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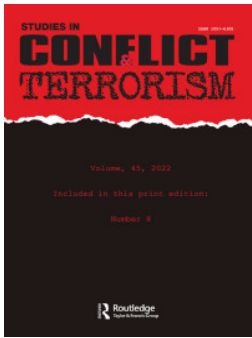## Citation

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Supreme Men, Subjected Women: Gender Inequality and Violence in Jihadist, Far Right and Male Supremacist Ideologies

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ABSTRACT

Recent cases of terrorist violence by jihadist, far right, and male supremacist actors share a common, yet underexplored feature – the aim to impose extreme patriarchal political and social orders which are anti-feminist and even misogynistic. This exploratory article draws on several cases across these three groups to highlight two findings. First, we demonstrate that these narratives are increasingly utilized in justifications for violence, and women, and those promoting gender equality, are targeted. Second, that male supremacy is itself is increasingly a distinct anti-feminist ideological motivation for violence. We argue that this topic should be considered and assessed to a greater extent in terrorism scholarship, and in practical efforts to prevent and counter violent extremism.

The Western woman is encouraged to compete with men in the workplace, to display of her body what no man ever displays, and to be more promiscuous than any prostitute has ever been.

Islamic State Dabiq Magazine

It must be said that radical feminism has been one of the most important causes of the current weakness of Western civilization, both culturally and demographically.

Anders Breivik

All women must be quarantined like the plague that they are, so that they can be used in a manner that actually benefits a civilized society.

Eliot Rodger

On the surface, these actors appear distinct - they adhere to different ideologies, they differ in terms of geographical locations, national and religious identity, and link to a formal or wider group. Yet, while diverse, these actors all share several characteristics. First, the ideologies they adhere to have explicit gendered hierarchies and binaries within - idealized norms and roles for men and women informed by patriarchal, male

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supremacist and even misogynistic views of women. Second, the ails or problems in the world which, in part, drive them to conduct violence see the advancement of women (women's rights, gender equality, feminism, etc.) as a threat to the way they believe the world should be (their utopian vision). Third, they justify and conduct violence against women, or at the systems they see responsible for the advancement or equality of women, to rectify these wrongs and reinforce gendered hierarchies. In other words, they all share a desire to impose extreme patriarchal social and political orders with male supremacism as a primary goal (either a goal in and of itself, or as part of a broader aim), where violence against women, and the institutions seen to be advancing gender equality, are justified, and are inherent in their ideologies.

Public debates and discussions around gender and the status of women in society are currently a dominant feature in broader western, socio-political discourses and help set the scene for our discussion. Gender identities and relations have become a focal point in Western societies as seen in "culture wars" and via rising authoritarian regimes and movements who target women's rights and women's movements. Gender and gender relations have been put in the spotlight in relation to the #MeToo movement, anti-abortion debates, trans rights movements, and other ongoing issues related to gender (in)equality in society. Ging has highlighted broader societal shifts captured in the literature that have impacted expressions of "aggrieved entitlement" in the manosphere which also lend to these debates, including the 'feminization' of the workplace and women's roles in the labor market,[1] downward mobility, wage stagnation, and underemployment,[2] and broader rights movements including women, people of color, and persons of different sexual identities and orientations.[3] Ging observes, "What unites these multiple masculinities, then, is a common preoccupation with male hegemony as it relates to heterosexual…. Gender relations."[4] These points are also echoed by Kimmel who examines white, American men and particularly how their ideal notion of masculinity today is being challenged, and how they are feeling emasculated and humiliated by ongoing changes in society that are often blamed on the "other" including women, migrants, sexual minorities.[5] In short, debates around gender relations and women's roles in society are not unique to these actors alone, but part of broader societal discourses today. Focusing on the most violent expressions of these, in this article we highlight how these otherwise distinct violent extremist ideologies and actors are united by their preoccupation with the installation of patriarchal social and political orders which are ordered around the supremacy of men, and the lesser status (even subjugation) of women and are willing to do so through the use of violence and intimidation to achieve that.

This article builds off a growing body of work which explores different aspects of these gendered social and political visions as they pertain to violent extremism and terrorism. However, it uniquely identifies extreme patriarchal visions, as well as inter-related concepts such as male supremacism and misogyny, as a thread which tie these seemingly distinct actors across different ideological, geo-political and socio-political contexts together. It explores and concretizes how these manifestations of the most extreme patriarchal orders are inherent across these ideologies, and the calculations and actions of these groups and their adherents in their tactics, strategies, and objectives. It does so by considering how through their imposition of male-dominated

gendered hierarchies and orders, these narratives which express male supremacism are utilized in the conduct of violence. This is seen through the targeting of women directly in violent actions (e.g. murder, assault, sexual slavery, kidnapping, subjugation, or threats etc.), the targeting of institutions that advance the status of women, and how they otherwise define and attempt to (re-) impose the gendered orders in society expressed in patriarchy through violent means. We thus highlight the political nature of this violence, arguing that this topic should be considered and assessed to a greater extent in terrorism scholarship, and in practical efforts to counter and prevent violent extremism and terrorism.

This paper explores this through two distinct ideologies which have been a prominent focus in the field of terrorism studies particularly since 9/11 – Islamist and more recently far right extremism. These ideologies, while distinct, share ultra-conservative social visions and the desire to maintain or impose patriarchal gendered roles, binaries, hierarchies, and norms. They also share the targeting of, or subjugation of, women, actors or institutions that fall outside of, or challenge this vision. The paper then explores a new manifestation of violent extremism that places women, and in particular feminists, as front and center of their ideological lens – male supremacists, particularly incels and men's rights activists.

This paper ultimately offers two contributions. First, it highlights in a comparative and exploratory manner, how extreme patriarchal political and social visions, as well as inter-related concepts such as misogyny and male supremacism, are cross-cutting and prominent features in these diverse neo-conservative ideologies and their political violence. We draw, selectively upon statements by extremist movements that represent their attitudes toward the role of women in society and feminism to support this position. These were read in the wider context in which they were situated to ensure analytical clarity. Second, it further builds on a growing body of literature which further opens the door for violence against women on the basis of gender to be taken seriously as a form of violent extremism in its own right. These findings provide another level of explanatory value of these actors and encourages more academic focus on the patriarchal underpinnings which drive these most violent expressions of masculinities in dominant violent ideologies today, and thus reflection on how these expressions can be addressed in efforts to counter these groups and violence for those who study and respond to such groups (P/CVE, counterterrorism).

