THE MISOGYNY WITHIN THE MANOSPHERE

A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN A SWEDISH CONTEXT

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Existing research about the manosphere and the subculture of Incels is primarily focused on the discourse on the American online discussion forums. After several high-profile attacks performed by Incels, resulting in severe casualties, the phenomenon of Incels has reached the mainstream media as well as public interest in the forums where members of the manosphere communicate. The discourse displays a highly misogynistic worldview, where the belief in a hegemonic patriarchy is oozing with toxic masculinity. The shared misogyny has also led to discursive interactions between Incels and the alt-right movement. Men are considered to be entitled to women, and a rejection is an excuse for violence. This study aims to investigate if the of misogynistic discourse expressed in the American manosphere as well as in the alt-right has gained hold in a Swedish context. Mainstream media, as well as alternative media, have been investigated and analysed with discourse theory. In discourse theory, language plays an active role in constructing the social world and discourse creates a world that looks real or true for the writer. The Swedish online discussion forum Flashback is where most of the communication seems to take place for groups within the manosphere as well as the alt-right and where most of the misogynistic context can be identified. Themes and concepts from the American misogynistic manosphere can be recognised and has gained a strong hold in the alternative media as well as mainstream media in Sweden. The strong hold of the misogyny in a Swedish context may display a risk for future violent actions.

Keywords: Alt-right, discourse, Incels, manosphere, misogyny, Sweden, violence

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INTRODUCTION

Just before the Toronto van attack on April 23, 2018, where Alek Minassian killed 10 and injured 16 while driving a van into pedestrians, he posted a message on Facebook stating that the "Incel Rebellion has begun" (Jaki et al., 2019). He was inspired by Elliot Rodger that in 2014 killed 6, himself and injured 14 in the Isla Vista attack. Rodger posted a video on YouTube as well as a manifesto where he lists the rejections of women that he felt entitled to as the main motivation for his mass killing spree (Nagle, 2015), this resulted in what the Incel community now call 'to go ER' (Jaki et al., 2019):

> [Elliot Rodger] *"On the day of retribution I will enter the hottest sorority house of UCSB, and I will slaughter every single spoiled stuck up blonde slut I see inside there. All those girls that I've desired so much, they would have all rejected me and looked down upon me as an inferior man if I ever made a sexual advance towards them. While they throw themselves at these obnoxious brutes. I'll take great pleasure in slaughtering all of you. You will finally see that I am in truth the superior one. The true Alpha Male."(Nagle, 2015, p. 172)*

The concept of Incels (involuntary celibates) refers to the online community where men are blaming the women for being in involuntary celibate (Ging, 2019). Their worldview fits in the broader manosphere, a network of different online communities with strong misogynistic beliefs. They all want to go back to a past golden age of a patriarchal society and traditional gender roles. Monogamy is the rule, adultery is not accepted, and the men should always have access to women. Sex is an entitlement and should never be denied (Baele, Brace, & Coan, 2019). The manosphere has received extensive media attention mainly due to the Incel-related mass shootings (Ging, 2019). Controlling women through violence is nothing new but the level of impersonality has grown (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019) and the spotlight is on Incels and Men's Rights Activists (MRAs) within the literature; how the discourse may encourage violence (Ging, 2019).

After the recent release of reports from the Swedish Defense Research Agency [FOI], Incels have attracted attention by the mainstream media in Sweden (Fernquist, Kaati, Pelzer, Asplund Cohen, & Akrami, 2020; Kaati, Cohen, & Akrami, 2019). As Incels as lone acting offenders are seen as a security risk also in Sweden, this got my attention and interest. The reports and mainstream media mainly describe the discourse in the American online communities, but so far little attention has been paid to if and if so, how the misogynistic discourse has got hold in a Swedish context.

When describing the language within the manosphere as well as the alt-right, this becomes a part of the discourse. Any discriminating, dehumanizing or offensive language is nothing that the author of the report stands behind but is a part of describing the discourse. A description of specific words used within the manosphere is attached in Appendix 1.

Defining key concepts

Radicalization
In extremist worldviews, all problems are caused by different outgroups' while the ingroup members are passive victims of their actions. To restore the initial condition of the ingroup, violent solutions have to be used (Baele et al., 2019). Radicalization of the ingroup members of the manosphere, can happen through social media and message boards to spread misogyny targeting especially men immersed in the internet culture. For the manosphere, the radicalization happens through the popularized term of the Red Pill (Marwick & Lewis, 2015).

Misogyny
Using a simplified definition from Manne (2017), misogyny is primarily men who are prone to feel hatred, hostility, or similar emotions towards women generally, simply because they are women.

Mainstream media and alternative media
Mass media is referring to media technologies that reach a large audience via mass communication defined in this report as mainly Internet; websites, forum, blogs, social media, podcasts and newspapers (Mass media, 2020). Both mainstream media and alternative media are under the umbrella term of mass media. Mainstream media refers to the large mass news media that influence many people, often used for large newspapers and broadcast media. Mainstream media differ from alternative media by their content and point of view; mainstream media represent government and corporate interests while alternative media tend to advocate the interests of those excluded from the mainstream (Mainstream media, 2020), for example those advocating misogynistic and racist views.

Meme
A meme is usually a combination of a humoristic picture with an explaining text that is shared within social networks and communities online to share a message (Kaati et al., 2017).

Aim
The general aim is to investigate whether the misogynistic discourse expressed in the American manosphere, mainly the Incel subculture but also the alt-right, has gained hold in a Swedish context.

The specific questions are if, and if so, how the discourse contains:

- o Derogatory labels and anti-feminism in text and memes in the sense of dehumanizing women
- o Expressions of lost entitlement to women that legitimize and encourage acts of violence
- o Constructions of hierarchy of masculinities
- o A static and deterministic view of the world

BACKGROUND

Hegemonic masculinity

The gender order in the world is seen as patriarchal; on a general level, it privileges men over women as men dominate the subordinate women. The gender order also has implications for the construction of masculinity (Connell, 1991, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is a cultural expression of men's dominance over subordinate women. This institutionalization of men's dominance over women can be a consistent mixed strategy of domesticity and violence, to misogyny and heterosexual attraction (Connell, 1991).

> "Hegemonic masculinity means the pattern of masculinity which is most honoured, which occupies the position of centrality in a structure of gender relations, and whose privileged position helps to stabilize the gender order as a whole, especially the social subordination of women. Hegemonic masculinity is contrasted not only with femininity, but also with subordinated or marginalized masculinities that exist in the same society." (Connell, 2014, p. 8)

According to Connell (1991), hegemonic masculinity means a social dominance that is achieved in a play of social forces within the private life and cultural processes and embedded in religious practice, wage structures and media. Even though it does not refer to dominance by force, the hegemonic masculinity is a source of violence by itself, keeping the order is only managed by using force (Connell, 2000). The hegemonic masculinity is heterosexual, and the institution of marriage is holy. Accordingly, homosexuality is a key form of subordinated masculinity. Violence against gay men or minority groups illustrates patterns of subordination (Connell, 1991, 2000).

