profile would suggest an approach focused on helping the men stuck in a negative spiral, and to do so from fighting the system keeping them there, rather than the representatives of the system, as the men aren't trying to be heroes (masculinity-trait), but rather fight the unjust system (power distance).

This means that Nordic and American men might very well have the same negative and psychologically detrimental emotions and feelings, but that the outlet and social coping is very different depending on country of origin. As the focus of this report is both the men's well-being as well as any potential anti-democratic coping strategies, it is important to understand that the underlying problem might very well result in different symptoms.

The Nordic Manosphere

Most groups within the manosphere will state to be fighting for a greater good - society, actual equality, fair justice or simply a better world. They identify several things eroding society, and point out how women are to blame for all of them. Most often the anti-feminism or outright misogyny is combined with a hatred and fear of minority groups, and immigration.

"Well congratulations to Western European women. You've succeeded in harassing and ridiculing your own sons into suppressing many of their masculine instincts. To your surprise, you didn't enter a feminist Nirvana, but paved the way for an unfolding Islamic hell"

Breivik, 2011

Part of the ethno-nationalist and islamophobic manifest Anders Breivik sent to 1.003 select emailaddresses hours before his terror attack in 2011, is dedicated to pointing out how feminism and the empowerment of women via sexual autonomy has allowed islam's entry into the Nordic countries.

"Feminist culture will eventually end up being squashed, because the men have either become too demoralized and weakened to protect their women, or because they have become so fed-up with incessant ridicule that they just don't care anymore".

Breivik, 2011

The hyper-conservative argument seems to be, that if women stray away from the men that have historically protected them from outside forces, then society will falter and succumb to "enemy invasions". Their fight against islam and other outside forces must therefore also start from within, by combating feminists and other progressive movements.

Arguing against animosity

As misogynistic targeted posts were readily found on all surveyed platforms, and confirmed by experts and young focus groups alike, there is still cause for concern. Coupling this with the concept of 'motivated reasoning', where individuals assess information in a way that fits a certain goal or end regardless of accuracy[3] the level of concern rises even further. It is important to note that individuals do not hold inaccurate beliefs because they fail to think, or do not understand the information they are presented with. Rather, individuals hold inaccurate beliefs because they engage in deliberate cognitive reflection motivated by a certain goal-directed bias.[4] As such, many discussions observed in the online forums here investigated revolved around the, for the given platform, commonly held beliefs about the personal and societal misfortunes of the users and countries in question being due to the ever increasing feminization of the Nordic countries.

The goal-directed information processing bias may strengthen the individual's affiliation with the group and the views of the group[5] creating a strong sense of an ingroup vs an outgroup. Defining oneself as part of the ingroup entails distancing oneself, and the group as a whole, from the outgroup. Distancing oneself maximally from opposing views can further confirm one's place within the ingroup, seeing as one has no affiliations

3   Kahan, D. M. (2013). Ideology, motivated reasoning, and cognitive reflection. Judgment and Decision Making, 8(4), 18.

4   Kunda, Z. (1990). The case for motivated reasoning. Psychological Bulletin, 108(3), 480–498.

5   Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2010). When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions. Political Behavior, 32(2), 303–330.

with the outgroup whatsoever. This can endorse the individual to hold more extreme views and positions than the individual would in the absence of a clear outgroup with opposing views. This can, in turn, lead to more polarization in online communication and group formation, which might have a spillover effect on the offline sphere.

Due to the cognitive information processing bias, trying to challenge the antidemocratic and antifeminist views held by some men can backfire, in that it can increase the strength with which these views are held, rather than creating a more nuanced, multiple-sided perspective[6]. In a Nordic context this can be seen when well-meaning professionals (be they teachers, care givers, politicians or the like) utter their opinions on how to deal with certain matters and are immediately shot down, and their arguments turned around to prove the opposite point of the one they are trying to make. For instance, an allegedly Norwegian user on 4chan's /pol comments the following on a post encouraging counter-protesting:

"why? normie [People outside of the subculture] *protests are just virtue signals* [perjorative neologism for a disingenious showing of "good" actions done to further one's own agenda or social standing].

Let the antifa terrorists show the world what communism really is, they even have free power and water so they can't fail. lol"[7]

Even though counter-arguing can appear futile and counterproductive as such, a steady stream of carefully placed information can serve to create enlightenment and awareness. 'Carefully placed' in this respect meaning not throwing it head first into the lion's den, but rather working its way slowly from the outside inwards, and placing information where there is a chance it will resonate with the recipient - which will often mean different online forums than the most misogynistic, thereby hoping to create a reverse spillover effect.

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6   Chemnitz, E. (2019). Contradicting Incels probably won't change their minds - indications of motivated reasoning in submissions on the subreddit r/Braincels.

7   4chan.org/pol, post-id: 262444636
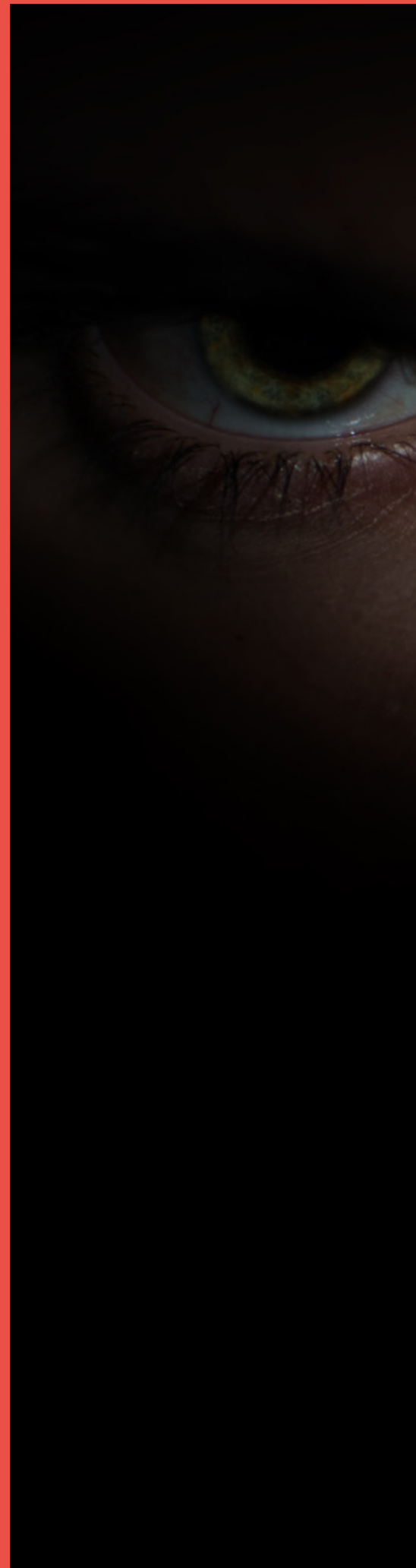
"**Feminist culture will eventually end up being squashed, because the men have either become too demoralized and weakened to protect their women, or because they have become so fed-up with incessant ridicule that they just don't care anymore**".

Breivik, 2011

General challenges of aggressive communities

Although all forums and communities are unique and pose different challenges, and offer different approaches to their users, several effects of the activities can be generalized. They must be understood in a context of aggressive online communities, and are challenges professionals most note in any attempt to solve the democratic and egalitarian puzzles they pose.

Spillover

Several terminologies and ideologies cross from one chapter of the manosphere to the others. As they all are made up of thousands of users, it is impossible to theorize about all of them at once, but the broad strokes are identifiable. As such there seem to further be a large fetishization of self-pity in most communities; a strong narrative of just how downtrodden the users themselves are, and how unfairly they are being treated by women, society of feminism.

Many of the communities also reflect on their situation in a quasi-militaristic jargon, where they see themselves as a sort of resistance movement opposing the occupation of anti-men policies or cultures; a manospheric David thwarting the feministic Goliath. In lieu of this framing, the calls for policy change are voiced as "rightfully fighting", "doing it for my comrades", "saving future generations from…" and so on. Though this itself is not violent in nature, it lends creed to the thought that it needs to be.

The focus is often on a perceived eternal gender-struggle that the proponents of the manosphere feel that men are losing. The feminization has deprived them of rights and power that men once possessed, based only on the fact that they were (white) men, and therefore they are obligated to fight the powers that combat this former privilege.

In seeing power as a zero-sum game, they see the empowerment of women as a disempowerment of men, and therefore an attack on them and all men. Therefore they are not only allowed to fight feminism and women, but obligated to.

"Crabs in a bucket"

One challenge to most counter-cultures in which the users congregate on a joint negative or self-defamatory basis is that of the "crabs in a bucket". When one user will look to "ascend" (in the case of incels, when a user is closing in on forming a meaningful relationship with a woman), the other users will try to spoil the ascension with messages of hopelessness ("She only wants you for free meals!"), comments that belittle the ascension ("So what if she likes you, you're worthless to 99,99% of the other women!"), or attacks on the ascension object ("I bet she's fat anyway!").

The crabs in a bucket-theory suggests that the users of such a community will seek to protect the community from defectors by pulling them back in. This goes even for the users that are ascending from the community (i.e. attaining what the counterculture is based on needing), because if one user can attain it, it will put a pressure, and even responsibility, on the rest. To free all of the other users of this responsibility, ultimately cementing the moniker of perpetual victims, it is important that no-one escapes the proverbial bucket.

By keeping as many "crabs" in the "bucket" as possible, the counterculture is also forming an argument of validity by numbers; our feelings and thoughts must be serious, otherwise we wouldn't be so many having them. Therefore the "crabs in a bucket"-mechanism is both serving to protect the psychological and social needs of those utilizing it.

This means that in working with this set of countercultures, one should expect to meet extreme resistance from both persons and communities alike. Attacking the effort, negating the approach or defending against unwanted help are all strategies employed when reaching out to, or working with, this set of countercultures.

Freedom of (misogynistic) speech

The crux of the internet is a freedom of speech, and an unhindered access of knowledge and people. In its purest form the internet will allow its users to seek out information and communication on any topic, and from any perspective they would wish.

Sadly, within the digital landscape some users seek easy answers to difficult questions. Through years of work with Nordic youth, youth culture, and young men, and from focus group interviews, it has become clear that most of the young men congregating to combat the perceived feminist oppression, are doing so out of frustration and unhappiness rather than hatred and animosity.

From information gathered through interviews and digital observations it appears that antifeminism often rises from the ashes of social yearnings of belonging and acceptance.

When faced with an identity of loneliness and being the "outsider", it is easier to point fingers at the community from which one is lonely, rather than at oneself. It furthers a psychological coping mechanism to becry their malevolence and ignorance, rather than one's own social shortcomings and awkwardness. This furthermore positions oneself as a downtrodden minority - the social underdog. A much more pleasant position, compared to the alternatives.

Although the internet is useful for challenging ideas, when the victims of these manospheric mindsets congregate online, they will often seek not to have their ideas challenged, but rather fortified. A challenge to the ideas will be seen as an attack on the community and its users and is therefore unwanted, thereby cementing the precarious sense of belonging to a digital counter-culture in opposition to those physically closest to the users - classmates, peers, immediate community.

The current investigation should not be perceived as an attack on these communities, but rather as a foray into understanding the psychological and social currents leading to them, and a bridging of the gap between the existing social policies and the policies needed to reach these at-risk young men.

Far from the headlines of terror attacks and killings are the thousands of young men who, in a desperate need for belonging and purpose, feverishly cling to the idea of being part of something - even if it is a destructive and misogynistic counter-culture.

Incels and everybody else

The term "incel" has gained notoriety and seen widespread use over the past five to six years. The INvoluntary CELibate men blame their misfortune on women, sexually greedy men and society, and seek revenge on everybody but their own; "*the incel rebellion has already begun*![8]", as one mass murderer decreed.

According to Google Trends the term "incel" gained traction in 2017 and exploded in spring 2018. Alek Minassian, the author of the aforementioned "incel rebellion", attacked 24 and murdered 10 people in Toronto in april 2018. The term "involuntary celibate" was coined in the late 1990's by a woman in Ottawa, Canada. *Alana's Involuntary Celibacy Project* was an early forum for those who "have had life-long difficulty starting dating or forming relationships"[9].

The term was appropriated by the active users over the years, and the new meaning was cemented in the 2014 Isla Vista-attacks[10], where Elliot Rodger killed 6 people and injured 14. During the attack Rodger uploaded a video titled *Elliot Rodger's Retribution*, in which he outlined his hatred for women and popular men as they were at fault for his inability to find romantic and sexual partners. Elliot Rodger has since been used as a prime example of a violent incel, and is heralded as "the supreme gentleman" and a deity in some incel communities. His manifest speaks to a life of loneliness and feeling "outside" of social life.

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8   Alek Minassian, The Toronto Attacker who killed 10 people by driving his van into a crowd.

9   Alana's Involuntary Celibacy Project https://web.archive.org/web/19970525065352/http:/www.ncf.carleton.ca:80/~ad097/ic-home.html

10   Elliot Rodger, a 22-year old self-proclaimed Involuntary Celibate man who was active on incel-forums, shot, stabbed and killed several people, before he killed himself. He left behind a manifesto, and several video recordings of himself, both attributing the attack on his celibacy. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-43892189
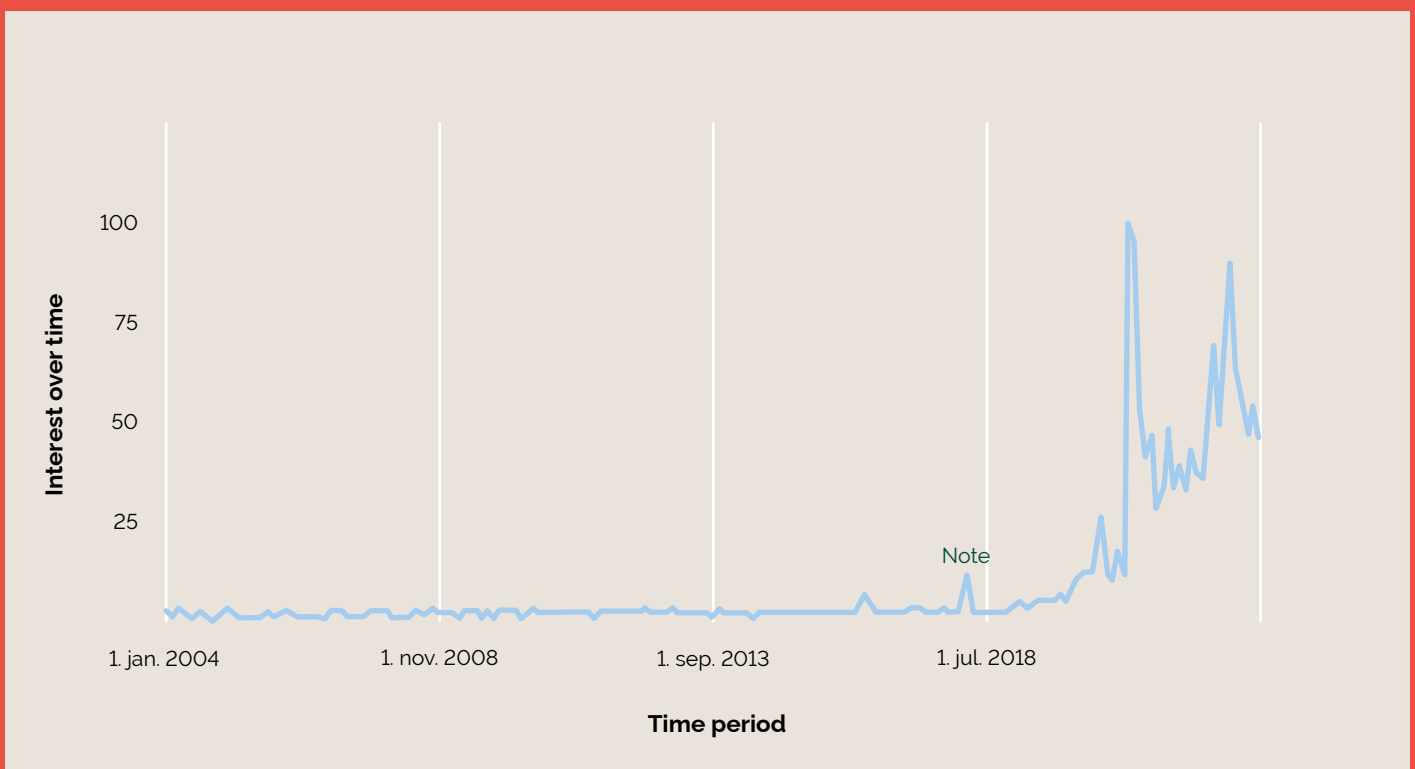
Humanity... All of my suffering in this world has been at the hands of humanity, particularly women. It has made me realize just how brutal and twisted humanity is as a species. All I ever wanted was to fit in and live a happy life amongst humanity, but I was cast out and rejected, forced to endure an existence of loneliness and insignificance, all because the females of the human species were incapable of seeing the value in me. This is the story of how I, Elliot Rodger, came to be. This is the story of my entire life. It is a dark story of sadness, anger, and hatred. It is a story of a war against cruel injustice.

Elliot Rodger, Isla Vista perpetrator

Although the incel community has no leader or foreperson, only a group of idols and a pantheon of murderers and terrorists who, in some participants' minds, have fought back against the oppression, they are still a group of significance to the present research. As there is no central governing body, nor a central list of political positions, values and virtues, any analysis of the incel community is done via observations and impressions formed through digital and physical meetings and interviews.

Websites such as Incel Wiki and incels.co can shed some light on the culture, but none are official per se. There is an ongoing debate within the incel community of whether users on incels.co are actual, to-the-core incels, or wannabe-incels, who haven't experienced anything remotely close to the suffering "real" incels have. Within the incel community it is the common perception that too many non-incels (i.e. researchers, journalists, normies, etc.) snoop around on incels.co.

Women - according to incels

The main idea of the incel community is that sex is a commodity traded from women to men, to obtain certain goods in society - safety, financial stability and/or status.

As all men seek sex all the time, it is up to the women to choose who to give sex to, and thus to set the "price" for it. The idea of the INvoluntary CELibate woman does not exist.

As any man would be interested in any sex, any time, women will be able to have sex whenever they want, if they just lower their standards.

It is a common understanding that few men will have most of the sex. As men are able to have several sex partners, it therefore follows that the vast majority of women will sell their sex to the same select group of a few men. These men will be naturally gifted with certain traits - above average height, square jaw, strong wrists etc. - will be called "alpha" or "Chad", and will of course enjoy sexual and societal attention. It is possible for a "beta" to ascend to a sexual level, but as it will be by momentary means (typically money), the ascension will crumble as soon as the means are gone (i.e. the money is used up). These temporarily ascended men are called "beta-bux".

The women who are aware that this transaction is happening, and that they are in control of it, are called "Stacy". They will lean into the sexual power they are biologically given, and seek to maximize it by sexualizing their appearance and social status, amongst other things by communicating sexual openness (push-up bra, lipstick etc.), but not (openly) sexually engaging with too many men, as this will diminish their value in the "marketplace".