This paper substantiates this as follows. First, it defines key terms which provide the basis for exploring how these movements which prioritize the supremacy of men and subjugation of women in society justify violence to achieve their aims (which themselves are political as they prioritize male-dominant political orders). It will consider how these are expressed in the distinct ideologies, discourses, and actions of these actors. Second, it briefly introduces recent literature which has begun to examine different aspects of this issue to highlight the contribution we make to the literature. Third, it examines and contrasts practical examples of how these themes have been expressed by jihadist groups al-Qaeda and ISIS, far right actors Anders Breivik, and group the Proud Boys, and male supremacists particularly Incel Elliot Rodger, and men's rights activist Roy Den Hollander. Finally, we reinforce the key findings and conclude with points for consideration.

Key Terms and Concepts

This section will define ideology, patriarchy, and the interrelated concepts of male supremacy and misogyny as concise definitions are critical to the substantiation of our argument as outlined above.

Ideology

Ideology is a central tenet of both legal and scholarly definitions of violent extremism and terrorism. Hamilton frames ideology as 'a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements, and/or aimed at justifying particular pattern of conduct which its proponents seek to promote, realize, pursue or maintain'.[6] Kruglanski et al. note that, "An ideology is a collective belief system to which group members subscribe. Importantly, Kruglanski et al. argue that ideology is central to the radicalization process 'because it identifies radical activity (such as violence and terrorism) as the *means* of choice to the goal of personal significance."[7] In relation to terrorism, ideology is simplistically seen to contain three key components: a grievance (an injustice or harm); who/what that grievance is attributed to (a 'culprit'); and the morally righteous means by which to right this perceived wrong (namely, terrorism).[8] As such, a groups' ideology is important in determining a target because it "identifies the 'enemies' of the group by providing a measure against which to assess the 'innocence' or 'guilt' of people and institutions. This gives rise to the idea that certain people or things are somehow 'legitimate targets'.[9] C. J. M. Drake too argues that ideology is "central to understanding why a group uses violence and 'who or what' will be targeted."[10]

In each of the brief case studies, we define their ideologies, and the inherent grievance, attribution of blame and proposed solution they express. Islamist and far right actors are demonstrated to be explicitly anti-feminist, often directed at the western democratic orders which advocate western notions of gender equality, where (re-)imposing patriarchal orders and male supremacy are deemed appropriate solutions as part of their broader political agendas. For male supremacists, specifically incels and men's rights activists, anti-feminist violence has become its own unique form of violent extremist ideology where the grievance (women/feminists/feminism), attribution (social and political orders which uphold these) and the means to right this through violence (directed at women, or other related 'culprits') become distinct.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system of society or government in which "the father or eldest male is head of the family and descent, and relationship are reckoned through the male line." This includes features including "the predominance of men in positions of power and influence in society, with cultural values and norms favoring men" excluding women from power", that is, a society or community organized on patriarchal lines.[11] Today's world is still largely organized around patriarchy, including political institutions and social orders that have historically been patriarchal in their nature, even if these have evolved over the years, particularly in Western, democratic states. For Gentry,

"If terrorism is political, and if terrorism strikes at symbolic targets, it needs ideology to articulate political aims. Patriarchy continues to be the dominant structuring order and it works hand in hand with misogyny, which justifies violence against women."[12] We demonstrate how patriarchal orders underpin the most extreme expressions of male supremacist, misogynistic, and anti-feminist behaviors in our cases below.

Misogyny

Misogyny is the "hatred or dislike of, or prejudice against women."[13] As Manne notes misogyny serves as an ideological orientation as follows. Firstly, "sexism [is] the branch of patriarchal ideology that *justifies* and *rationalizes* a patriarchal social order." Second, she notes, "misogyny [is] the system that *polices* and *enforces* its governing, norms, and expectations." As Gentry discusses based on the points above, "we should think of misogyny as serving to uphold patriarchal order, understood as one strand among various similar systems of domination (including racisms, xenophobia, classism, ageism, ableism, homophobia, transphobia, and so on),"[14] also highlighting the intersectional nature of this violence. Citing Manne again Gentry notes that misogyny is "*political* and upholds a *political* system" which "operates in the everyday as a form of governance: it demands complete compliance and obedience by subordinating women. It is a form of coercive control – just as terrorism aims to be – and it uses violence or the threat of violence to gain this control."[15]

This discussion ties misogyny as a more general dislike or prejudice against women, to patriarchal ideology – the subordination of women as a political act *in the public sphere*, where societies should be based on this hierarchy, and those who oppose this become viewed as the enemy. "Misogynistic terrorism is perpetrated by individuals who are invested in a larger patriarchal system, which is complicit in as well as *dependent* upon the violence to maintain power structures."[16]

Importantly, the powerful misogynism that is pervasive across these movements is also reflected in Islamist, far-right and alt-right extremist discourses that frame the subversion of gender hierarchies in religious and anti-Western terms, and via narratives of the decline of the status of white men and Western society respectively.[17] In recent years, broadly paralleling the emergence of social media, this has evolved into a new formation, that of 'male supremacy'.

Male Supremacy as Ideological Orientation

Male supremacy at its foundation advocates for the supremacy of men and subjugation of women in society and is a new, more virulent form of patriarchal ideology. In western contexts, Male supremacist ideology operates across a spectrum of primarily online actors known colloquially as 'the manosphere'. The manosphere is commonly understood as operating along a spectrum incorporating four main movements, each with their own sub-ideological currents[18] - Men's Rights Activists, Pick-up Artists, Incels, and Men Going Their Own Way.[19] Male supremacy moves beyond the concept of misogyny (prejudice against women) by placing a preoccupation on the restoration of male power at the front and center of their ideological orientation. This is, in other words, a political project that is inherently focused on achieving societal change, be

it reestablishing men as breadwinners and heads of the household, abolishing family courts (Mens Rights Activists), or the forcible sexual subordination and punishment of women who fail to make themselves sexually available (Incels). Male supremacist narratives have developed a high degree of coherence despite their different manifestations, emphasizing a war on men, male victimhood at the hands of malevolent women, and stating their fierce opposition to feminism as the primary cause of male oppression, while also targeting LGBTQI communities.[20]

The specific targeting of women based on gender, in both online and real-world environments may overlap with far right and violent misogyny. However, and in line with our second argument, it also extends it and in doing so, redefines how we understand the relationship between ideology, patriarchy, and terrorism. That is, instead of serving as a means to a wider political end (the restoration of an Islamic Caliphate or White power), the new male supremacist views males as victims in a 'war on men' led by feminists and liberals, targets violence against women, and aims to restore patriarchy as a desired end state in and of itself. Women are to be forced back into the home and used for reproduction, and any deviation from subordination to this end state is deserving of violent punishment. This violence is not just reactive to perceived deviation, but proactive and designed to coerce women into behaving appropriately.

