

MISOGYNY, VIOLENCE, & VIOLENT EXTREMISM

"What is
misogyny?"

The hatred,
prejudice, or
subordination
of women.

All misogynists typically support extreme masculine and feminine gender roles.

Extreme masculinity reaffirms male power, traditional gender roles, and men's treatment of women as sexual objects. Displays of extreme masculinity include:

- *TOUGHNESS*
- *ACTS OF AGGRESSION OR VIOLENCE*
- *DISRESPECT AND DEVALUATION OF WOMEN*
- *CASUAL ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX*
- *RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOR*
- *HOMOPHOBIA*

Extreme femininity uses milder, romanticized explanations for traditional gender roles and male dominance that note men's reliance on women, especially at home. Displays of extreme femininity include:

- *BELIEF IN THE DOMESTIC ROLE OF WOMEN AND THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDBEARING*
- *SUBSERVIENCE OR DEFERENCE TO MEN*
- *DISAPPROVAL OF WOMEN WHO DEVIATE FROM THE "FEMININE IDEAL"*
- *TOLERATING ABUSE OR VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN*



MISOGYNISTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE VIOLENT



Research shows, for both men and women, misogyny is associated with an increased willingness to use violence generally, and support for or the intent to commit interpersonal violence specifically.

Among misogynists, interpersonal violence may take the form of **gender-based violence**. Gender-based violence exploits unequal power relationships between genders.

Men who perceive threats to their in-group or who believe that men as a group are exceptional, are not recognized as such, and that women are to blame are more likely to engage in gender-based violence.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE MAY BE PHYSICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND INCLUDES:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



SEXUAL VIOLENCE



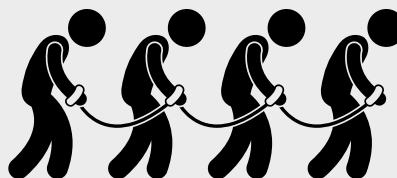
STALKING



ONLINE HARASSMENT DOXXING, DEEPFAKES, REVENGE PORN



HUMAN TRAFFICKING



ELDER ABUSE



IN ADDITION TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

misogynistic men who perceive threats to their in-group are more likely to engage in **mass violence**. Mass violence is often, though not always, preceded by gender-based violence.

83%

of the 18 mass murders in the US in 2018 were perpetrated by someone who engaged in gender-based violence prior to their attack.



68%

of the 110 mass shootings in the US between 2014 and 2019 were perpetrated by someone with a history of domestic violence or who had killed a family member or partner.

54%

of the 156 mass shootings in the US between 2009 and 2016 were perpetrated by someone with a history of domestic or family violence.



CASES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AS A PRECURSOR TO MASS VIOLENCE

See Appendix I for additional examples

STEPHEN PADDOCK

Shot hundreds attending a music concert from his hotel window. Repeatedly **verbally abused his girlfriend** in public.

Killed: 59
Las Vegas, 2017

CHO SEUNG - HUI

College student who committed mass shooting at Virginia Tech. Accused twice of **stalking female students**.

Killed: 32
Blacksburg, 2017

ADAM LANZA

Sandy Hook school shooter. Showed signs of mental illness and was **violent towards his mother**, who he killed just before the school shooting.

Killed: 26
Newtown, 2012

MISOGYNISTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE VIOLENT EXTREMISTS

Research demonstrates **men who are misogynists** are more likely to report support for violent extremism and an increased willingness to engage in **violent extremism**.



This is especially true when they believe their gender, racial, ethnic, or religious group are under threat. Perceived dangers to their in-group may lead to revenge planning against the out-group, increasing displays of extreme masculinity, and acts of aggression and violence.

For women, there is no evidence to date of a relationship between misogyny and support for or the intention to engage in violent extremism.

Concepts of extreme masculinity and femininity are often manipulated in violent extremist propaganda, recruitment, and mobilization.