The women unaware of the sexual transactional nature of society are called "Becky". Becky will most likely be a feminist, and seek to dominate men through political and philosophical discussions that she will always lose (because men are smarter), unless the men let her win, in hopes of her rewarding them with sex. As Becky isn't as naturally attractive as Stacy, she will try to increase her market value by for instance pretending to be nerdy. Becky will be able to have sex with high-ranking males, but will not be able to marry one because of her naturally mediocre looks. She will have to settle for a second-tier man, when she wants to marry and raise a family. Only Stacy will be able to marry Chad.

Anti-feminism or misogyny?

The misogyny of the incel culture is blatant, but furthermore it is also a detriment to the egalitarian feminism sought after in the Nordic countries. Reducing women to sexual proprietors with no ability to think nor create is obviously an attack on women's rights and any equal opportunity agenda, but is also inferring a wider attack on an equal and democratic society. This culture, if put into effect, will keep women from ever being in a position to create or think, thus becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Unfortunately, there will also be an inferred attitude towards those women who do create or think, belittling or undermining their results and positions: As women are thought to be incapable hereof, and only function as sexual vendors, any commendable output cannot have been created by a woman, and will either have been made by a man in exchange for sexual attention, or the output is actually bad, and have only garnered positive attention because of sexually starved men enabling it. These men will be deemed "white knights" trying to save the women from their just fate, and are - in spite of any sexual attention - a low tier of males; feminists are understood in the same manner.

Feminism as a whole is thought to be a social construct, only made to give inferior women (Beckys) access to an artificially leveled playing field, by weak men who use this catering as a sexual access to feminist women. Feminism is a logical outcome of the advanced technological workplace, as this diminishes the need for "real" men, and real thinkers/creators. The artificial societal power that feminist women will experience, is used by them to further undermine the innate power of men (as per their naturally superior physical and cognitive capabilities), and thereby undermine their sexual strategy.

Feminism is therefore an attack on human (male) rights, and should be combatted both argumentatively on the internet and in society in general.

Why hate?

From the outside, the most obvious emotional component in analyzing incel groups is anger and disdain. Yet when diving under the vitriol on the surface, it seems that sadness and unhappiness provides a clearer understanding of the men herein.

Through observations on forums such as incels.co and analyses of manifestos written by self-proclaimed incels, it is clear that many men identifying as incels have multiple experiences of not fitting in, and overall feel excluded from the social arenas they frequent in the offline world - school, work, leisure activities, etc. They often come off as socially awkward worsening the sense of exclusion further.

Many have tried engaging in offline social contact, but have been rejected, and feel they have failed miserably, creating a sense of sadness, loneliness, and of being an outcast.

This poses many to seek help and understanding online, and to try to find like-minded individuals, who might even have similar experiences, and who know what they are going through. This is one way into the incel 'community'. As such, the incel 'community' can be seen as an online self-help group, where sad, suffering, vulnerable men offer each other advice and comfort.
Identifying as incel entails certain views of women and of the world. This can have quite a salvatory and redemptive effect as it offers an explanation of one's misfortune and a target for one's feelings of frustration. It offers palpable explanations that remove all responsibility from the individual and diverts it to factors outside of the individual's control, and therefore responsibility - appearance, the societal structure and the resulting unfair division of (sexual) goods: "It's not your fault. It's their fault. Let's band together against them!"

Perception of masculinity

Many boys and men feel that sadness or insecurity is not a legitimate emotion for them to feel let alone express. The traditional masculine ideology is defined as white, heterosexual men dominating women, other races, and sexual and ethnic minorities.[11] According to Bosson & Vandello (2011)[12] manhood is a constant battle of proving oneself as a man through aggressive and "manly" actions. There is no room for emotionality and for being "soft", and *if* one has engaged in "feminine" behavior (e.g. cried) one must do something "manly" afterwards in order to regain the sense of being a man.

Interestingly, Danish men do not perceive manhood to be as precarious as men from the US do.[13] According to DiMuccio et al (2017) this is due to the presence of more traditional gender norms in the US (focus on competition, aggression, dominance, and restrictive emotionality) compared to Denmark (focus on empathy, treating each other well and with respect, and living a good life). Danish men tend to see aggression and aggressive behavior as childish and immature, and therefore unmanly. Furthermore, Danish men see manhood as contrasting boyhood (you are a man when you're not a boy) whereas American men see manhood as contrasting womanhood (you are a man when you're not a woman). Following this, Danish men see unmanly men as immature whereas American men see them as lacking masculinity.[14] Given the cultural analysis of the Nordic countries provided above it seems plausible that men from the other Nordic countries will perceive manhood in the same manner Danish men do.

Interestingly, compared to societies with less equality, like the American, where aggression and antifeminism are seen as significant, masculine traits, there is a lot less violence in more equal societies, like the Nordics, where traditionally feminine traits, such as being nurturing and having close, intimate relationships with friends, are deemed significant aspects of manhood.[15]

However, men experiencing not having access to close, intimate relationships might feel negative emotions, such as frustration, sadness, and jealousy, over not having what others do, while at the same time not being offered a way of expressing their manhood in, by Nordic standards, socially acceptable ways. This can lead to the search for emotional refuge and outlet in less traditional groups and relationships - namely the virtual ones.

This is due to boys and men being offered a rather constrictive masculinity ideal to fit in to, even in the more egalitarian societies like the Nordics, leaving little room for "softness" and "feminine" emotions, as men are often expected to be strong and to tough it out, when dealt emotional blows. That leaves a very narrow range of "legitimate" emotions when facing emotional obstacles, leaving many to express their sadness as anger, as this is one of the few, acceptable, manly, emotions.

11   Bloksgaard, L., Christensen, A., Jensen, S. Q., Hansen, C. D., Kyed, M. & Nielsen, K. J. (2015) Masculinity Ideals in a Contemporary Danish Context, NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 23:3, 152-169

12   Bosson, J. K., & Vandello, J. A. (2011). Precarious manhood and its links to action and aggression. Current Directions in Psychological Science, 20(2), 82–86.

13   DiMuccio, S., Yost, M.R., & Helweg-Larsen, M. (2017). A Qualitative Analysis of Perceptions of Precarious Manhood in U.S. and Danish Men. Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 18, 331–340.

14   DiMuccio, S., Yost, M.R., & Helweg-Larsen, M. (2017). A Qualitative Analysis of Perceptions of Precarious Manhood in U.S. and Danish Men. Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 18, 331–340.

15   DiMuccio, S., Yost, M.R., & Helweg-Larsen, M. (2017). A Qualitative Analysis of Perceptions of Precarious Manhood in U.S. and Danish Men. Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 18, 331–340.

MRAs

The Men's Rights Activists is a reactionary movement, meaning, it has emerged as a reaction to another social movement gaining support and momentum - in this case a reaction to feminism and multiculturalism (e.g. MeToo and Black Lives Matter).

MRA's can, in some instances, divert from past egalitarian movements such as the aforementioned BLM and MeToo, as it is focusing rather on removing rights from others, than gaining some for its own. Many key objectives for MRA's are to roll back or halt the changes other movements are making.

They are trying to attain this goal by focusing on key feminist issues, such as equal pay, sexual assault, abuse against women, and the representation of women in popular and entertainment media, from a conservative "men suffer more than women, and women are actually just trying to blame men for their problems" point of view. Most rape stories are perceived as false, and campaigns like #metoo are seen as "witch hunts" designed to demonize men. By combating the feminist goals, under guise of them attacking women, they aim to reframe an anti women's-rights-movement as a Men's Rights Movement.

Most MRA movements see rights and power as a zero sum-game. Here the notion of women and minorities gaining the same liberties and societal influence as them is a threat to what they have always had. What the others gain, are feared to be lost on their own account. Therefore the feminist movement gaining traction throughout the last decade, becomes extremely threatening to the ipso facto sovereignty of the white man. Furthermore, the MeToo-movement, aiming at protecting women from men, is seen as an attack on the rightful rule over the sexual landscape, and therefore also an attack on said sovereignty.

Thus, Men's Rights Activists are not only interested in protecting the rights of men, but also in cutting short the rights of women.

Interestingly, MRAs and feminists focus on a lot of the same issues; e.g. oppressing gender-based stereotypes, violence and aggression in men, the overlooking and ignoring of assault against men, the skewed division of parental leave and child care, and the lack of openness towards men showing emotions among other issues. However, where feminists see this as being the fault of the patriarchal society and gender-based norms, MRAs see feminism as the root cause.

Users attending the subreddit /r/mgtow are also likely to attend other similar forums - a higher number shows a higher propensity of overlapping users.
https://subredditstats.com/r/MGTOW

Related Subreddits By U

r/MensRights (11)   r/pussy
r/TumblrInAction (4)   r/Pira
r/whiteknighting (4)   r/Mad
r/unpopularopinion (3)   r/S

Users on /r/mgtow use certain words more than others, and these keywords can give an understanding of the general attitude of the forum, as well as the topics discussed. A higher number shows a more frequent use of the word.
https://subredditstats.com/r/MGTOW

Top Keywords ⓘ

simps (655.3)   simp (372.
mgtow (162.3)   cisgender
alimony (88.7)   redpill (88
diggers (77.6)   women: (7

MGTOWs

Whereas Men's Rights Activists try to change society to include more rights for men, Men Going Their Own Way are trying to form new societies, free of the burden of feminism. As MGTOW sees society as defunct of meaning and power, as it has been corrupted over the feminist growth and policy changes in the last 20 years, MGTOW seeks to build communities and societies away from these ideologies.

MGTOW centers on the thought that women and the feminist society are dangerous to men, and that combating these is an act of self-preservation. Women are using the gynocentric society and it's feminist strategies to first live in hypergamy in their youth, by exchanging men for "higher value"-men until they plateau because of their biologically determined decline in beauty, where they will make a man marry them, only to later divorce him to take his money, and the relationship to the kids she made him raise. This thought is build on both an extremely malicious intent attributed to all women, and a series of anti-men systemic policies, i.e. sexual autonomy by way of free abortions, legal authority by way of bias against men in family courts, and general female privilege in society.

Often MGTOW-communities will have a base in political organizations fighting one or more of these societal aspects, but many observed communities will be talking about "going ghost", i.e. leaving society, to live wholly outside of it. This thought transcends national borders, and is mostly discussed on a philosophical level in international forums, and executed in smaller national or local groups.
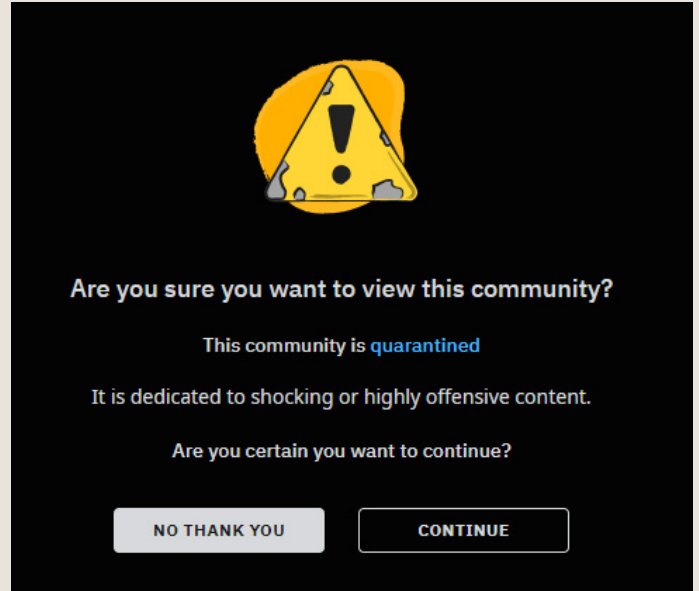
Entering the misogynistic subreddits is often prefaced by a warning. When a subreddit is quarantined, it is under supervision by forum moderators, and could potentially be closed.

The largest international MGTOW platform is the subreddit /r/mgtow which in early 2020 was quarantined, meaning it doesn't show in search results, and users have to directly type in the address to access it. Before it's quarantine it held more than 144.000 active users and subscribers, who have since spread to other communities.

There's a large overlap between the MGTOW-community and MensRights (typically MRA), pussypassdenied (failed courting attempts) and other aggressive and gendered subreddits.

The most used keywords indicate that the MGTOW-forum focuses on feminism and women to a much higher degree than on the men themselves:

The term "plantation" is unique to the MGTOW-ideology, and is a reference to the slaves in The United States, who worked and lived on plantations, and whose life was determined by the slave-owners who held all rights, and benefitted from the work of the slaves. Here, the men are slaves, the women slave-owners and society is the plantation. To "leave the plantation" means to leave society.

sers ⓘ

ypassdenied (6)	r/OffensiveMemes (5)	r/rage (4)	r/nononono (4)
acy (4)	r/CringeAnarchy (4)	r/iamatotalpieceofshit (4)	r/JusticeServed (4)
chinePorn (3)	r/Nicegirls (3)	r/conspiracy (3)	r/4chan (3)
tacked (3)	r/AdviceAnimals (3)	r/nsfwcosplay (3)	r/Libertarian (3)

pilled (222.9)	hypergamy (206.9)	redpilled (165.6)	$380 (165.6)
(155.2)	hags (124.2)	awalt (124.2)	plantation (106.8)	gents (103.5)
woodwork (88.7)	feminists (83.6)	disturbs (82.8)	thots (79.6)
divorces (72.4)	show all		

PUAs

PUA - PickUp Artistry - is the effort of making a science out of seduction. PickUp Artists hone their skills through communities online, and in real world-groups, that meet to apply and evaluate the strategies and tips that have been learned online. PUAs see women as goalkeepers or defensive lines on a soccer pitch, that have to be defeated or tricked before the prize - sex - can be had. These strategies often focus on negating the woman's right to sexual autonomy, by trying to strategize around the possibilities of her declining sex, and as such is critical of feminism and female empowerment. PUA is not the art of getting her to say yes, it is the art of not having her say no.

The PUA-community employs language that is historically distinctly masculine, lending terminology from sports, wars or business-settings. E.g. the PUA will run games, strategies or attacks to pick up the target or goal, some of which will try to raise his market value or lower hers. This terminology furthers the anti-feminist setting, as seduction is reduced to either a battle to be won, or a hostile business takeover to be done.

A lot of the strategies employed in PUA communities are said to be scientific in nature, but very few prove peer-reviewed or laboratory tested. Ideas around neuro-linguistic programming, dominance theory or *attraction triggers* linger on in the community, yet all have been disproven to further any seduction efforts. E.g. "negging" describes a concept, where a woman's idea of her own value is diminished (typically by criticizing her) so that she in turn will heed for the PUA's acceptance, hopefully by sleeping with him.

One of many controversial aspects of the PUA community is LMR tactics - Last Minute Resistance Tactics. These are used if a target declines actually having sex at the last minute - in the PUA's apartment, or even in bed. As PUA's have been the suspect of rape-charges, LMR tactics are thought to circumvent any such allegations, whilst still reaching the goal of having sex. LMR tactics will often focus on "excuses" women can give for declining sex, in spite of being in a sexually charged situation. The PUA can say that he is okay with having sex with a woman on her period, he can take her hand and put it on his body instead of touching her, etc. All in the name of lowering her physical or mental resistance to having sex, and convincing her that she wanted it.

LMR is criticized as a borderline rape-tool, but is developed to tread the line between amoral and illegal actions carefully.

Therefore there must be a strong focus on communities demoting women to targets, marks or goals while at the same time discussing how to "not-rape".

Forums of interest

Twitter

"When it happens, it happens on Twitter" is the famous slogan of one of the world's biggest social media. This has rung true since the site's rise to digital fame in the late 2000's, not only for equalitarian #MeToo- and #BLM-movements, but also for misogyny, personalized attacks and sparks of radicalized violent movements

"When it happens, it happens on Twitter" is the famous slogan of one of the world's biggest social media. This has rung true since the site's rise to digital fame in the late 2000's, not only for equalitarian #MeToo- and #BLM-movements, but also for misogyny, personalized attacks and sparks of radicalized violent movements.

Twitter has been at the face of several problematic and hateful campaigns directed at specific people and targeted at certain demographics. This, in combination with the weight of being one of the world's biggest dynamic user-focused social networks, has led Twitter to implement restrictions on topics discussed and words used. This promotes a narrative in certain political circles that Twitter is a leftist media, only lending attention to certain factions of politically correct socialist orientation. Conversely, proponents of that political wing are keen on identifying and making an effort to cancel or deplatform those that aggressively speak against equality, integration or similar topics. In spite of more than a decade worth of efforts to police and moderate the tone on Twitter to align with an ever-changing set of rules and terms of use, Twitter is still a political battlefield where all manners of political arguments in all directions are put forth, especially seeing as the combattants have learned how to mask attacks, and hide outright flame wars between the lines, so that the moderating algorithms are struggling to find them.

Our highest priority is to protect the health of the public conversation on Twitter, and an important part of that is ensuring our rules and how we enforce them are easy to understand. In the past, we've allowed certain Tweets that violated our rules to remain on Twitter because they were in the public's interest, but it wasn't clear when and how we made those determinations. To fix that, we're introducing a new notice that will provide additional clarity in these situations, and sharing more on when and why we'll use it.

Twitter's Blog, 2019

One example of Twitter moderating the discussions on it's site came in 2019, when the social network famously chose to promote certain Twitter-accounts to a lesser degree, mainly those concerned with conservative and right-leaning politics, and most famously of course, the account of the President of The United States, Donald Trump.

Hashtags

Twitter consists of one long feed. A user will choose who to follow, and anything those users engage with - either by commenting, retweeting or liking - will in turn be fed into the user's feed. The only way to engage with discussions and posts outside of one's own, is by searching for hashtags.

A hashtag is a search-tool so that users can find all tweets in a certain topic, even from users they don't originally know. If, for example, a user wants to take part in the #MeToo-discussions, but no-one in their feed is tweeting about it, they can search for "#MeToo" and be taken right into the midst of the active discussions from other users, where in turn they can choose to follow new tweeters, thus expanding their own Twitter-feed moving forward. Hashtags can also be used to frame the tone of a tweet, and used to provoke or mock a topic. If, for example, a user wants to criticize the #MeToo-proponents by using the hashtag #Idiocy or #FuckMeToo, their criticism would be seen by extremely few users, unless they included the original #MeToo-hashtag. Hashtags can therefore become gateways into other discussions or opinion "bubbles".

The importance of hashtags to both frame and find discussions, has meant that moderating hashtags has become an important weapon for Twitter in identifying and mitigating hate speech on the platform. Any strategy employed via Twitter to mitigate online hate speech should be concerned with limiting or monitoring certain hashtags.

Dog-whistling

The moderation of certain terms and hashtags on Twitter has led to users mitigating the moderation by using *dog-whistling* to discuss those topics. Dog-whistling is when you make a term so abstract that it cannot be proven what you are talking about, but either by knowing you or by the context of the discussion, it will be very apparent.

If a famous anti-feminist is tweeting that "*They corrode society! Someone should put them in their place with a firm hand! Leeches on the working man should be scraped off and crushed under a steel toed boot! #Enemyofthestate*"[1] his followers - and everybody else - know that he is talking about feminists and women, even though he does not explicitly state this anywhere. He could in fact just be talking about actual rats and leeches, thereby bypassing the moderating algorithms.

As such, dog-whistling allows some hate speech to slip through the cracks of the moderation algorithm on Twitter and other social networks and media, and makes it almost impossible to police the content and framing of discussions in online spheres.

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1   Hypothetical example.

