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Male Supremacy and Online Radicalization:
An Open-Source Ideology

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Psychological Science

by

Pasha Dashtgard

<div align="right">

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Peter Ditto, Chair
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</div>

2022

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Vita

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Social Psychology, Male Supremacy, and Online Radicalization

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Male Supremacy and Online Radicalization: An Open-Source Ideology

by

Pasha Dashtgard

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychological Science

University of California, Irvine, 2022

Professor Peter Ditto, Chair

While male supremacist ideology has existed for many centuries, online communities and digital platforms have contributed new concepts and aided in its reconfiguration. This mixed-methods dissertation uses online ethnographic research, a key informant interview, and an iterative process of factor analytic scale construction and validation across four studies (N = 3,116), in order to define, operationalize, and develop a measure of contemporary male supremacy - the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS). Online ethnographic research was conducted, data were collected and coded, and items were generated from this qualitative research. These codes and underlying concepts were then validated by way of a semi-structured interview, and the qualitative research was used to inform the factor analytic scale construction procedure. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis was used to create, refine, and test the MSS for reliability and validity, ultimately arriving at a 15-item scale, comprised of three 5-item subscales – Anti-Feminism, Female Dishonesty in Relationships, and 'Women Like Alphas'. The MSS was tested alongside other construct-relevant instruments to evaluate contemporary male supremacy's relationship to political orientation, racism, sexism, feelings towards grievance-based groups,

and various personality assessments. Results suggest that contemporary male supremacy is strongly related to support for Donald Trump, hostile sexism, racial resentment, conspiratorial thinking, psychological entitlement, in-group dominance, and preference for authoritarian leaders. Using the MSS, this dissertation proffers a psychological profile of male supremacists, theorizes a potential pathway to online radicalization, and examines the contribution of digital media platforms in the creation and dissemination of male supremacy in contemporary culture.

Keywords: Male supremacy, online radicalization, radicalization, extremism, male supremacy scale, mixed-methods

Chapter 1:

Introduction and Literature Review

Well the girls would turn the color of
an avocado
when he would drive down their street
in his El Dorado.
He could walk down your street
and girls could not resist his stare.
Pablo Picasso
never got called an asshole.
Not like you.

- "Pablo Picasso" by *The Modern Lovers*

Introduction

Whether an actual event in time or only a theoretical moment, male supremacy has crossed that conceptual threshold from perverse online curiosity, to niche subculture, to an ideology that has explicitly motivated the killings of at least 50 people since 2014 (Hoffman, Ware, & Shapiro, 2020). Depending on which media bubble you inhabit, you either began hearing of incels - a slang term in digital parlance for *involuntarily celebate* - in 2014 when Elliot Roger famously signed his slaughter of 6 and injury of 14 with a YouTube video (Nagourney et al., 2014). Or maybe it was April of 2018, when a Toronto incel drove his rented van into a crowd, killing 10 people (Bilefsky & Austen, 2018). Or possibly February of 2020, when a young man visited mayhem on a salon, injuring 3 and ultimately killing one woman with a machete (Gillies, 2020). Perhaps it was when Arizona re-opened their Westgate outdoor mall in May of 2020 and had a self-proclaimed incel kill three people with a semi-automatic weapon (McLaughlin et al., 2020). Or maybe it was the 2021 U.K. gunman who killed 5 people, including a 3-year-old girl, before taking his own life (Oliverira, 2021). However familiarity first emerged, it is increasingly clear that the internet has become a tool for radicalization, and one form of this radicalization is a particularly toxic arrangement of masculine gender identity and sexist beliefs found in certain corners of the internet.

In 2015, when this endeavor to study online male supremacy first began, the colloquial understanding of online male supremacist forums and their link to social and identity politics was in its infancy. At that time, the interconnected network of male supremacist websites, blogs, internet forums, apps, online platforms, and social media channels - collectively known as the *Man-O-Sphere* - was still conceptually disconnected from mainstream political discourse; however, this is no longer the case. There has been no shortage of think pieces, op-eds, and long-

form journalistic endeavors tying fragile masculinity and precarious manhood to Donald Trump support, Conservative ideology, and a new wave of radicalized young men perpetuating harm on the internet (Gendler, 2020; Fossett, 2021; Connolly, 2022; Beran, 2017). However, the methodology used to derive this knowledge has been lacking. The instruments are clunky and old (Vescioa & Schermerhorna, 2021); the information is derived from data scraping procedures that only tangentially examine the online communities they are writing about (DiMuccio & Knowles, 2021); often the methods used to study male supremacy leave crucial pieces of either qualitative or quantitative data behind.

This project endeavors to understand, operationalize, and measure contemporary male supremacy as it has emerged in online spaces. Using a mixed-methods research design, data was collected and synthesized from a variety of sources - online ethnographic research, a key informant interview, and a scale for measuring contemporary male supremacy. These data were merged, the perspectives triangulated, and the construct holistically explored, culminating in the development of a valid and reliable instrument for measuring contemporary male supremacy. Chapter 1 will chart the history of masculinity in psychology, discuss psychological theories and research related to male supremacy; develop a shared language for discussing sexism, misogyny, patriarchy, toxic masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, and male supremacy; and will delineate the ecosystem of male supremacy in digital space. Chapter 2 covers all qualitative portions of the research and will include discussions of the online ethnographic research and a semi-structured interview with a key informant. Chapter 3 outlines the process of developing the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS), from the process of generating items, to refining the scale using exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, and establishing external validity and reliability through multiple iterations of scale testing. Chapter 4 will bring the research and data together to

examine the phenomena of contemporary male supremacy as defined and refined through digital communities.

This burgeoning form of male supremacy emerged through a synthesis of traditional masculine norms and newer concerns articulated by a network of online communities known as the Man-O-Sphere. In order to understand what male supremacy is and where it comes from, we must first understand what role the internet played in the growth of male supremacist online spaces.

Literature Review

Defining and Disentangling Male Supremacy

One of the difficulties in broaching the topic of masculinity generally and male supremacy specifically, is that there are a number of closely related concepts, terms, and phrases that are often used interchangeably in colloquial discussions of gender, sex, and supremacy. These terms and phrases that on the surface feel intuitive and natural to employ, nevertheless blur and fade into each other. Thus, it is important at the outset to disentangle and operationalize the terms patriarchy, sexism, misogyny, hegemonic masculinity, toxic masculinity, and male supremacy.

Patriarchy Defined

The term patriarchy as we understand it today has been frequently reconceptualized over time, first starting with the biblical understanding of male leaders of the tribes of Israel, then in the 17th century English political theorist Robert Filmer wrote the book *Patriarcha* which broke

from the biblical tradition associating patriarchy with paternal power by arguing that paternal and political power were not merely analogous but identical (Pateman, 1988; Sanday, 2001). As Sanday (2001) points out, "Filmer's addition was to make the procreative power of the father in the family the origin of political right in society (p. 9,144). The contemporary definition of patriarchy that best captures the broadest and most macro-level understanding of the term is that patriarchy is the overarching social organization in which men hold the power, and from which women are largely excluded, [with] sexism and misogyny [being] the two drivers that uphold this system (Manne, 2017). To borrow Pallavi Prasad's (2019) metaphor:

> "If patriarchy is the State with a capital S, then sexism is the ideology, the legislative pillar: it is a form of prejudice made up of assumptions, theories, and stereotypes that normalize and justify patriarchal norms as the most inevitable and desirable. Misogyny, then, is the method. It is both the executive and the judiciary, in that it enforces the ideology and reprimands where there is a breach of law. [Misogyny] is the hostile policing of those women who violate patriarchal norms and expectations, thereby setting a precedent for the cost of feminist transgression" (para. 2).

Note for the purposes of defining patriarchy that Prasad establishes the patriarchy as the society, as the government, as the environment people live in and the social conditions they live under. In this way, the patriarchy can be understood as more a place than it is a set of ideas. It is the place where gendered inequality happens. This inequality is determined by a system of political, social, and economic relations and, as a consequence, their institutions - all structured around the gender inequality of men and women, as culturally and socially defined in that time and place (Nash, 2009).

Sexism Defined

Sexism is a body of ideas that exists to justify social relations between men and women. As Kate Manne (2017) defines it in *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny*, "sexism [is] the branch of patriarchal ideology that justifies and rationalizes a patriarchal social order, and misogyny [is] the system that polices and enforces its governing norms and expectations. So sexism is scientific; misogyny is moralistic" (p. 20). One of the key features of sexism then is naturalizing sex differences; that these social arrangements between men and women are understood as organic and intuitive; the argument is that women are instinctively and genetically predisposed to being tender, nurturing, empathetic, and self-sacrificing (Manne, 2017).