The concept of toxic masculinity has been widely used in popular and academic discourses and is a term that emerged in the 1990s; it is a development of social scripts that violence is a mode to define masculinity (Ging, 2019; Jones, Trott, & Wright, 2019). Thus, it is an exaggeration of the patriarch matrix (Jones et al., 2019).

Manosphere

Alongside with the feminist movement in the 1970s, the Men's Rights Movement (MRM) started as a goal to attract men to feminism and to fight sexism and to highlight the negative aspects of a patriarchal society. In the 1980s, the MRM was divided into subgroups where the subgroup Men's Rights Activists (MRAs) embraced traditional masculinity and believed that feminism was to blame for the failings of American culture (Connell, 2011; Marwick & Caplan, 2018; Marwick & Lewis, 2015).

The MRA have developed into a network of organizations, online blogs, communities, forums and subgroups on the Internet, which is called the manosphere (Ging, 2019; Marwick & Lewis, 2015). The manosphere can be seen as an umbrella term including groups such as MRAs, Pick Up Artists (PUAs) and Incels, which all share the same misogynistic beliefs that men must fight back against the feminist values (Jones et al., 2019; Marwick & Caplan, 2018). Those misogynistic thoughts can be associated with off-line mass shootings, death threats, abuse and rape culture (Ging, 2019). The rhetoric of the manosphere is

dominated by evolutionary psychology, where genetic determinism is the key to explain the behaviour of sexual selection between men and women (Ging, 2019; Nagle, 2015). They limit the theory to support the claims that women want to pair with alpha males, are irrational, hypergamous and needs to be dominated (Ging, 2019).

The Internet has popularized the MRA discourse and brought it together with everyday language (Marwick & Caplan, 2018). The narrative of men as victims and women as perpetrators is uniting the different communities within the manosphere and the central philosophy is the Red Pill (TRP) terminology that defends rape culture and anti-feminism (Ging, 2019; Marwick & Lewis, 2015). The analogy is sprung from the movie the Matrix, where the main character Neo can choose between two pills: taking the Red Pill enlightens you to the ugly truth of life, and in this case be aware of the feminist misandry and brainwashing, taking the Blue Pill means you will continue to live your life in a delusional agreeable world (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2019). The rapid use of common terminology and TRP philosophy across multiple platforms shows how one perceived enemy, feminism, can generate consensus and a sense of belonging within the manosphere (Ging, 2019). With expressions of misogyny, the desire is to establish male hegemony in the forums while at the same time self-position as victims of feminism, this has been described as the construction of a hybrid masculinity (Ging, 2019).

PUAs and MRAs
The PUAs can be seen as a self-help movement to teach men the 'game' be successful with women (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019; Marwick & Lewis, 2015). The objective of the training is to undermine the woman's self-confidence through negging and to dehumanize women into granting all sexual agency to men. Former PUA's identifying the 'game' as a scam, connects on sites such as 'PUAHate', to express their hate for women denying them sex instead of blaming the PUA community (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019). Elliot Rodger posted his manifesto on 'PUAhate', using terms from the online world of Red Pill, 'PUAHate' and Incels (Nagle, 2015).

The MRAs red pill ideology, in turn, rejects PUAs and other groups that put too much energy into impressing women (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019). In the MRA red pill discourse, men's status is devaluated due to the social changes of feminism and this makes it harder for them to find a suitable woman that value traditional gender roles, is conventionally attractive and not career-oriented or promiscuous (Marwick & Lewis, 2015).

Incels
The subculture of Incels has operated as an online support community of own believed sexual failures since around 2009. In the community, participants get radicalized by sharing and producing and endless flow of misogynistic behaviours, beliefs and feelings to support intergroup conflict and violence (Baele et al., 2019). Incels believe in a patriarchal society where monogamy is the rule, where women are accessible, and sex an entitlement never to be denied. There is a high number of Swedish visitors (so-called 'swedecels') on the American Incel forums such as Incel.co. The estimated number of Incels in Sweden is 200-400, but the number of undetected individuals might be even higher (Arnstad Elmblad, 2020; Gustavsson, 2018b).

According to Baele et al. (2019), the Incel worldview is a fixed, three-tier social hierarchy based on physical appearance. Incels, exclusively male, is a minority on the bottom of the hierarchy as physically unpleasant individuals, in the middle we find the majority of average-looking Betas (normies), and on top a minority of good-looking Alpha males (Chads) and females (Stacys). According to Incels, this hierarchy is rigid, and it is not possible to move between the categories, the boundaries are closed, and this view is a crucial feature of their extremist worldview (Baele et al., 2019). Incels use the pill vocabulary from the manosphere but have added a third pill, the Black Pill, to illustrate the impossibility to change reality or to escape the social hierarchy that excludes them (Baele et al., 2019). In terms of attractiveness, they explain it as a form of a genetic determinism where 80 percent of the women are competing for the top 20 percent of men. As a consequence, Incels belong to the 80 percent of the men that are competing for the bottom 20 percent of the women. The red pill comes with the belief that looks and attractiveness can improve through surgery, gym membership or becoming a PUA.

The Incels radicalization is fertilized and enforced through divisions, where ingroups are put in opposition to outgroups. The ingroup, Incels, are, except from the negative physical appearance and self-loathe they communicate about themselves, positively talked about. In the Incel world, the outgroup is defined by female Alphas and Betas which are extremely negatively depicted (Baele et al., 2019). To dehumanize women, derogatory group labels are used ('femoids', 'foids', 'roasties'), and that they are only being capable of emotions such as sexual desire "femoids are nothing but sexual objects and thus should be second-class citizens" or that they are guided by antisocial values "are disgusting parasites whose only purpose is to leech as much as possible and get pleasure" (Baele et al., 2019, pp. 9,13). Women are referred to as 'cumdumpsters', 'feminazis', femtards' and 'cunts', and targets for personal attacks as well as death and rape threats (Ging, 2019). Incels advocate violence against women, due to the nature and fault of the women themselves for rejecting Incels as men; "the ideal male for a woman would be a Chad who will rape her and beat her on a daily basis, talk shit to her" (Baele et al., 2019, p. 13).

The alt-right
The term alt-right was coined by Richard Spencer in 2008 and a way to rebrand white supremacy and white nationalism since their ideas had been unacceptable to mainstream media and public discourse. This new term was quickly spread due to medias fascination with novelty which gave the alt-right ideas mass exposure (Marwick & Lewis, 2015). The founder of the white supremacy/alt-right website 'Daily Stormer', Andrew Anglin, has helped to spread the ideas as well as RedIce, which is a digital hub for the alt-right movement (Darby, 2017). RedIce is also helping to run AltRight.com and it is all part of the "red-pilling". There is a clear link between the manosphere and the alt-right (Marwick & Lewis, 2015) and the interconnection occurs from the different online communities within the manosphere into the redirection into alt-right radicalization (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019). Since the US Presidential election in 2016 there has been a rise of this movement, which stands for explicit patriarchy, white nationalism and anti-Semitism (Marwick & Caplan, 2018). Political trolling, an aggressive on-line behaviour that causes confusion for its recipients and that entails power has become an effective method of the alt- right (Kaati, 2017).