MISOGYNY IS DESCRIBED AS “THE GATEWAY, DRIVER AND EARLY WARNING SIGN” OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM GLOBALLY AND MISOGYNY IS A COMMON FEATURE OF DIFFERENT EXTREMIST IDEOLOGIES:

INGELS (INVOLUNTARY CELIBATES)

- Think all men are entitled to sex and their inability to find sexual or romantic partners is the result of only their physical appearance
- Believe women are only interested in dating the most attractive men and women use their sexual “market value” for their social advantage
- Hate and sometimes commit violence against women because they resent their alleged social advantage and are angry women overlook them as potential partners

FAR RIGHT EXTREMISTS

- Oppose women’s rights movement and related freedoms (e.g. abortion) because they threaten the social status of men, traditional gender roles, and reproductive rates among whites
- Believe women, especially those in the movement, should hold domestic and childbearing roles (though this is not always true in practice)
- Sometimes explicitly advocate for domestic violence (e.g., William Atchison, Stephan Balliet, Brenton Harrison Tarrant, Andrew Anglin)

ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS

- Severely limit women’s rights using conservative interpretations of religious texts
- Engage in sexual enslavement, rape, murder, forced marriage, and abuse of women
- Believe women should be limited to childbearing, teaching the next generation of recruits, and maintaining the household (though this is not always true in practice)

FAR LEFT EXTREMISTS

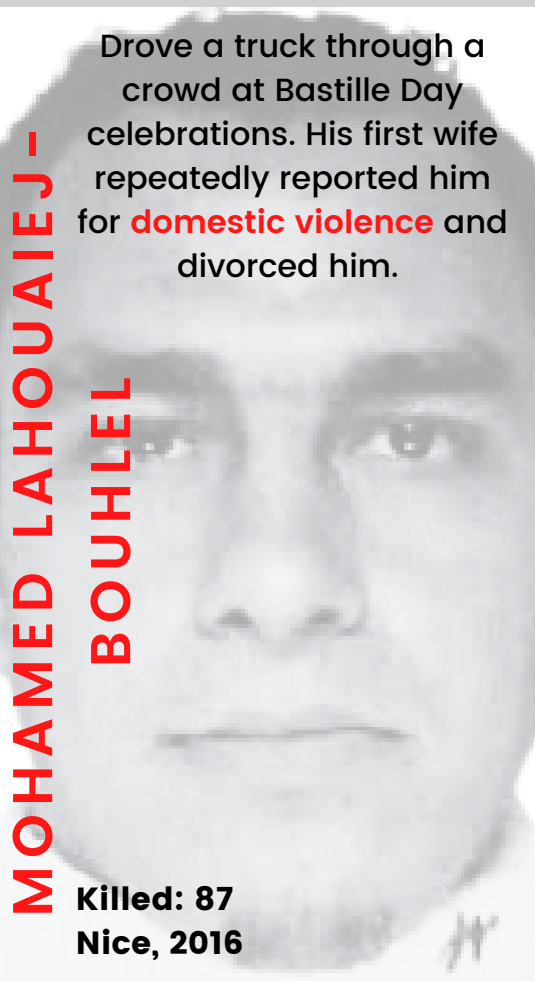
- Although they do not ideologically support misogyny and tend to promote women’s liberation, there is a record of misogynistic behavior in certain groups (e.g. sexual exploitation in the Weather Underground)

Whether operating as part of a group or a lone actor, violent extremists, especially those who carry out large-scale attacks, often have a history of gender-based violence including:

- **DOMESTIC ABUSE**
- **INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**
- **STALKING**
- **ONLINE HARASSMENT**
- **SEXUAL ASSAULT**

CASES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AS A PRECURSOR TO TERRORISM