Comparing that to the American Psychological Association (APA) definition of sexism which is the, "discriminatory and prejudicial beliefs and practices… associated with acceptance of sex-role stereotypes and can occur at multiple levels: individual, organizational, institutional, and cultural," we can see that Manne's definition provides another layer of complexity to the notion. Namely, that sexism is not just a judgment of someone's value based on their sex, nor is it just believing that the male sex is superior to the female sex, but that the content of sexist ideas and beliefs justify and rationalize social arrangements in which men hold all or most of the power in society and women are largely excluded from those roles (Manne, 2017).

Misogyny Defined

Whereas sexism is focused on rationalizing and justifying the imbalance between men and women in patriarchal society, misogyny is an aspect of a patriarchal social environment, "in which women are liable to encounter hostility due to the enforcement and policing of patriarchal norms and expectations...Misogyny hence functions to enforce and police women's

subordination and to uphold male dominance" (Manne, 2017, p. 20). The policing-aspect of misogyny is critical to understanding the concept, because misogyny is not just a set of rules that are there for women but not for men; they are there for any woman who is transgressing against the established order. Being ambitious, displaying self-confidence, advocating for oneself when being treated unfairly, challenging male co-workers or elder male family members - these actions can be seen as unfeminine, lacking maternal instinct, and upending the (patriarchal) status quo. One of the points Manne wants to make is that her definition of misogyny requires a selectiveness about who the targets of misogyny are. It is not every woman – it is certain women, for doing certain things. Some women are following the rules and are thus good citizens of the Patriarchy. Manne elaborates on this conception of misogyny when saying:

> "Misogyny…is rather meant to be a name for whatever hostile force field forms part of the backdrop to her actions, in ways that differentiate her from a male counterpart...she may or may not actually face these hostile potential consequences, depending on how she acts. That is how social control generally works: via incentives and disincentives, positive and negative reinforcement mechanisms. She can escape aversive consequences by being "good" by the relevant ideals or standards" (Manne, 2017, p. 19).

So misogyny is the hostility that men feel towards women who have stepped out of their roles. Who are uppity, bold, and persist in their insubordination - being insubordinate, i.e. not being in the subordinate role. The utility of Manne's definition is that it squares the circle that is the conundrum of how a man could love his mother or his wife but still hate women. It is that he hates women when they violate their gender norms or step outside of their roles as givers-to-men. Misogyny thus enforces patriarchal social relations when there is a threat of that system going away. Importantly, misogyny is about men's judgment and actions towards women - it is a

one-way relationship. Now that we have established patriarchy as the system that organizes (unequal) gendered social relations in a place, sexism as the rationalizations/arguments for justifying that system of gendered social relations, and misogyny as the behaviors towards and consequences for those transgressing this gendered social order, we can now unpack the terms hegemonic masculinity and toxic masculinity.

Hegemonic Masculinity Defined

Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the most pervasive, legitimate, and respected conception of masculine identity in a particular historical context/in a given culture, prescribing a particular set of behaviors and traits that are viewed as most socially desirable in men (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985; Connell, 1987; Kupers, 2005). Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985) further described hegemonic masculinity as:

> A particular variety of masculinity to which others – among them young and effeminate, as well as homosexual men – are subordinated. It is particular groups of men, not men in general, who are oppressed within patriarchal sexual relations, and whose situations are related in different ways to the overall logic of the subordination of women to men. (p. 110).

In their iconic work *Masculinities*, Connell (1995) describes the masculine social order that centers around a dominant form of masculinity - referred to as hegemonic masculinity - but that also includes other forms of masculine identity positioned in relation to the hegemonic masculine ideal; men who are not hegemonic but benefit from male dominance (complicit masculinity), men who are subordinated by dominant groups (subordinated masculinity), and men who occupy socially marginalized groups (marginalized masculinity) (Preston, Haplin, & Maguire, 2021).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) proposed that the hegemonic masculine prototype is portrayed as an ideal by some prestigious role model(s) in society and is then imitated by other men in order to obtain the same prestige as the role models. Since it is an ideal - a gendered construction of a theoretical identity - hegemonic masculinity will contain both positive and negative elements. Kupers (2005) highlights negative characteristics of contemporary hegemonic masculinity like competitiveness, an inability to express emotions other than anger, a fear of admitting vulnerability or dependency, the devaluation of all attributes or behaviors that are feminine in men, and homophobia; as well as more positive characteristics such as loyalty, ambition and the desire to succeed at work/in one's profession, providing resources for one's family, and the desire to protect loved ones from harm.

Importantly, the hegemonic masculine ideal is always constructed in relation to and in opposition to a plethora of other, subordinated masculinities and in relation to women (Connell, 1998). Hegemonic masculinity is conceptual and it is stereotypic in the sense that the average man veers far from the hegemonic norm in all sorts of different ways and along all kinds of different axes, but even as they do so, they tend to worry lest others will view them as unmanly for their deviations from the hegemonic ideal of the real man (Kupers, 2005). This concern about how other men see them, and how they see themselves, is integral to the notion of toxic masculinity that will be defined next.

Toxic Masculinity Defined

There has been an explosion in usage of the term toxic masculinity over the last twenty years (see *Figure 1*); however, as with other academic jargon that enters the cultural zeitgeist - especially terms as politicized as this - the definition of toxic masculinity has varied considerably

by time, context, and user. Terry Kupers (2005) defines toxic masculinity as the specific aspects of hegemonic masculinity that are socially regressive, and that serve to foster anger towards and the devaluation of women, and promotes hostile, aggressive, sometimes violent behavior. In this way, toxic masculinity is a result of championing these negative, hypermasculine traits, to the point that they become the idealized and desirable masculine identity (Kupers, 2005). Kupers draws a distinction between these 'toxic' traits and the nontoxic expressions of masculinity that drive a man to succeed at work, provide for his family, and/or win in competition (Kupers, 2005). While Kupers' definition captures important aspects of toxic masculinity, the missing element to his definition is the explicit policing of male behavior and the ways in which toxic masculinity defines what personality characteristics and social behaviors are allowed and outlawed amongst men.

Sexism is the body of ideas used to rationalize and justify a patriarchal social order, and misogyny is the threatening, harassing, and policing of women's behaviors when they step outside of the patriarchal social norms; if these are the two pillars that uphold the patriarchal social order, then toxic masculinity is the beliefs comprising sexism internalized by men, and the behavioral logics and disposition of misogyny redirected towards men. Toxic masculinity is primarily focused on the form and structure of one's identity as a man, and concerns one's thoughts and feelings about themselves as men, and thoughts and feelings about how men relate to other men, to women, and to the world.

Toxic masculinity has traditionally been defined as the rigid constructions of gender that place masculinity and femininity in direct contrast, where masculinity (synonymous with manly behavior) requires a discernible lack of empathy, requires mental and physical toughness, and requires the ridicule of sensitivity and vulnerability in men. (Polarization and Extremism

Research Innovation Lab [PERIL], 2021). This toxic masculine worldview also suggests that being a boy (or a man) is better than being a girl (or a woman). This construction of gender is heavily policed and enforced through shaming, bullying, and promises of rewards. Note that while women and femininity are involved in this definition, the focus and central aspect of this definition is what it is to be a man.

Figure 1.
Google Ngram of toxic masculinity usage in books.
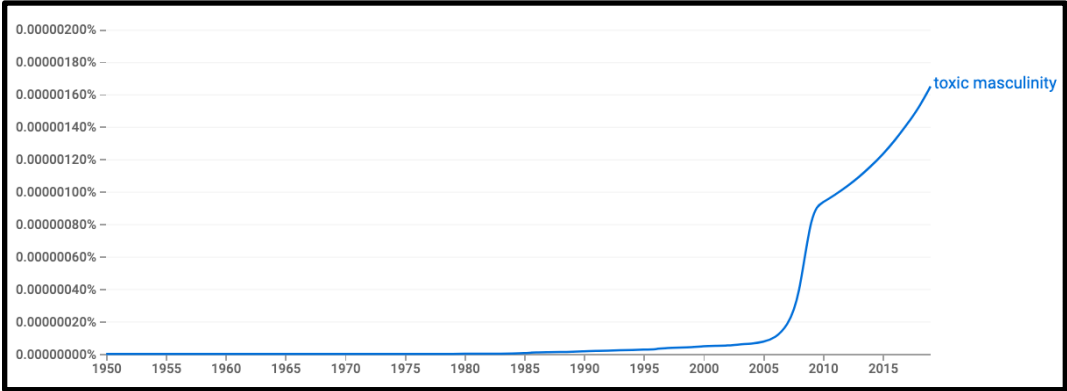
This toxic masculine worldview encompasses more than hating or devaluing women - it is expansive. It is a specific vision for what being a man is, and subsequently, what men do and do not do. It is about the beliefs and worldview that an individual holds about themselves and what it means to be a man, what they think of the other men in society who either invest in their vision of masculinity or reject it, how they believe men are supposed to treat each other, how they believe men are supposed to treat women, and how they imagine women think about men. Consequently, these beliefs serve to frame and structure how men understand themselves, other people, their world, and how they should behave in that world. In this way, toxic masculinity reflects and embodies sexism and its ideology that upholds the patriarchal social order. Whereas sexism concerns beliefs about women and their place in society, about the importance of sex differences as justification for why such stark inequality exists between the sexes, toxic

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masculinity is sexism internalized, and then redirected back at the self. It is what happens when someone accepts sexist ideas, incorporates them into their worldview, and begins living it, taking those ideas to their logical end. It is what men are like if sexism were true. So in this way, toxic masculinity is the internalized worldview that men within a patriarchal system adopt.