As well as within the manosphere, the alt-right believe the white male identity is under attack by especially the feminists and they advocate the return to a perceived past where men were men (Marwick & Caplan, 2018; Marwick & Lewis, 2015). The misogynistic language within the alt-right is unmistakable similar to what is to be found within MRA or the Incel community, including talk about entitlement to women and promotion of a toxic masculinity; "Look, I hate women. I think they deserve to be beaten, raped and locked in cages" (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], 2018).

> "Firstly, a lot of you people claiming to be "volcel" are simply coping, pretending you could get laid if you tried when in fact, you probably couldn't. At least not with a woman who isn't a fat cow. We are all incels. And because I have not found a woman worthy of that great honor, I am an incel and I am a proud incel." (Anglin, 2019)

For the white supremacist, the meme "White sharia" is referring to extreme patriarchy, where women are subjugated to the extent they are nothing more than white baby factories "Our men need harems, and the members of those harems need to be baby factories" (Kelley, 2017) or "[Andrew Anglin] It's OUR WOMB, It belongs to the males in her society" (Darby, 2017). Women in general are referred to as 'thots', 'that ho over there' while the women within the alt-right are called 'tradhots', referring to the women's traditional role and their hotness (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], 2018).

Online misogyny

The online and networked misogyny is used to control and to police women's online behaviour, especially women in public occupations, and should be seen as structural sexism and violence against women (Marwick & Caplan, 2018). Much of the research of online harassment within the manosphere has focused on the MRA or Incel communities (Jones et al., 2019). In a study by Marwick and Caplan (2018) they analyzed the online use of the term misandry (hatred of men) and how MRA misogynistic ideas spread through discourse. The term misandry is also used by men within the manosphere to justify why they harass women online, using the narrative; men as the perceived victims of feminism. Online misogyny is then seen as a defense mechanism to protect men from the feminists (Ging & Siapera, 2018; Marwick & Caplan, 2018).

Internet trolls and 'trolling' can be seen as an umbrella term for a wide range of asocial internet behaviours such as hate speech mainly directed towards women and sexual minorities and feeding mainstream media with made-up news. The successful troll let the audience be in doubt whether he is serious or not (Marwick & Lewis, 2015). Misogynistic discourse marked by graphic threats of sexual violence is by Jane (2014) called 'e-bile', the rhetoric used is sexually explicit and includes misogynistic epithets, coerced sex acts prescribed as all-purpose correctives, appearance-related judgments and an abusive and insulting language. The rhetoric of misogyny and sexual violence tends to continue to rise and become normalized instead of putting an end to this discourse (Jane, 2014).

The lexicon

A specific lexicon has been developed and is shared on mainstream Internet through text and memes. It is not only misogynistic but also heterosexist and

racist; 'cuck' (a weak man whose girlfriend cheats on him, usually with black men), 'negging' (giving backhanded compliments designed to undermine women's confidence), 'going caveman' (sexually dominating a woman), 'shit testing' (a woman's evolved instinct to push a man's buttons as a way of testing his willingness to face conflict head-on) (Ging, 2019, p. 649). The online harassment techniques such as revenge porn (spreading non-consensual intimate photos), trolling, doxing (publishing personal information online), intimidation (such as death threats, rape threat) and shaming have been refined by the manosphere (Ging & Siapera, 2018; Marwick & Caplan, 2018).

Misogynistic violence
Women that reject men is not a new phenomenon but can sometimes result in hostile reactions such as online harassment, physical violence and even mass killings of women (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019). With the networked misogyny, the feeling of failure is shared, and women are the collective figure to blame. The online communities have adapted their language of warfare, revolt and terrorism to protect the patriarchy (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019).

The hegemonic masculinity is the driver for Incels and MRA to reclaim power in society. Many members of their community tolerate and encourages violence against women (Jones et al., 2019) and the disappointment for not getting what you believe you are entitled to may end with violence (Bratich & Banet-Weiser, 2019). According to Baele et al. (2019), the link between the Incel worldview and violence is clear since it is not only seen as acceptable but also the only possible way to solve the oppression from the outgroup. Since the central view of Incels is the feeling that they are denied the right to a woman's body, they endorse violence, and it is legitimated as self-defense since they (Incels) are the victims.

METHOD AND ETHICS

The overall aim for this study is to investigate if and how the American misogynistic discourse of the manosphere has gained hold in a Swedish context. To be able to investigate this, I have:

1. Used peer-reviewed research material mainly for the background information and to be able to map the American misogynistic discourse in the manosphere,
2. Searched for:
a) online material in mainstream media as well as official reports for descriptions of the discourse
b) alternative media for expressions of the discourse in a Swedish context.
3. Used discourse analysis in order to compare the American and the Swedish context.

The language used within the manosphere is an internal language that is hard to get a grip of, therefore an explanation of common worlds used are to be found in Appendix1.

Material and Selection
The material used in this report is research articles, media articles as well as empirical material.

1. Peer-reviewed research: Libsearch from Ebsco
Search terms used: Incel, manosphere, misogyny, women/women hate, alt-right, red-pill/black-pill, femoid, Chad/Stacy, feminism/anti-feminist, masculinity.

2a) Mainstream media: Aftonbladet, Expressen, Svenska Dagbladet (SvD), Göteborgs Posten (GP) and Dagens ETC, EXPO.
Podcasts and live media: Sveriges Television (SVT), Sveriges Radio
Official reports: FOI
To get a view of how the discourse is expressed and described in mainstream media and official reports, I used the following search words to find relevant articles: Incel, women hate, anti-feminism, manosphere and alt-right. The way of hyperlinking from one site to another has also been used to select the material used in this study.

2b) Alternative media: The empirical material in this study is based on forum threads from the Swedish online forum Flashback Forum (Flashback) and what I have found to be the platform for the Swedish manosphere to communicate. This is also confirmed by S. Krakowski (personal communication, May 27 2020) who is a researcher and psychiatrist, expert on Swedish Incels. Flashback is the biggest web-forum in Sweden with almost 1.3 million members and over 67 million posts (Kaati, 2017), it is an open forum where anyone can register as a user. The forum can be seen as an umbrella for many different groups and is not exclusively used for the manosphere or the alt-right. The material from Flashback is giving a direct access to the discourse as it is presented in an open forum and this strengthen the reliability of the data. It is less risk for the researcher to influence the material. An approximate of 50 different subject threads have been analyzed where 12 threads were added in the final report; they contained several posts/quotes to answer the aim for the research, several quotes answered the same question and were excluded. Each discussion thread included in the report contains from 60 up to 15000 posts (Table 1). Search terms used in forum and within threads: Incel, manosphere, misogyny, women hate, alt-right, red-pill/black-pill, femoid, Chad/Stacy, feminism/anti-feminist.