Reddit

Reddit is a global roundtable-discussion of news, thoughts and politics in both the digital and physical worlds. Based on user-generated content and hosting more than 542 million monthly users, the moniker of being the frontpage of the Internet is warranted. As such, Reddit is one of the biggest hubs for both discussing current news as well as historical ideas.

Reddit is set up as a discussion media. Users will share either a link, a picture or a piece of text, and other users will comment and up- or downvote the content. The collected number of comments and (positive) votes of each content piece creates a sorting of all the content pieces, presenting users with a *"frontpage of the internet"*.
Reddit is big enough to have its own social gravitational pull: Celebrities and companies have used the platform to break news and do global interviews (Ask Me Anything's - AMAs).

As it has gained popularity over the past decade, Reddit has been strengthening its moderation and anonymity policies, and several subreddits have been banned or put under heavy moderation. It has been especially necessary to moderate or outright ban several subreddits focusing on anti-feminism and misogyny, both from a political, social, and sexual perspective.

Reddit is still a proponent of free speech, and is only banning or moderating subreddits that are conflicting with (American) law: "We stand for free speech. This means we are not going to ban distasteful subreddits. We will not ban legal content even if we find it odious or if we personally condemn it" says Yishan Wong, then CEO of Reddit[2].

In 2019 Reddit revised and strengthened their moderation to not only include "systematic and/or continued harassment", but also "anything that works to shut someone out of the conversation through intimidation or abuse, online or off", including "menacing someone, directing abuse at a person or group, following them around the site, encouraging others to do any of these actions, or otherwise behaving in a way that would discourage a reasonable person from participating on Reddit."[3]

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2   BBC World News (2012). Reddit will not ban 'distasteful' content, chief executive says https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-19975375

3   www.reddit.com/r/announcements/comments/dbf9nj/changes_to_our_policy_against_bullying_and/

This increase in moderation came at the behest of the increased INCEL activity on Reddit, where several subreddits were spreading the "science" and politics of the virulently misogynistic movement. Among others the subreddit r/braincels was closed down, at the time hosting more than 41.000 subscribing users.[4]

A subreddit has the same functionality as described above, but only pertains to a certain topic or idea. That can be anything from hobbies and geographic regions to global agendas or humoristic content. Each subreddit will have it's own "frontpage", and contribute to the global frontpage where different subreddits can be trending.

Subreddits

Users are able to subscribe to *subreddits*. A subreddit is a subforum focused on a specific topic - e.g. r/mensrights focusing on the judicial and societal rights of men. Most subreddits will have sets of values ingrained throughout their digital landscape, i.e. in the case of r/mensrights an outspoken disdain of modern femininity and its proponents. These values do not have to be installed by the originators of the subreddit, or even the moderators. Sometimes they will be manifested by the users populating the subreddit.

That can for instance be seen with the most upvoted picture ever in the subreddit, a ridicule of how "tender" and scared the users of r/feminism (an outspokenly pro-feminist subreddit) are:
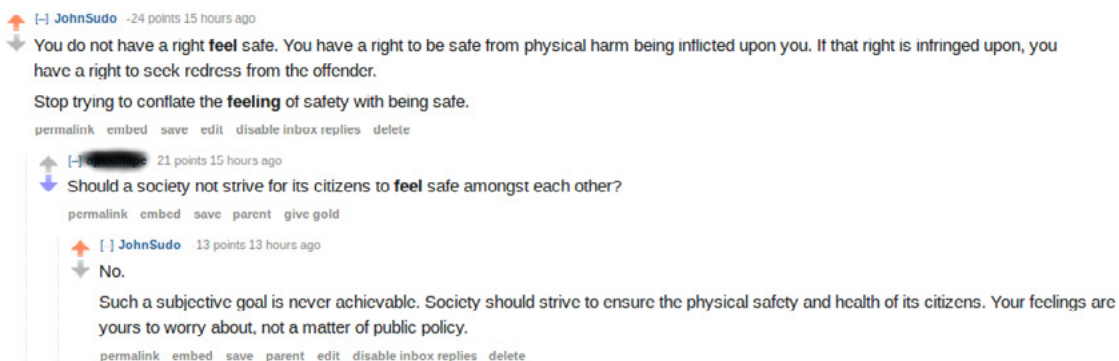
A mocking screenshot from a discussion on the pro-feminism forum /r/feminism on Reddit, where an anti-feminism user from the anti-feminism board r/mensrights is trolling the users to provoke an action. He deems the fact that he was banned from the forum a sign of success.

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4   https://subredditstats.com/r/Braincels

4chan

4chan is the world's most (in)famous imageboard. An imageboard is similar to any other digital forum, except from the fact that every "thread" has to be started by the posting of an image, alongside a textual component. Like Reddit, 4chan is solely based on user-generated content.

4chan is home to more than 20 million monthly users, and is by far the most visited imageboard online today. Created as a safe-haven for geeks and nerds in its early days, 4chan has since been a hub for conspiracy theories, child pornography, murder videos, political attacks and terrorist manifestos. Although the giant site has cleaned up it's free speech-based act, it's nickname as the darkest corner of the internet still sticks. 4chan is first and foremost an anonymous service. The anonymity is both a core part of the framing of the content on the board, and a ditto value upheld in it's content.

All discussions are initiated with both a picture and text. Sometimes the text is the primary component, and the image is only there to comply with site rules, grab attention or exemplify the post's argument. Replies to the original post can either be text, a picture, or both.

4chan is divided into seven main sections, each with several smaller imageboards (not unlike Reddit's subreddits):

- Japanese Culture
- Video Games
- Interests
- Creative
- Other
- Miscellaneous (NSFW[5])
- Adult (NSFW)

All sections encompass a wide variety of content, yet three of the most prolific image boards, where some of the famously controversial content has been posted and shared, are from the Miscellaneous chapter: Random (/b), Politically Incorrect (/pol) and Robot 9001 (/r9k).

The Politically Incorrect board is home to any political discussion ranging from gender-issues, immigration, taxation, property, and anything in between. Robot 9001 started out as a technical experiment to nullify repeating posts, but quickly became the digital homestead of those feeling like robots around "real" people, and deteriorated into those on the outside attacking both themselves and antagonizing the others - self proclaimed autists and socially rejected people are the majority of the users, at the time of writing. The Random-board is where "all the rest" goes, and is often cited as "the toilet bowl of the internet". Absurd and grotesque ideas, pictures and sentiments are shared anonymously and as shockingly as possible.

The anonymity of 4chan is both the goal and the means. 4chan becomes the crucible of those feeling downtrodden by the moderation and non-anonymity of regular social media platforms (Snapchat, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) and enables those feeling censored or persecuted to speak freely and openly about "forbidden" topics and ideas. Furthermore, this means that the tone and rhetorical culture of 4chan oozes this hyper-aggressive freedom of speech at every possible time. With semantic ease users promote suicide and sexual and racial slurs when discussing ideas of feministic overlords controlling the sexual market, shadow governments repressing society or *The Great Replacement*. They do so both to show just how internet-tough they are, and how well they know the very particular jargon of 4chan.

Their feeling of togetherness is cemented both by the outspoken us-and-them rhetoric and the shared lingo.

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5   Not Safe For Work - Typically used for erotic or otherwise shocking content.

Many posts are also shared on 4chan simply to stir the pot, and experimenting with being as disruptive or provocative as possible, in an anonymousdigital environment.

As such, there is a lot of gate keeping on 4chan. If there is any indication that you are a newcomer (e.g. if you are not quite familiar with 4chan-lingo or with how things are done at 4chan, or if you are using "softer" words than the average 4chan user) you will be told to "Get the fuck back to Plebbit[6], newfag!"[7]. Both the term "Plebbit" and the term "newfag" are used derogatively, indicating

condescension and hate towards newcomers, who, in the eyes of the inveterate 4chan user, clearly does not understand the culture of 4chan, and therefore does not belong.

Headlines & Histories

When 4chan makes headlines in the news it is most often as a result of having been used to post manifests, videos or goodbye-notes before violent attacks on women, young people, or minorities. Such was the case of the Christchurch attack in 2019, or the Toronto attack in 2018 (aimed at muslims and women, respectively), the Oregon Shooting, and - sadly - many more.
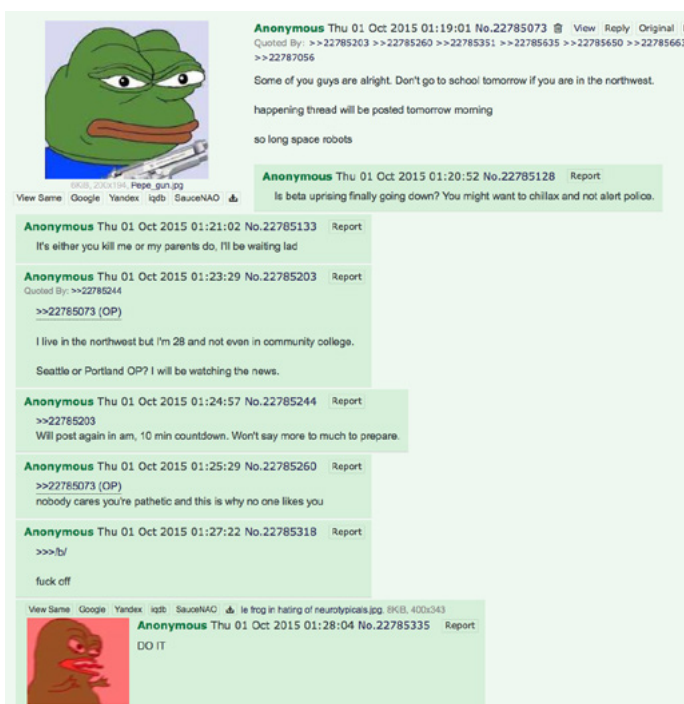
An anonymous user warns hypothetical classmates of going to school the day after the post. The post was later attributed to Chris Harper Mercer.

As the would-be shooter Chris Harper-Mercer potentially warned 4chan of going to school the next day, as there would be a shooting, other users either in spite or encouragement egged him on with strategies, suggestions and jokes. He would go on to murder nine peers, and wound eight, before taking his own life. He wished to avenge a life of social and romantic rejections.

Obviously these cases take media presence over the millions of positive discussions about video games, manga comics, pets or the intricacies of overclocking a graphic card that are also present on 4chan, but that does not mean that they outnumber them.

Shitposting in the name of free speech

Shitposting is the action of making the biggest effect with the least effort, usually by saying something outrageous or extremely provocative.

4chan has for more than a decade been the free speech and anonymity hotspot of the internet. Seeing as it lacks the possibility for users to create accounts, or any other sort of digital continuity, it is more comprehensible when considered a tool rather than a social media, like Facebook. On most regular social media platforms, one participates in discussions and posts via one's profile (picture), creating a social responsibility to uphold a look - a digital perception of one's life. 4chan reverses this notion, as the user's identity is nullified, and the focus instead put on the singular posts and discussions he/she is a part of.

This in turn means, that 4chan is also readily available for anyone who wishes to share a "product" (post) with potentially millions of users, without having an already existing platform - i.e. on Twitter no-one would listen to a newly created user posting hateful content, as most other users simply would not see it. On 4chan it is there for everyone to see.

Albeit a frightening trend to see manifests and videos of violent extremism, mostly targeted at women and minorities, spewed from the same platform, one must consider if these are a result of the culture of the platform's users, or of the platform's openly anonymous availability.

Many posts are also shared on 4chan simply to *stir the pot*, and experimenting with being as disruptive or provocative as possible, in an anonymous digital environment. Both memes, who derive humoristic meaning through repetition, and shitposts who in turn do so from shock-value, take up the vast majority of space in the infamous /pol and /b boards.

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6   "Plebbit" is demeaning 4chan-slang for Reddit

7   4chan.org/pol, post-id: 249901456

Denoting the difference between shitposts made to stir the pot, and what users actually feel, does not come down to an exact science. Some posts are made with such an exaggeration that they are obviously made for fun. Others are impossible to deem either serious or shitpost. It is important to be aware that not only can the initial attitude of certain posts elude those on the outside of the 4chan-understanding, they can also be masked to the users frequenting the forum everyday. In many such cases, the meaning attributed to the post will be projected by the reader, and therefore *shitposting* done just to stir the pot can confirm certain toxic or aggressive perspectives for just those users looking for exactly that. [8] Therefore shitposts are also part of the aggressive content that can and will shift the discourse of the discussion, i.e. the Overton Window.

Outside of Politically Incorrect and Random, the biggest boards on 4chan are Video Games General, Video Games, International[9], Anime[10] & Manga[11],

Television & Film, Business & Finance, Sports and lastly Otaku[12] Culture. Even though the tone in all forums is extremely harsh and purposely offensive, most content is either shitposts, memes or topic-related discussions.

As 4chan is permeated by vitriol and offensive terms and rhetoric, it serves a bilateral purpose of excluding "easily" offended digital tourists just browsing the imageboards to scrape the virtual surface, and as an inclusory factor allowing the veteran users to communicate in a weird rule bound digital dialect of English, where everyone is a (new/old/jew/internet)-*fag*, and acronyms as n00b, mfw, OP and more, are the semantic cornerstones on which the chat-based discussions are built.

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8   Hergovich, A., Schott, R., Burger, C. (2010), "Biased evaluation of abstracts depending on topic and conclusion: Further evidence of a confirmation bias within scientific psychology", Current Psychology.

9   Memes focused on stereotypes of countries.

10   Japanese animation style.

11   Japanese comic style.

12   A certain Japanese culture. Often used for people obsessed with manga and anime.

4stats.io

Board	Posts/min	Threads/hour	Avg.Posts/day ▼	Activity Now	rel. to ToD
/pol/	169.60	264	201972	94%	176%
/v/	54.32	60	108540	56%	109%
/vg/	51.57	3	101231	59%	109%
/b/	37.66	65	66663	66%	106%
/int/	28.00	36	58459	48%	116%
/jp/	24.17	6	48220	54%	96%
/a/	14.66	13	47582	31%	88%
/tv/	19.10	40	46263	47%	93%
/sp/	7.14	6	25473	21%	119%
/mu/	9.30	15	23206	44%	85%
/biz/	6.03	35	22263	27%	59%
/co/	6.93	12	22216	31%	88%
/trash/	10.76	6	21196	50%	108%
/tg/	7.93	5	17714	47%	112%

The most popular forums on 4chan, and the frequency with which posts in them are made. (From 4stats.io)

8chan & 8kun

If 4chan is the self-proclaimed enfant terrible of the internet, then 8chan et. al. are the uglier step-siblings. As 4chan in the early 2010's started implementing several moderation- and logging-rules after an increase in digital attacks from the platform (swatting and doxxing), former user Frederick 'Hotwheels' Brennan dreamt up a digital bulwark for free speech and openness, and created 8chan as an evolution of the 4chan that had grown too politically correct to host truly meaningful discussions and opinions.

8chan has since its creation in 2013 been subjugated to server-shutdowns and legislative turmoil, which has led the infamous site to be taken offline, only to reemerge under a new name or as a *spiritual successor* several times. Currently 8chan can be found both as 8chan, and 8kun, both sites currently owned and operated by partially overlapping administrations.

Although 4chan and subsequently 8chan derived their name from the channel-suffix, the change from 8chan to 8kun can be understood as an evolution from the Japanese -chan suffix, used for addressing young children, to the -kun suffix, used for addressing adult men. The symbolism seems to be that 8kun is the adult version of the already infamously and aggressively adult 8chan.

8chan is built in the image of 4chan, and is also an imageboard consisting of user-generated content, with a focus on image-based communication and memes to support the classic text-based communication. The images can both be in direct relation to the text, an explanation thereof, or something to "set the tone" of the post, or mock the topic.

The "frontpage" (top) of a popular national socialistic subforum on 8kun, depicting both the rules and semantics of this particular board, and a meme ("humoristic" drawing) of a supposed jew.

Even though the prototypical conspiracy theories of jewish overlords, feministic hiveminds controlling society or the likes thereof permeate much of the content on 8chan, the majority of the discussions are still centered around nerdy hobbies and pop culture.

As seen from the frontpage of 8kun, some of the most active and popular boards concern current news and political debates, video games, faith, technology etc. All of these topics are also widely covered on more easily accessible sites and forums, such as Reddit, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.

Notably, 8kun, 8chan and associated boards are also home to discussions and subcultures concerning topics that partakers might not want to discuss openly. This could very well be extremist political views, hatefilled gender-discussions, or it could be, as seen in the screenshot, fantasies of wearing a diaper, sharing of "boypussy" pictures, interracial pornography or partaking in the tickling refuge. Here, only the video games-, christianity-, and news-discussions are marked as SFW - Safe for Work - whereas every other board is open to sexual, derogatory or extremely aggressive content.

Rhetorical pins and needles

As most boards on 8chan/8kun contain hateful and extremely off putting rhetoric, one must note that this serves two distinct purposes:

Inclusivity
In many internet-forums and boards, knowing the linguistic landscape is a certain way to fit in. Knowing that no-one calls women "women", but refer to them as *foids* or *roasties*, and that other users are some kind of *fag* - be it *newfag, oldfag, normalfag* or a similarly condescending term - it is all a linguistic hoop to jump through to make sure that all those partaking in the discussion are also part of the subculture. By chastising or ignoring users applying the "wrong" language, veteran users can make sure that to be a part of the boards, you have to make an effort to fit in. Therefore, once you have been "accepted" (i.e. not being openly attacked after posting), you might be inclined to feel included in a digital social club - not unlike hazing-rituals in fraternities.

Exclusivity
The extreme animosity of boards such as 8chan and 8kun, even between established users (or, at least users adhering to the unwritten linguistic rules), also serves as a social deterrent for curious digital tourists. The monikers and social shorthand is not only hard to understand at first, but after mastering the abbreviations and slang also largely offensive. Thus, it serves to give a level of discomfort for the uninitiated reader, keeping the boards exclusively to those sharing their linguistic ideals.

Board		Title	PPH	Active ISPs [?]	Tags	Total posts
/pnd/		Politics, News, Debate	6	303	politics pol news events fuck-n...	154012
/vichan/		https://shitposter.club/vichan/	7	182	polish random international fre...	208009
/random/		random	2	105		8804
/egy/		Edgyptians	0	83	egypt	306411
/v/	🖰	Video Games	7	71	video-games visual-novels vidy...	16942037
/hypno/		Hypnochan	0	64	porn psychology asmr autism...	68334
/abdl/		Adult Baby - Diaper Lover	0	62		97594
/tkr/		Tickling Refuge	1	62	tickling tickle	5992
/christian/	🖰	Christian Discussion and Fello...	1	60		844016
/newsplus/	🖰	News +	7	59	news newsplus usnews worldn...	264806
/tingles/		ASMR	1	49	asmr tingles relaxation waifu	23375
/warroom/		War Room	0	46		5174
/vore/		Vore Board	1	45		39466
/cuteboys/		Boypussy	0	39		413792
/qpatriotresearch/		Patriot Research	2	39		11821
/freedomzine/		FreedomZine	0	37	freedom freedomzine liberty rig...	9168
/interracial/		Interracial	0	29	interracial bbc big-black-cock...	18880
/hgg/		Hentai Games General	0	27	lewd-vidya modding/deving tran...	379186

Search

☐ Hide NSFW boards

Search titles...