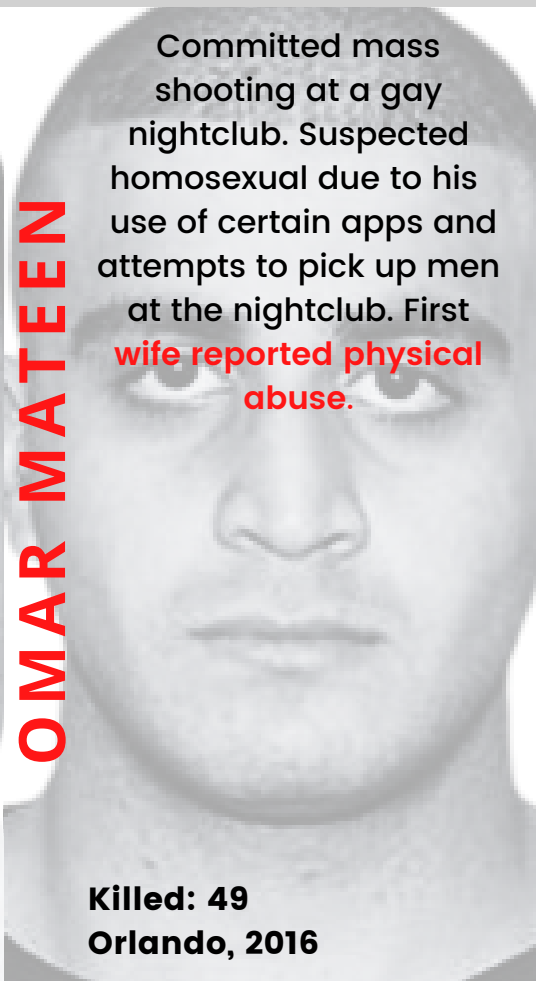
See Appendix II for additional examples



MOHAMED LAHOUAIEJ-BOUHLEL

Drove a truck through a crowd at Bastille Day celebrations. His first wife repeatedly reported him for **domestic violence** and divorced him.

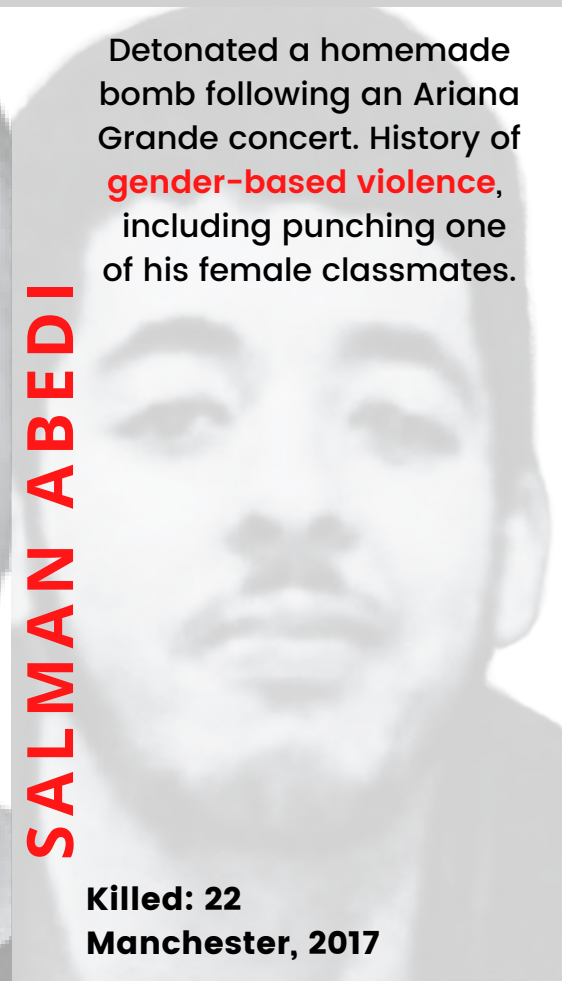
**Killed: 87
Nice, 2016**



OMAR MATEEN

Committed mass shooting at a gay nightclub. Suspected homosexual due to his use of certain apps and attempts to pick up men at the nightclub. First wife reported **physical abuse**.

**Killed: 49
Orlando, 2016**



SALMAN ABEDI

Detonated a homemade bomb following an Ariana Grande concert. History of **gender-based violence**, including punching one of his female classmates.