One final note about toxic masculinity - it is an identity that requires constant ratification and reenactment. One of the defining features of masculinity generally, and toxic masculinity specifically, is that being the most dominant male in any social situation - romantic, platonic, professional, personal - is the goal of that situation, and you, as the body enacting and performing toxic masculinity, are required to constantly reassert your masculinity in each new situation and circumstance you find yourself in. It is not enough that you have established yourself as a dominant, successful, powerful man in your work, or in your relationship, but in friendships, in business meetings, at bars waiting for your drink, outside of a busy club, you are constantly asked to reassert your manliness. This aggressive, competitive, domineering mentality demands toxic masculine men stay hypervigilant to any perceived disrespect or ego-threat, any slight that could be interpreted as emasculating must be addressed in order to reestablish oneself prominently in the hierarchy of men in that situation.

In the context of prison culture, Kupers (2005) also discusses the role that respect and disrespect plays in (toxic) masculinity. He notes that while wanting to be respected is not a toxic trait, the role that respect plays in a toxic masculine worldview leads to the desire to dominate others and enact or threaten violence in order to gain respect where none seems forthcoming (Kupers 2005). If disrespect is detected then toxic masculinity will demand, through violence or the threat of violence, respect to be shown and the slight rectified. Feeling the need to constantly reestablish one's dominant place in the masculine social hierarchy, and thus feeling that

disrespect has upended that social position, creates a sort of hypervigilance to any transgression against the hegemonic masculine ideal. So while toxic masculinity does define femininity and being female as bad, the toxic masculine worldview is only explicitly commenting on women to the extent that one needs to elaborate on how men are supposed to be different from women, how men are supposed to treat women, how men are to regard women in power or in roles of authority.

By the definitions previously established, sexism is the body of ideas that defines women's mentality, their flaws, the biological/genetic/fixed traits about women that produce the inequity between the sexes. Kate Manne, describing misogyny towards women, says, "we should think of misogyny as serving to uphold patriarchal order…misogyny does this by visiting hostile or adverse social consequences on a certain...class of girls or women to enforce or police social norms that are gendered either in theory (i.e., content) or in practice (i.e., norm enforcement mechanisms)" (Manne, 2017, p. 13). The same could be said of men and toxic masculinity upholding the hegemonic masculine ideal. Toxic masculine men will police, shame, and threaten with violence men who transgress against hegemonic masculinity; the men who undermine or subvert the hegemonic masculine ideal also need to be punished, also need to be threatened, also need to feel fear that they will experience consequences for their transgression.

Male Supremacy Defined

Finally, we come to male supremacy. This exercise in disentangling terms was done partially in service of providing the clearest and most straightforward definition of male supremacy: Male Supremacy (MS) is the resulting worldview of combining contemporary

sexism and toxic masculinity. Male supremacy is a worldview and an ideology, or as Freeden (1994) says about ideology:

> an organizing frame of reference for action-oriented political thinking. [Ideologies are]…thought-edifices which serve to organize [people's] perceptions of their political environments, to direct them towards certain types of political conduct, and to provide or support plans of action for public political institutions (p. 141).

Thus, in the context of this dissertation male supremacy as an ideology can be understood as a particular arrangement of beliefs, ideas, attitudes, and behaviors about masculinity created out of our culture's current hegemonic masculine ideal, combined and entangled with a new set of sexist concepts, theories, and beliefs (found in the network of online blogs, forums, YouTube channels, subreddits, and wiki spaces known collectively as the Man-O-Sphere) that results in an internally coherent worldview. This grouping of ideas and outlooks harken back to some of the foundational principles of the Men's Rights Movement of the 1970s, but are combined with contemporary ideologies found in online communities such as the Pick Up Artists (PUA, 2021), The Red Pill (Redpill, 2022), Incels (Incel, 2021), and Men Go Their Own Way (MGTOW, 2021).

Male supremacy positions all women as fundamentally inferior to men, often arguing that genetic or biological differences between men and women create "naturally-ordered" societies in which men are dominant, superior, and entitled to women's domestic and/or sexual labor (PERIL, 2021). Women are depicted as subservient, naive, childlike, unintelligent, easy to manipulate, and in need of a "strong man" to protect them but also to justify and validate that man's role in the social hierarchy by virtue of his affiliation with the woman/women. Women are defined as genetically predisposed to manipulation, lying, cheating, and duplicitousness. Using a

gross misinterpretation of evolutionary psychology, male supremacists argue that women's (natural/fixed/biologically predestined) desire to procreate with the highest status male (hypergamy) will produce behaviors that put the man's loyalty and trust at risk, since their female romantic partner will always be looking for the higher status/more powerful male. Men must be masculine and dominant at all times, under all circumstances, lest their status as (high status) men comes under threat or a more dominant male swoops in to woo their female romantic partner away. Women want the hegemonic masculine ideal, and thus only those men who perfectly embody the hegemonic man will be safe from cheating, affairs, and infidelity.

In this way, male supremacy positions all romantic relationships between men and women as a competition between the sexes for dominance and control of the relationship. Romantic relationships - if they are to be pursued at all - are a proving ground for men to extract what they want from women, i.e. penetrative sex, while attempting to deny women what they want - commitment to the relationship and the resources that come with said commitment. Male supremacists believe that all relationships - sexual and non-sexual - are power struggles; that men are required to exert their dominance in all situations; and that women are worthy adversaries, insofar as they are scheming, wily, and duplicitous. Hence, men need to "wake up" to the reality of how male-female relations really are: competitive, oppositionary, zero-sum relations - this is the meaning behind the Matrix metaphor of the Red Pill.

Feminism itself is often described as a threat, a conspiracy to emasculate and oppress men, using the guise of equal rights for women to elevate themselves at the expense of men. To male supremacists, masculinity and dominance are inseparable; thus, they can only see equal rights for women as a threat, an anti-male attack that must be met with misogyny and behavior that will restore the patriarchal social order (Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.). This ideology

also produces a narrative around a desire to return to a previous time, before feminism, when women were less empowered (Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.).

The term Male Supremacy is favored in this dissertation because it ties this ideology to a more general supremacist mindset, a mindset that underlies white supremacy as well. The Anti-Defamation League's white paper *When Women are the Enemy: The Intersection of Misogyny and White Supremacy* (2018) describes the two ideologies as symbiotic - white supremacy needs women to uphold their traditional role as wife and mother, while male supremacy relies on a racialized hierarchy of dominant males, and relies on racist stereotypes to explain the sexual behaviors of men and desires of women.

Online Radicalization

The digital world is its own ecosystem. Different regions and environments all connected by shares and likes and links to similar content. Paralleling the growth and expansion of this digital ecosystem are online conspiracy groups, the radical fringe, the world of internet extremists that capitalize on the opportunity to connect multitudes of disparate yet like-minded individuals; individuals who previously may have never had the ability to meet and organize in person with such ease, now circumventing the limitations of geography and bureaucracy which constrained previous generations (Goreis & Voracek, 2019). The rise of these online-mediated communities is happening behind a backdrop of waning investment in traditional gender roles and changing norms around sexual consent brought on by the #MeToo movement (Kimmel, 2017; Cooks & Zenovich, 2019). With the internet's ability to harness and deploy collective emotions (Goldenberg et al., 2020; Grey, 2015), groups that center easily transmissible feelings like anger, resentment, and self-pity are more capable of persuading others to join their extremist ideologies (Cassam, 2020).

Social media and online forums are two important mediums where this content can be transmitted, with every platform incentivizing and constraining certain types of speech and ideas. These rules, guidelines, incentives, and constraints all work in concert, to produce certain types of posts and particular ways of expressing oneself that are unique to the medium. For example, in episode two of the New York Times podcast *Rabbit Hole*, the journalist Kevin Roose interviews an engineer who worked on the YouTube video suggestion algorithm (Roose, 2020). They note that YouTube started with video recommendation based on the number of people who clicked on the video, i.e. 'the amount of engagement', but found that this incentivized click-bait-style videos that did not deliver the content promised by the title of the video, ultimately leading to a low amount of time engaging with/watching the video (Roose, 2020). YouTube responded by tweaking their algorithm to reward *time spent watching* instead, which shifted the incentives for content creators to produce content that would engage people for as long as possible, which in turn changed the kind of content that was produced.