Table 1. Statistics of discussion thread data and user data from Flashback

	N		Range	
	Total	Average	Min	Max
Number of threads in report	12			
Number of posts in thread		2190	54	15068
Number of pages in thread		183	5	1256
Number of users in report	28			
Number of posts by user (whole forum)		5650	39	35778
User member in forum since year		2012	2003	2020

I have used information stated in the report by Kaati (2017) as well as reading on the Incel forum Incels.co to get a common understanding of the expression of discourse.

Method
The method used for this report is discourse analysis. Discourse can be translated into verbal communication or the written language we use and can be used as a

qualitative research method to answer research questions about the use of language in society (Johnstone, 2018). There are many different approaches to discourse analysis but the main one used here is discursive psychology (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). As with critical discursive analysis, discursive psychology shares the view that discourse plays an active role in *constructing the social world* and the language used in social interaction. Discursive psychology analysis is used to explore the processes for how this interaction is affecting the discourse independent on where it takes place (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Discourse analysis may be used as method in the analysis of every type of information carrier: webpages, twitter, wikis and blogs as well as nonwritten in podcasts and TV (Johnstone, 2018). The focus is to see what words are formulated and the consequence of the making of reality, the discourse creates a world that appears as real or true for the writer (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Method discussion
According to Jørgensen och Phillips (2002), the central part in the discourse analysis should be the rhetorical organization of the language and what the individuals actually means with their statements. In a discourse analysis it is important to also reflect on how the author has interpreted the text, especially since the text used in the result section is written in Swedish and translated by the author. Since the threads in the discussion forum Flashback are written in Swedish with a mix of language directly from the manosphere or some English expression made Swedish, it has been carefully considered how to translate without losing the context of the text. Every translation suffers the risk of some context getting lost.

Ethics
A researcher researching hard-to-reach groups has to be sensitive and make judgement on the impact of their research and to think carefully about the methodology used. The benefit of the research must be measured against the risk of involvement for the participants, in this case a hidden group within the manosphere (Liamputtong, 2007).

Since the study contains sensitive personal data, an application to Malmö University ethics council was filled by the author of this study and approved by the supervisor. The decision from the ethics council (Appendix 2) considered that no individual information should be presented in the final essay but should be pseudonymized. Since specific names on high-profile Incels are already made public in several peer-reviewed research and by worldwide media coverage, the interest of protecting their personal integrity is redundant. In addition, some of them is diseased. Any other users or names that is not already made public in media or research, have been re-coded. A separate document is prepared for the examination board if needed to authenticate users referred to in report.

RESULTS

The result will be presented in two parts, the first part is concerned with how mainstream media describes the misogynistic discourse in Sweden and the second part is my own results from an analysis of the empirical material from Flashback forum. Since the misogynistic discourse expressed in the American forums are a

part of the radicalization, a similar discourse in a Swedish context may prove to be a sign of a similar radicalization for the manosphere and the alt-right.

Description of the Swedish discourse by mainstream media

To read and understand how the misogynistic discourse is described by others is gaining further understanding if it has gained hold in a Swedish context or not.

Manosphere and masculinity

The table 2 below show how the discourse of the manosphere and the masculinities attached, has been described in Swedish mainstream media.

Table 2. Summary of results described by mainstream media, manosphere and masculinity.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Manosphere – misogynistic discourse, different platforms Anti-feminist Extreme right (alt-right)	Lucas Gottzén (Gustavsson, 2018b) is a researcher within masculinity and according to him the *manosphere* in Sweden is not homogenous but with *different branches that through digital platforms*. The different branches have one thing in common, they share an ever *anti-feminist message*, like Men's Rights 2.0, which is often in collaboration with the *extreme right*.
Misandry – hate of men Hybrid masculinities – men as victims of feminism Anti-feminism Worldview and discourse confirmed – Radicalism	In the aftermath of #MeToo in Sweden, a shift in focus from the stories told from women about abuse from men to instead focus on outed *men as victims* in this story where *feminism has gone too far* (Sveland, 2019). According to Sveland (2019), this is also *expressed by people in established cultural positions within the society as well as in mainstream media, they confirm the misogynistic beliefs of the manosphere and as victims of feminism.*
Misogynistic discourse Radicalism Anti-feminism Racism – extreme right	The *discourse* on the online forum Flashback is extremely *misogynistic* and there is also a big group of men on the forum that genuinely *hates women*. Majority is *young people* that can be influenced by current discourse. The online culture and discourse is nurtured by the amount of people that *share the same views* which is both *hate of women* as well as *racism* (I Folkets Intresse, 2018).
Cucked – immigrants take what is entitled Genetic determinism Anti-feminist Patriarchy – lost Social hierarchy – based on e.g. looks Violence to reach hegemonic masculinity – via toxic masculinity	In American forums, the most common word discussed when Sweden is mentioned is how '*cucked*' the country is since they have let *too many immigrants* inside the borders so there is *not enough for the native Swedish men* and this is the *fault of the feminist ruling* of the country. A *man in today's society is subordinate women* in many ways since a man *without a good income or education* is a man without power where they have equality in any other area. This is why we should understand why these men that sees themselves as outcast are starting to *nurture ideas we do not want in our society*, the dream about *male dominance and patriarchy*, the

	dream about the *entitlement* for a woman (Werner, 2020).

Incels

In Sweden, the word Incel was added to the formal list of new words in 2018 and tells us something about the discourse (Institute for Language and Folklore, 2019), see Table 3 how the discourse is described by mainstream media.

Table 3. Summary of results described by mainstream media, Incels.