All languages

Search tags...

Search

site map

news politics
pol
events
fuck-niggers-lol
random shitposting
polish
free speech
international porn asmr
egypt
video-games visual novels
8chan game-development
vidya autism psychology
hypnosis tickling tickle
usnews worldnews

Screenshot from the front page of 8kun 25/08/2020, showing some of the most popular boards, topics and keywords.

As Prof. Mary Bucholtz notes *"Slang is a kind of "anti-language", to use Halliday's (1976) term, or, in Morgan's (1993) revision of Halliday, a "counter-language", through which a shared youth identity is reproduced against a dominant norm."* and continues *"Variation in slang use, like music fandom, clothing and hairstyles, allows teenagers to identify themselves with some of their peers while differentiating themselves from others; in short, it enables teenagers to produce distinctive linguistic and cultural styles. In fact, slang is a crucial linguistic element for the creation and discplay of coolness, an orientation to youth-central trends. Such an orientation is a central value of all forms of youth culture, and hence slang fulfills a unifying function for all teenagers who strive for coolness, insofar as displaying knowledge of rapidly changing youth slang allows teenagers to bolster their credentials as individuals who are on top of current trends."* [13]

Imageboards like 8chan and 8kun use aggressive and unique language to serve as a sociolinguistic counter-culture, and digital revolution against the social norms in the form of moderation and non-anonymous speech they perceive on most other sites.

Terror, massmurder and misogyny

As 8chan rose to relative infamy in digitally inclined circles throughout the early 2010's, it's mainstream "breakthrough"came in the latter half of the same decade, as the anonymous platform became the launching pad for several manifestos, videos and live streams of violence, mass murders and terrorist attacks, all directed at women or minorities. Most notoriously, the perpetrators from Christchurch, Poway, and El Paso uploaded their manifestos and videos (Christchurch), promoting extremist and radical ideas before committing acts of violence to promote and further said ideas.

The Christchurch-terrorist first uploaded his manifesto *The Great Replacement*[14], arguing how (Islamic) immigration was eroding society, and how the policies of the current government to promote diversity and inter-racial equality was to blame. Just prior to the attack that killed 51 and wounded 49, he started a Facebook-based live-stream of the attack, and promoted the link on 8chan.

The link and stream was quickly removed from both Facebook and 8chan, but users on 8chan kept re-posting both the manifest and video, linking it from different file-sharing services, as to keep eluding the bans from the site's owners and moderators.

This is ethnic replacement.
This is cultural replacement.
This is racial replacement.

This is WHITE GENOCIDE.

To return to replacement fertility levels is priority number one. But it is no simple task. There are myriad reasons behind the decline in fertility rates and the destruction of the traditional family unit. We must inevitably correct the disaster of hedonistic, nihilistic individualism. But it will take take some time, time we do not have due to the crisis of mass immigration.

The Great Replacement, Christchurch terrorist

And last but definitely not least.

To the true anons out there (you know who you are). You are the product of /pol/—the product of unadulterated truth. You are my brothers and the best dudes out there. You are the most honorable men of this age. Despite all odds against you, you not only discovered the truth but also help to spread it. Some of you have been waiting for The Day of the Rope for years. Well, The Day of the Rope is here right now—that is if you have the gnads to keep the ball rolling.

An Open Letter, the Poway-terrorist

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13   Monaghan, L., Goodman, J. E. & Robinson, J. M. (Eds.) (2012). A Cultural Approach to Interpersonal Communication: Essential Readings, 2nd Edition. Wiley-Blackwell

14   As noted earlier, there is a substantial overlap between fighting for a racially pure society, and actively combating feminism, and feminists.

In Poway, California, the perpetrator of the synagogue-shooting and mosque-burning uploaded an open letter to 8chan addressing white genocide and blaiming it on muslims, jews, and feminists, before attacking and killing several innocent people. The perpetrator also made efforts to livestream his attack on 8chan, but failed in doing so. The manifesto details relations to 8chan's /pol/-board, and direct comments to "anons", encouraging them to let the Poway attacks spark more and increasingly violent attacks on minorities.

Hours before commencing the attack in El Paso, Texas, the perpetrator shared a short manifesto explaining his reasoning. Explaining that America was *rotting from the inside out* because of hispanic immigrants, and the soft policies enabling it, such as healthcare, immigration efforts etc. The manifesto was quickly removed, but has since been uploaded many times on 8chan's boards.

One common denominator in the manifestos and videos uploaded on 8chan in this period of time is that all the perpetrators acknowledge each other, and the culture they feel they represent.

As previously mentioned, many such digitally consolidated subcultures don't have any direct leaders or spokespeople, but are instead internally referencing those who have said the most, in the loudest way possible. Those that they are sure that others know, and can reference. One way to become such a reference point is to, in the words of the Christchurch-terrorist, *stop shitposting and make a real life effort*.

> Many people that think that the fight for America is already lost. They couldn't be more wrong. This is just the beginning of the fight for America and Europe. I am honored to head the fight to reclaim my country from destruction.

The Inconvenient Truth, the El Paso-terrorist

> **Were your beliefs influenced by any other attackers?**
> I have read the writings of Dylan Roof and many others, but only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik.

The Christchurch-terrorist referencing Dylan Roof (Charleston-attack in 2015), and Anders Breivik (Utøya-attack in 2011).

> schizofags and flat-earth-tier-tards on /pol/ right now. Brenton Tarrant inspired me. I hope to inspire many more. To those who are brave — know that your sacrifice is the greatest act of love for your race. Your sacrifice will be remembered. Always.
>
> KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING. IT'S FUCKING HAPPENING. McFuggen ebin. :DDD

The Poway-terrorist referencing the Christchurch-attacker

> In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an

The El Paso-terrorist also referencing the Christchurch-attacker.
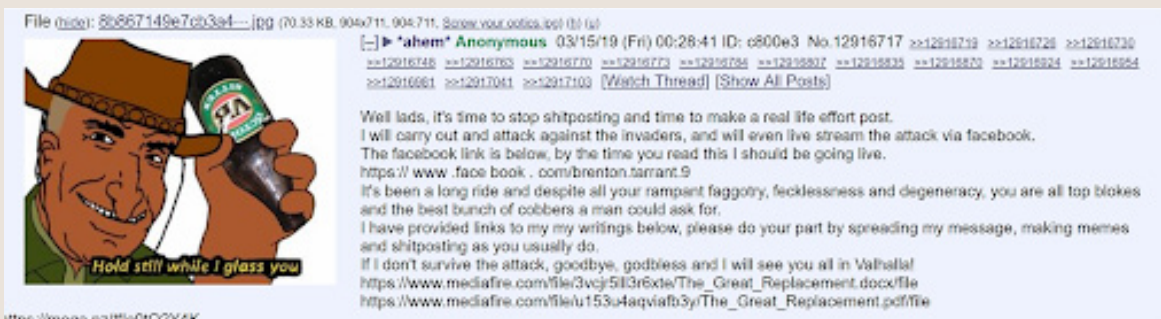
The Christchurch-terrorist sharing his manifesto and linking to his video on 8chan.

7-, 16-, End-, Dream-chan, and many more

Most imageboards with the chan-suffix are structured in a similar vein. All share a simplistic design, employing an increased focus on content rather than accessibility - providing a "you have to be smart and not vain to use this site"-attitude to its users. This generates a feeling of familiarity to chan-users, who can transition from one board to another - which they often do - seemingly effortlessly.

When a board comes under the scrutiny of established media or even legislation, and is under threat of surveillance or moderation, users often migrate from one board to another. As there are no usernames, or any other digital credit-score, nothing substantial is lost when changing virtual pasture. Most chan-sites have the same general ideals and political freedom, so changing from 8chan to 4chan is simply a matter of habit.

If one considers 4chan as the primordial western imageboard, and 8chan as the successor, smaller boards like 7chan, 16chan, EndChan, DreamChan etc. have all been made with neglectable philosophical changes, or to create safe havens when prior boards have been closed down.

In 2019, as 8chan was shut down following the attacks in Christchurch and El Paso, users migrated to other chans in such numbers that even though the users themselves are not discernible, the amount of traffic generated implied a digital migration:
"These increases in traffic to 8ch.net and 4chan.org could suggest that people that are unfamiliar with what 8chan is are going to the site because of the media frenzy surrounding it, and recurring visitors to 8ch.net are now switching to 4chan.org, following the shutdown of 8ch.net" said Ilana Marks of SimilarWeb to The Guardian[15], and CEO of digital investigation company Memetic, Benjamin Decker,

agreed: "The removal of 8chan is just crossing one more platform off the list they won't be using for the time being, but it won't necessarily disrupt the community structure."[16]

In general the deplatforming approach seems to only temporarily disrupt the targeted stream of hate speech and communication, and only encourages it's perpetrators to either hide in the anonymous dark web, or to migrate to other smaller and more obscure platforms.

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15   Paul, K. (2019). 8chan: ex-users of far-right site flock to new homes across internet. The Guardian.

16   Ibid.

Incels.co

Incels.co is the largest forum dedicated to users subscribing to the incel-ideology. Here users can address, voice and discuss topics relating to their involuntary celibacy, or the factors that have led to it. The site is a classic forum divided into three separate subgroupings (and a meta-group where one can suggest changes for the site).

Certain discussions will be elevated to must-read status, and is seen as "*The most noteworthy and thought-provoking threads out there*" (incels.co). In the Inceldom Discussion-forum users can share experiences and strategies pertaining to being an incel - certain situations might have had an emotional impact, or articles from either academia or mainstream can be discussed, if relating to incels. In the OffTopic-forum (nicknamed "The Sewers") everything else fits; discussions of video games, news stories, other websites etc.

The site as a whole necessarily acknowledges the idea that inceldom is a thing; that there is an objective scale to measure one's sexual attractiveness, and that sexual relations are to be thought of as an economy. The very local lingo consolidates these ideas and the prevailing terminology is very distinct:

- "Fuel" is used to describe thoughts, stories or articles driving one towards a certain state or mood. "Lifefuel" is inspiring or hopeful scenarios. "Ragefuel" are deemed so as they make one rage. "Suicidefuel" ("Suifuel") supposedly drives one towards suicide etc.

- "Pills" are meant as descriptors of one's state of enlightenment[17]. Bluepills are unaware of the unfairness of life, redpills are aware, and blackpills have given up on changing the fact of unfairness. Terms such as "Heightpill" means to have acknowledged that height is a determining factor in sexual attraction - a factor that the object has no control over.

- Acronyms such as JFL ("Just fucking lol" - there's nothing to do but laugh hopelessly about this), AWALT ("All women are like that" - used after stories about one woman to describe that it is typical of all women), NEET ("Not in Employment, Education or Training" - used to explain one's social situation) etc. are used as a shorthand to quickly get to the point, and to create a inclusive linguistic paradigm[18].

The front page of incels.co - the world's largest incel forum

17   The idea was made famous by the Wachowski Sisters' movie, The Matrix (1999).

18   Described in the section on 8chan & 8kun - Rhetorical Pins and Needles.

The Must-Read Content is made up of many
different topics:

All threads on incels.co are given a coloured tag to make it easily searchable. Blackpill-threads are proof of the futility of trying to change one's (incel) situation and take up a rather large portion of the digital space.

Currently, the Must-Read forum is made up of the following categories of threads:

- Total: 107
- Blackpill: 72
- No tag: 10
- Serious: 5
- It's Over: 3
- SuicideFuel: 3
- LifeFuel: 2
- Tinder Experiment: 2
- Ragefuel: 2
- News: 2
- Discussion: 2
- TeeHee: 1
- JFL: 1
- Experiment: 1
- Based: 1

Blackpill-threads make up 67% of the Must-Read threads, and is a good marker for the negative weight of the must-read threads.

In total the negatively biased categories Black-pill, It's Over, SuicideFuel and RageFuel have **90** must-read discussions, making up 84% of the total must-read content.

The neutrally biased categories No tag, Serious, Tinder Experiment, News, Discussion, TeeHee, JFL, Experiment and Based have a total of **15** must-read discussions. The positively biased category LifeFuel has only **2** must-read discussions.

Emotionally Homeless

For outsiders it can be hard to understand the attraction - or even existence - of a site such as incels.co, but in spite of the negative rhetoric, owner and proprietor of incels.co, Alexander Ash[19], explains the necessity of the site as such:

Originally, what attracted me the most about the incel community was its carefree way of talking. You might notice there is no self-censoring or worry for (unreasonable) censorship from moderators. Reddit banned the /r/incel community partly because it was not polite, not family friendly, because it found the beliefs of some of the users as incorrect or

simply non-PC. I support freedom of speech within legal bounds, so when reddit banned them I made a forum where there wouldn't be pseudo-arbitrary banning based on political beliefs or public relations recommendations.

On the other hand, the community is filled with people who are at their lowest. They suffer, they are alone, and while they can talk about their plight in other spaces, most people simply don't get their issue. They will be suggested to keep trying, man up, be more confident, etc; many of these are unreasonable, unrealistic, or make little of the suffering the person is going through.

Thus, many people were left "homeless" when the subreddit was banned. The forum attempts to recreate such a home for some of them.

To the question of whether or not the rhetorically aggressive, towards both men and women, site is a help, he further explains:

I know for a fact it helps many. Over the years people have posted about it, messaged me explaining how it helped them in their daily lives, or just by making friends on the forum. Obviously, it doesn't help everyone. Like any community that reaches a certain critical mass of users, there will be people who feel trapped (think social media addicts) or who feel the forum is detrimental to them (think Facebook making users unhappy). It's a matter of perspective.

And further shares this discussion, in which a user attributes the community of incels.co as the reason to why he hasn't committed suicide yet:
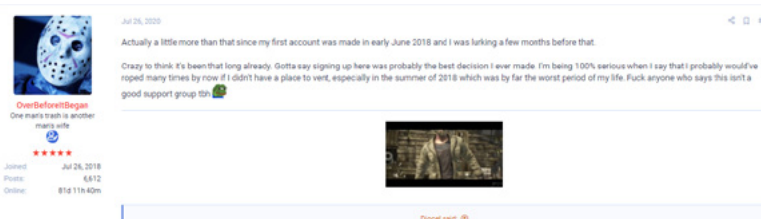
[...]"Gotta say signing up here was probably the best decision I ever made. I'm being 100% serious when I say that I probably would've roped

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19   An online pseudonym, not his real name.

[comitted suicide by hanging, eds.] many times by now if I didn't have a place to vent, especially in the summer of 2018 which was by far the worst period of my life. Fuck anyone who says this isn't a good support group tbh"
                    Thread from 26/7 2020, incels.co

Though the discrepancy between gathering in a forum with such a derogatory rhetoric for women, whilst still wanting the attention or companionship of one, Ash explains:

Naturally, most people wish to be in a loving relationship, that much is no mystery.
With that said, these people experience or have experienced constant rejection from the opposite sex. They see instead that social dynamics dictate that typically the most attractive men attract women, with little regard for personality or other factors; at the same time, women tend to claim that personality is what matters the most, and not attractiveness. There is either a cognitive dissonance going on, or a lie being thrown in their face. They are told to approach more, get haircuts, take showers, go to the gym, to be positive - but their plights are ignored or dismissed, and they are given again and again the same advice that they know (for the vast majority) does not work in practice.

At the core of Ash's thoughts about the community he has created, there seems to be a claim for understanding and unmoderated emotionally laden discussion. A room to "vent20", and to discuss the things that might be true to one person, but are not easily understood by most.

- Any specific authors you think are doing a good - or specifically bad - job? [At understanding and describing incels, eds.]

• *I couldn't name any one specifically. There's a hundred publications from independent organizations that are doing terrible work. No one that's doing a remarkable job. If someone comes to mind I'll let you know.*

- What do you think societies - or advisory projects like this one - can do for incels?

• *Change their attitude towards incels from seeing them as potential terrorists to lonely people who need understanding. Seeing all of them as terrorists only shows how ignorant our society is of the community as large.*

Do you think that academia today understands the incel-culture?

• *The short answer is no. The long answer is that they are making some progress in regards to the incel-radicalization area, though some of it is questionable. In terms of inceldom as a life circumstance, they have made practically zero progress.*
Hopefully, I can help change that someday.

Incels.co is the digital home of more than 12.000 active users.

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20   Ventilate one's feelings and thoughts, i.e. share them openly.

Looksmax.me

Looksmax.me is a forum for involuntary celibate men to discuss their possibilities of "looksmaxxing". That is, to increase (maximize) their looks to the highest of their potential, in order to achieve the sexual attention of desirable women. Whereas incels.co has a distinctively "blackpilled" outlook on inceldom (as in, the situation is inevitable and cannot be changed), looksmax.me applies a more "redpilled" approach: The cornerstone here is that looks matter the most, and the users should strive for objective good looks.

One of the basic philosophies of Looksmax is that good looks are objective, and certain biological traits can be maximized through surgery, exercise, clothing or other strategies. Attraction is considered to be a (complicated) mathematical calculation, where strengths are to be maximized, and weaknesses fixed or hidden:

L o o o k s

Looks	Looks theory • Looks • Regression toward the mean • Beauty • Golden Ratio • Decile • Facial Aesthetics: Concepts and Clinical Diagnosis • The Wall • Scientific Blackpill • Physiognomy • Body dysmorphic disorder • Cheerleader effect • Gait
Lookism communities	**Looksmax.me** • Lookism.net • Looksmax.net (defunct)
Looksmaxxing	Gymmaxxing • Heightmaxxing • Statusmaxxing • Moneymaxxing • Surgerymaxxing • Whitemaxxing • Anabolic steroids • HGH • SARMs • Jelqing
Looks levels	Chad • Chadlite • Brad • Gigachad • Tanner • Pretty Boy • Becky • Stacy • Megastacy • Gigastacy • Witch
Racepill	Ethnicel • JBW theory • Ricecel • Currycel • Blackcel • Arabcel • Whitecel
Inceldom	Acnecel • Wristcel • Baldcel • Eyecel • Nosecel • Oldcel • Uglycel • Fatcel • Shortcel • Skinnycel
Body Parts	Eyes • Lateral orbital rim • Lips • Lower third • Mandible • Maxilla • Eyebrow • Moustache • Boobs • Buttocks • Feet • Browridge • Cheeks
Body Characteristics	Macrophallism • Midface ratio • Neoteny • Sexual attractiveness • Sexual dimorphism • Facial Aesthetics: Concepts and Clinical Diagnosis • Fashion • Anteface • Fivehead • Frame • Facial width-to-height ratio • Chin • Canthal tilt • Compact midface • Deep-set eyes • Hunter eyes • Facial masculinity • Facial asymmetry

Overview of looks-factors, from looksmax.me.

The discussions on Looksmax.me range from analyzing current looks to understanding the nature of good looks and evaluations of strategies for maximization. As a whole the community and communication seems to be much more focused on finding solutions to the involuntary celibacy, than to "vent" about it. It must be noted, though, that the basic premise of the site is that looks can be calculated from the sum of their parts, and that looks are the deciding factor in sexual attention and relationships.

This causal base understanding of relationships can be thought to deprive both men and women of sexual autonomy, and can furthermore be understood to reduce attraction to an economic idea, where men must unfairly struggle to afford the bare sexual necessities, unless they are born into (aesthetical) wealth.