Research on how male supremacism has in fact evolved into an ideological orientation in and of itself has been limited, even as male supremacists have been increasingly examined in the literature.[21] Communications and Media researchers note that 'this amorphous network of online publics is noted for its virulent anti-feminism, extreme misogyny and synergies with the alt-right'.[22] This has been facilitated further by the "technological affordances of social media" which have also "radically increased the flow of antifeminist ideas and information across groups, platforms, and geographical boundaries."[23] Male supremacists also share characteristics with white supremacists, to the point that the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) added misogynist hate groups to their watch lists in 2018.[24] Here two in particular, Incels and Men's Rights Activists, are of interest due to their linking with what may be understood as politically motivated violent extremism and even terrorism. [25] Importantly, as Valenti argues, "misogynistic terrorists are not isolated individuals – in misogynistic terrorism the offenders are often inspired by and immersed in online and community politicization processes."[26] Our discussion below further builds on and extends from this literature to emphasize how beyond integration into a larger ideological orientation, male supremacism has evolved to become a distinct form of violent extremism itself, raising important questions for future exploration and prevention measures.

Male Supremacy and Violent Extremism

This paper also offers an additional contribution - it more clearly outlines the shared extreme patriarchal underpinnings of these violent actors via a comparative analysis. In relation to terrorism studies, the issue of patriarchy, particularly as expressed in domestic, intimate, or 'patriarchal' terrorism (domestic violence) has largely been neglected but recently growing in focus.[27] This growing body of work looks at the links between gender-directed violence in the domestic sphere and that of more

public-facing terrorism. Our discussion, while not addressing this directly, helps further the ongoing exploration and concretization of links between gendered violence oriented toward women and the patriarchal political systems in which they operate and are upheld.

A growing body of literature looks at the issue of male supremacy in specific case studies, or groups as they relate to extremist groups and populist movements, though the comparative cross-ideological component of this has been limited. Only a small body of literature in terrorism studies considers how inter-related concepts such as patriarchal political visions and related concepts such as male supremacism, misogyny, and masculinism transcend different conservative ideologies (jihadist, far right), and their diverse expressions of violence in a comparative fashion. Some helpful contributions thus far include Pearson who explores both similar and distinct gendered features between Islamist and far right extremist groups in the U.K.[28] Mattheis and Winter compare how women are positioned in identitarian and jihadist discourses,[29] while Abbas considers the radicalization of far right and Muslim youth "coming to terms with hegemonic masculinity in the context of intergenerational disconnect, combined with economic insecurity."[30] Hoffman et al. note similarities between incels and jihadist including their online presence, a culture of martyrdom, and radicalization processes and tactics.[31] Díaz and Valj examine white Christian and Islamist extremists where they view misogyny as a "political phenomenon whose purpose is to police and enforce women's subordination."[32]

From a prevention perspective, Díaz and Valj further argue that "human-rights monitors and prevention experts should be zeroing in on the most salient expressions of misogyny, and do more to incorporate trends reflecting increases in misogyny, anti-women rhetoric, political marginalization of women or women's groups, and strict enforcement of traditional gender norms, dress codes, or segregation."[33] This call for more attention to misogyny in preventative measures has also been highlighted by Agius et al. who argue that the predominant focus on Islamist extremism has created a 'blind spot' for recognizing the role of misogyny and masculinism in the far right.[34]

This paper adds a unique contribution to this literature by demonstrating through a comparative analysis across multiple diverse actors how extreme patriarchal political visions, and male supremacism are shared, prominent features in these conservative ideologies, and represent a cross-cutting feature inherent in their political violence.

The Centrality of Male Supremacy across Violent Extremist Actors

This section briefly looks at the ideologies associated with jihadist, far right, and male supremacist actors and considers how in the discourses and narratives used by the groups and their actors, as well as in the actions the groups take to attain their goals and impose their ideology, they engage and impact on women in ways we believe express the most political and violent forms of patriarchy defined above. Specifically, each brief case study will draw on the concepts above and highlight three aspects which demonstrate their desire to impose an extreme patriarchal political order: women are subordinated; violence and condemnation against women and institutions seen to be advancing gender equality are justified; and this is inherent within their stated religious/political ideology. These include two jihadist (al-Qaeda and ISIS), two far

right (Anders Breivik and the Proud Boys) and two male supremacist actors - Incel Elliot Rodger and Mens Rights Activist Roy den Hollander. We draw on direct quotations and statements from these actors to highlight the thematic overlaps in their own words. These quotes were chosen due to their publication in official magazines and websites or were made as statements from recognized leaders or stated in manifestos. These are at times lengthy and descriptive, but Creswell notes that longer quotations are useful in exemplifying complex understandings,[35] whilst Yin asserts that longer extracts might be used when seeking to demonstrate a particularly unusual or complex set of circumstances that plays an important part in a study.[36] Here, the complexity of the subject, excerpts of specific statements by extremists that form the basis of our argument, demands quotation of larger written tracts of text.

Salafi-Jihadist

Both examples of Islamist actors discussed below are Salafi-jihadist groups, who have the political goal to establish Islamic 'caliphates' where their interpretation of sharia is imposed. What distinguishes these actors from other Islamic political actors is their willingness to use violence to attain those goals, and the extreme textualist interpretation of sharia they impose which adheres to ultra-conservative gendered norms with women's place largely designated in the private sphere (home).[37]

In these groups, patriarchal orders and anti-feminist sentiments are expressed in often nuanced ways. The patriarchal vision of a society in which women are relegated to the domestic sphere is paradoxically accompanied by the claim to save Muslim women from a western feminism that promotes licentious behavior and undermines the family unit. Western feminism is viewed as detrimental to the political and social order and to be condemned and where necessary, eradicated.