American discourse	Swedish discourse

Incels
 	
Manosphere – Flashback
 	
Genetic determinism
Dehumanize – antisocial values
Anti-feminist
 	
Toxic masculinity - to regain power
 	
Intimidation – rape threats
Entitlement – endorse violence
Extreme right – alt-right
Black-pilled – social hierarchy, static
Misogyny
 	
Dehumanize – derogatory
 	
Alpha males
 	
Worldview and discourse confirmed – Radicalism
	Both the journalist Karolina Skoglund (2019) and the journalist Andreas Gustavsson (Gustavsson, 2018a, 2018b, 2019) have met and interviewed two respectively three persons they identified as Swedish *Incels* in the age group from 18-33 years old, which they connected with through *Flashback* . The summary is:
	   o lonely and have not had sex ever or a very long time, a desire to meet a woman.
	   o A *shift in power* due to gender equality, women no longer need men and some believe that the *crazy, brainwashed feminists* are the fault.
	   o They express that when *women reject men*, *toxic masculinity* is what to expect and this can express itself in *sexual violence.*
	   o Two of them explicitly expressed that they would *not interfere if seeing a woman get raped* but would not hurt anyone themselves.
	   o Women should always be there for them, *always available*.
	   o Only one of them seem to have a connection with the *extreme right.*
	   o Only one says he does not hate women but admit he is *black-pilled,* finally he sees clear that it is the men that are suppressed and that he is *born a looser.*
	   o One of the Incels repeats 14 times during the interview that he *hates women* and in the Incel community he expresses that "*women are whores and sluts and deserve to be raped*". Women despair him and that is *making him hating them*, they *only want men with a good income and good looks, he did not have a chance from start.* He does not believe in gender equality since women only wants *bad and dangerous men.*(Gustavsson, 2018b).
	   o The Swedish Incels are sensitive to the media climate and they feel they are listened to and they will vote for the political parties that

	embraces traditional gender roles.(Gustavsson, 2019)
Genetic determinism Cuck	In 2015 was the first time since 1749 where men was in *majority of the Swedish population and that is how it still is due to the increased immigration.* This is something the *Incels are not positive about*, it will be even *harder for a man to find a woman* (Skoglund, 2019). This is also confirmed by Stefan Krakowski (Arnstad Elmblad, 2020; Bergqist, 2019) a psychiatrist with ongoing regarding Swedish Incels.

The Alt-right

The discourse of the alt right, as understood in the mainstream media, is described in Table 4.

Table 4. Summary of results described by mainstream media, the alt-right.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Manosphere connected with alt-right Online and networks misogyny to control women Dehumanize – derogatory Intimidation – rape threats Alt-right extreme patriarchy – baby factories Cucks	On the Internet there are a several forums, blogs and social networks that are dedicated to radical nationalistic ideology such as the *alt-right* (Kaati, Asplund Cohen, et al., 2019) all with a *hostile view against women* as well as minorities in Sweden and public people such as *journalists and politicians* (Kaati et al., 2017). At the same time as women are mentioned in the forums with *derogatory labels that they deserve to get raped*, the common view is that the *body of the women is a metaphor for the nation* and should be protected *against the immigrants which they view to be in majority.*
Alt-right Sweden connected to alt-right USA Trolling Memes Discourse	The *alt-right* organization in Sweden is called 'Nordisk alternativhöger' where Christoffer Dulny and Daniel Friberg are the front figures (Poohl & Frölander, 2017). Friberg was in the same network as *Spencer a*nd when the alt-right was put on the map in 2016. With 'Nordisk Alternativhöger' they got the *trolling* culture into Sweden ready to release their *meme's* that are made to penetrate the liberal left (Poohl & Frölander, 2017). Meme's, important part of the propaganda. Metapolitics which is a way to try to change discourse.(EXPO, 2018).
Shaming Misogyny Dehumanize – derogatory Alt right White sharia - #shamesquad Manosphere connected with alt-right Cuck	A hashtag that was created by Dulny is *#shamesquad* (#skampatrullen in Swedish, authors note, Figure 1) that is expressing *hate against women* that they believe are '*indecent*' and '*unworthy*' and is the Swedish version of the *#whitesharia* used in the USA (Kasurinen & Finnsiö, 2019). This is after the women have posted pictures on social media while lightly dressed and with the hashtag they are called derogatory labels such as '*sluts'* or '*whores'.* This is an expression of the *hate against women* that is

| Alt-right extreme patriarchy – baby factories | existing within the *alt-right* or white supremacy, the w*oman should be clean, protected from others* and be a *carrier of the nation in form of giving birth* to children and support the men. |
| Meme's – alt-right | *Figure 1.* The Beta men is standing around the Twitter-whore where Shame is the noble warrior to see to that the decency of women are upheld (Twitter #01, 2019). |

Women as the enemy

How the outgroup of woman is constructed in the groups, as described by mainstream media (Table 5).

Table 5. Summary of results described by mainstream media, how women are perceived.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Toxic masculinity - to regain power, violence Misandry Online networked misogyny – public positions Intimidation – death threats Anti-feminism	In 2019 the center for gender research was a *target for a bomb threat* and they daily receive *hate and threat emails* (Sima, 2019). Before the message was that *feminists hate* men but today it is that *feminists should be extirpated* since they destroy Sweden (Gustavsson, 2019). Some people argue for that gender studies is a form of '*state feminism', 'brainwash'* and that gender equality is only a cover up for a deeper and more radical process (Gustavsson, 2019).
Online networked misogyny – public position Dehumanize – derogatory Trolling E-bile – sexual photos Doxing – address Anti-feminism Racism – alt-right	When Annelie Babitz (2012) released her book about lone men visiting strip clubs, she was immediately exposed for *online hate*. On Flashback she was called '*a whore', 'feminist cunt', links to obscene pictures* as well as *releasing her address* and phone number on the forum (Babitz, 2012). The two female journalists and authors, Lisa Bjurwald and Maria Sveland are interviewed by Erika Hallhagen (2013) discuss the hate and threats they have received after publishing their books, the *online hate* is all about *racism* and *anti-feminism 'I will rape you', 'I know where you live'* (Hallhagen, 2013) to '*One day I will personally cut your throat'*(Peruzzi, 2013).

The misogynistic discourse on Flashback in a Swedish context

From the misogynistic discourse of the manosphere, the aim is to investigate how and if it has gained hold in a Swedish context investigating the discourse in Flashback with reference to my four research questions. The selection of groups and threads is described in the methods section. The quotes presented here are

chosen because they represent the best illustration of each research question. One quote may also be applicable for several questions.

> "I know the *manosphere* inside out, there are diamonds to be found for the one that looks (yes, I have been everywhere, also places you only find through the deep dark web). *Flashback is of course a part of the manosphere, it's greatest expression in a Swedish context.*"(Flashback #13, 2019)

Derogatory labels and anti-feminism in the sense of dehumanizing women
The main theme and question to answer is how women are dehumanized in discourse but a part of that is also to ensure hegemony will be displayed in Table 6.