**Killed: 22
Manchester, 2017**

Research further suggests the **perpetrators and victims of domestic or gender-based violence** may be vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment into violent extremism. In the United Kingdom:

- Almost 40% of adult and 30% of child referrals to their countering violent extremism program had a history of domestic abuse either as perpetrators, victims, or witnesses
- Almost 16% of adult referrals were the victims of domestic abuse - a number three times higher than the estimated figure nationally
- These numbers are likely higher given the unwillingness to disclose domestic abuse

WARNING SIGNS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE MAY INDICATE THE POTENTIAL FOR MASS VIOLENCE OR VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Although most individuals who commit gender-based violence do not engage in mass violence or violent extremism, certain factors **may indicate gender-based violence is part of a larger issue.** These include the suspect:

Explaining

or framing gender-based violence in a way that indicates a more **general hatred of women** than one's partner or the specific victim. For example, when responding to a domestic violence call, the suspect being questioned replies, "I can't stand women" rather than "I can't stand my partner." This suggests the incident may be caused by more general, deeper misogyny.

Fighting

with a partner, family member, or friend over an extremist ideology including conflicts over the expected dress or behavior of the victim. Such fights may escalate to gender-based violence.

Believing

in a violent extremist ideology or consuming extremist ideological content.

Displaying

additional misogynist attitudes or behaviors especially when evidence suggests the suspect feels that his gender, racial, ethnic, or religious group is under threat.

Praising

those who committed **violence against women** in the past, perpetrators of mass violence, or violent extremists.

Producing

content hostile towards women or another group in society.

Seeking

planning advice or **justification for violence** or issuing a call to action for others to commit violence.

Purchasing

or attempting to gain access to weapons.

WHEN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE MIGHT BE A HATE CRIME

"What is a hate crime?"

A crime where the offender intentionally selects the victim or commits the offense because of a belief or perception regarding the victim's gender or gender identity. In either case, gender or gender identity may overlap with race, color, religion, national origin, or disability.

Potential Red Flags:

Note: Red flags are not necessarily criminal, but are signs in a case that gender-based violence may constitute a hate crime.

Harassment

(e.g. doxing, stalking) or targeting individuals whose profession, lifestyle, social media, or public statements are perceived as threatening to "traditional" gender roles or identities.



Symbols

characterizing a particular gender or gender identity are targeted, or symbols or objects at the scene are threatening or offensive on the basis of gender or gender identity.

Targeting

any property with professional, legal, cultural, or health significance for a gender or gender identity (e.g. women's rights or LGBTQ+ organizations, places commonly visited by one gender like Planned Parenthood, sororities, or yoga studios).



Prior Sexual Offenses

including assault, harassment, or rape motivated by more general misogyny, rather than interpersonal conflict or sexual deviance.

Victim

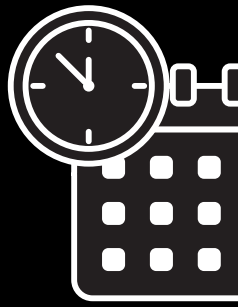


- is a sex worker and the suspect uses hostile, derogatory language about sex workers, generally
- identifies as transgender and the suspect uses anti-transgender language, generally
- is a women's rights or LGBTQ+ activist or works on the protection of specific groups on the basis of gender or gender identity.



Date of the Incident

is of significance for gender or gender identity (e.g., International Women's Rights Day, 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence).



Language

indicating bias or hostility toward a gender, gender identity, or gender role (e.g. women are irrational or the property of men, women should dress modestly, men supporting feminine causes are weak, transgender individuals need correction).



Belief of the Suspect

in an extremist, misogynistic ideology (e.g. incels, men's rights activists, Pick Up Artists, Men Going Their Own Way). This may also qualify for terrorism charges (see page 10).

Example Cases



ROBERT AARON LONG / MARCH 16, 2021 8 KILLED / ATLANTA, GA

Opened fire in 3 massage businesses killing 6 Asian women. Indicted on murder charges, aggravated assault, and one count of domestic terrorism. The prosecutor indicated she would pursue hate crime sentencing enhancements on the basis of gender bias if the case went to trial. Long claimed he was motivated by a sexual addiction that was at odds with his Christianity.

CHARLES C. ROBERTS / OCTOBER 2, 2006 4 KILLED / LANCASTER COUNTY, PA

Upon entering West Nickel Mines school, he ordered the male students to leave and then allowed a pregnant woman and three women with babies to leave before shooting the remaining 11 girls. Before committing suicide, he told his wife that he had molested two relatives 20 years ago when he was 12 and was tormented by dreams he would do it again.