Frontpage of looksmax.me

Most of Looksmax.me reads as a coaching- or improvement-community, where users can have their efforts or looks analyzed and discussed for improvement. One threat associated with such an approach can be that if users analyze attraction as a sum of biologically determined parts - height of skull, shape of nose, depth of eyes, protrusion of cheekbones etc. - 99,9% of people would find something wrong with themselves. Something they could not change. This leads most users to talk about coping - to find strategies to make up for lost attractiveness, by being (or appearing)
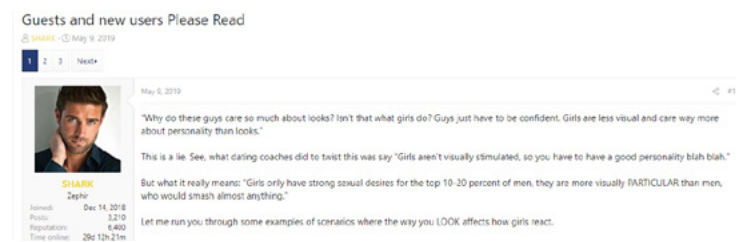
rich, styling hair to fake a more attractive cranium or wearing clothes accentuating positive traits or hiding bad ones.

Involuntary celibate men are to a certain degree vulnerable. One can imagine that there must be a threat to the wellbeing of such men, when presented with a spectrum of things about their looks that **could** be wrong, and outside their power of control. Further, if this spectrum of potential faults are said to be derived from how women necessarily view men, then it can easily become a narrative that the women - though not directly having voiced any of these thoughts - are to blame for the men's flaws.

Thus, women become the enemy, and the sexual autonomy of women becomes the weapon with which they keep men downtrodden.

What on the surface appears to be a supportive environment for men to do better and feel better about themselves, can also be a community that points out that you MUST do something. Otherwise you are not good enough.

One of the most read discussions on Looksmax.me, titled "Guests and new users Please Read"[21], describes the predicament of the users as such:

""Why do these guys care so much about looks? isn't that what girls do? Guys just have to be confident. Girls are less visual and care way more about personality than looks." This is a lie. [...] But what it really means is: "Girls only have strong sexual desires for the top 10-20 percent of men, they are more visually PARTICULAR than men, who would smash almost anything." Let me run you through some examples of scenarios where the way you LOOK affects how girls react."

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21   https://looksmax.me/threads/guests-and-new-users-please-read.18461/

and further exemplifies the situation:
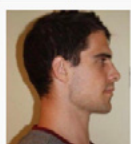
Two modified examples of the same man - one made to be not attractive (weak chin, non-accented jaw line etc.) and the other it's opposite, and a showing of how women would supposedly react differently to the same approach by these "two" men.

and

Same example as above; two versions of the same man supposedly getting different reactions from women on the same approach.

This being one of the most read threads, and the one new users and guests are asked to read, labels it as a sanctioned and site-wide supported opinion. The point of the thread is simply to explain the perceived "fact", that either men are born with objectively attractive features, or must "cope" with their lack thereof, simply because women will evaluate them on an aesthetical scale first and foremost, and this will determine how women view all further romantic efforts.

Guys: If you made a girl laugh today (because you know you have to entertain a girl because otherwise she won't give a shit about you), and you're ugly, she'll go home tonight without thought of you on her mind. Brutal Truth: If you were hot and said the same joke, she'd be writing about you in her diary, texting her friends about you about how funny you are. She would stalk your Instagram and try to find out everything about you. **The shape of your skull was the only difference.**

Most, if not all, men and women have experienced being rejected romantically and/or sexually. If users in a digital vacuum, where women are not allowed22, analyze each other's rejections, there is a threat of the users searching for a concrete reason for being rejected which entails the reason to be fixable, and thus the rejection to be reconsidered. This emphasizes sexual relationships and courting as the men's responsibility, and in turn negates the sexual autonomy of women, and attributes a malicious, or at least capitalistic, sexual mindset to them.

Looksmax.me hosts more than 6.000 active users.

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22   The site's rules state that women are not allowed, and will be banned "on sight". (https://looksmax.me/threads/rules-and-faq.1/)

Gab

**Gab is a social network made in the likeness of Twitter.
As Facebook and Twitter began to moderate politically extremist
topics and police discussions with bans and deletions, some users
began to search for similar but less moderated alternatives. Gab was
one such network, made specifically to ensure the users almost
total free speech, no matter the political alignment
or moral weight of the discussed topics.**

> We have deleted accounts for more straightforward violations of the existing Terms. That being said, we are engaged in an editorial review of those Terms to make it more clear what actions we will and won't take. Essentially, Twitter is a communication utility, not a mediator of content.

Twitter Co-Founder Biz Stone, 2008[23]

In 2015 Gab was created as a free speech-haven for users disinclined to support Twitter, as more and more users thought the established mainstream platforms - Facebook, news media and of course, Twitter - to be left-leaning and promoting socialist or democratic views rather than conservative or (alt) right counterparts. Andrew Torba, the founder of Gab, explained the platform's need for creation as:

"What makes the entirely left-leaning Big Social monopoly qualified to tell us what is 'news' and what is 'trending' and to define what "harassment" means?" he said. "It didn't feel right to me, and I wanted to change it, and give people something that would be fair and just."

Andrew Torba, 2016

In its creation, Gab was meant to be a free speech-based platform. However, it was created in an environment where those that felt they needed room for free(er) speech than Twitter and Facebook could offer, were typically belonging to a conservative or extreme right political group. Famous users like the alt right-spokesperson and former Breitbart journalist Milo Yiannopoulos, made a high-profile switch to Gab, after being permanently banned from Twitter in 2017. He was banned for continuous harassment of BLM-proponent and active feminist, Leslie Jones.
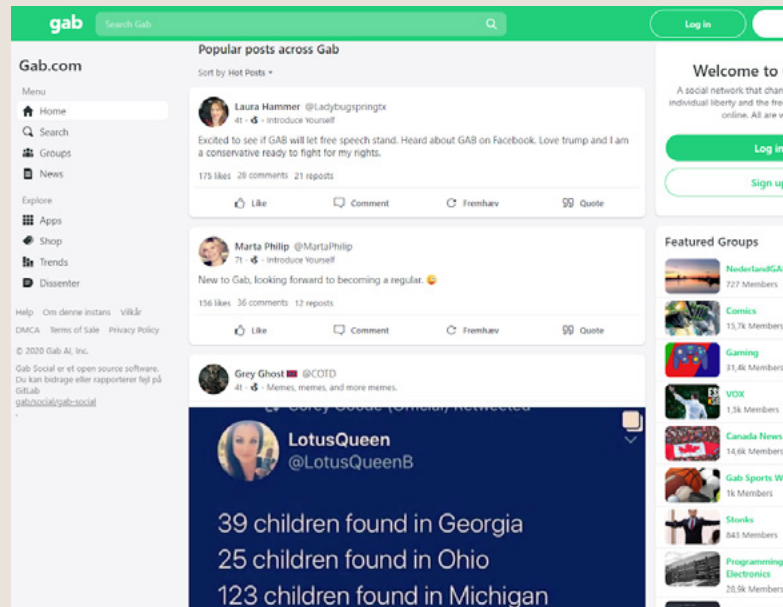
Gab looks like Twitter, but has a different political scope

Gab was the digital homestead of the Pittsburgh terrorist, who in 2018 killed 11 people in a synagogue, only shortly after having posted "HIAS[24] likes to bring invaders in that kill our people. I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered." on his Gab profile. The attacker had made multiple anti-semitic and extreme (alt) right comments on the platform.

Shortly after the attack Gab was taken offline, as the server provider cancelled their support. Gab has since come back online.

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23   Schiffman, B. (2008). Twitterer Takes on Twitter Harassment
      Policy. Wired.com

24   Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, a refugee organization.

Content Standards

These Content Standards apply to any and all User Contributions and use of Interactive Services.

As a general rule, written expression that is protected political, religious, symbolic, or commercial speech under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution will be allowed on the Website. User Contributions absolutely must in their entirety comply with all applicable federal, state, and local regulations in the United States.

Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, User Contributions must NOT:

- Be unlawful or be made in furtherance of any unlawful purpose. User Contributions must not aid, abet, assist, counsel, procure or solicit the commission of, nor constitute an attempt or part of a conspiracy to commit, any unlawful act. For avoidance of doubt, speech which is merely offensive or the expression of an offensive or controversial idea or opinion, as a general rule, will be in poor taste but will not be illegal in the United States.

- Unlawfully threaten.

- Incite imminent lawless action.

- Interfere with the operation of any computer.

- Be obscene, sexually explicit or pornographic. Note that mere nudity e.g. as a form of protest or for educational/medical reasons will not fall foul of this rule.

- Infringe any patent, trademark, trade secret, copyright, or other intellectual property or other rights of any other person.

- Violate the legal rights (including the rights of publicity and privacy) of others or contain any material that could give rise to any civil or criminal liability under applicable laws or regulations of the United States or that otherwise may be in conflict with these Terms of Service and our Privacy Policy.

- Impersonate any person, or misrepresent your identity or affiliation with any person or organization, for a purpose not protected by the First Amendment.

- Involve commercial activities relating to finance, investments or gambling, such as contests and sweepstakes, penny stock promotion, money transmission, or Initial Coin Offerings; or the trade of live or endangered animals or animal parts, or anything that portrays or encourages the abuse of animals.

- Give the impression that they emanate from or are endorsed by us or any other person or entity, if this is not the case.

- Link to any content from the above-listed categories.

Although our Content Standards, following the First Amendment, do not proscribe offensive speech, we strongly encourage you to ensure that your User Contributions are cordial and civil. The foundation of a free society requires people to peacefully settle their differences through dialogue and debate. Gab exists to promote the free flow of information online. It is our view that the responsible exercise of one's free speech rights is its own reward and, as a general rule, the most well-respected online publishers tend to be the ones who behave the most civilly and put forward their arguments most intelligently.

Gab's standards for posted content

The very lax content standards have led to criticism of Gab as a hotbed of especially anti-semitic, national socialism, and alt right-opinions. As none of these are explicitly against Gab's terms of service, but would warrant moderation or bans from Twitter, they naturally congregate on Gab.

One threat of free speech-platforms like Gab is that if only one political ideology feels a need for free speech, those views will seldom be challenged and it therefore effectively becomes a digital echo chamber. This incentivises a strong us vs. them-narrative, as noted on both Gab, incels.co, 8chan etc. where users talk of "normies", blue-pills, soyboys and more, as a political and societal opponent, though without engaging in discussions with them, as they are on separate platforms.

The lack of open discussion and equal exchange of ideas can be a threat to any democratic foundation.

Gab does not share it's user statistics openly, but is estimated to have more than 400.000 active users. Twitter in comparison has 300.000.000.

Communication platforms

For users concerned with government surveillance of communication - either because they are politically active or because they ideologically dislike the thought hereof - usual messaging services like Messenger, WhatsApp (both owned by Facebook and not encrypted), or regular texting (SMS - not encrypted), are too vulnerable or open to use freely.

Therefore many users from the target group of this report will use services like:

- Signal
- Viber
- Telegram
- Line
- Threema
- Wicky
- Cyphr
- Dark Web-based email clients such as Protonmail.

to discuss more sensitive information, or anything that would breach the (albeit low) limits for content shared on open platforms. This in turn means that for reports and analysis of such subcultures, authors looking to uncover a cesspool of coordinated attacks on specific women, policy makers or organizations, will be sorely disappointed, as these will always be moved to a secure communication service.

In semi-open communication media, like Discord, one might find designated "attack coordinations", like this example from a Men's Rights Activist-network:

But the content thereof is rather tame memes and drawings that can be used to counter-argue feminist debates in other online forums.
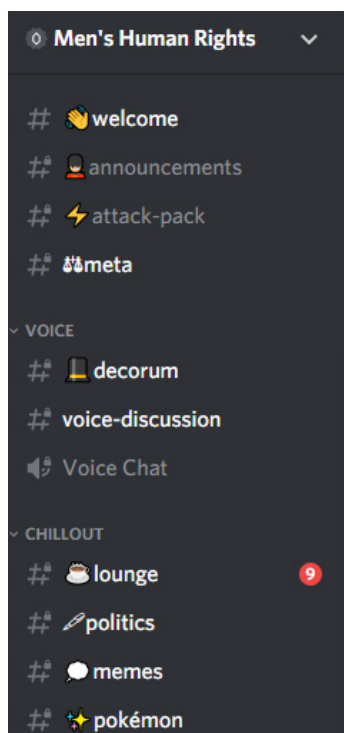
Designated "attack coordinations" from a Men's Rights Activist-network on Discord.
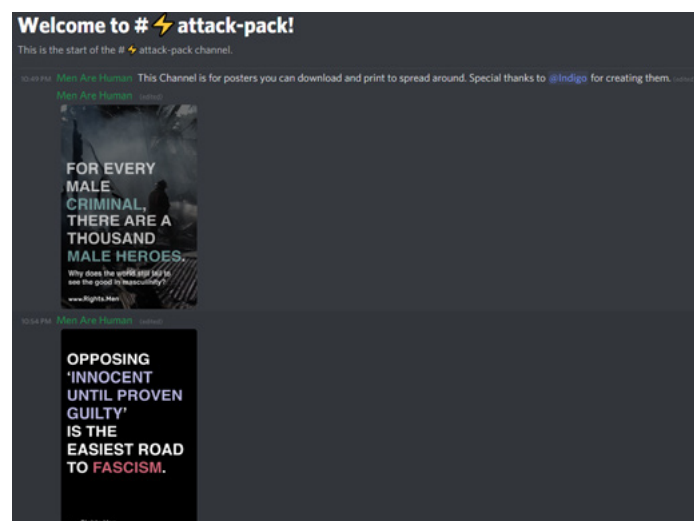
Examples of content on the designated attack coordination from a Men's Rights Activist-network on Discord.

The reason(s) for opting out of mainstream media becomes a congregational aspect of the newfound digital community

Sub-conclusion

Almost all social media platforms relying on user-generated content host misogynistic content to a greater or lesser extent. The forums described here have been selected due to their more or less outspoken ties to the misogynistic communities, and their roles as hosts to proponents of radical free speech. The list is not exhaustive, as migration constantly happens and new forums appear too often to finitely map, but at the time of writing the list covers the most active forums of relevance to this project.

The common denominator for both communication platforms and the forums of interest is the incredibly strong sense of in-group identification, and increased sense of oppositional mindset. What seems to be a unifying trait is that the use of these platforms arise from users opting out of Facebook Messenger, Snapchat etc., rather than opting in to these. The reason(s) for opting out of mainstream media becomes a congregational aspect of the newfound digital community, where an obvious feeling of being smarter and/or better than the users who are still "stuck" at Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram.

This dynamic is in itself not a threat to neither wellbeing, democracy or equality, but becomes just that when the new groups actively antagonize the communication or speaker engaging via Facebook etc. When the consolidation of new communities is done at the cost of others, it has become radicalized and is a threat to the free speech that is a foundation of both democracy and progressiveness.

The use of fringe media and platforms is therefore only worrying insofar the content is, though an inquiry as to why so many users opt out of the same platforms the rest of us use every day seems very important.

In the following a quantitative extent analysis will be brought, and an estimate of the amount of active Nordic users posting misogynistic content will be given.

Mapping the extent of online misogyny within the Nordic countries

The aim of this section is to assess the extent of online misogyny in the Nordic countries, and to gain insights into the Nordic adherence to an overtly misogynist ideology on the social media platforms Twitter, Reddit, and 4chan. The main contribution in this section is an estimate of the number of Nordic users engaging in misogynistic speech who actively contributed content to the platforms during the course of three years (June 26th, 2017 to June 26th, 2020) in the misogynistic areas of the three platforms Reddit, 4chan and Twitter.

The analysis was based solely on publicly available data obtained through public APIs or scraping and processed in accordance with GDPR.

On these platforms it is common to be anonymous posing certain difficulties in determining nationality. To overcome these difficulties multiple search strategies were developed and applied described in detail in the following.

Methodological principles

The quantitative estimate of the number of active Nordic users contributing misogynistic content to the platforms is reached by combining expert knowledge of misogynistic online environments of Center for Digital Youth Care (CDYC) and the long experience with online forums and digital hate speech of Analyse & Tal F.M.B.A. Certain methodological choices have been made, the following five principles[1] have formed the basis of said choices:

1. **Users engaging in online misogyny form an inherently digital subculture. Their prevalence may therefore be estimated solely based on the digital traces they leave**
   Users engaging in online misogyny constitute an inherently digital subculture and no physical equivalent has been encountered yet. The community consists of user-generated online content (text, images, videos) that is shared in dedicated forums. Therefore it is assumed that the size and nature of the environment can be analyzed solely by studying the relevant posts, comments, and metadata (usernames, time codes, subforums, etc.) within these forums.

2. **"Communities" with misogynistic content can overly be limited to 208[2] dedicated subforums**
   The socialization and content sharing of misogyny takes place in specific subforums (subreddits and boards). Since the content and ideology is reasonably controversial, active misogynists tend to share their material and views in dedicated, often anonymous, forums. Thus, it has been possible to narrow down the data collection to certain subreddits and boards related to either the international misogynist movement or the Nordic countries. The selection of subforums has been carried out on the basis of the project group's knowl-

edge of online misogyny and subsequently by mapping subreddits with a large overlap of users.

3. **Nordic users cannot be identified solely based on their language**
   The "internationality" that characterizes both platforms and users of interest to this project result in most dialogue unfolding in English. AI-based language recognition of Nordic languages will therefore not be sufficient in order to estimate the number of Nordic users. The identification of activity carried out using Nordic languages must be supplemented by a search for discussions relating to Nordic countries unfolding in English.

4. **The discourse of users engaging in misogynism is characterized by a pronounced use of neologisms (slang)**
   Users engaging in misogyny are known to interact with and identify one another through a unique language with self-invented terms. Presumably, relevant content can – for the most part – be identified by a linguistic filter built around this distinctive language.

5. **User engaging in misogyny often seek anonymity**
   Forums centered around misogynistic views are characterized by a high degree of anonymity. Many users make use of VPN connections to hide the digital markers that may reveal their nationality and identity. Users do provide a username on Reddit and Twitter, but there are no serious verification processes and individuals can easily hide behind multiple different user accounts.

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1   The five characteristics are in agreement with the characterization of the misogynistic communities made by the Swedish Defence Research Agency previously this year. https://www.foi.se/report-summary?reportNo=FOI%20Memo%207040

2   204 subreddits and four boards on 4chan

Data filtering: Isolating the Relevant Body of Data

Multiple search strategies have been employed, with the purpose of all applied strategies being narrowing down the billions of content pieces produced each year on the three platforms to a data set limited to content that is potentially 1) misogynistic and 2) authored by a person of Nordic origin.

Each of the strategies add to the general overview of the extent of Nordic misogynistic content. Even though some of the strategies contribute very few new cases of potential Nordic misogynistic content pieces, the strategies have been kept within the method to rule out those areas as blind spots of the other strategies. Illustratively, one can think of the "non-successful" strategies as holes left behind from treasure digging: While no 'treasures' were found in a hole, each hole represents a method used to search for misogyny in a Nordic context – hereby minimizing the risk that important data points would be overlooked.