This is demonstrated by the actions of Salafi-jihadist groups in particular. In territories these actors have seized and governed, women's rights have been severely curbed, and misogynistic practices against women including kidnapping, sexual servitude, and rape have been sanctioned by the group on a widespread level, legalized within their hardline textualist interpretation of Islamic law. These are particularly directed at women from out-groups seen as 'heretics' such as Yazidis. As Díaz and Valji note, "these misogynist acts are not merely part of their repertoire of violence or accessories to their political project, but rather central to it, and that control over women's bodies is just as important to these groups as controlling territory or defeating their enemies."[38]

Al-Qaeda

According to Kimmel as early as 2004, he observed a similar trend amongst Islamic radical organizations, including the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Discussing their similar political analyses, he highlights their shared opposition to globalization and spread of western values. He notes, "Central to their political ideology is the recovery of manhood from the devastatingly emasculating politics of globalization."[39] This "fusion of anti-globalization politics, convoluted Islamic theology and virulent misogyny," when viewed through a gender lens helps us see that, "the collapse of public patriarchal

entitlement led to a virulent and violent reassertion of domestic patriarchal power."[40] This re-assertion of patriarchal power could be seen throughout the group, and arguably also extends to several of the far right actors we examine below.

Al-Qaeda's position on women's status in society could be gleaned from their publications and statements. Ayman al-Zawahiri, the current leader of al-Qaeda, discussed the corruption that came from Muslims living in the west where feminist advancements were seen as damaging to women. Discussing daughters, he noted the costs to women's "honor" by bringing them up in the west: "bringing them up on ideas and concepts which makes them a source of permissible satisfaction of lust in the name of freedom, femininity, equal rights and other slogans! Facilitating and paving to them the way for prostitution and immorality."[41]

This theme of maintaining women's honor in society is widely expressed. In *Inspire*, describing the ban on niqabs in France, one author noted, "the West is hiding behind a niqāb of human rights, civil liberties, women's rights, gender equality and other rallying slogans while in practice it is being imperialistic, intolerant, chauvinistic and discriminating against the Muslim population of Western countries."[42] This reinforces how women are often seen to be victims of the West, where their rights can, al-Qaeda argue, be regained under sharia, and in their designated (private) roles in society. Al-Qaeda Arabian in the Peninsula (AQAP) has also explicitly stated its restrictions on women holding positions of leadership,[43] and al-Qaeda more generally have expressed women's roles largely in support functions as wives and mothers, and support functions (e.g. as facilitators, supporters and educators, according to van Knop, even as they have taken up roles as suicide bombers and militants in some cases).[44] Here, al-Qaeda advocates for a patriarchal social and political order which subjugates women, though these statements do not reflect the same misogynistic hatred of women seen in various actors discussed later on.

A more contemporary recent publication by an al-Qaeda affiliate, "*Ibnat al-Islam*" (*Daughter of Islam*) goes even further in an article entitled, "The Top 20 Lies of Feminism (And the Truths that Replace Them)."[45] Author Umm Khalid writes, "Ladies, we need to detox. We need to unlearn the toxic and damaging messages we've been programed to believe by feminism." Discussing 'truth' that needs to replace 'lies', the author notes, amongst others that "The patriarchy is not the root of all evil. The Islamic paradigm places the man as *qawwam* [guardians] and responsible or held accountable, on the level of nation, society and family. This is not to harm women, but to benefit and protect them." She continues, "Ignore feminism, be an obedient wife," and "Don't follow the "advice" of feminists on love, men, relationships, marriage, family, motherhood or really anything. You will be sacrificing your own happiness and serenity. And it's all lies."[46] Within al-Qaeda's ideology, the conservative status of women is preserved, and western notions of feminism criticized, and even supported by women themselves.

In the rare examples where al-Qaeda affiliates have seized and governed territory, they had an opportunity to apply their ideology where they imposed harsh patriarchal structures, where women were largely excluded from public space. This was seen, for example, in Yemen in 2011, then 2015 where women were advised to stay at home, and had to be accompanied by a male guardian in public, or where they restricted unrelated men and women from being seen in public together and conducted a public stoning of a woman accused of adultery.[47] In Mali in 2012, Al-Qaeda in the lands of

the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)-supported Ansar Dine took over the city of Timbuktu. Here too, women faced severe punishment if they were not covered properly, or if they were seen in public with an unrelated male under their strict interpretation of sharia.[48]

Other Islamist groups like Boko Haram have been rife with examples of misogynistic behavior and gender-based violence toward women (particularly Christian women).[49] As Pearson and Zenn note, "Boko Haram's ideology casts men in hyper-masculine combat roles, their duty to violently oppose the west… This combative ideological masculinity appears to have specific resonance with a section of disenfranchised Nigerian men."[50] The authors highlight how globalization facilitates this where traditional identities become fractured, increasing their willingness to support or join extremist groups.[51] Further they note, "In the face of social change, the reform of traditional gendered practices and the gradual adoption of 'Western' values, gender-based violence and binary gender norms can perform as a source of self-worth."[52] From their extensive kidnappings of schoolgirls and women, forced marriages, to deployment of female suicide bombers, their patriarchal vision has seen women subjugated in every aspect of their group and targeted in wider populations.[53]

The cases above highlight that al-Qaeda and other Salafi-jihadist groups have inherent within their ideologies a reinforcement of patriarchal political and social orders which subjugate and oppress women. Here, challenges to their patriarchal vision, such as feminism, are seen as a threat or a social ail, and should be rejected, including through the use of violence. Yet, this is framed largely via their ideology as oppositional to globalization, perceived incursion of western values, and in the political visions they seek to impose.

ISIS

ISIS is the most successful example of a jihadist group imposing their political projects via governance across territory seized and administered in Iraq and Syria between 2014 and 2019. Here, their social and political orders subjugated women, imposed severe patriarchal social directives, and conducted sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). ISIS became infamous in their enslavement of Yazidi women, and policing and punishing women in territory they controlled.[54]

Discussing the concept of *fitnah* ("inborn human nature") ISIS expressed what it saw as some of the failures of the west ("The Christian Lands"), "The role of man and woman was mixed up, as was the responsibility father and mother had toward daughter and son. Woman need not be a mother, a wife, or a maiden, but rather, she should work like man, rule like man, and have intercourse like an animal, without being conscious of her Lord watching both her and her heinous partner in crime."[55] They continued,

> "The deviance carried on until the so-called "Brave New World" of America and Western Europe began legalizing marijuana, bestiality, transgenderism, sodomy, pornography, feminism, and other evils, allowing the Christian pagans of Europe, America, and Australia to break the crime record of every disbelieving nation to precede them in history, including that of Sodom and Gomorrah."[56]

In another document, a manifesto by al-Khannssa in 2015 also reinforces the desire to maintain patriarchal order in society, and particularly condemn the 'westernization' of women, "As the secularists have been quashed, women have been raised aloft, and they have stayed in the way of God."[57]

As such, these ISIS members and supporters explicitly oppose 'western values' including feminism and gender equality, and in their governance project imposed harsh punishments on those who opposed them. In contrast to the condemnation of western women, in ISIS magazines the ideal woman provides support and safety to her husband and is as pious as possible.[58] ISIS, similar to al-Qaeda, have even expressed their own interpretations of feminism, challenging western understandings of the term, and applying these through their own Islamist lens via a patriarchal political and social order.