A different form of the same idea can be found with Twitter, which constrains most users to a 280-character limit. This constraint as well as other platform-specific norms - such as how you amplify other tweets or what purpose someone primarily uses the platform for - make Twitter a vehicle for disseminating information to others, and expressing oneself socially and politically (Stiegitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). The ecosystem that Twitter creates both strengthens in-group identity and solidifies out-group hostility (Yardi & Boyd, 2010); it amplifies emotionally-charged messages compared to neutral ones (Stiegitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013); it incentivizes discourse that is overly-simplistic and lacking of nuance, training people to produce tweets reflexively and impulsively, and ignore social norms around civility and polite communication (Ott, 2017). Whether this is due to general online depersonalization and a lack of

formality on Twitter (Ott, 2017), the feeling of community that is conferred by these networks of like-minded Twitter folk (Rowe & Saif, 2016), or a product of cyber shaming/bullying that accompanies the shallowing of emotional response and restriction of empathy on Twitter (Pendergrass et al., 2016; Carr, 2010), it is clear that Twitter as a medium produces a specific type of content and communication.
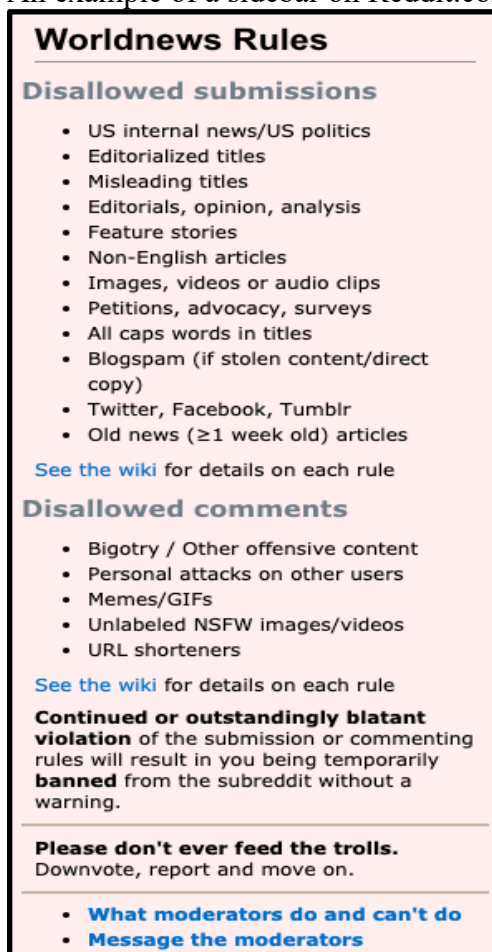
Reddit functions differently than either Twitter or YouTube, but similarly has its own norms and mechanisms for incentivizing and dissuading certain types of speech. Reddit is an, "open-source platform on which anyone can create their own community of interest (subreddit)...Reddit depends on user-submitted and user-created content, as well as a large number of volunteer moderators who set and enforce the rules of individual subreddits," (Massanari, 2015, p. 2). Critically, Redditors are able to upvote material they like, find interesting, or they feel contribute to a post's discussion, and can downvote comments which they find off-topic, dislike, or otherwise find uninteresting (Massanari, 2015). This is where the Reddit platform distinguishes itself: because content that the community agrees with gets upvoted, gaining more visibility and validation for that idea, Reddit organically creates an echo-chamber where comments or posts that already confirm the beliefs and worldview of the subreddit are further valorized, while controversial or challenging content is downvoted and thus ignored and marginalized.

This tendency towards echoing consensus is compounded by the subreddit's official rules, guidelines, and policies - which every subreddit has - and which are policed by forum moderators. The forum rules are prominently displayed in the sidebar of each subreddit (see *Figure 2* below for an example), and posts or comments that violate those rules are removed by moderators or downvoted by the community. Note that the rules in r/WorldNews, the World

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News subreddit, attempt to shape the type of discourse, the tone of conversation, and the content of the subreddit. In this subreddit, there are not personal attacks allowed, no bigotry, and no Not Safe For Work (NSFW) content. Those are rules that moderators will enforce strictly, and will remove content that violates those rules. Without those guidelines, the content and thus the culture within that specific subreddit would change.

Figure 2.
An example of a sidebar on Reddit.com - the /r/worldnews subreddit sidebar.

Worldnews Rules

Disallowed submissions

- US internal news/US politics
- Editorialized titles
- Misleading titles
- Editorials, opinion, analysis
- Feature stories
- Non-English articles
- Images, videos or audio clips
- Petitions, advocacy, surveys
- All caps words in titles
- Blogspam (if stolen content/direct copy)
- Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr
- Old news (≥1 week old) articles

See the wiki for details on each rule

Disallowed comments

- Bigotry / Other offensive content
- Personal attacks on other users
- Memes/GIFs
- Unlabeled NSFW images/videos
- URL shorteners

See the wiki for details on each rule

Continued or outstandingly blatant violation of the submission or commenting rules will result in you being temporarily **banned** from the subreddit without a warning.

Please don't ever feed the trolls.
Downvote, report and move on.

- **What moderators do and can't do**
- **Message the moderators**

As a result of these rules and guidelines, ideology-driven subreddits function as a sort of open-source philosophy, where users create posts that attempt to contribute to the ideas or philosophy of the subreddit, and if they do so successfully, their posts are upvoted and their

contributions can be sanctified in the sidebar, the subreddit-specific wiki, or in the Frequently

Asked Questions (FAQ) section. This process of upvoting or downvoting content, over time,

allows a toxic subreddit to refine their ideology, to determine what most appeals to their

community, and what is most persuasive to others. These platform-specific norms all contribute

to online radicalization for their respective platforms, be it YouTube, Twitter, or Reddit.

The study of online radicalization in the context of ISIS and other Jihadist/*takfir* terror

organizations sheds light on how extremism and radicalization might occur in other types of

extremist online communities (Fernandez et al., 2019; Department of Homeland Security, 2008).

Various models of radicalization have already been applied to the study of political and religious

terrorist recruiting online (Boram, 2003; Boram, 2016; Silber & Bhatt., 2007; Moghaddam,

2005), and with the Canadian government formally designating Incels a terrorist group (Hayes &

Freeze, 2020), it is valuable to evaluate male supremacist spaces online in the context of models

of terrorist radicalization and digital recruitment. However, it is important not to overlook what

unifies these communities and attracts many members of The Red Pill, incels, MGTOW, and

Pickup Artists: women, sex, and dating.

A final component of online radicalization in the context of male supremacy is the very

recent shift towards online dating and the role dating apps now play in sexual and romantic

relationships. Research suggests that dating apps have indeed altered dating practices, creating

new spaces for sexual and romantic relationships, and considerably expanding an individual's

number of potential partners (Hobbs, Owen, & Gerber 2017). But this increased choice does not

always result in more equity. Research conducted by academics and the app developers

themselves indicate that these apps introduce and/or amplify several biases, including racism and

racial bias, as well as privileging physically attractive users (Gavin, Rees-Evans, & Brosnan

2019; Hobbs, Owen, & Gerber 2017; Mason, 2016; Rudder, 2009). Apps can also exacerbate

misogynistic behavior, as men will deploy aggressive dating strategies to obtain dates from

women and respond with hostility if these strategies fail (Shaw, 2016). A systematic review

found that women receive more contacts than men on dating apps, while men start more

conversations and receive fewer replies (Abramova et al., 2016). Male supremacist communities

emphasize that apps are problematic because they diminish men's power in sexual/romantic

interactions, and elevate women's power in the process (Preston, Haplin, & Macguire, 2021).

The History of Masculinity in Psychology

Masculinity is a broad term that encompasses the particular ways that people are

socialized into gender, the ways that people understand themselves and display to others that

they are men (Butler, 1990). While historically the gendered concepts *masculinity* and *femininity*

were tethered to biological sex and heteronormative sexual orientation, Feminism, Gender

theory, and Queer studies have embarked on a project over the last 70 years to complicate,

problematize, and disentangled those ideas (Barker, 2016). Gender in the context of this

dissertation will refer to the social, cultural, and historical basis by which attributes and

behaviors are either prescribed or proscribed to individuals; these could be personality attributes,

individual attitudes, vocational choices, leisure activities, or assumptions about parental

responsibilities, to name just a few (Smiler, 2004). The roles that are offered to people at a

certain time in human history, in a certain place, within a certain culture, are not, "biological or

even social givens, but rather [are] psychologically and socially constructed entities that bring

certain advantages and disadvantages and, most importantly, can change. This perspective

acknowledges the biological differences between men and women but argues that it is not the

biological differences of sex that make for masculinity and femininity. These notions are socially

constructed from bits and pieces of biological, psychological, and social experience to serve particular purposes," (Levant, 1996, p. 259). Within the discipline of psychology, the concept of masculinity has undergone several reformations and reconceptualizations (Smiler, 2004).