Misogynistic and Nordic Search Keys

Multiple search strategies with slight variations from platform to platform, described in detail in Table 1, have been applied built upon particularly two central search keys:

- **The misogynistic search key** is a simple word list that contains 242 words, formulations and names of people that play a central role to the misogynistic vocabulary. The use of any of these words on the three selected platforms indicates a potential adherence to the misogynist ideology. Central to the search key are the unique misogynistic neologisms that are continuously developed within the platforms. The search key was refined through several iterations. The goal of these iterations has been to develop a search key that on the one side is broad enough to assume that one cannot have been an active participant on these misogynistic communities on the platforms during the past three years without making use of any of the words or wordings on the list, but also narrow enough to not drown the process in false positives and noise. This issue will be discussed further below.

Examples of words: betamale, roastie, femoid, "men's rights", gentlemen etc.

- **The Nordic search key** contains 379 words, formulations, names of people and places indicating that the content concerns the Nordic countries or that the user has a Nordic affiliation in the form of knowledge of Nordic people, places or concepts.
  Examples of words: "Stockholm", "Mette Frederiksen", "Riksdag", "feminatsi" etc.

Extending the Nordic search key with other strategies

The Nordic search key is, methodologically speaking, by far the weakest of the two. While it seems nearly impossible to be an active participant in the misogynistic environments on the three platforms without using any of the words within the misogynistic search key, one can easily imagine participants that never relate to their Nordic origin through use of Nordic language or Nordic identifiers. This issue is deeply related to the intrinsic anonymity in the misogynistic arenas which in turn is related to the controversy of much of the content produced within the environments.

To mitigate this methodological weakness, several platform specific strategies to supplement the Nordic search key in attributing Nordic origin were developed. On 4chan, the possibility to add a country flag to a post or comment, hereby indicating the author's country of origin, was employed as another Nordic indicator. Even though this feature is only available on /pol (the biggest of the four selected 4chan boards) and even though there is no way of assuring that a user is in fact using the flag that reflects his origin, the technique helped dramatically increase the accuracy in estimating the amount of Nordic users discoursing in English.

A similar strategy was applied on Reddit where all content posted within Nordic subreddits (e.g. r/Denmark) were identified as being authored by a user with Nordic origin.

Finally, AI based language recognition was implemented on all platforms to identify content actively written in one of the Nordic languages. On Twitter, language classification is provided for every tweet as part of the API. On 4chan and Reddit, language was classified using the open source language library FastText.

Qualitative coding of sample

The filtering of data still left a data set with a large degree of false positives. False positives in this case means content that meets both the misogynistic and the Nordic search key (or one of the other techniques for attributing Nordic origin) but in practice does not reflect expressions of misogyny by a Nordic user. Examples include: Posts,

comments, tweets and retweets that mention misogynistic concepts with the point of criticizing or mocking the misogynists, words and phrases with dual meanings or content with such weak indicators that Nordic affiliation or misogynistic ideology cannot be attributed with enough certainty.

To estimate the extent of such false positives in the data set, a representative sample of at least 10% of the full data set on all three platforms was qualitatively categorized. The qualitative coding is used to determine the accuracy of the filtered data set in order to calculate a more precise estimate.

Methodological illustration

The method used to estimate the extent of misogynistic content posted by Nordic users can be illustrated with the following model. It should be

noted that the model is illustrative and only partly reflects the actual relationship between the data set before and after filtering.

All content on the three platforms During period.

Post on subreddits or boards of interests during the period.

(Based on the expert selection of relevant subforums by CDYC)

Post containing misogynistic terminology

(Misogynistic search key)

Misogynistic content which also contains Nordic indicators.

(Nordic search key, Nordic subreddits, language recognition and 4Chan flag feature)

Post that Qualitatively contains misogynistic statements, where the users can be attributed Nordic origin.

(Manual coding of -10% of content from each platform)

Table 1

Data-preparation:
Step-by-step procedure for each platform

	Reddit	4chan	Twitter
Optimization of search keys	Through three iterations, the search keys were developed and optimized in close collaboration with CDYC and the Nordic advisory group. To support this qualitative exploration, a quantitative cluster analysis was made on Reddit data to identify any relevant misogynistic keywords that may have been overlooked.		
Selection of subforums	204 Subreddits related to the misogynist environment or the Nordic countries were selected.	Twitter does not use subforums. Instead, the Nordic search key was supplemented with the handles of the names of known actors in the gender debate to include a focus on online harassment.	Four boards related to the misogynist environment were selected.
Data collection	An integration to Pushshift's Reddit API was developed, which allowed collection of all posts and comments from select subreddits. Pushshift's API was chosen seeing as Reddit's own API does not contain data from banned subreddits.	An integration to Twitter's Premium API was deployed, which allowed the purchase of tweets and retweets based on the two search keys and language criteria.	Historic content was downloaded from five public 4chan archives. Further, a scraper was built and used to collect recent content that had not yet been made available in the archives.
Identifying potentially misogynistic content	From the selected subforums, all posts and comments that contain at least one word from the misogynistic search key were identified.		
Identifying potential Nordic content	Content was classified as potentially Nordic if it 1) appeared in a Nordic subreddit or 2) contained any word from the Nordic search key	Content was classified as potentially Nordic if 1) Twitter had classified it as Nordic or 2) it contained any word from the Nordic search key	Content was classified as potentially Nordic if it 1) was recognized as Nordic by the language recognition AI, 2) contained any word from the Nordic search key, or 3) was tagged with a Nordic country flag (only /pol)
Size of the filtered data set	5.107 posts and comments	55.293 posts and comments	43.073 posts and comments
Manual coding	A representative sample of 10% of the filtered posts were read and classified, and annotated them as true or false based on a normative definition of misogyny and estimation of Nordic origin.		

3   The following codes were used https://desuarchive.org, https://archive.4plebs.org, https://thebarchive.com, https://archiveofsins.com, and https://archived.moe/

Table 2

Calculating the estimates: Step-by-step procedure for each platform

	Reddit Twitter	4chan
Estimate of Nordic misogynistic content	Based on the qualitative coding of the representative 10% of the content, it is possible to estimate how much of the identified content actually represents misogynistic content from Nordic users. The final estimation of the amount of content that is both misogynistic and of Nordic origin is then calculated with the formula $I = N^*p$, where N is the number of content pieces after filtering, p is the percentage of coded content that lived up to the inclusion criteria and I is the estimated number of content pieces. The margin of error in this estimate is found with the formula: $FM_\gamma = z_\gamma {}^* \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} \sqrt{\frac{N-n}{N-1}}$, where n is the number of content pieces coded manually, FM_γ is the confidence interval, Z^γ is a static variable which for the confidence interval of 95% is given as $Z^\gamma = 1,959$. Error margin of I can then subsequently be calculated as $I_{FM} = FM_{95}{}^*N$.	
Estimate of users	On Reddit and Twitter, the number of users who are authors of the filtered content are identified based on usernames.	On 4chan, posting is anonymous, which makes estimation of users difficult. However, seeing as there appears to be strong similarities between 4chan and Reddit in both audience and board structure it is assumed that the activity of an average 4chan user is roughly comparable to that of an average Reddit user. As such, this comparison is used to estimate the total number of 4chan users.
Estimate of number of active Nordic misogynists	The estimate of the total number of active Nordic misogynists is calculated as $B = \frac{I}{\mu}$, where I is the estimated number of content pieces and μ is the average number of contributions per user, after the data has been filtered by both search keys. The margin of error is subsequently found as $B_{FM} = \frac{I_{FM}}{\mu}$.	A model for the number of contributions per user, based upon our Reddit data set, was developed. The distribution of content per user, which can be seen in Figure 6 in the Appendix, follows a power law of the form $f(x) = k^*x^{-\alpha}$. The parameters in this model are found by fitting the collected Reddit data that lives up to the misogynistic search key. Using the found parameter α in the probability function of a power law $p(x) = \frac{\alpha-1}{x_{min}} \left(\frac{x}{x_{min}} \right)^{-\alpha}$, this is integrated to find the interval ix which contains 95% of all users. This range is found to be from 1 to 17 pieces of content per user. This interval is used to estimate how many individual 4chan users the encoded data represents.

4   The board structure of both Reddit and 4chan is quite similar. On both platforms there are subforums with posts + associated comments, and from observational studies the culture and pace of the discussion appears comparable.

Results

Based upon the above approach, the following estimates are reached:

1. Between 100 and 850 Nordic users posting misogynistic content have been active during the last year (June 2019-June 2020) of the study across all three platforms

2. Between 250 and 2500 Nordic users posting misogynistic content have been active during the entire three year period (June 2017-June 2020) of the study across all three platforms

A detailed summary of these results is presented in Table 3.
Below follows a detailed presentation of the misogynistic activity on each platform over time distributed across each of the five main Nordic languages (Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish). The activity is shown on a three-month resolution, corresponding to the four quarters of the year[5].

5 The first five days of the investigated period (June 26th to June 30th, 2017) are for technical reasons not included in the graphs.

Figure 1. Twitter hits on the misogynistic search key and Nordic indicators over time distributed across the five main Nordic languages.
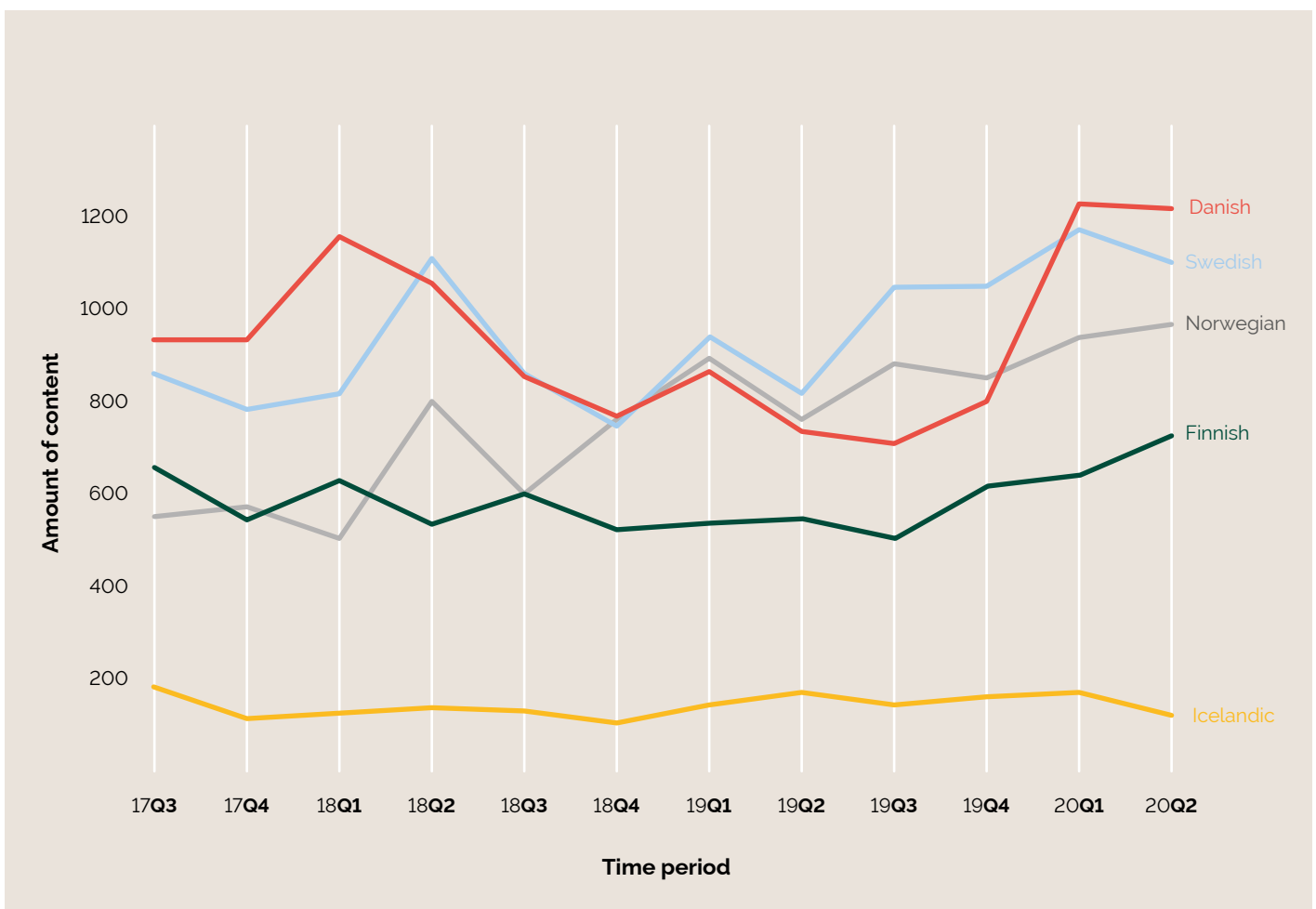
Twitter

On twitter 55,293 tweets hit both the misogynistic search key and at least one of the Nordic indicators. Of these, 0.4% were classified to contain Nordic misogynistic content (based upon the qualitative coding of a 10%-sample). Based upon this result, the total population of Nordic users contributing misogynistic content is estimated to be between 93 – 221.

A breakdown of the five main Nordic languages over time are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 2. Reddit hits on the misogynistic search key and Nordic indicators over time distributed across the five main Nordic languages.

Reddit

On Reddit, 5,107 posts and comments that hit both the misogynistic search key and at least one of the Nordic indicators were found. Of these, 1.6% were estimated to contain Nordic misogynistic content (based upon the qualitative coding of a 10%-sample). Based upon this result, the total population of Nordic users contributing misogynistic content is estimated to be between 21 – 97.

A breakdown of the five main Nordic languages over time are shown in Figure 2.

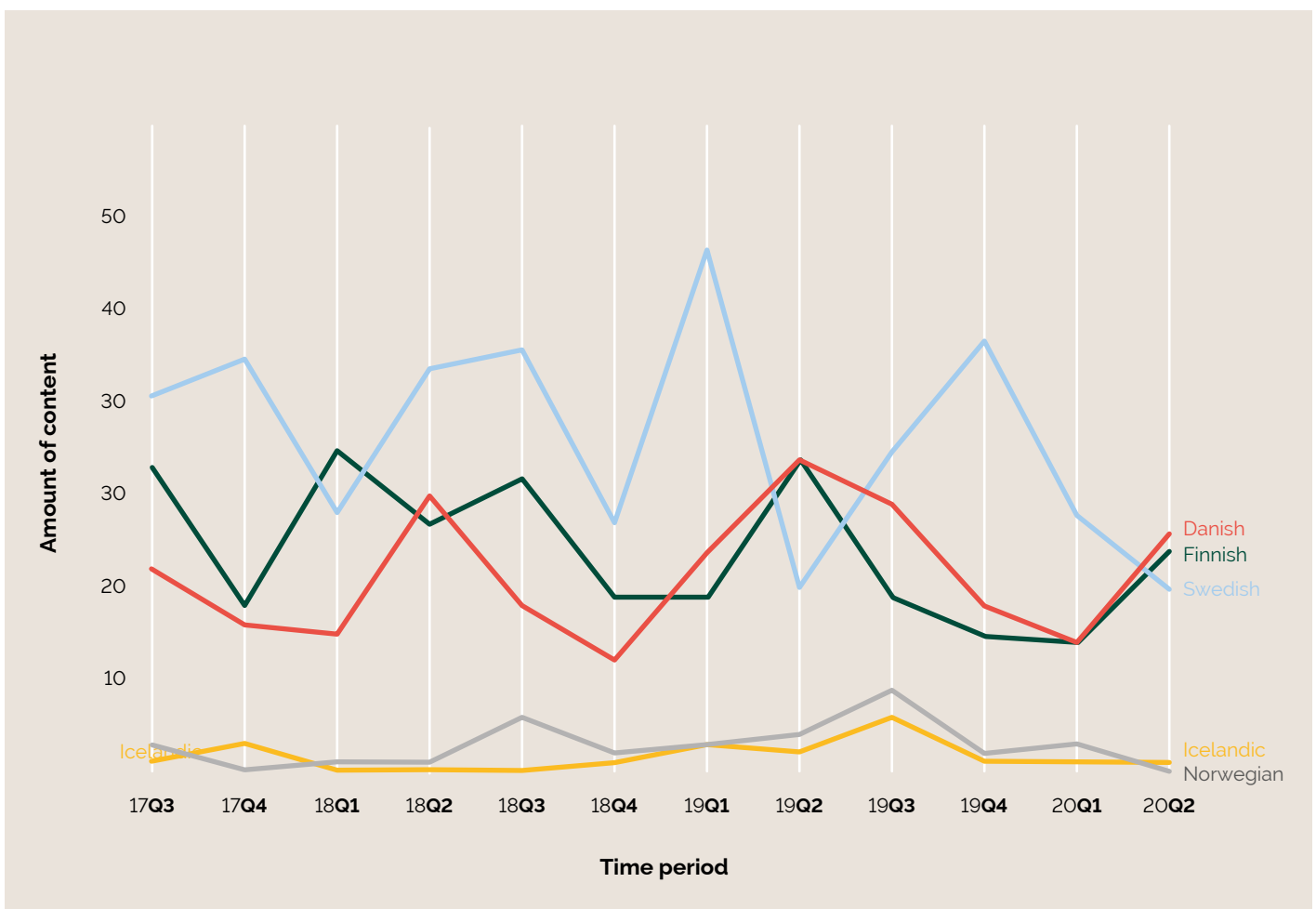*Figure 3. 4chan hits on the misogynistic search key and Nordic indicator (country flag) over time distributed across the five main Nordic languages. The peak of Swedish content in Q3 of 2018 is due to one specific message being posted more than 400 times within one day.*

4chan

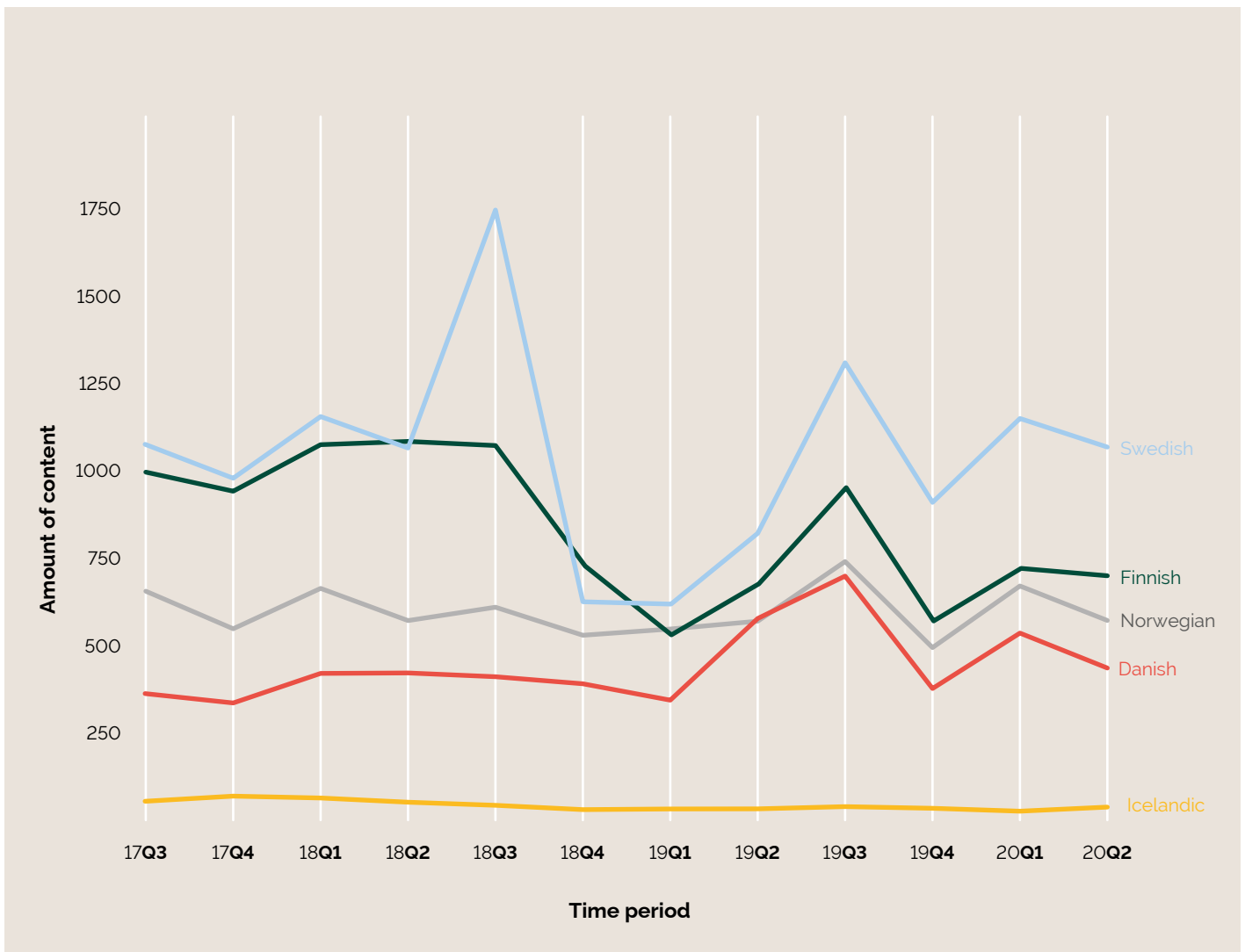On 4chan, 43,073 posts and replies that hit both the misogynistic search key and at least one of the Nordic indicators were found. Of these, 5.0% were estimated to contain Nordic misogynistic content (based upon the qualitative coding of a 14%-sample). Based upon this result, the total population of Nordic users contributing misogynistic content is estimated to be between 144 – 2,166.