Table 6. Summary of American and Swedish discourses regarding dehumanizing of women.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Dehumanize – sex desire Hypergamous Dehumanize – antisocial values	a *horny*, happy and good looking woman always have a *tail* of men after her regardless of how *stupid* and *bland* she is.(Flashback #07, 2006)
Male hegemony and static world view (Beta/inceldenier and blackpill=incel, ingroup/outgroup) Dehumanize – derogatory E-bile	It is hysterically fun to see how much *inceldeniers* or *normies* rationalize and go for cope. The only *blackpillers* do is to tell truths but it is too easy to reject since they know someone ugly [] that is in a relationship with a *toad* (that really wants a Chad even if he will have a hard time to get his whole dick in due to her *fatness* and *disgustingness*).(Flashback #08, 2018)
Dehumanize – derogatory, antisocial values Alt right White sharia - #shamesquad Shaming	The *female animals* have exceeded their limits. The *whoring for attention* is beyond control. If *#shamesquad* can help to control a few *attention whores* that is great.(Flashback #09, 2019)
Dehumanize - derogatory Anti-feminism Male hegemony ("men", beta, white knights, ingroup vs outgroup) Shit testing	How can we get any man to offer their Dick to the *Nazifeminists*? There are plenty of *insane "men"* with internalized man hate. *White knights* and *beta-orbiters* can do *anything for the women.*(Flashback #01, 2020)
Anti-feminism Misandry Hybrid masculinity	*Feminism* is a *hate culture. Feminists hate* and *incites against men* and are then surprised when the men hate and incites back.(Flashback #11, 2020)
Online and networked misogyny – public persons E-bile Dehumanize - derogatory Alt-right - thots	[About 3 different high profile young feminists] Just look at the picture. She is *TRASHY*. It is not even worthy a cock.(Flashback #06, 2013) The *degenerate mixed race whore* NN.(Flashback #10, 2017)

	If you don't behave like a *THOT* maybe you don't need to deal with fuckboys.(Flashback #15, 2017)

Expressions of lost entitlement to women encourages violence
The expressions for how the feeling of lost entitlement of what you think you have the right of will be analyzed in Table 7.

Table 7. Summary of American and Swedish discourses regarding to encourage violence.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Dehumanize – derogatory, antisocial values Anti-feminism Cuck Lost entitlement Intimidation – rape threats	Swedish girls are *whores* and *feminist dregs* that are allied with the enemy. Remember that Swedish girls are *not rationally thinking humans* or women with nice female/feminine traits and nice personalities but *cunt-animals* and deformed spoiled brats. That's why they go so good together with *immigrants* and are only good enough – by their own free will – to *be fucked into pieces or raped by them,* that is why so many Swedish girls are *psychologically ill* today.(Flashback #04, 2016)
Reject Incel – endorse violence Hegemonic masculinity - Toxic masculinity	Women goes to *men that are unworthy*, That is why I'm *genuinely happy when they get raped*. What's wrong with that?(Flashback #06, 2013)
Male hegemony – Beta/Cucks/White Knights Cucks Going cavemen Dehumanize – derogatory Alt-right – Sharia Patriarchy - Sharia	Then will you (and other *Beta* men) not get laid. More rights for women -> less sex for Betas. *Cucks* and *White Knights* will not get any help since by giving women rights they caused this. If *men don't suppress women they won't get laid*. Yes, most men are cucks and White Knights that deserve to me humiliated by *femoids*. It is not normal to be a feminist and deny sex either. If women can vote for feminism then all men can *vote for Sharia* same-same.(Flashback #14, 2019)
Misandry Dehumanize – derogatory Patriarchy – toxic masculinity to keep order	*Women doesn't care about men* so why protect their right? They should not have any rights, *less rights than dogs*. You can't hit dogs but *a woman should get slapped if she doesn't obey or talk back.*(Flashback #08, 2018)

Constructions of hierarchy of masculinities are expressed in similar ways
In previous sections it is visible how the patriarchal structure as well as the hegemonic masculinity structure has gained hold but will be further analyzed in Table 8. 'PC' is translated from Swedish into Politically Correct in a negative tone.

Table 8. Summary of American and Swedish discourses regarding hierarchy of masculinities.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Male hegemony – outgroup PC (redpill, beta)/Incel	According to *PC* the "incel-men" have themselves to blame since they *don't style themselves* enough to look attractive with several (usually rude) explanations. Incel though is a "phenomenon" that

Social hierarchy – Incels bottom Cuck – lost entitlement Genetic determinism	has extended the last years. Why? For Sweden the last years the *growing excess of men due to immigration…* statistics there are 110 men on 100 women in the age group 15-24 years. For me mathematically some men will be *without a partner despite the efforts.*(Flashback #08, 2018)
Evolutionary psychology – genetic determinism Hegemonic masculinity as well as patriarchal Alt-right extreme patriarchy – baby factories Dehumanize – derogatory Anti-feminist	Read about *Charles Darwin's* view! He has scientifically already determined that *women are lower ranked than men*. Evolution is beneficial for men while *women's are pure baby factorie*s. He could determine that without any protests since there were no '*feminists*' or *PC sissy's* at that time.(Flashback #01, 2020)
Cuck Hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy Anti-feminism	Stop being so disgustingly *cucked*. You are dreaming about an equal feministic society instead of a *hierarchal, patriarchal* ditto. You believe a patriarchal power structure only can exist within Islam. Yeeez! *Feminism* has already defeated you, *cucks*.(Flashback #12, 2009)
Patriarchy – lost power and misandry Dehumanize – derogatory, antisocial values Anti-feminist	Many of the *patriarchal parts* of the world you mention would never have the same problems as Sweden since the *rationally thinking men has the power*, instead of the *idiotic emotionally controlled feminist whores* in Sweden.(Flashback #11, 2020)
Patriarchy – lost power and regain power Toxic masculinity - Shame	[#shamesquad] "..a *hollow masculinity* that has lost its will for power…men needs to regain the initiative to be the *patriarchs they are created to be……*to *teach their woman* what norms that are accepted… *shame* is a much more *powerful weapon* to create the norms that should be acceptable.(Flashback #09, 2019)
Evolutionary psychology – genetic determinism Hegemonic masculinity – keep structure	[#shamesquad] Everyone knows *women and men are not equal*, it is *against nature* and destructive. To swallow the equality pill seems to be the last people do in their phase of *red-pilling*.(Flashback #09, 2019)
Evolutionary psychology – genetic determinism Hegemonic masculinity Cuck – lost entitlement Male hegemony – three tier social hierarchy (Alpa/Beta/Incels)	Mainstream media are doing that to *exaggerate women's vulnerability* and to support and maintain the *feministic hegemony*. 'Look, there are *men that hates women'*, when women never had it better. In the West at least. Do you believe that those white women have learnt fluent Somali without *fucking zoomali-males*? You do understand that those white *zoomalifuckers* contributes to the *incel-statistics for white men*? Simple mathematics. It is in all of our interest to beat *incelism* by rolling back the female counterpart, feminism. The point is, today you have

Anti-feminist	to be *rich, goodlooking, tall, high social competence and lots of other requirement to get laid.* And that's why you need to be an *anti-feminist*, otherwise there is an impending risk that Western men had enough of all the insane feminism and implement "*white sharia*", where you really treat women harsh and don't let them move 5m from the stove.(Flashback #08, 2018)
Patriarchy – alt-right, traditional roles	

A static and deterministic view of the world is expressed
The Incel worldview is a fixed, three-tier social hierarchy based on physical appearance, this hierarchy is rigid and it is not possible to move between the categories. It has already been visible in the previous result but further analyzed in Table 9.