Prior to the 1970s and the influence of Feminist theory on psychology's understanding of gender, there was male sex role theory (Pleck, 1987). This theory suggests that biological males actively attempt to acquire or develop certain traits, attitudes, or attributes that affirm the singular, biological male identity, in an effort to become more mature (Smiler, 2004; Pleck, 1987). This conceptualization of masculinity was upended in the 1970s, as Sandra Bem rejected the notion that gender roles are, "biologically inherent, structurally coherent, and fundamentally opposed," to each one another (Smiler, 2004, p. 17), instead pointing out how, "largely as a result of historical accident, the culture has clustered a heterogeneous collection of attributes into two mutually exclusive categories, each category considered both more characteristic of and more desirable for one or the other of the two sexes," (Bem, 1979, p. 1048). For the psychologists like Bem, theorizing about gender in the 1970s, masculinity and femininity were understood to be a constellation of socially desirable personality traits, stereotypically considered to differentiate males and females, which were separate, distinct, uncorrelated, and located within the individual in different magnitudes (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Lenney, 1991). Bem believed that androgyny was the ideal gender identity formation, that people should ideally be high in both masculinity scores and femininity scores (Bem, 1974). Meanwhile Robert Brannon, theorizing about masculinity in 1976, identified four core principles of the stereotypically masculine role: *no sissy stuff* (anti-feminine behavior), *be the big wheel* (be successful and status-driven), *sturdy oak* (unemotional and independent), and *give em' hell* (take physical risks and be ready to use violence).

Once Brannon (1976) outlined the stereotypical male sex role, Pleck built upon the idea in the 1980s by suggesting sex role strain (SRS) as a source of mental distress for male-identifying people (Pleck, 1981). Pleck saw strain as generated by a number of factors, "including the contradictory and inconsistent demands of masculinity, concern about and actual violations of the masculine gender role, and historical change," (Smiler, 2004, p. 19). The SRS suggests that men will experience tension and significant stress when they are faced with situations that require them to violate the dictums of their sex role, or when they exhibit behaviors that are contrary to the expectations that they hold for themselves or others hold of them as men (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).

The idea that masculine roles and masculine identity face tension or relaxation based on context and situation was taken further in the 1990s, with masculinities scholars Raewyn Connell and James W. Messerschmidt. Connell's seminal work *Masculinities* (1995) and Messerschmidt's *Masculinities and Crime* (1993) both advance the notion that masculine behavior is performative, differs depending on context, that the behaviors men engage in to demonstrate their masculinity are often goal-oriented and purposeful, and that the actions are means to achieve the ends of affirming their masculine gender identity.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed by Connell (1995), and applied in the context of analyzing the psychology of deviant male behavior by Messerschmidt (1993). Hegemonic masculinity describes the most legitimate and respected conception of masculinity in a given culture, prescribing a particular set of behaviors and traits that are viewed as most socially desirable in men (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell, 1987). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) proposed that the hegemonic masculine prototype is portrayed as an ideal by some

prestigious role model(s) in society and is then imitated by other men in order to obtain the same prestige as the role models.

Both Connell and Messerschmidt utilized the concept of hegemony developed by the Marxist political philosopher Antonio Gramsci and his work in *The Prison Notebooks* (Gramsci, 1971/1999). Written while imprisoned by Mussolini, Gramsci described hegemony in the context of economics and political classes; the cultural, moral, and ideological leadership of a group over allied and lower status groups, which is balanced between consent and coercion (Orellana, 2015). For Gramsci, the European bourgeoisie ruled with the consent of the subordinate masses; although they protected their power and interests through coercion, they also sought and obtained the consent and approval of the proletariat and lower classes by controlling dominant cultural narratives and framing ideology in a way that makes the dominance of the ruling class seem inevitable, natural, and necessary (Gramsci, 1999/1971). Gramsci wanted to reorder society so that the proletariats and workers were the hegemonic ruling class. Additionally, both Connell and Messerschmidt were undoubtedly influenced by the Feminist scholar Judith Butler and her groundbreaking work *Gender Trouble* (1990), which outlined - among other ideas - the concept of gender-as-performance. Their theories about gender are still reverberating in today's literature and our contemporary understanding of gender identity. Butler saw gender as the repeated stylizing of one's body, as well as the duplication of behaviors within a highly rigid, regulatory social frame that congeals over time to produce the appearance of a unified, recognizable identity (Butler, 1990). The 1990s gender theorists saw gender identity as highly contextual, socially and culturally constructed, a kind of performance that, over time, became an identity. And further, one's gender identity exists within a plurality of possible gender identities or expressions of gender identity.

In keeping with the legacy of social psychology, the performance of masculine gender identity can be understood from the Situationist lens outlined by Kurt Lewin and Leon Festinger (Jones, 1985). For the Situationists, the social context creates potent forces producing or constraining behavior (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). For Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), the social context that men find themselves in produce and constrain behaviors, these behaviors reflect or respond to the hegemonic masculine ideal of their time, place, and culture.

Masculinity: From Analog to Digital

While the psychological construct *masculinity* was undergoing a series of changes from the early 1970s to late 1990s, the Crisis of Masculinity started as Second-wave feminism entered into public consciousness. Feminism in the United States began to challenge traditional gender roles starting in the 1960s and 1970s; this feminist critique of traditional gender roles resonated with many men's groups, causing some to identify with the *men's liberation movement*, but this movement split between pro-feminist and anti-feminist ideologies (Messner, 2016). While both groups within the men's liberation movement could agree that traditional gender roles were hurting men and women, there was disagreement - sometimes bitter disagreement - about whether men were benefiting from these traditional, patriarchal gender norms (Messner, 2016). Warren Farrell, one of the founders of the Men's Rights Activists (MRA) movement, wrote that men and women were differently but equally oppressed by sex roles, and disputed the notion that patriarchy benefited men at women's expense (Farrell, 1974). Herb Goldberg's 1976 book *The Hazards of Being Male* asserted that male privilege is a myth, and as Michael Messner describes:

> "Men's rights organizations broke from the men's liberation movement's gender symmetry and began to articulate a distinct discourse of overt and angry anti-feminist backlash. By the late 1970's and early 1980's, men's rights advocates were claiming that

men are the true victims of prostitution, pornography, dating rituals, sexist media

conventions, divorce settlements, false rape accusations, sexual harassment, and domestic

violence. And in subsequent decades, the beating heart of the men's rights movement has

been organizations that focus – largely through the Internet – on fighting for fathers'

rights, especially in legal cases involving divorce and child custody," (Messner, 2016, p.

9).

The MRA focus on military conscription, divorce, and custody laws found its way onto internet

forums and digital platforms, where men commiserate about the unfair treatment they receive at

the hands of a pro-woman/anti-man society, lamenting their disposability and their subordinate

position compared to females, feminists, and social minorities (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016;

Lumsden, 2019; Coston & Kimmel, 2013).

While MRAs continue to organize online and in person, a different set of concerns

around dating, sex, and relationships, as well as changing norms around the acceptance of

homosexuality have begun to emerge (Mountford, 2018). Turning away from traditional

archetypes of masculinity like the "Family Man" and the "Head of the Household" that U.S.

society and media idealized in the 1950s, this new ideal man was not working to support a wife

and children but instead was the *Bachelor* and *Playboy-Jetsetter* (Beran, 2014). These changes

were partially due to technological and industrial upheaval in the work-life of men, and partially

due to an emerging acceptance of homosexuality - where previous homohysteria and the policing

of homosexual/effeminate behavior was a foundational principle of masculine identity for

previous generations of men (Mountford, 2018). As feminism became increasingly mainstream,

the concerns of this new masculinity pivoted from marriage, divorce, and custody - concerns that

Men's Rights Activists traded in - to become focused instead on issues of dating strategies, free

speech on campus, and what constitutes sexual consent (Mountford, 2018). A clear result of this

newfound concern for dating and seduction strategies is found in the Pickup Artist (PUA)

community (Strauss, 2006).

In 2006, Neil Strauss wrote a book called *The Game*, which described his time as a partial

researcher, partial acolyte of a man who called himself "Mystery" and the Pickup Artist (PUA)

community Strauss embedded himself with. This book subsequently inspired two seasons of a

television show on VH1 called "The Pickup Artist" which debuted in 2007 (Internet Movie

Database, n.d.). The PUA community started as a kind of dating strategy, self-help hybrid, where

their target customer - heterosexual men, inexperienced in dating, socially awkward, desiring to

bed as many attractive women as possible - could learn tips, tricks, and secrets to the heart and

bed of any woman they targeted (Jürgens, 2012). The appeal of PUA workshops, books, and

courses is partially that it teaches a systematic, instrumental, businesslike approach to flirting and

courtship (Dayter & Rüdiger, 2016). Further, PUA rhetoric utilizes pseudoscience and a perverse

misinterpretation of evolutionary psychology in order to ground its claims about women and

dating in biological and scientific jargon (Denes, 2011). By using concepts found in evolutionary

psychology, PUA literature essentializes sex and gender, ignores personhood and autonomy in

favor of a reductive anatomical approach to human relations, and crudely applies animal

analogies to human sexuality (Denes, 2011). This rhetoric and other PUA principles form the

early incarnations of what later underpins the rest of the Man-o-Sphere (Ribeiro et al., 2020).