A breakdown of the five main Nordic languages over time are shown in Figure 3. For 4chan this breakdown was solely based upon the number of country flags, since this by far showed out to be the platform's primary Nordic indicator.

Total

Combining the results from each of the three platforms, the maximum number of Nordic misogynist users across the three platforms over the three year period is estimated to 2,484. Figure 4 shows all content that hits the misogynistic search key and Nordic indicator over time and distributed across the three platforms.

Figure 4. Total hits on the misogynistic search key and Nordic indicator over time distributed across the three platforms.

Figure 5. Estimated actual Nordic misogynist content over time distributed across each of the three platforms. The low amount of estimated Twitter hits compared to the activity in Figure 4 is a result of the low accuracy on Twitter (see Table 3).
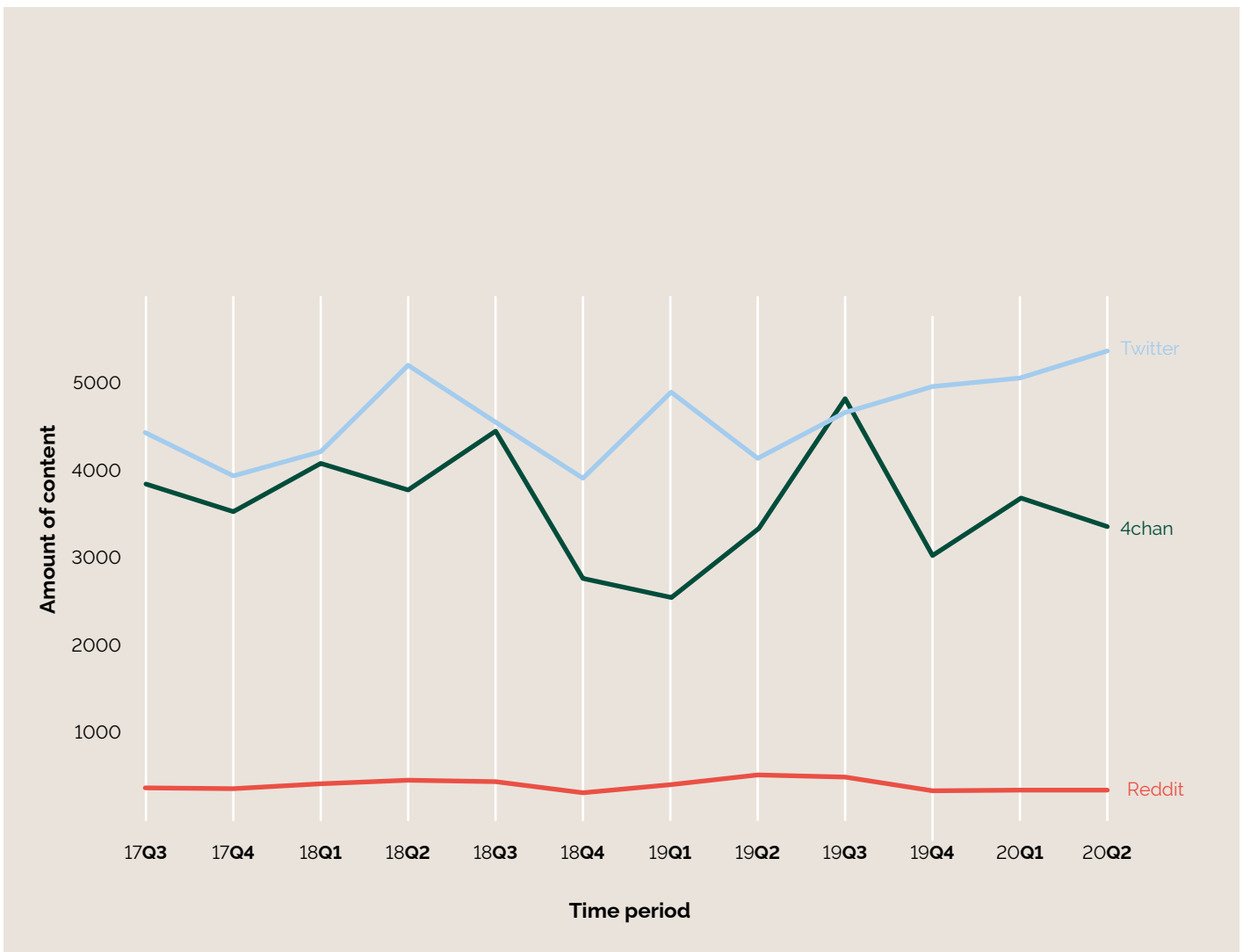
If the ratio of true positives is assumed to be randomly distributed over time, the percentage of actual misogynistic content can be seen as a percentage of total hits. This allows for multiplication of the counts in Figure 4 with the accuracy found for each platform in order to get the distribution of actual Nordic misogynist content (see Figure 5).

Table 3: Quantitative results

	🍀 4chan	🔴 Reddit	🐦 Twitter
Subfora	b, pol, lgbt, r9k	204 forums	None
Total content	3.9 million posts and replies	140 million posts and comments	600 billion tweets
Hits on misogynist search key	3.9 million	1.6 million	55,293[5]
Hits on all nordic indicators that also adheres to the misogynist search key	43,073	5,107	
Coded content	6,205 (14%)	511 (10%)	5,526 (10%)
Calculated accuracy based upon qualitative coding	5.0%	1.6%	0.4%
Nordic misogynist hits % compared to total content	$9.2{*}10^{4}$	$5.7{\cdot}10^{-5}$	$3.5{\cdot}10^{-10}$
Estimated numbers of Nordic misogynist users one year	50 – 754	8 – 30	36 – 78
Estimated numbers of Nordic misogynist users three year	144 - 2,166	21 – 97	93 - 221
Language / Country breakdown	DK: 5,328 / 12.4% FI: 10,059 / 23.5% IS: 473 / 1.1% NO: 7,189 / 16.8% SE: 12,556 / 29.3%[6] (based on flag identifiers)	DK: 259 / 5.1% FI: 292 / 5.7% IS: 19 / 0.4% NO: 34 / 0.7% SE: 438 / 8.6%[7]	DK: 11,282 / 20.6% FI: 7,091 / 12.9% IS: 1,759 / 3.2% NO: 9,091 / 16.6% SE: 11,306 / 20.6%[8]

5   Different method compared to reddit and 4chan because of API limitations which has forced a combination of the two search keys. Additionally, the search key has been slightly modified. The results are however still comparable.

6   The remaining 16.9% of posts were in non-Nordic languages

7   The remaining 79.5% of posts were in non-nordic languages

8   The remaining 26.1% of posts were in non-Nordic languages

Qualitative methodology

In order to assess the scope of the issue of online misogyny in the Nordic countries, data has been gathered both qualitatively and quantitatively through multiple methods: focus groups, advisory groups, interviews with experts, and scraping of posts and comments using a predefined search key. Each method is briefly described below in regards to how this method has been applied, reason(s) for choosing this particular method, and how the method in question helps broaden the understanding of the topic.

Field observations

Extensive field observations on a multitude of online forums[1] has been conducted in order to gain an understanding of the how's, why's, who's, and where's of online misogyny in a Nordic context. Dedicating hours of field work on each of these platforms has created thorough insights into the worldviews, ideologies, and understandings of the self and others of users of such forums.
Field observations have been performed with no particular motive in mind, other than gaining as objective insights into and understandings of certain online cultures and their "member's" as possible.

Access to and participation in some forums has posed certain challenges due to narrow inclusion criteria, often with a manual acceptance from a moderator before new users are allowed on the forum. On most forums the project group has used honest profiles with a group members identity and login, but for a few it has been necessary to use fake personas to be allowed entry. Any interviews or inquiries made to moderators or forum users have been made from open profiles, using project participants' own names.

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1   For a full list see the "Forums of interest"-section

Interviews with experts

In order to gain as deep an understanding of the issue as possible, experts within the field were interviewed. "Experts" is defined broadly, spanning from people with academic and research based knowledge of the area to women who have experienced online misogyny first hand. Such differential backgrounds were chosen in order to broaden our perspective on both the perpetrators of misogyny, the culture surrounding online misogyny, the point of view of the victims, the consequences for the victims, and the democratic consequences of open online misogyny.

A list of interviewed experts can be found in the Appendix.

Quantitative extent analysis

In order to assess the scope of misogynistic online speech quantitative data was drawn from three distinct platforms, namely Twitter, Reddit and 4chan. Several other platforms were of interest[2] but due to the financial scope of the project a choice had to be made. The choice fell on these three forums due to their history with freedom of speech, misogyny, and sexism, and their user generated content. Data was drawn using a search key containing 242 search words of relevance to The Manosphere (as defined on pp. 29-41), combined with 379 words indicating Nordic affiliation (e.g. Swedish, Nordic, Helsinki, etc.). The quantitative method and analysis is further described in the above section.

Seeing as Twitter has no subforums the platform could be scraped in its entirety, using the search key as the only search criteria. Both Reddit and 4chan consist of several different subforums demanding further choosing. On Reddit these subforums are called subreddits, on 4chan they are called boards.

To broaden the scope of searched subreddits, a set of tools tracking comparable subreddits based on either user overlap, or content has been used: Both subredditstats.com and anvaka.github.io/sayit can measure similarity in user-groups across subreddits.

These tools have been used to find similar yet not identical subreddits from different starting points, e.g. r/scandinavia, r/shortcels, r/mensrights, r/Incelistan and several national subreddits, e.g. r/denmark, r/sweden etc. The list of subreddits has been reviewed and edited manually.[3]

Four boards were chosen on 4chan: /pol, /b, /r9k, and /lgbt. These four were chosen specifically due to their politically incorrect content, and the often anti left-wing expression of opinions.

Using this method, a large dataset was retrieved. Subsequently, 10% of the retrieved posts and comments were manually coded, in order to determine if in fact the post was misogynistic, and the plausibility of the poster having an affiliation to the Nordic countries. Certain inclusion criteria were used when determining nationality and level of misogyny, as listed below.

Content: The content was analyzed for posts which were aggressively describing women, feminists or "progressive" politicians and policy makers in misogynistic, gendered derogatory or social and politically antagonistic terms.

The content was assessed for instances where women were described in derogatory, generalizing, and objectifying terms, where the actions of women were attributed their gender and/or the appearance of men, where wishes to restructure society and the distribution of goods in ways unfavorable to women were uttered, and where violent acts towards women were glorified and/or spoken of as natural, logic, reasonable, rational and/or necessary. Posts/comments such as

- "_Hide your roastie flapper and go back to whining how hard your life is._" [4]
  (Gendered derogatory terms about all women, "roastie" & context)
- "_Women vote whatever the media or their boyfriend tells them to vote. Therefore trading a roastie for a nationalist is a double loss._" [5]
  (Political animosity directed at women, gendered derogatory term, "roastie" & context)

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2   See extensive list in the "Forums of interest" section

3   For a full list of subreddits scraped see Appendix

4   4chan, Post ID: 236742826

5   4chan, Post ID: 258549706

- *How will we ever get around to take away roastie rights tho?[6]*
  (Political animosity directed at women, gendered derogatory term, "roastie" & context)
- *THIS JUST IN: Swedish Feminists have cucked their own men to such a point, that they screw crazed Barbarian Invader Hordes like paid whores! Who wudda thunk it?! [7]*
  (Political animosity directed at women, sexualized aggressiveness, "whores" & context)

posted by Nordic users will be coded as living up to the inclusion criteria due to misogynistic content, whereas posts/comments such as

- *"This is to ofc maximise the amount of male support and labor that can help her and her offspring when she has mated. An alpha that has lost its position is no longer an alpha (this why you generally see women dump their boyfriends or husbands when they've hit a economic low or lost their friends)"[8]*

posted presumably by a Swedish user, does not fulfill the criteria for inclusion, seeing as it is generalizing towards women, but not derogatory as such, and furthermore seems to focus on a perceived romantic plight of men (needing to be "alpha" to find romantic attention).

Language: A lot of content is in English, but some, especially on Twitter, but also on Reddit and 4chan, is in the native language of the poster/commenter. In the instances where a post/comment is in a native Nordic language, Nordic nationality can, with almost complete certainty, be attributed. Language detection algorithms have been applied to the scraped data in order to assess the share of content in Nordic languages.

Geographical indicators: The third inclusion criteria is geographical indicators of country of origin. Geographical indicators are here defined as phrases such as "here in Sweden", "In Denmark, where I'm from", "As a Norwegian", "Finnish girls are", "In Iceland we have", etc. Though it is noted that opinions and thoughts about Nordic countries can also come from tourists or people from outside of the Nordic countries, but as the report is focused on specific Nordic users and cases, this is taken into account in the qualification and coding of the data gathered.

Nationality: Each forum has certain markers which have been used to determine nationality. Language, choice of words, topic and geographical indicators go across all three platforms. On Twitter it is also possible to rely on userhandle and hashtags, increasing the degree of certainty with which nationality can be determined. Furthermore, most posts on Twitter are in the poster's native language. On Reddit grammar is used as an indicator as well as the subreddit in which the post or comment is written, seeing as certain subreddits are mostly used by people of Nordic origin. As such, nationality can be determined with a fair amount of certainty. As with Reddit, grammar is also used as an indicator on 4chan. Furthermore, the optional posting of a flag or country-tag to one's post or comment has also been used in the instances where the poster has chosen this option. Of course, the user can indicate any country of his/her choice, but it appears that most users indicating a flag/country will use their country of origin. However, this still poses certain limitations to determining nationality, given the necessity of relying on content.

Gender: Determining the gender of the poster is fairly easy on Twitter, a little more complicated on Reddit and quite difficult on 4chan. However, given the content of the posts, and their phrasing and wording, it seems a fair statement that the majority of users on 4chan are male. Seeing as both Twitter and Reddit require usernames in order to be able to post, gender can be established with a fair amount of certainty.

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6   4chan, Post ID: 245664034

7   Reddit, Post ID: eyvd3sz

8   4chan, Post ID: 223215107

In order for a post to be marked as "misogynistic content by a Nordic poster", it had to display at least one type of content, as listed above, be written in a Nordic language or containing at least one geographical indicator, and be written by a male. Naturally, women can also express misogyny, but in this report the interest is solely on the male segment.

The outset of the quantitative analysis was made after extensive observations, literary analysis and interviews, as a scientific way to prove, test and qualify the preliminary analysis herein. In turn, as the quantitative data and initial analysis was concluded, it directed and qualified further observations and interviews. As a result, the final report holds a mutually complementary cross-disciplinary approach. Any recommendations and conclusions are done in regard to both.

Focus groups

In order to gain a sense of the average young person's[9] internet and social media usage, a series of focus groups were conducted at a Danish educational institution. The focus groups were conducted as semi-structured interviews[10], focusing on assessing the participants' knowledge of certain online phenomena and acquaintance with certain online forums. This method was chosen to give members of the target group a voice and thereby the possibility of offering their points of view. It is important to note that in this regard "target group" refers to the average young adult user of the internet, who does not necessarily engage in online misogyny and sexism, but who has experienced it directly or witnessed it from a distance. As such, the focus groups helped shed light on the nature, function, and need fulfillment abilities of different online forums and platforms.

Advisory groups

In order to guide the course of the project, and to gain as nuanced a perspective as possible, two advisory groups were established - a Danish and a Nordic[11]. Both groups consisted of members of academia, representatives from relevant NGOs, and activists passionate about the topic at hand.

For the Danish group, two meetings were held. The first was centered around presenting the project and discussing the participants' own knowledge and experiences with misogynistic and antidemocratic speech online. The second around presenting data and preliminary findings, and discussing solutions to the issue.

For the Nordic group, three meetings were held. The first was centered around presenting the project and discussing the participants' own knowledge and experiences with misogynistic and antidemocratic speech online. The second around presenting data and preliminary findings, and qualifying them in a Nordic context. The third meeting was dedicated to discussing solutions and recommendations for politicians and decision makers when handling the issue.

Both advisory groups helped qualify the project throughout the project period, and offered valuable research and experience based insights and observations along the way. Furthermore, both groups helped ensure a Nordic perspective throughout the course of the project, and also made sure to constantly secure the relevance of the project in a Nordic context - both in terms of recommendations for policies and action and in terms of focusing on Nordic men specifically. The members of the advisory groups have not read the report before it was published.

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9   Young defined as aged 17-35

10   See Appendix for interview guide.

11   A list of participants in both groups can be found in the Appendix.

Limitations

Assessing the scope of misogynistic online content created by Nordic users poses certain challenges. First and foremost determining user nationality becomes increasingly difficult when moving from Twitter to Reddit to 4chan. However, at the same time, the level of misogyny decreases when moving from 4chan to Reddit to Twitter so ignoring the more anonymous platforms does not appear a viable solution.

Deciphering misogynistic neologisms

From the data it has become clear that several words have completely different meanings and different uses across the three platforms.