GEORGE SODINI / AUGUST 4, 2009 3 KILLED / BRIDGEVILLE, PA

Committed a mass shooting at a women's aerobics class. His blog detailed his inability to find a woman: "A man needs a woman for confidence. He gets a boost on the job, career, with other men, and everywhere else when he knows inside he has someone to spend the night with and who is also a friend. This type of life I see is a closed world with me specifically and totally excluded."



WHEN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE MIGHT BE TERRORISM

"What is terrorism?"

Engaging in or facilitating violence or threats intended to influence a civilian population in support of an extremist ideology.

Gender-based violence might constitute a domestic act of terrorism under New York State law if the suspect:

- Was motivated by an extremist ideology
- Intended to influence or cause fear in a civilian population beyond the immediate victims
- Intended to kill or cause serious physical injury to five or more people because of their perceived gender or gender identity, regardless of whether the perception was correct. Gender or gender identity may overlap with other protected groups including race, ethnicity, or religion.

Potential Red Flags:

Note: Red flags are not necessarily criminal, but are signs in a case that gender-based violence may constitute an act of domestic terrorism.

Expressing Anger With or Desire to Change

the political or social system especially as it relates to gender and gender roles.



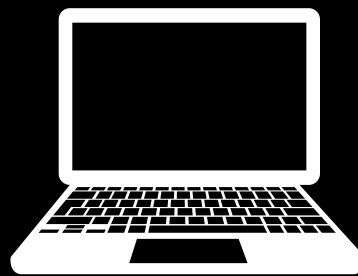
Attempting to Mobilize

family or peers to ideologically motivated violence.



Referencing

extremist ideological content especially in explaining or justifying the commission of an attack.

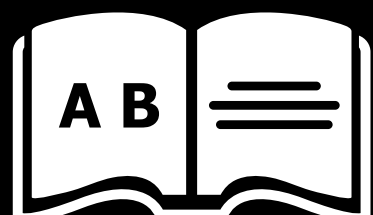


Producing, Possessing, or Consuming

extremist ideological content.

Use of Incel Language

associated with involuntary celibate movement (e.g., alpha, beta, Chad, Stacy, Becky, foids, hypergamy, redpill, lay down and rot (LDAR), normie, Kiwi Farms, fuel, maxxing, -cel, Elliot Rodger, Alek Minassian).



Example Cases



ELLIOT RODGER
MAY 23, 2014
6 KILLED
ISLA VISTA, CA

Although three victims were men, Rodger left behind videos and writings stating his goal was to seek revenge on women because he had not had a sexual/romantic relationship. His attack is described as an act of misogynist terrorism. He committed suicide during his attack and some incels celebrate him.



TRES GENCO
JULY 21, 2021
6 KILLED
CINCINNATI, OH

Planned a shooting at a university in Ohio, but was arrested by local police. After his arrest, police discovered he was a frequent poster on incel websites, had written a manifesto, and purchased a gun. He was charged with a federal hate crime in Ohio and could be charged with domestic terrorism under New York state law.

ALEK MINASSIAN
APRIL 23, 2018
10 KILLED
TORONTO, CANADA

Drove a rental van onto a busy Toronto sidewalk, specifically targeting women. Minassian was charged with 10 counts of murder. He was tied to the incel community, where he was encouraged by members online to commit his attack. Minutes before, he posted a Facebook message praising Elliot Rodger and warned of an "incel rebellion."



UN-NAMED 17 YEAR OLD
FEBRUARY 24, 2020
1 KILLED
TORONTO, CANADA

Stabbed a woman to death at a massage parlor and wounded another man and woman. Evidence suggests he was motivated by the incel ideology. He was charged with first-degree murder. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police are pushing for a terrorism charge.



HYPOTHETICAL CASE 1

An individual commits a mass shooting at a location where moderate Muslim women gather. He claims these women are not living up to the "Muslim ideal". Evidence suggests he believes in a Salafi-jihadi ideology.



HYPOTHETICAL CASE 2

An individual commits a mass shooting targeting women at a Mexican heritage event. He refers to Mexican women as "breeders" online before the attack, and is an active user and poster on white supremacist platforms.