Elliot Roger, the Isla Vista incel shooter who killed 6 young women on campus at UC Santa

Barbara, was a former member of the PUA community, before turning against them due to their

failure to help him bed members of UCSB sororities (Nagourney et al., 2014). What started as

ostensibly a self-help and dating community, eventually became a fully articulated worldview and ideology.

This is where the Man-o-sphere comes into play: discussions about sexual dating strategies and new concerns about masculinity found a home in online spaces, where men were able to read, write, post, and comment. This network of digital male supremacy encompasses a wide range of men aspiring to the hegemonic masculine ideal, while also engaging a range of subordinate male identities.

The Man-O-Sphere and [Toxic] Masculinity

As online PUA communities started to wane in popularity, due to a lack of success by customers and an unmasking of many of its leaders as less successful than they portray, a migration occurred from online PUA and MRA groups to other online forums that built upon the foundation that MRA and PUA had already developed (Bratich & Banet-Weister, 2019; Ribeiro et al., 2020). Reddit, YouTube, and a network of blogs, collectively known as the Man-O-Sphere, began to update and codify their own version of the PUA and MRA principles (Ribeiro et al., 2020). This collection of source material is unified in its concerns over the feminization of society, the crisis of masculinity in the West, and sexual politics (Farrell et al., 2019). The Man-O-Sphere still contained MRA and PUA influences, but evolved through the addition of The Red Pill (TRP), Incels, and Men Go Their Own Way (MGTOW).

The Red Pill

The Red Pill is in some ways the foundation of this dissertation, in that TRP was what caught my eye and when I fully realized the political ramifications of this form of male supremacy. On its surface, and maybe at its conception, TRP is just another form of masculine-

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focused self-help - concerned with life advice, dating, and sexual strategies. But what happened, through the medium of Reddit in particular, is that the principles of TRP were being applied to life in general, to platonic and familial relationships, to work, to school; in short, becoming *Red Pilled* meant changing how you viewed yourself in relation to everyone else (Dishy, 2018). The metaphor of *The Red Pill* is a reference to the 1999 film *The Matrix*, where the protagonist is offered one of two pills - a blue pill that will allow him to remain in his ignorant slumber or a red pill that will awaken him to the sad truth of reality. Both *blue pill* and *red pill* are common phrases within the Man-O-Sphere, where Blue Pillers are the weak, naive, effete men who go along with feminism and indoctrination by society, where those who have been red pilled by contrast are awake and clear-eyed in their negative evaluation of women, feminism, and society. As discussed in the previous section on Reddit's contribution to online radicalization, TRP's foundational principles - found on their sidebar, wiki, numerous links to TRP source material, and links to the larger Man-O-Sphere - are constantly being discussed, debated, and applied in both theoretical/philosophy-style posts and applied 'in the field' accounts of TRP use. This collaborative approach to refining the TRP ethos is what makes it so appealing to the community. While TRP was focused on how men should improve themselves physically, how best to bed high numbers of women, and how to exploit the biological/psychological deficits inherent in women, Incels (short for involuntarily celibate) are like TRP-members who have turned to despair.

Incels

Incels are a group of mostly young men, united by vitriolic anger towards the opposite sex, a sense of entitlement to sexual activity with women, and a strong feeling of rejection by

society (Ribeiro et al., 2020; Jones et al., 2019). Incel forums are highly regulated spaces, where moderators and community members enforce rigid guidelines that ensure no one attempts to console, comfort, or patronize other members. In this way, incel forums are used more for commiserating with other incels about how awful their prospects are, how hopeless their situation is, and how persecuted their community is (Jaki et al., 2019; Ging, 2019). Hoffman, Ware, and Shapiro (2020) sum up the worldview thusly:

> "The incel worldview is grounded in two ineluctably intertwined beliefs: their understanding of society as a hierarchy where one's place is determined mostly by physical characteristics, and their identification of women as the primary culprit for this hierarchy. Accordingly, at the top of this structure are the idealized men and women respectively referred to as "Chads" and "Stacys." So-called "normies" are in the middle, with the lowly incels languishing at the bottom. In incel lore, a small number of Chads attracts the majority of women (hypergamy), leaving only the apparently unattractive women for the normies, and none for incels. Incels significantly also distinguish themselves from normies not just by their supposedly inferior physical appearance, but by their belief that they have gained privileged insights that normies do not see: that most women are attracted only to Chads, and that if one did not "win" the genetic lottery, they are destined for mediocrity, social isolation, and abject loneliness," (Hoffman et al., 2020, p. 567).

Note the term "hypergamy" in the quote above, it is meant to draw attention to an evolutionary psychology principle that does a lot of heavy lifting conceptually in TRP and incel ideologies. Note the heavy use of jargon in even this simple statement about the incel worldview - this insular vocabulary functions to bind the community together, a companionship motive for

participating in this virtual community (Jaki et al., 2019). While the TRP and PUA communities also rely heavily on jargon, these communities focus on dating strategies and ways of communicating with the opposite sex that will result in sexual activity; what makes incels distinct is their fundamental pessimism and self-loathing. This characteristic is best captured by the nihilistic concept *the Black Pill*, which refers to the idea that due to genetics and our female-centric society, unattractive men will never have sex, and their condition will never improve (Wynn, 2018).

One unique aspect of the incel community is that they place themselves on the bottom of the hegemonic masculine social hierarchy. Though their ideology is steeped in male supremacy, they themselves do not identify as the hegemonic masculine ideal, i.e. the Chad. Instead, they identify as the subordinate masculinity, the "beta" masculinity. However, this identification does not change their investment in the hegemonic masculine ideal, incels argue that new technologies reveal and compound gender practices, which unfairly drive women toward a select group of attractive men. Incels do not participate in intimate relations with women but their explanations for this issue allow them to hold fast to notions of male supremacy and participate in the denigration, humiliation, and subordination of women; their focus on technology and dating life also allows them to situate themselves as the victims of emerging social dynamics while justifying their misogyny (Preston, Halpin, & Maguire, 2021).

Men Go Their Own Way

The anger and pessimism that incels steep themselves in has given rise to a new sub-group within the Man-O-Sphere called Men Go Their Own Way (MGTOW). This group of men has ostensibly sworn off of women, preferring to accept their fate as a group that will never find

romantic companionship, that trying to do so is pointless, and that anyone (even other subgroups of the Man-O-Sphere) are delusional for suggesting otherwise (Digitalscetis, 2018). But unlike the incel community, the original intention of the MGTOW community was to present a positive vision for what a life free of women could look like, despite its being steeped in male supremacist ideology.

In its nascent inception, r/MGTOW was a place for men to post stories, pictures, and clips of themselves enjoying their voluntary singledom. The spirit of the subreddit was one of affirmation, trying to provide an alternative to the Black Pill, self-pitying rhetoric that is typical of incel discussion boards. However, the community eventually succumbed to the same misogyny and toxic masculinity that plagues other corners of the Man-O-Sphere. Interestingly, the key informant (KI) from Chapter 2 discussed a MGTOW community's transformation that occurred even before the positive framing of their single status:

> You know Men Go Their Own Way originally was all about how society has these laws that put men at this disadvantage, and that makes sense because when you look at the facts, yes, in many areas men are at a disadvantage. But then it transformed into, I'm doing, you know, I bought a motorcycle and went to the alps just because I don't need women. You know, they made it all about women, not about themselves doing things for happiness, and it feels like the values have been twisted.

So KI traces the origin of MGTOW from something resembling a Men's Rights Activist rhetoric, to the positive framing of voluntary celibacy, to what it has become now - a proxy for incel communities under the guise of proactively choosing to be single and uninvolved with women.

Despite all of these variations and permutations within the Man-O-Sphere, the guiding philosophy, the underlying ideology, the worldview that unites all of these groups is male supremacy.