Table 9. Summary of American and Swedish discourses referring to static and deterministic views of the world.

American discourse	Swedish discourse
Genetic determinism	Tinder is the place men and women meet nowadays. And you can't get away from it, and it is *a women's market*, that is for sure. *80% of the women is sleeping with 20% of the men* and 80% of the men is fighting of the redundancy.(Flashback #07, 2006).
Black pill – impossible to escape reality Male hegemony - Fixed hierarchy	Fuck *life is boring and meaningless* better to *end the misery* tomorrow who knows.(Flashback #07, 2006).
Genetic determinism Black pill – impossible to escape reality	Today the world is *unfairly marginalized in favor of women.* But, it has a consequence. We get plenty of men *without a meaning in life*, that commits suicide either immediately or through a lifestyle with drugs or prison.(Flashback #01, 2020)

DISCUSSION

Results mainstream media
To answer the questions if and how the American misogynistic discourse in the manosphere as well as from the alt-right has gained hold in a Swedish context, I first looked at how the discourse was described in the mainstream media. The specific language used in the American discourse was directly translated into Swedish with keeping some of the specific vocabulary such as Incels, manosphere, cuck, Beta, red-pill and black-pill to name a few. When mainstream media is describing a discourse that is encouraging violence as a way to uphold hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1991) using toxic masculinity (Ging, 2019), this may confirm the worldview of Incels and other men within the manosphere, and, subsequently, encourage them commit different types of abuse. In 2019, 16 women in Sweden were murdered by someone they were in a close relationship (partner or ex-partner) with (The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention [Brå], 2019).

The interviewed Incels referred to in this study is from a secondary source and they may not in be representative for the total group of Swedish Incels. Nevertheless, they do verify that Incels are a recognized group in the Swedish discourse and prove that the American discourse have gained hold in a Swedish context.

Results empirical data
Furthermore, after analyzing the empirical material on Flashback, it is obvious that the specific vocabulary as well as the discourse has gained a very strong hold in the Swedish context. The subgroupings such as MRA, PUA and Incels as well as the alt-right interconnections within the discussion threads and quotes are found here, as well as the vocabulary from the American manosphere and the alt-right. It is clear in the forum threads that women are the target and strong focus and hate is put on feminism and feminists. The men in the forum feel a strong threat from feminists. The 'hybrid masculinity' (Ging, 2019) where the men are holding on to the male hegemony but at the same time perceive themselves as victims of feminism, is also prevalent here. Ideas regarding male hegemony is visible in most of the quotes, where the order of the male structure as well as the subordinate women are discussed. Feminism is used to legitimize the use of violence to reclaim hegemony, in the Swedish discourse as well as the American (Jones et al., 2019), and dehumanizing labels are used when describing women. The misogynistic discourse from the manosphere is mixed with racist comments or mentioning women as baby factories or 'white sharia' which displays the interconnection with the alt-right. The increased immigration is seen as a problem which can be referred back to the genetic determinism (Baele et al., 2019) where more men will be competing over less women, this can also be connected to 'cuck' that your woman is having sex with another man, especially a black man or in the alt-right context that the country is lost to immigrants. It is either way, a threat of loss of entitlement.

Summary of results
Seeing how strong hold the misogynistic discourse has gained in a Swedish context and knowing the history of violence in the USA and Canada, there is a strong assumption that there is a risk of violence from the groups within the manosphere as well as the alt-right also in Sweden. There is always a risk when writing about a discourse that you confirm it, but I believe it is a must to create awareness of a misogynistic discourse to be able to fight it. It is also a must to create awareness for policy- and lawmakers, to define where the line between free-speech is and define violence against women for what it is, hate crime. An assumption to make in the Swedish context is that feminism is strong and therefore it is met with harder resistance in form of misogynistic threats in the forum. I do not believe it is terrorism as crime we should consider as the biggest threat in Sweden from the discourse in the manosphere, but for each online and off-line crime committed against women the police need to investigate and document what forums, groups or websites that has been used for radicalization. Then we would know how much the discourse affect men, especially young men, and be able to use that knowledge for further research, policies and laws.

The use of memes is something I only found on open websites for the alt-right and white supremacy (not included in this study) and not particularly described by alternative media. On Flashback it is not possible to share actual pictures, only via

external links, this may explain why memes have not gained the same hold in the Swedish context as in the American. However, if it would have been an important part of the discourse, the groups within the manosphere would probably have found a way to communicate memes.

The limitation of the study is the small amount of empirical data analyzed. To be able to draw conclusions from the result, more data have to be retrieved. This study can be seen as a start to analyze the misogynistic discourse within the manosphere in Sweden and for future research to combine with a quantitative method to look for certain words. FOI have a previously developed tool to search for linguistic markers and a new and upgraded version will be released in May 2020 according to N. Akrami (personal communication, April 18 2020). To extend the research area, open accounts on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram should be included since during the weeks of research I was made aware of the extremely misogynistic discourse sipping through. It would also be interesting to see if the use of meme's are used for communication in those forums. The Incels have gained the public spot in the discourse due to the severe attacks they have committed, still, this is not very common and so far no attacks of this sort in Sweden. Therefore, it would be useful to look at violence such as Interpersonal Violence (IPV) and to link it to the misogynistic discourse in form of toxic masculinity that encourages violence.

CONCLUSION

The toxic misogynistic discourse from the manosphere has clearly gained hold in a Swedish context in alternative media but also in mainstream media. It is possible to see daily in mainstream media and social media how the words are sipping through. Feminist is supposed to be a positive word opposite some word you would never see in a normal text, like "whore" or "cunt" but paired together, "feminist-cunt" or "feminist-whore" seems like a smart way to get a general acceptance which is dangerous, since it will increase the use of derogatory language into the general discourse. It is of utmost importance for mainstream media to continue to report about the misogynistic discourse, but there is a fine line between normalizing the language and instead educate and raise awareness. The toxic misogynistic discourse affects the overall off-line and online male violence in society directed against women. We cannot allow language to silence women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1 Words from the manosphere