"Stacy" is a name of a person on Twitter, but a concept describing a certain type of woman on Reddit and 4chan. Similarly, "patron saint" refers to different Christian saints on Twitter, whereas on Reddit and 4chan "patron saint" is a reference to Elliott Rodger, Alek Minassian, Anders Breivik, or one of the other men idolized in the misogynistic and antidemocratic online spheres. On Twitter Pepe is a soccer star, on Reddit and 4chan he is a frog. On Twitter, "ascension" refers to Ascension Day and the ascension of Christ, whereas on 4chan and Reddit, ascension refers to the incel/manlet/virgin man ascending, i.e. having sex and thereby becoming a man of value and status.

A lot of the abbreviations have completely different meanings on Twitter compared to Reddit and 4chan. For instance, "smv" means "sexual market value" and refers to the value of a woman/girl on Reddit and 4chan, whereas on Twitter it means "small and medium-sized corporations[1]". Likewise, "pua" refers to pick-up artistry on Reddit and 4chan, whereas on Twitter it generates mostly nonsensical hits. "Neet" is used to describe the same phenomenon across platforms (i.e. a person Not in Education, Employment or Training), but where it is mostly a derogatory term on 4chan and Reddit (either in self-description or in description of others), on Twitter it is used when referencing initiatives targeting a vulnerable group in society.

These differences and similarities in language are both due to the culture and nature of each platform, but also to the composition of the user groups on each platform. Twitter is a lot more mainstream than both Reddit and 4chan, and the average Twitter user is also older than the average Reddit and 4chan users. Also, Twitter is approximately 50/50 male/female, whereas both Reddit and 4chan are skewed in the male favor.

Quite a large spillover effect of the misogynistic language into mainstream society can be seen. Describing men as "Chads" and women as "femoids" has found its way to Twitter and other mainstream media, such as Facebook and Instagram. This has happened a lot faster than initially anticipated when starting the project in December 2019. The words mostly seen spilling over are the "classifiers" (Stacy, Chad, Tyrone, femoid, incel, etc.) in the milder end of the spectrum. The more derogatory and harsh terms, such as "roastie" and "cumsock", are not seen in mainstream media. Yet.

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1   Små og mellemstore virksomheder in Danish

Estimating Nordic origin

The estimate of Nordic origin is the weakest estimate in this report. As mentioned earlier users on all three platforms can remain completely anonymous if they wish to and most content is in English, but beyond that another important weakness arises from the unequal contribution to the search key from the Nordic collaborators.

A quick look on the Nordic search key reveals that the Danish search key is more developed than the Swedish and Norwegian search keys, which in turn are more developed than the Icelandic and Finnish search keys due to difficulties in engaging Nordic collaborators in contributing search terms.

However, as visible in Table 3, Denmark does not come out as the dominant of the Nordic languages on any of the platforms, even though the Danish part of the search key is more elaborate. On 4chan it even appears that Danish is the second rarest language. While it cannot entirely be ruled out that

this is simply due to Danes being less active in the selected environment, a more likely explanation is that the parallel use of alternative strategies for identifying Nordic origin (i.e. language detection, national flags on 4chan and national forums) are able to catch what the search keys might miss.[2] Nonetheless, a more advanced setup built upon artificial intelligence would most likely have increased the total estimate for particularly Iceland and Finland. The resources needed to develop such advanced setup were, however, beyond the limits of the current project.

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2 This cannot, however, explain the results on Twitter where the only alternative to the search key is AI based language recognition; a language recognition which is infamous for being poor and inadequate due to tweets in general being very short often leaving little material for the AI to determine language.

Noise and false positives

There is a lot of noise in the Twitter data, with a lot of false positives, which explains such a large dataset from the least misogynistic of the three platforms.

The relatively small amount of data from Reddit is due to the fact that data cannot be drawn from Reddit in its entirety, as has been done on 4chan and Twitter, but rather, certain subreddits have to be hand picked. This poses a risk of overlooking important subreddits. However, it is the belief of the authors that the most important ones have been scraped.

Reddit and 4chan are both ad free in the post and comment sections. On Twitter, however, ads look like posts from users, meaning they are picked up by the scraper if they fit the search criteria. As such, combinations such as "Norwegian" and "snowflake" generate quite a few hits which turn out to be ads for knitted, wooly clothing.
Similarly, many hits turned out to be porn ads. Specifically, combinations such as "Finnish" and "cuckold" or "Swedish" and "cunt" generated quite a few porn ads. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, references to soccer take up a lot of space on Twitter. Soccer fans are keen on using the word "cunt" when referring to specific soccer players or fans of opposing teams. Combinations such as "Norwegian" and "cunt" therefore create quite a few false positives, seeing as most, if not all, hits on that combination refer to a Norwegian soccer player. On Twitter, in general, "cunt" is mostly used when men are trash talking other men.

The financial scope of the project forced a select focus on platforms and subforums, in choosing which to extrapolate data from. This framing of the project allowed for only looking at forums already known to be of interest (4chan & Reddit), or where a substantial democratic influence because of an extremely wide user base (Twitter) can be seen, as well as a focus on symptomatic subforums (r/incels, /r9k/) and geographically and politically obvious groups (r/sweden, /pol/). This creates a possible bias and skew in the results, seeing as every choice entails a deselection of other possible data gathering options. However, the size of the datapool allows a fair level of certainty in claiming that the sample from each platform is representative. Furthermore, the project has had to focus on longitudinal platforms, as many relevant ones live a very short digital life, and are only of interest for months, or even weeks, before they are de-platformed or lose the user base's attention.
As mentioned above, the hand picking of a selection of subreddits will most likely mean the overlooking of equally important others. Seeing as new subreddits constantly appear, a comprehensive and fulfilling list cannot be compiled. However, due to the regressional nature of the project, this is the most representative and valid way to represent that data and digital landscape.

Yet another limitation is the character of the scraper and the way data is coded. The scraper is built to search through large amounts of data using the method of exclusion. As such, many misogynistic and sexist hits turn up in the final data pool, requiring further exclusion to be left with the hits that are both misogynistic and posted by a user from the Nordic countries. Another approach would have garnered a larger set of data, but was also too expensive for the financial means of the present project.

The data output has had to be manually coded, which always entails a level of human error. This has been minimized as both coding, verification and programming has been done by the same small group of project workers and subcontractors to limit the level of *mistranslations*.

An important limitation relates to which users can be investigated. Particularly, it is not possible to estimate the extent of Nordic users passively

consuming misogynistic content, but never contributing any themselves. Another limitation is the method not allowing consideration of users with multiple accounts, bot accounts, or users who engage in more than one of the three platforms. These unknowns have equal potential of decreasing and increasing the final estimate. Since it is extremely difficult to estimate the quantitative effect of these limitations, a choice was made to keep them entirely out of calculations.

One quite challenging limitation to our data sample is not always being able to determine direction of a given statement out of context. I.e. posts or comments may consist almost solely of a quote from another post/comment, which does not necessarily equal agreement with the original post/comment. Furthermore, a post or comment may contain several of the words, phrases, or geographical indicators from the search key, but still not be misogynistic, seeing as it might just be someone describing misogyny, the manosphere, incels, or the like; If a user says "*I hate all these fucking feminists in Reykjavik! Someone needs to teach these roasties a lesson!*", it is necesssary to manually follow up on whether or not the post is a citation or quote from another user prefaced by a counter-argument.

Originally, at least 12 focus groups with young people had been the intention. However, due to the COVID-19 lockdown, this posed certain challenges. Before the lockdown four focus groups were held at one educational institution, and arrangements had been made to go to two further educational institutions. However, shortly before the set dates Denmark went into lockdown rendering the physical focus group setup impossible. A digital equivalent was set up, but unfortunately without luck, seeing as the exam period, summer holidays and an extended lockdown period came in the way. Hence, only four focus groups with four to five students in each were held.

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Appendix

Interviewguide

See attachment.

Advisory groups

Both advisory groups comprise a politically independent gathering of experts within the field of gender, masculinity, feminism, sexism, misogyny, and/or online hate/violations.

Danish advisory group

The Danish advisory group consisted of the following experts:

Michael Bang Petersen, Aarhus University
Michael Bang Petersen is professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University. He is leading The Politics and Evolution Lab (PoNE), and is director of the Research on Online Political Hostility project. His research is focused on the effect of evolutionary psychology on modern political behaviour.

Lasse Lindekilde, Aarhus University
Lasse Lindekilde is professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University. He holds a PhD from the European University Institute. His research is focused on political mobilization, violent radicalization, online political hostility and the implementation and effects of counter-terrorism policies and interventions to prevent online political aggression. His work is interdisciplinary linking insights from political science, political sociology, criminology, social psychology and communication studies.

Lumi Zuleta, Dansk Institut for Menneskerettigheder
Lumi Zuleta, special advisor, The Danish Institute for Human Rights. 10 years of experience working with human rights. Area of expertise: gender and gender equality, behaviour in public debate on social media, online harassment, human rights and social media regulation, hate speech.

Lene Stavngaard, Sex & Samfund
Lene Stavngaard is the National Director of the Danish Family Planning Association (DFPA). Registered nurse and Master of Sexology from Malmö University with expertise in sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), sexuality and gender, counselling and SRHR politics. Lene has been working with Sex & Samfund (DFPA) since 2002.

Helena G. Hansen, Dansk Kvindesamfund
Helena G. Hansen, President af Danish Women's Society. Worked with victims of gender based violence, rape and digital violence at Danish Women's Society shelters. Co-founder of The Everyday Sexism Project Danmark, now called Stop Sexisme. Expertise in: Violence against women, sexism, sexual harrasment, digital violence, sexual assult, rape, victimblaming and victims trauma reactions. Works as a project manager at The Women's Council of Europe with Generation Equality. Master degree in English and European studies from Aarhus BSS, school of business and social sciences.

Frederik Kulager, Zetland
Frederik Kulager is a Danish tech and internet culture reporter at Zetland, a Danish digital media based in Copenhagen. He specializes in covering political movements and radicalization online.

Natasha Al-Hariri
Natasha is a Danish lawyer, political activist, and director of Dansk Flygtningehjælp Ungdom. She is an active participant in debates and political movements on anti-democratic attacks.

Rasmus Munksgaard, University of Montreal
Rasmus Munksgaard is a doctoral candidate at the University of Montreal School of Criminology, and an external lecturer at Aalborg University Department of Sociology and Social Work. Rasmus' research revolves around illicit online markets, cybercrime, and the darkweb. He has published in leading journals such as the International Journal of Drug Policy and the British Journal of Criminology.

Emma Holten, Oxfam IBIS
Emma Holten has been working on feminism and women's rights since she released the CONSENT project on digital sexual violence in 2014. She has taught in schools and delivered keynotes internationally. She works part time as a gender policy advisor at Oxfam IBIS in Copenhagen.

Esther Chemnitz, freelance
Esther Chemnitz, cand. mag. Cognition & Communication, University of Copenhagen with a focus on digital media, computer-mediated communication, social cognition and belief polarization.

Nordic advisory group

The Nordic advisory group consisted of the following experts:

Audun Fladmoe, University of Oslo
Audun Fladmoe (PhD, Political Science) is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research (Oslo, Norway). His research interests include civic and political engagement, public opinion, freedom of speech, and hate speech.

Marjan Nadim, University of Oslo
Marjan Nadim, PhD in Sociology, works as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, Norway. Her research topics include online hate speech and harassment, gender equality and ethnic inequality.

Eirik Rise, Stopp Hatprat
Eirik Rise is the national campaign coordinator of the No Hate Speech Movement in Norway. He has been active in the movement since 2012 starting as European activist, initiated the campaign in Norway in 2014 and has been employed as campaign advisor since 2016. In the national movement he has been working with campaigning, awareness raising and Human Rights Education against hate speech with young people.

Taran Knudstad, Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet
Taran Knudstad is a Senior Policy Advisor with the Norwegian Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud. She works in the Ombud's Monitoring Section which monitors the government's compliance with UN's Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination of Women.

Jón Ingvar Kjaran, University of Iceland
Dr. Jón Ingvar Kjaran is Professor of anthropology/sociology of education at the University of Iceland, School of Education / Faculty of Diversity and Education. His research focus is on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and violence. He is currently leading two research projects on gender violence funded by the Icelandic Research Fund.

Elísabet Yr, Free Speech Fund
Elísabet Yr is a grassroots feminist activist, mainly focusing on fighting rape culture and male violence against women. She is one of the founders of Málfrelsissjóður in Iceland, or Free Speech Fund, a fund that supports women that are taken to court for speaking out against abuse.

Lisa Kaati, Totalförsvarets Forskningsinstitut
Lisa Kaati holds a PhD in computer science from Uppsala University. She is a senior researcher at the Swedish Defence Research Agency where she is the head of an interdisciplinary data science group. Her research focuses on connecting psychology with text analysis and the study of digital phenomena such as hate speech, online violent extremism, and threat assessment in digital environments.

Daniel Sallamaa, University of Helsinki
Daniel Sallamaa is a doctoral student of political history at the University of Helsinki. His fields of expertise include research on terrorism, political violence and extremist movements. Sallamaa is preparing a dissertation on extraparliamentary far-right groups in 21st century Finland.

List of experts

The following experts have been interviewed:

Alexander Ash
Alexander Ash (also *Sarge*, or *SergeantIncel*) is a screen name for the founder and main administrator of incels.co, formerly incels.me and incels. is. Also the founder of looksmax.me. Alexander is also the main writer of the blog incel.blog.

Eirik Rise, Stopp Hatprat
Eirik Rise is the national campaign coordinator of the No Hate Speech Movement in Norway. He has been active in the movement since 2012 starting as European activist, initiated the campaign in Norway in 2014 and has been employed as campaign advisor since 2016. In the national movement he has been working with campaigning, awareness raising and Human Rights Education against hate speech with young people.

Daniel Sallamaa, University of Helsinki
Daniel Sallamaa is a doctoral student of political history at the University of Helsinki. His areas of expertise include research on terrorism, political violence and extremist movements. Sallamaa is preparing a dissertation on extraparliamentary far-right groups in 21st century Finland.

Sara Aarnivaara, MÄN
Sara Aarnivaara, project leader for violence prevention with youth at the Organization MÄN. Sara has a master in political science and a bachelor in gender science and started within the women's shelter movement in 2000 and has since been working with support for victims of violence and violence prevention for youth. At MÄN Sara has worked with method development, evaluations, trainings and compiling knowledge on effective methods for preventing gender based violence. She has also been part of building structures for the field of violence prevention in Sweden in relation to long term stability and effects as well as systems for quality assurance.

Anna Lindqvist, MÄN
Anna Lindqvist has been the Director of MÄN since 2012. Anna has a background in international development work and as an activist in the women's shelter movement. Within the field of men and masculinity she has a deep interest in accountable practices and violence preventive work.

Elísabet Yr, Free Speech Fund
Elísabet Yr is a grassroots feminist activist, mainly focusing on fighting rape culture and male violence against women. She is one of the founders of Málfrelsissjóður in Iceland, or Free Speech Fund, a fund that supports women that are taken to court for speaking out against abuse.

Michael Bang Petersen
Michael Bang Petersen is professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University. He is leading The Politics and Evolution Lab (PoNE), and is director of the Research on Online Political Hostility project. His research is focused on the effect of evolutionary psychology on modern political behaviour.

Esther Chemnitz, freelance
Esther Chemnitz, cand. mag. Cognition & Communication, University of Copenhagen with a focus on digital media, computer-mediated communication, social cognition and belief polarization.

Digitalt Ansvar v. Ask Hesby Krogh
A Danish umbrella organization holding a legal expertise and political position in combatting online violence against women and democratic participation.

List of subreddits

A total of 204 subreddits have been scraped for misogynistic content using the developed search key. However, only the following 161 subreddits created data input that lived up to the search criteria:

r/MensRights
r/cringeacademy
r/Beatingwomen
r/Braincels
r/CreepShots
r/CringeAnarchy
r/DarkNetMarkets
r/FatPeopleHate
r/Gore
r/The_Greatawakening
r/Incels
r/Jailbait
r/Jakolandia
r/MillionDollarExtreme
r/Pizzagate
r/Physical_Removal
r/SanctionedSuicide
r/Coontown
r/Shoplifting
r/TheChimpire
r/TheFappening
r/OffMyChest
r/WPDTalk
r/niggers
r/FindBostonBombers
r/KotakuInAction
r/MRM
r/The_Donald
r/TheRedPill
r/beatingwomen2
r/hamplanethatred
r/neofag
r/transfags
r/shitniggerssay
r/ChadRight
r/BillionShekelSupreme
r/TrillionRubleRegime
r/TrillionRubelRegine
r/GorillionYuanDream

r/HydeNationalism
r/tha_pit
r/QuadrillionEuroDream
r/HundredPesoPipedream
r/SextillionEuroSupreme
r/13451452251849519
r/NaturalHair
r/Rape
r/MaleForeverAlone
r/TrueRateMe
r/Malecels
r/PeopleThatDontExist
r/incelswithouthate
r/The_Evropa
r/againstwomensrights
r/conservative
r/coomer
r/gamersriseup
r/MGTOW
r/whathasbeenconserved
r/GamersRiseUpReloaded
r/Chodi
r/stupidpol
r/coomermoment
r/average_redditor
r/Epicairconditioning
r/Incelselfie
r/Incelistan
r/IncelGraveyard
r/BlackPilledNormies
r/BlackPillScience
r/shortcels
r/legitcels
r/BluepillRateMe
r/Feministtears
r/Ethnic_cels
r/BlackPillTruth
r/Manletcels
r/Facehacking
r/HandsoffHapas
r/MarxismRodgerism
r/GentlemenOfTheSupreme
r/IncelUtopia
r/PurplePillDebate
r/ForeverAlone
r/changemyview

r/gatekeeping
r/IncelsInAction
r/subredditcancer
r/unpopularopinion
r/LMSC
r/TrueOffMyChest
r/the__Braincelhalla
r/sluthate
r/foreverunwanted
r/lookism
r/MRAs
r/pol
r/r9k
r/PUAs
r/pickup
r/pickupartists
r/badwomensanatomy
r/denmark
r/scandinavia
r/Nordiccountries/
r/SWARJE
r/svenskpolitik
r/unket
r/europefire
r/eurosceptics
r/swedishproblems
r/allsvenskan
r/norge
r/norsk
r/combatfootage
r/pussypassdenied
r/saltierthancrait
r/collapse
r/cringe
r/niceguys
r/conservative
r/globaloffensive
r/jordanpeterson
r/mgtow2
r/gendercritical
r/askmen
r/seduction
r/incelexit
r/incels
r/greatawakening
r/Scandinavia
r/Denmark
r/Norway
r/Sweden
r/Finand
r/Iceland
r/okkammeratmongol/
r/dankmark

r/JesuBrodre
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r/denmark2
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r/danskrap
r/FritDanmark
r/Gymnasiememes
r/Nordiccountries/
r/unket
r/Allsvenskan
r/interesseklubben
r/IncelsWithoutHate
r/TopMindsOfReddit
r/femradebates
r/creepypms
r/creepyasterisks
r/justneckbeardthings
r/trollxchromosomes
r/virginvschad
r/4chan
r/gendercynical

Figure 6