The male supremacist ideology espoused by the Man-O-Sphere is toxic in that it encourages rape, shooting, and killing, but also in that it perpetuates a deep and profound self-loathing, anger, and hopelessness (Hoffman et al., 2020; Ribeiro et al., 2020; Jaki et al., 2019). This form of male supremacy is new in that it raises issues and ideas about men and masculine identity that previous instantiations of hegemonic masculinity did not concern themselves with (Farrell et al., 2019). The jargon-filled language of Chads and Stacys, the pseudoscientific misinterpretations of evolutionary psychology (featuring concepts such as hypergamy, fertility cues, and ovulatory shift), the idea that celibacy is a punishment and burden placed on men by (feminist) women, the intra-masculine binary between Alphas and Betas – these are all concepts that are not captured in traditional sexism scales. These concepts have been developed through the synthesis of sexism and toxic masculinity, combined with an emergent online discourse collaboratively constructed from within the male supremacist online community (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016). Therefore, developing a scale to measure male supremacy will advance our understanding of this new arrangement of masculine gender identity.

Relevant Social Psychological Theories

There are a number of social psychology concepts and theories that are useful in applying to the analysis and understanding of this instantiation of male supremacy, including social exclusion, social identity theory, group-based threat, authoritarianism, precarious manhood, and emotional contagion.

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Social exclusion, social isolation, loneliness, and alienation are all endemic of this male

supremacist population (Hoffman et al., 2020; Jaki et al., 2019). For this reason, Roy

Baumeister's work on social exclusion and rejection (Baumeister et al., 2007; Baumeister &

Leary, 1995) is a particularly valuable frame for understanding what happens on a psychological

level to these male supremacist men who have faced a series of (perceived or real) rejections at

the hands of women, attractive men, and society at large. Baumeister and colleagues find that

experiencing social rejection prompts a cascade of compensatory behaviors (Baumeister et al.,

2007); social exclusion led to an increase in aggression and hostility not just towards the person

or people who rejected you, but also towards new people that you interact with (Twenge et al.,

2001); social rejection also results in decreased pro-social behavior (Twenge et al., 2007).

Interestingly, socially excluded people tend to seek out and cultivate new friendships, and

conform more to the opinions of others, as a means of gaining acceptance through conformity

(Williams et al., 2000; Baumeister et al., 2007; Poon et al., 2020). These findings directly relate

to the behaviors found within the Man-O-Sphere. One of the foundational commonalities of

these male supremacist online communities is the social rejection they feel, whether at the hands

of specific women or society in general. After this rejection, they can go online and either engage

in gendertrolling (Mantilla, 2013), or else commiserate with other male supremacist men in these

online forums. Baumeister describes the behavior of people facing social exclusion:

> "excluded people approach others with mixed feelings. They seem highly (and
>
> understandably) sensitive to the possibility of further rejection and wish to avoid it, so
>
> much so that they may turn aggressive quite easily...However, they are interested in
>
> meeting others, especially if the others make the first move or seem welcoming. They,
>
> thus, seem to exhibit the standard motivational pattern of wanting to find a new way to

satisfy the thwarted need to belong, but also want to avoid being rejected again or

exploited in some other way," (Baumeister et al., 2007, p. 511).

This in my mind perfectly captures the behavior pattern seen by men in the Man-O-Sphere.

Behind the sexism and toxic masculinity is a wounded ego, and a desire to commiserate with

other men who feel lonely, rejected, and ostracized by society at large.

Right-wing Authoritarianism

While Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) lives within the domain of political

psychology, it can also be a useful way of understanding male supremacy. Research on the link

between RWA and adherence to traditional male sex roles indicates a strong correlation between

authoritarianism, sex role traditionalism, and male dominance (Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey,

1993). RWA measures ideological attitudes that express the threat-driven goal of maintaining

and establishing group order, societal order, group cohesion, and security (Duckitt & Sibley,

2007). This construct predicts prejudice against groups that are seen as threatening the ingroup,

societal security, societal order, stability, and/or group cohesion (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). Given

that authoritarianism is correlated negatively with feminism and positively with sexist attitudes,

and that those who are high in RWA are particularly sensitive to disruptions in social and group

cohesion (Peterson & Zurbriggen, 2010), it stands to reason that male supremacists may be

especially distressed by any perceived gains by feminism and the upheaval of traditional gender

roles.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is a measure of one's general attitude toward

intergroup relations, indicating whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal versus

hierarchical, and the extent to which one desires that their ingroup dominate and be superior to

other outgroups (Pratto et al., 1994). Given that patriarchy is by its very nature hierarchical, with women being subordinate to men by definition, individuals highly invested in a patriarchal social order should be high in social dominance orientation. Furthermore, SDO measures ideological attitudes that express the competitively driven goal of establishing and maintaining ingroup dominance, power, and superiority (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006). A prototypical person high in SDO would dislike and devalue outgroups that aroused their competitiveness over relative dominance, power, and superiority (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006). The male supremacist perspective on feminism reflects ideas at the core of social dominance orientation; looking at feminism as a plot by women to emasculate and disempower men; that any gains made by women due to feminism are coming at the expense of male power and male dominance; that power and dominance are a zero-sum game where women gaining more rights and moving further towards equality is by definition a threat to masculinity.

Social Identity Theory

At its most basic level, social identity theory (SIT) is about the value that people derive from belonging to a socially recognized group; identification with that group produces certain psychological benefits, such as increased self-esteem and a shared identity with others that lets people feel like part of something bigger and more important than themselves (Hogg, 2016). SIT posits that people strive to achieve a positively-valued social identity by categorizing themselves and others as members of competing social groups, highlighting how they as the in-group are distinct and superior to the out-group (Koehler, 2021). While male supremacist thinking does not uniformly produce gains in self-esteem - sometimes quite the opposite - the perception of belonging to a high IQ community of men, who understand human nature in a more sophisticated way than normal people, is a fundamental aspect of incel and Red Pill ideology. In fact, the

whole metaphor of the *red pill* plays on the notion that once you take the red pill, you are awakened to the real reality, how society and government actually operates. Thus, this male supremacist ideology provides its adherents a form of self-enhancement characteristic of social identity theory (Hogg, 2016), as well as providing a sense of community - a group of likeminded men who are similarly struggling, similarly hopeless, and blame a common enemy, i.e. women/feminism.

Group-based Threat

Research on racial prejudice and the impact of changing demographics in the US reveals that White Americans respond ambivalently to experimental stimuli that discuss the racial-ethnic diversification of the American populace (Craig, Rucker, & Richeson, 2017). The perception that White Americans will be a racial minority in America elicits threat responses, exclusionary attitudes, more negative intergroup emotions, and more exclusionary attitudes (Alba et al., 2005; Craig & Richeson, 2014; Outten et al., 2012). One framework for understanding threat and diversity offered by researchers (see *Figure 3* below) shows that anticipated and actual increases in diversity lead to the perception that minority group size is increasing, which in turn increases group threat responses, and culminates in negative intergroup relations (Craig et al., 2017).

Figure 3.
A framework of how increases in racial diversity - anticipated and actual - influence intergroup relations through perceived threat.
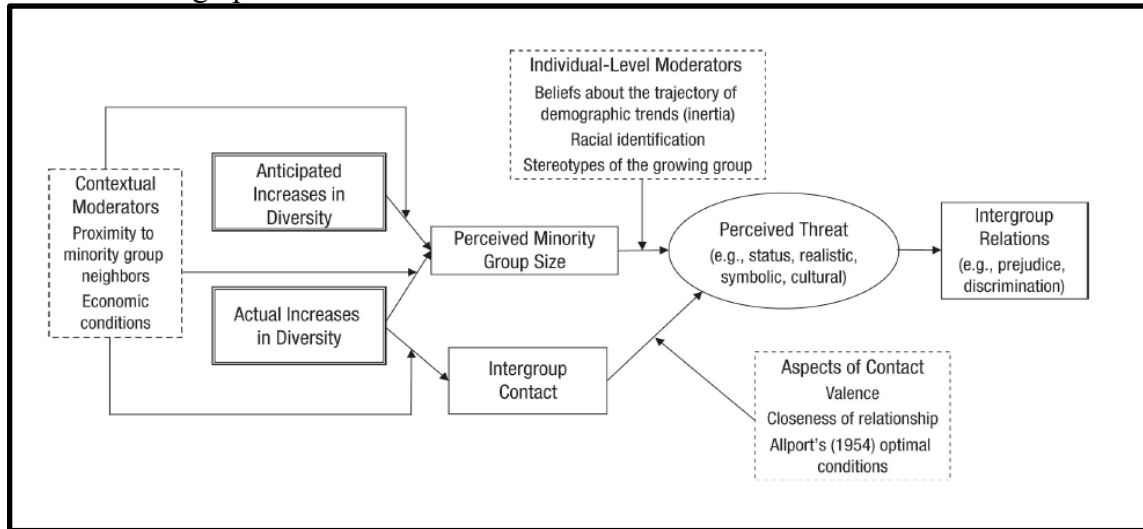
Note: This is a figure from Craig, Rucker, and Richeson (2017).