The specific subjugation of women, particularly those of other faith backgrounds (Christian, Yazidi) also featured heavily in ISIS. ISIS abducted at least 6,000 Yazidi women and children, who were kidnapped and detained against their will, and subjected to SGBV, human slavery, trafficking, and rape.[59] Cooke highlights how "ISIS instrumentalization of rape [is] essential to a militarized, masculinized, religious, and genocidal nationalism" and she specifically looks at the sexual ownership of women, and access to women by ISIS militants. She notes, "ISIS muftis have authorized men's rights of access to the bodies of women forbidden to them in the Qur an." She further notes how this interpretation of male domination also overlapped with genocidal aims, "it is possible, however incredible, that they believed their hyper-masculinized behavior would help create their Islamic nation through the destruction of another [Yazidi]."[60] These cases highlight these Islamists desire to impose ultra-conservative gendered norms with women's place largely designated in the private sphere (home), or otherwise subjugated to violence rule and control by men.

Far Right

The 'far right' is an extremely broad, and complex set of actors and ideas and includes "movements, subcultures, organized and decentralized networks, as well as political parties."[61] These far-right actors differ, but share similar foci including,

> "misogyny and seeing women as inferior, sexual entitlement, objectification and sanction of rape, a valorisation of traditional gender roles where women not only occupy specific roles but are also things to be "protected", gendered homophobia, and views that see gender equality as "going too far." [62]

Hand-in-hand with far right populism, this "'new global far-right' has done much to amplify preexisting 'anti-gender' narratives, with its exclusive vision of the nation and traditional values."[63] Agius et al. note that "This has taken different forms but can be seen to be part of this far-right ecosystem that is connected or 'cross pollinated' by misogynistic sentiment that has translated to violence."[64] Berlet and Vysotsky have highlighted how white supremacist groups in the U.S. often share traits such as a masculinist perspective.[65] For scholars like Miller-Idriss, in her book *Hate in the Homeland*, which looks at far right groups in America, she sees "issues of gender and misogyny as central to all them."[66] Other authors note that with some far right actors, "justifications to mistreat or target some women may align with their traditional

notions of nationhood and the family, whereas these groups may target women that contravene these prescribed roles (e.g. feminists; women who don't want children, etc.)." Here, women may also find "meaning and belonging in groups, even as these groups may target women deemed of a lesser status, or who may sit outside their group and be viewed as 'enemies.'"[67] Gentry has argued that misogyny has always been overlooked in the far-right in the U.S. and that these groups have in fact always demonstrated "misogynistic terrorism."[68] Women in these groups are also often positioned as both agents and victims.[69]

Many of the terms defined above run through far-right ideology – male supremacism, misogyny, and patriarchal visions for society. Agius et al. argues that due to the growing threat of the far right, there is a "compelling need to understand how masculinism (that is, an implicit gendered ethos or ideology that values masculinized attributes), and so-called 'anti-gender' sentiment (or opposition to feminism and gendered analyses), fuels and informs far-right extremism."[70] They further note that, "Apprehending the dynamics of this connection between masculinism and the far-right allows us to consider the role of subtle and overt anti-feminist and misogynistic sentiment, but further, to consider questions beyond role type, applying gendered analyses to wider phenomena and sentiment that are not explicitly about man/womanhood."[71] The following two cases highlight how these themes of misogyny and male supremacy and broader patriarchal visions of society present themselves in the discourses and practices of these actors.

Anders Breivik

Anders Breivik is perhaps one of the most overt cases of right-wing terrorism whose political vision was concerned with declining fertility rates amongst white Europeans and who was thus explicitly anti-feminist, targeting actors and institutions seen to promote feminism. Released in 2011 before he killed 77 people (largely young people at a Labor Party youth camp) in Oslo, Norway, his 1,518-page manifesto points to some of the ails he sees in Europe that need addressing which drove his targeted violence. Central amongst these were immigration to Europe (particularly by Muslims), 'cultural Marxism' and indeed gender equality. The terms "feminism" (77 mentions), "feminists" (107 mentions), "gender" (69 mentions) and "patriarchy" (38 mentions) feature heavily in his account.

He rails against feminism stating, "Perhaps no aspect of political correctness is more prominent in Western European life today than feminist ideology."[72] Breivik notes that "Western women have been waging an ideological, psychological and economic war against European men for several generations",[73] and that the "fate of European civilization depends on European men steadfastly resisting politically correct feminism."[74] He urges followers to prepare for war and "embrace and familiarize yourself with the concept of killing women, even very attractive women."[75]

In his manifesto, he includes writing's by Fjordman, an anti-Muslim blogger who views feminism as destructive to European society, "In Fjordman's view and Breivik's reworking of it, feminism, the Nordic model of gender equality, and the weakening of the patriarchal male role form the very basis of the cultural Marxist project."[76] As Walton notes, Breivik's critique of feminism "revolves around the physical issues of

sex, reproduction, and child-rearing, rather than issues around work and other forms of social labor. Secondly, feminism as an ideology and women quite concretely are held responsible for the collapse of Western civilization."[77]

Breivik's solution to these ails is to reimpose patriarchy. In his manifesto, Breivik highlights "The return of patriarchy" by Phillip Longman and advocates for the recreation of "traditional patriarchal social structures."[78] He notes, "When we, the cultural conservatives, seize political and military control of Western European countries within 20-70 years we will reestablish the patriarchal structures by partly deconstructing certain matriarchal fundaments."[79]