Appendix I

Cases of Gender-Based Violence or Misogyny as a Precursor to Mass Violence



TED BUNDY

1975 to 1978 - UT, FL, & CO - Killed 20

Allegedly raped, tortured, and killed over 30 women. Targeted women that visually fit his extreme feminine ideal.



NIKOLAS CRUZ

2018 - Parkland - Killed 17

Shot students and staff at his former high school. Violent toward mother and threatened ex-girlfriend; police never followed up.



IAN DAVID LONG

2018 - Thousand Oaks - Killed 12

Ex-Marine committed mass shooting at local restaurant. Evaluated for service-related PTSD and released. History of prolonged arguments with mother.



DIMITRIOS PAGOURTZIS

2018 - Santa Fe - Killed 10

Teenage gunman opened fire at his high school. Harassed a female classmate for months after she rejected him.



DARRELL BROOKS

2021 - Milwaukee - Killed 6

Rammed speeding vehicle into a Christmas parade. Was a registered sex offender and had history of domestic violence and anti-Semitism.



JARROD RAMOS

2018 - Annapolis - Killed 5

Walked into newspaper office and killed five employees. Stalked and harassed a woman for over a year before reported in a local newspaper.



CEDRIC FORD

2016 - Newton - Killed 3

Perpetrated a mass shooting at the Kansas plant where he worked. Abused ex-girlfriend and was served with a restraining order shortly before shooting.



ROBERT DEAR

2015 - Colorado Springs - Killed 3

Carried out a mass shooting at Planned Parenthood. Accused of domestic violence by his then-wife in 1997.

Appendix II

Cases Of Gender-Based Violence or Misogyny as a Precursor to Terrorism



MARK LEPINE

1989 - Montreal - Killed 14 - Incel

Perpetrated mass shooting at Montreal's Polytechnique engineering school. Left suicide note explicitly stating his motivation was based on his political opposition to feminism.



SAÏD AND CHÉRIF KOUACHI

2015 - Paris - Killed 12 - Islamist extremists

Forcibly entered the French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo and shot 12 people. Both engaged in misogynistic behavior (e.g., refusing to shake women's hands or stand up for female court judges).



RACHID REDOUANE

2017 - London - Killed 11 - Islamist extremist

Vehicle ramming and knife attack on London Bridge alongside two other assailants. Beat and humiliated wife who divorced him after refusing to give in to his demand to convert to Islam.



ROBERT BOWERS

2018 - Pittsburgh - Killed 11 - Far-right extremist

Shot and killed worshipers at Pittsburgh synagogue. Used slurs against women in interracial relationships and made anti-Semitic posts on site frequented by white supremacists.



KHALID MASOOD

2017 - London - Killed 6 - Islamist extremist

Westminster attack with a car and knife. Alleged domestic abuse of his second wife.



ELLIOT RODGER

2014 - Isla Vista - Killed 6 - Incel

Stabbed three men in his apartment, shot three women in front of a sorority house, and shot and killed several pedestrians from his car. Wrote 141 page manifesto detailing his beliefs in incel ideology and disdain for modern society.



JACK DAVIDSON

2021 - Plymouth - Killed 5 - Incel

Shot and killed two women, two men, and three-year old girl in Keyham area of UK. Frequently argued with his mother, who was his first victim.



WILLIAM ATCHISON

2017 - Aztec - Killed 2 - Incel and Far-right extremist

Killed two students before committing suicide. Had previously expressed far-right, racist, and misogynist sentiments online. Also ideologized the incel Elliot Rodger for his infamous mass shooting years prior.



BRANDON CLARK

2019 - Utica - Killed 1 - Incel

Murdered Bianca Devins, 17, posting images of her lifeless body online and sending them to her family. Exposed to gender-based violence growing up. Father threatened his mother with a knife in similar manner to Clark's murder.



DARREN OSBORNE

2017 - London - Killed 1 - Anti-Muslim

Van attacker. Radicalized within weeks after watching a documentary about a sexual abuse scandal involving Muslim men. Alleged abuse of his wife.

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