Dictionary manosphere	Explanation
-cel	Suffix denoting involuntary celibate. Used in the formation of the words: gymcel, heightcel, workcel. The stem word indicates the condition that made him incel, the activity that the incel spends to compensate for his lack of success with women, or just an incel that happen to be with the quality. For example, a gymcel is a man who spends his free time exercising in the hopes that a more fit body will cause him to become more attractive to women.
-maxx - maxxing/-max	An effort to improve an aspect of one's life in order to secure sexual and/or romantic intimacy. "Maximize" it.
-pill	Refers to embracing a type of philosophy. Coined from the movie The Matrix where the character Morpheus gives Neo the option to accept reality by swallowing a red pill or go back being connected to the matrix by swallowing the blue pill.
-pilled	The act of accepting one of the "pills" as the truth.
Alpha	An alpha (or alpha male) is a high-status male who gets all the sex he desires, because his controlling and socially-dominant personality is so alluring to females, refer to a male's tall and muscular body type that all females are irresistibly attracted to. See Chad.
Alpha fucks / beta buxx	Refer to woman who gets fucked by alphas and settles down with a beta. Originates from a concept in evolutionary psychology, known as strategic pluralism.
AMOG	Short for 'Alpha Male of the Group', a term originating in the PUA community.
Becky	A moderately attractive female. Not as attractive as Stacy.
Beta	A weak male, opposite to an alpha, a beta provider or subservience in general, ie a beta female. Can also be used as a derogatory label for a man that calls himself a feminist
Beta male	A beta male is an average male, aka someone who is not a leader, not very physically strong, not rich, not super hot, unassertive, and is subordinate to alpha males in terms of mate access.
Black Pill	Incels variation of the Red Pill (TRP). A fatalistic/depressed version of red pill. A collection of harsh truths about dating and relationships backed by sociological studies. Alternative, a fatalist position about dating born from a belief in gender essentialism.
Blue Pill	The preference of believing in a comforting or convenient lie, especially when it concerns a person's world view, with emphasis on the pretense or opinion that goes contrary to the research suggesting physical attraction is utmost in social or sexual situations.
Brad	A moderately attractive male, typically white. Not as attractive as a Chad.
Chad	A high status man and the man that gets all women despite treating them bad, see also Alpha. A physically attractive male, typically white. With a PSL rating of 8/10 or higher. Ethnic counterparts: Tyrone - black
Cope	Adopting an untrue belief, to avoid the pain that comes from facing a harsh, unpleasant reality. Usually used to by lookists to point out that any effort other than plastic surgery is merely a coping mechanism and not productive toward finding a partner. The insulting nature of the word lends it's use to trolls seeking to make others feel bad for daily activities.
Cuck	A man whose wife/girlfriend is having sex with another man. There are racial overtones, with the word often referring specifically to women cheating with black men. A concept borne out of insecurity: a fear that one is inadequate, sexually or otherwise, and that inadequacy will lead to the loss of the things that are important to him. For alt-right it also rationalizes who feel as though their country has been taken away from them and not enough have been done by the cuckservative establishment conservative party to protect it.
ER	Elliot Rodger, the Isla Vista killer.
Fakecel	A person who claims to be an incel, but isn't.

Femcel	A woman that doesn't have sex, a female Incel. This is not possible according to Incels, they believe women can only be Volcels
Foids/Femoid	A derogatory term for female. Stemmed from female and -oid (as in android or humanoid). Used to suggest that females are not fully human and can be treated thereafter.
Forever alone	No hope for a relationship. Alternatively, the forum foreveralone, a feminist incel subreddit that doesn't self-identify as incel.
Gamergate	A harassment campaign conducted primarily through the use of the hashtag #GamerGate. Issues of sexism and progressivism in video game culture.
Height theory	Refers to the scientific research that suggests height is a distinctively or the prime attractive feature for men.
Hypergamy	Usually refers to a facet of evolutionary psychology regarding women, especially in regards to their sexual partners, preferring to date above their league in either physical beauty, social status or wealth. Also used to imply that women are never satisfied with their male partners, and as such are always looking for a "better" male, in this sense synonymous with monkey branching.
Incel	An involuntary celibate man. Refers to state in which a person who is willing and physically able to engage in sexual relations is unable to find a partner. The term applies to people who have not yet engaged in sex, those who have had sex at least once but are unable to find another partner, and those in a relationship with a partner who is unwilling to have sex.
Incels.co	Current American forum for Incels (previously Incels.is, Incels.me)
Lookism	Prejudice or discrimination based on one's looks.
Normie	An average everyday boring person. Sometimes used to refer to people that are "average" in looks in contrast to Chad and incel. A "high-tier normie" refers to person who is- above average in attractiveness (but not as attractive as Brad or Becky). A "low-tier normie" refers to a person who are below average in attractiveness.
Omega	A man on the lowest rung of the sexual/romantic (and sometimes general) social hierarchies. Often a synonym for incel or truecel. Very ugly or severely handicapped.
PUA	'Pickup Artist' originally coined from the belief that picking up women is a form of art. Used to describe the members of the seduction community. Now it refers to a group of fraudulent men who sell overcharged useless/untested self-help advice on dating to naive sexually inexperienced people.
Red pill	Confronting the true pretense of an aspect of a particular thing, especially in regards to the mechanics of socialisation, in the incel contexts.
Reddit	American Discussion forum with subreddits e.g. /r/TheRedPill
Roastie	A sexually promiscuous woman. Word originated from the idea that a woman's vagina becomes distended after she get fucked by a lot of partners.
Rope	To commit suicide
Snowflake	Snowflake as a politicized insult is typically used by those on the political right to insult those on the political left. The alt-right in the United States pejoratively describes most liberals and those protesting against Donald Trump as "snowflakes", anyone who could be accused of being too easily offended, too in need of 'safe spaces, too fragile
Stacy	A female counterpart of Chad. A white attractive female with an hourglass figure.
Troll	Those who deliberately bait people to elicit an emotional response. "Trolling" developed hand in hand with Internet.
Volcel	Voluntary Celibacy, own choice. Someone who can get sex but choose not to. Contrast it to incel.
White Knight	Believing that women will be impressed by protective behaviour and coming to their rescue. Guys do this in the hope of a sex reward
White pill	The acceptance phase of the blackpill and therefore seeking to assimilate that knowledge to improve your life, or become a volcel. The term has also been used by some to refer to the negation of the black pill i.e another form of the bluepill.

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Appendix 2 Decision from Ethics council

1(1)

Council's

2020-04-16

HS2020 löp nr 41

Project:	Lone wolf terrorism – a case study of an Incel terrorist
Student:	Maria Wiklund
Supervisor:	Lotta Wendel
Rapporteur:	**Claes Andersson**

Advisory opinion from the Ethics Council

BACKGROUND
The student will use a public database, "the Global Terrorism Database". In this database, six individuals are listed as so called "Incels" (e.g. involuntary celibates). The student aims to investigate (a) how information on Incels compare to the definition of "Lone Wolf Terrorists", (b) the traits used by Incels, and (c) whether Incels could have been identified before the terrorist attack. The student will use data on 1-4 out of the total 6 Incels. The student states that names of the Incels listed in database are publicly available, and that names have been published in multiple reports. Hereby, the student wish to include names in the final essay.

STATEMENT
The Ethics Council consider that no individual information should be presented in the final essay, i.e., all individual information in the essay should be anonymous. The Ethics Council do not consider publication of names is necessary in relation to learning objectives or examination criteria. For examination purposes, information related to individuals could be handed separately to the examiner.

Otherwise, the Ethics Council has no objections to the work being carried out.

For the Ethics Council, Faculty of Health of Society, Malmö university
Claes Andersson