The specific choice in targeting in his attack speaks to his first steps to impose his political vision which included government buildings in Oslo, and a Labor party political youth camp. As Gardell aptly puts it, "The stunning violence of July 22 was a hyper-masculine performative act aimed at producing a heroic avant-garde of nationalist warriors who will rise to purge Europe from the corrupting influence of its internal enemies and defeat its external enemies."[80] In Breivik's case, his anti-feminist, and misogynistic beliefs also "worked in tandem with his white supremacy,"[81] highlighting how many diverse aspects of one's ideology could overlap and work together. Breivik has also acted as an inspiration to other far right terrorists such as Brenton Tarrant's who cited Breivik as his most important influence in his manifesto before the Christchurch shooter murdered 51 and injured 40.[82] Tarrant also focused on 'cultural Marxists' ('anti-white scum'), falling white birth rates, strong traditions, and linked to this, gender norms."[83]

The Proud Boys

The Proud Boys were formed in 2016 by Gavin McInnes and in a few short years, the group emerged from a fringe, self-described 'Western chauvinist' group admitting only men, to the front and center of U.S. domestic national security debates. The Proud Boys have been involved in numerous acts of violence, including clashes with 'Antifa', attendance at the 'Unite the Right' Rally at Charlottesville in 2017, and the U.S. Capital Building insurrection on January 6, 2021. This latter violence occurred shortly after being referred to by President Donald Trump in a 2020 election campaign debate when he told them to "stand back and stand by." The group were temporarily designated an extremist organization by the FBI in 2018 and were designated a terrorist entity by the Canadian and New Zealand Governments in the aftermath of the January 6th attacks alongside other listed groups far right groups including The Base.

Posited as a men-only drinking club, the group has an initiation process referred to as obtaining "four degrees." It includes a loyalty oath stating pride in being a 'Western chauvinist', a beating by fellow club members, a tattoo, an agreement not to masturbate, and, finally, participation in a fight 'for the cause'[84] The group excludes women and is centered on the reinstatement of their interpretation of western values and society. Gavin McInnes stated in an interview that "there's a real war on masculinity in this country that starts in kindergarten and goes all the way to adulthood. And it's not natural."[85]

They hold a deeply entrenched conception of women as confined to the domestic sphere. The Proud Boys claim to "venerate the housewife" and state that women should

be celebrated for becoming housewives and mothers. McInnes stated on his YouTube program: "Maybe the reason I'm sexist is because women are dumb. No, I'm just kidding, ladies. But you do tend to not thrive in certain areas - like writing."[86] McInnes, like many others actively assert that women's roles are defined by their genetic pre-dispositions, a position that conveniently returns the sphere of paid employment back to men: "Women are forced to pretend to be men. They're feigning this toughness. They're miserable. Study after study has shown that feminism has made women less happy. They're not happy in the work force, for the most part."[87]

The Proud Boys Telegram channel would repost statements on feminism including a '12 Rules for a Better Life' including that 'Feminism is cancer' (rule one) and that 'God hates fags, but he hates feminists more' (rule eleven). McInnes would state in another interview:

> "I would say that feminism was done in maybe 1979… And since then, it's just been women inventing problems and lying to create a world where feminists are needed. Like saying one in four women will be sexually assaulted or raped in college — or saying that women earn less than men and there's a wage gap. Like just blatant lies to justify their existence."[88]

Such statements clearly support an anti-feminist patriarchal political order. Members of the Proud Boys have demonstrated a propensity to threaten women they believe are acting unacceptably: "Leftist women are more third-wave feminist and less feminine than ever and now, you're not even women anymore… either your [sic] women, and if you are, please stop fighting men, or you're not women and your face is now punchable." This attitude to violence against women is deeply entrenched in the group. Speaking in 2016, Gavin McInnes would state: "This woman, yes, I'm advocating violence against women. This woman should be punched in the face. It shouldn't be by a man. Maybe by another woman. Maybe her twin sister should just punch her in the face. Or maybe mace her."[89]

Whilst McInnes would formally distance himself from the group once they were labeled an extremist group by the FBI, he remains loosely affiliated, and the movement retains the same political platform. Members of a California chapter of the Proud Boys participated in a violent anti-transgender protest at a Koreatown spa in July 2021 when allegations were made of trans-women using female sections of the spa naked, whilst in November 2021 the Illinois chapter of the Proud Boys attended a school board meeting to ban a 'gender queer' book from being included in the school syllabi. Members of the Proud Boys have recently been charged in relation to their involvement in the January 6 attack on the Capitol,[90] and been identified as carrying firearms amongst anti-abortion counter-protesters in response to pro-abortion protests sweeping the United States in the aftermath of the U.S. High Courts repeal of *Roe v Wade*.[91]

The Proud Boys have chapters internationally, including the U.K. and Australia and continue to play an active presence in both online environments and at right wing protests. Whilst more rhetorically violent toward women than physically, their ideological orientation, in particular the hatred of feminism and desire to resubordinate women to the domestic sphere, share key characteristics with both Islamist and far right extremist groups.

Male Supremacists: Incels and Men's Rights Activists

Male supremacism aims at achieving a political outcome, denying women and girls, through violence and fear, the right to advocate and participate in the public sphere. Beyond the assertion of male supremacy, requiring the complete subordination of women to men physically and sexually, it also often specifically targets feminism as responsible for making women both promiscuous and unaccountable to men. In so doing, acts of male supremacist violence act as a powerful force multiplier for the denial of women's rights to democratic exchange and economic exploitation of the opportunities afforded by new technologies. The most prominent early example of a violent misogynist motivated attack on women was committed in December 1989 when an attacker entered the engineering faculty at the University of Montreal, specifically targeted female students and killed fourteen women and wounded ten more. During the attack he screamed 'You're all fucking feminists'.[92] The attacker's suicide note blamed his life failures on women.[93]

Indicative of the rapid emergence of male supremacist violence since the emergence of the internet and social media Tomkinson et al. found that in 2009-2019, a total of nine attacks in North America resulting in 53 deaths and 69 wounded could be attributed to Incels.[94] Seven of these attacks (all with firearms) were in the United States and two (with a van and a knife) were in Canada. Several more Incel motivated attacks have occurred since 2019, including attacks in Toronto, Canada in February 2020 and an attack in August 2021 in Plymouth, U.K. Toronto police pressed terrorism charges – a first for an Incel motivated attack. In other cases, including a January 2019 plot to bomb a Women's Day march in Utah, and a July 2021 planned attack on a sorority house in Ohio, the plots were foiled. Men's Rights Activists have also been implicated in both terrorism and hate crimes as discussed below. The following two cases discuss two forms of male supremacist violence - that of an incel terror attack by Elliot Rodger in Isla Vista California in 2014, and an attack by a men's rights activist, Roy Den Hollander, on a U.S. judge and her family in the state of New Jersey in 2021.

Elliot Rodger

Incels are, as an online community, asserted to have evolved at least in part from the Pick-up Artist community.[95] The term 'Incel' has been in existence since 1997, though has evolved from a single website built by a young woman to discuss sexual inactivity into a global, primarily online movement. Sexual frustration is a core trait of Incels. Incels believe that society – and sexual access – is determined by physical characteristics and that women are superficial beings that favor only those attractive men at the top of this hierarchy.[96] Incels bemoan their inability to have sex and express extreme animosity toward feminism. In one online survey of self-identified Incels, 70 per cent claimed to suffer from depression.[97] Hoffman, Ware and Shapiro[98] note that a spectrum of Incel terrorist actors exist from those consciously and clearly aligning with Incel beliefs, to those that may be retrospectively framed as incels ('ex post facto inceldom') by Incel online communities. A study of Incels by Zimmerman, Ryan and Duriesmith has argued that incels must be taken seriously as political actors:

> While incels have not yet formed organized violent groups or cells, the existing attacks have been premeditated, politically motivated and perpetrated violence against civilians. These factors clearly designate incel attacks as a form of terrorism and require incel ideology to be explored as a form of violent extremism.[99]

Central to incel ideology are misogynistic notions of gender roles and shared beliefs about sexuality, male supremacy, and the need to violently reestablish 'traditional' gender norms.[100]

The most prominent Incel attack was carried out by Elliot Rodger in California, United States in May 2014 known as the Isla Vista killings. The attacker, who referred to himself as a 'supreme gentleman', killed three men inside his house before driving to a (female) sorority house, killing two and wounding one after being denied access and then shooting pedestrians and at police before taking his own life. A total of six were killed and fourteen wounded. Notwithstanding potential mental health issues, Rodger composed a detailed 141-page manifesto. Rodger claimed he was seeking a day of retribution against men who have 'pleasurable sex lives' and a 'war on women', which would 'punish all females for the crime of depriving me of sex', in order to 'deliver a devastating blow that will shake all of them to the core of their wicked hearts.'[101] He went so far as to outline a program for the extermination of men who had sexual access to women. This would include his plan to 'torture some of the good-looking people' by bringing 'pain and suffering'. There would be a second phase, a 'war on women'. Women in this world would be 'quarantined' and 'deliberately starved to death', with a 'few women spared' for 'the sake of reproduction'. Such a situation – a 'pure world' – would enable men to 'expand' their intelligence and 'advance the human race to a state of perfect civilization'.[102] Elliot Rodger remains a source of inspiration for violent incels to the present, though importantly, referred only to 'lonely' rather than 'involuntary' celibacy within his manifesto.

Interestingly, Elliot Rodger did not specifically mention feminism throughout his manifesto, however in his 'war on women', a select few women are reduced to mere chattels for breeding whilst the remainder are exterminated due to their impure and imperfect nature. Here, the most deep-seated manifestations of violent, hate filled misogyny echo that of other forms of violent extremism.

Roy Den Hollander

Men's Rights Activists (MRA's) assert that societal institutions including family courts are prejudiced by feminist perspectives and actively favor women (and mothers) over men (and fathers). They focus on a range of grievances including child custody, domestic violence against men (by women), circumcision (viewed as genital mutilation of boys) and male suicide rates. MRA's have played a role in mobilizing a backlash to feminist anti-rape activism, seeking to frame sexual violence as a gender-neutral problem, asserting the feminists are responsible for the erasure of men's experiences of sexual assault and that feminism persecutes and denigrates men, taking away their human rights.[103] MRA's use abuse, threats, and harassment to target perceived enemies, in particular, feminists.[104]

MRA's are known for advocating violence against women who assert their rights. Speaking via videoconference at the 2018 International Conference on Men's issues in

London, Paul Elam, the founder of A Voice for Men, a key for-profit men's rights website and one of the highest profile 'men's rights' groups in the world, advocated violence against women, proclaiming a 'Bash a Violent Bitch Month' for male survivors of domestic violence, albeit in the name of satire (a common tactic used by alt-right actors to bypass criticism and laws):

"I don't mean subdue them, or deliver an open-handed pop on the face to get them to settle down. I mean literally to grab them by the hair and smack their face against the wall till the smugness of beating on someone because you know they won't fight back drains from their nose with a few million red corpuscles. And then make them clean up the mess … _To all the men out there that decided to say 'damn the consequences', and fight back, you are heroes to the cause of equality; true feminists."

MRA's stand strongly opposed to feminism and those societal institutions that they believe perpetuate feminist ideology. Animosity is focused on the courts, with many men involved in men's rights groups both online and offline expressing grievances about alleged favoritism toward women and child custody arrangements. Whilst often taking to the streets and participating in online threats, abuse, and harassment by some associated with these movements, the violent potential of such activists remains poorly understood. Research by Roose, Flood and Alfano in the Australian context analyzed two men's rights forums and found that MRA's examined demonstrated the highest potential for individual acts of violence of any category across the study.[105]

Roy Den Hollander was a 72-year-old lawyer who had worked in both the government and private sector and who was apparently dying from terminal cancer when he attacked the home of U.S. District court Judge Esther Salas. Judge Salas who had previously ruled against Den Hollander in a 2015 lawsuit that challenged the constitutionality of male only military draft, was the primary target, however Den Hollander would kill her son, Daniel (20) and seriously injure her husband, before being found dead from self-inflicted wounds the next day.

Den Hollander was an avowed MRA, having previously been a member of the 'National Coalition for Men' and having filed numerous lawsuits for 'men's rights', gaining him a small amount of media attention. Den Hollander ran a website on which he would also post essays outlining his political perspectives. Den Hollander professed his hatred of women. In his 'Evolutionary Correct Cyclopedia' he states "Females don't sacrifice for others. They trick others into sacrificing for them.

Females wait for men to do the hard work, spill their blood, and sacrifice their lives, then step in and say, "It's mine, it's mine!" [106]

Feminists (used interchangeably with the term 'Feminazi') are framed as responsible as selfish, self-absorbed, and as tearing men's lives apart:

"Feminists have turned men into second-class citizens before the institutions of this society. Our society is moving toward two societies, one male, one female—separate and unequal. Feminazis want equal rights but unequal responsibilities, equal benefits but unequal burdens. Equality is supposed to work both ways…"[107]

Feminism is framed by Den Hollander as subverting the natural gender order, though he understands this as grounded in the need to control the inherent capacity for female evil:

> The Feminists have twisted America into allowing girls to get away with more than Mother Nature intended, not because girls are superior but because females are now making the rules. We have forgotten six million years of hominid evolution: females aren't here to soothe the "savage beast"; the "savage beast" is here to limit their infinite capacity for evil. And the most virulent feminine evil is Feminism.[108]

Den Hollander is by no means unusual amongst MRA's for his hatred of women and feminism, though the extent of his writings and his target, a female and Latina judge who had ruled against him does yield a significant insight into the extent of this hatred and formulation of male supremacist ideological views. As with Islamists, far right and Incels, the extent of this hatred was evident in his rhetoric and actions, targeting a female judge for denying him what he believed he was entitled to.

It is important not to overlook the intersection of male supremacism and the far-right.[109] Male supremacists, and in particular mansophere actors, often demonstrate the same racism and biological deterministic attitudes that form the base of the far-right. Salas for example referred to Judge Salas as a 'lazy and incompetent Latina' and complained that white men were framed as barbarians.'[110] Incel Terrorist Scott Beierle who killed two and injured five in an attack at a Tallahassee yoga studio similarly posted YouTube videos criticizing both women and Black Americans. It is clear that the sense of a loss of both male and white entitlement is a particularly problematic combination that contributes to violent extremism.

Discussion

This article has demonstrated the deeply embedded and shared grounding in extreme patriarchal values of actors across the contemporary extremist ideological spectrum, and their expressions in anti-feminist, even misogynistic ways. Whilst patriarchal orders, and anti-women sentiment and violence have always existed, in recent times we have witnessed developments suggesting that efforts to impose anti-feminist political and social orders through violence which are actively political and ideological in character. As we have moved from a highly institutionalized, embedded patriarchal organization of society, to a society that has slowly but increasingly recognized women's rights – to work, to protection from discrimination to equal pay, and to make life choices – some men feel they are disadvantaged by these developments. They may feel they have lost privilege and something that is rightfully theirs, what has been termed 'aggrieved entitlement'[111] and deep-seated anger, particularly amongst those on stagnating or downward social trajectories,[112] or those who view these as 'Western' values being imposed on them. They thus harbor a deep resentment against both the system facilitating women's rights and women themselves. This anger and resentment have become a key component of the organizing logic of contemporary terrorist and violent extremist movements across the religio-political spectrum.

For Salafi Jihadists like Al-Qaeda and Islamic State, feminism is considered inherently antithetical to their ideological orientation. It is a western corrupting vice and the answer is to return to traditional deeply patriarchal texts that assert clearly defined gender roles (or interpret them in particularly misogynist ways), and the supremacy of men, and violently enforce these, inspiring terror in those who oppose these actions.

For the far right, the answer is similarly, quite simple. Frame feminism as part of a perverse, deviant societal trajectory that, by allowing women to work and have sexual choice, undermines the ability to the white race or nation to replace itself. White nationalism, like Salafi Jihadism, places the family and specifically, women as breeding vessels restricted to the domestic sphere, as central to their vision of a reinvigorated nation or Caliphate. In this vison, women must by physically disciplined and terrorized into subordination and readopting their traditional patriarchally defined gender roles. Here, anti-feminist sentiments are embedded in wider ideologies (Islamist and far right). These views have been further inflamed by contemporary culture wars in which far right actors may position themselves in direct opposition to so-called 'cultural Marxists'.

We have also witnessed the evolution of patriarchal attitudes amongst those who might be considered more socially isolated and who communicate with other members of their movement primarily through online platforms including social media and chat rooms known as the 'manosphere'. This has seen a distillation of patriarchal attitudes into a much more potent anti-women male supremacism. Here, religion and race are backgrounded, and women and feminists are framed as the primary enemy highlighting ideological positions more exclusively focused on gendered hierarchies and relations in society. From Incel political visions of a future where women are deprived of life, happiness, and fulfillment for their sexual rejection of men, to Men's Rights Activists fixated on destroying feminism (and feminists) as an influence in society and reasserting traditional patriarchal family values, these are explicitly political ideological orientations. These can be understood as a "system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements." They are aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct (violent extremism and terrorist violence against women and girls/those who promote gender equality) which its proponents seek to promote, realize, pursue or maintain".[113] They express a grievance (the advocacy of women's equality, or women exercising their rights, including sexual autonomy, and in so doing, undermining their aims), have a culprit (feminism, women and those who support such aims), and perceive themselves to be acting righteously in righting this wrong through violent misogynistic terrorism.

All cases above meet the definition of ideologically driven violence, which is expressed, in part, through suppression, violent extremism and terrorism against women and girls or the institutions and actors which advocate for gender equality. All may be considered violent extremist actors which requires a religious, political, and ideologically driven motivation. In all cases, those who fall outside the traditional binary gender roles (e.g. feminists, LGBTQI persons) are also ridiculed, abused, threatened, and framed as legitimate targets for terrorist violence. This also intersects with ethnic and racial divides, for example, targeting women in ethnic minority groups such as Yazidis, or in the case of Judge Salas, Latina.

The findings above suggest that future research should pay attention to anti-women, or anti-feminist narratives across diverse ideologies, particularly those whose utopian visions embrace extreme patriarchal orders, and who call for and justify violence to attain this vision. Such research should also look more closely at the stated grievances, attribution of blame for those grievances, and in targeting/justification of violence, and how these intersect with other categories such as ethnicity and race.

There are important emerging nationalist, authoritarian and religious contexts situated outside this study that appear to have very similar features to case studies within this article. These include far-right Hindu nationalist and men's rights groups in India, the 'national-patriarchy' of extremist groups such as 'Male State' and attempts to rehabilitate Russian masculinity by the State in concert with the Orthodox Church in Russia, anti-feminist actors in South Korea, anti-feminist evangelicals in the United States (many of whom in this latter case who are women) currently mobilising against abortion rights, and other autocratic, authoritarian and anti-democratic regimes who target women and women's rights.[114] This also raises interesting questions about how or why "in-group" women may position themselves within these movements and in fact support such gendered orders. Furthermore, we call for violence against women on the basis of gender to be taken seriously as a form of violent extremism in its own right. The evidence presented here also has important implications for scholars and practitioners seeking to prevent and reduce violence in society, including making a strong case for why paying attention to anti-women and anti-feminist narratives matters.

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