Thinking about the ways that perceived and actual gains in feminist goals might impact men, especially men within male supremacist online spaces, is valuable for understanding why it is that so much hostility and aggression is directed towards women, feminism, and feminists (Yu, 2020; Vickery, 2018). Anti-feminist beliefs are a throughline from the Men's Rights Movement of the 1970s all the way to the Men Go Their Own Way online community of today. While hatred of feminism and feminists has a multitude of causes within the Man-O-Sphere, one useful framework for understanding the phenomena is the literature on the ways dominant groups, such as White Americans or men, respond to group-based threat (Knowles & Marshburn, 2010).

Precarious Manhood

Building off of the notion that group- and identity-based threat impacts male behavior, psychologists Joseph Vandello and Jennifer Bosson have a program of research on precarious manhood that is extremely useful for understanding male supremacy, especially in the context of social rejection and social exclusion (Vandello et al., 2008; Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Bosson et al., 2009; Bosson & Vandello, 2011). Vandello and colleagues (2008) conducted five separate

studies to demonstrate the ways that manhood, in contrast to womanhood, is constantly in need of reaffirmation and is highly susceptible to being undermined, which leads to a cascade of negative emotions and behaviors. This substantiates the framework that Messerschmidt developed in *Masculinities and Crime* (1993), where he argues that men engage in more and different criminal behavior than women in order to reaffirm their masculinity in that particular moment or context. The idea of a precarious masculinity or the fragile male ego is that shame, embarrassment, rejection (especially at the hands of women), are all capable of prompting aggressive and violent responses by men. Kate Manne (2017) details the ways that shame is central to misogynistic responses of men towards women when stating, "Within the misogynistic worldview, women's admiration and approval, among other things, confers status on men relative to one another within intra-masculine hierarchies. And erstwhile or aspiring alphas often become pathologically ashamed when such attentions are withheld or unforthcoming," (Manne, 2017, p. 289). Manne's reference to the intra-masculine hierarchies is a nod to hegemonic masculinity, and the ways that men compete for status and prestige through the validation of women. Imagine the profound sense of failure then of incels, aspiring pickup artists, and potential red pillers, who see themselves as constantly failing to win the affection and attention of the status-conferrers (women). This wounding of the ego at the hands of women is exacerbated by the dynamics of online dating apps - a central concern for incels and other online male supremacist groups - which see men initiating contact with women far more than women initiate with men, leading to potentially more feelings of rejection (Preston, Halpin, & Macguire, 2021).

Ideal Self vs. Real Self

The neo-Freudian Karen Horney utilizes a framework for explaining the neurotic psychological conflicts people experience internally as a tension between one's Ideal Self and one's Real Self (Horney, 1950). Horney says in *Neurosis and Human Growth* that people have a vision of the person that they should be, that they ought to be, that they (have been told) they must be - referring to this as *the tyranny of the should* - and that the distance between who they actually are and who they think they should be represents the degree of neuroticism they experience (Horney, 1950). This Ideal Self borrows heavily from the Freudian concept of the Super Ego, but importantly the Ideal Self is not punishing in itself, but is a burden insofar as it represents an ideal that is not really capable of being attained (Freud, 1920). This conflict between the Ideal Self and the Actual Self is reflected in the distance that many men feel between who they actually are and the hegemonic masculine ideal that they are compared to by themselves, other men, and the rest of society.

Horney's theory would say that framing one's inability to live up to this masculine ideal as a failure, to instead live as one of the pathetic "beta-male" subordinate masculinities, you are creating a near-certainty that men who think this way will feel neurotic, insecure, and like a fraud (Horney, 1950). In particular, incels are a subgroup of male supremacists who identify "the Chad" as the ideal man, and themselves as the lowest, most pathetic type of man. Thus, adopting this world view means *a priori* defining yourself as low status, undesirable, and unlovable; the extent to which you adopt the ideology is the extent to which you see yourself as the farthest thing from ideal, good, acceptable, normal, or valuable. According to this theory of the ideal vs. real self, for those neurotics that do not have an overlap between their ideal and actual selves, the actual self becomes the despised self (Horney, 1950). Incels thus become a particularly

interesting case amongst the Man-O-Sphere in part because they are the most explicit in their self-hatred, and their paradoxical decision to reify the masculine social hierarchy while enjoying none of the benefits of its hierarchical organization.

Emotional Contagion

Research on emotions in groups and the transmission of emotions within communities is especially important in understanding the ways that the internet transmits, heightens, and promotes certain emotions across groups (Brady, Wills, Jost, Tucker, & Van Bavel, 2017). One particularly helpful analogy, developed by the YouTuber CGP Grey, is to think about thoughts as germs which can be spread from one brain to another, with emotional content being a particularly virulent type of thought-germ (Grey, 2015). Our brains are particularly susceptible to certain types of emotion-eliciting content, specifically anger, which transmits easily from person to person, and from person to group (Brady, Wills, Jost, Tucker, & Van Bavel, 2017). Grey uses this analogy to explain why certain ideas, images, and digital content spread more easily than others; tweets, posts, or video clips that elicit anger are more readily shared on social media and within internet forums (Grey, 2015). Papacharissi (2014) noted that anger is a key driver in the political coalescence of digital networks. The history of emotional contagion says that emotions from one individual can trigger similar emotions in others (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). While this type of emotional contagion has in the past led to outbreaks of mass hysteria - such as the Salem witch trials - the internet provides a similar ability to elicit other types of mass emotions (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). One aspect of emotional contagion that is interesting to test within this dissertation is the concept of a digitally transmitted nocebo.

The placebo effect is a well-documented tendency that people have to be convinced that some treatment, intervention, substance, ritual, or action has a positive effect, even when the

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treatment is intentionally neutral/inactive (Benedetti et al., 2005). Thus, the placebo effect, or

response, "is the outcome after the sham treatment. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that

the study of the placebo effect is the study of the psychosocial context around the patient,"

(Benedetti et al., 2005, p. 10,390). The inverse of this phenomena is known as the nocebo effect,

which is the tendency for people to experience adverse, nonspecific side effects to a drug or

treatment that are not a direct result of the drug, treatment, or intervention itself (Barksy et al.,

2002). This response is a result of: patient expectations about an adverse response to the

treatment, a conditioning process wherein the patient learns from past experiences to associate

treatment with somatic symptoms, and a constellation of psychological traits (such as a tendency

to somaticize), as well as contextual and situational factors (Barksy et al., 2002). A common

characteristic of extremist groups, and one of the overarching characteristics of the male

supremacist online community, is a sense of victimization and grievance (Cassam, 2020;

Marwick & Lewis, 2015).

There is an ardent belief that feminism, a pro-woman society, and genetics have

conspired against the men of the Man-O-Sphere (Ging, 2019; Coston & Kimmell, 2013). This

sense of victimization manifests in a variety of ways, and it would be interesting to think of the

psychological effect of, for example, telling a young man struggling with dating and

relationships that he is a victim, that he not just a virgin but an involuntary celibate, that his lot in

life is already fixed and will never change - these are the messages of incel forums, these are the

ideas that MGTOW men ascribe to. It may not have occurred to some of these men, especially

young men who are experiencing normal difficulties in the realm of sex, dating, and

relationships, that there was anything fundamentally wrong with them before coming into

contact with this toxic masculine ideology. By framing relatively banal experiences of frustrated

attempts at romance as indicative of a fundamental flaw with your body or personality, and as a product of a conspiracy by feminism to emasculate young men, these boys and men experience despair, hopelessness, and distress as a result. Chapter 4 will discuss this concept in relation to the notion of anti-cognitive-behavioral therapy in more detail.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to understand, define, and measure a newly emerging form of male supremacist thinking found in contemporary culture. This form of male supremacy is an amalgam of principles from Men's Rights Activist literature, the Pickup Artist community, and the network of male supremacist websites, blogs, forums, and communities collectively known as the Man-O-Sphere. This dissertation seeks to use a mixed-methods approach and a variety of sources (online ethnographic research, quantitative survey data, a qualitative semi-structured interview) to explore the foundational principles of this new form of male supremacy, how the internet affects and contributes to online radicalization, and to what extent the general population reflect these beliefs and ideologies in offline contexts. Note that while the MSS items were developed by online ethnographic research and qualitative coding of male supremacist communities, the MSS was tested on the general population, in order to see how the ideas expressed across male supremacist online communities made their way into mainstream discourse. Testing the MSS on members of the Man-O-Sphere would be engaging in a tautology – the items were derived directly from the stated beliefs of that community; whereas, testing these items on the general population reveals how widespread the concepts and ideas are in society at large.

This mixed-methods project utilizes qualitative data sources and quantitative survey data in order to develop an instrument to measure male supremacy - the Male Supremacy Scale

(MSS). This process began with extensive online ethnographic research, as well as conducting a key-informant interview and coding the emergent themes into 8 broad categories (Chapter 2). The next phase of the project was crafting preliminary scale items to measure male supremacy, gathering quantitative survey data, employing several iterations of factor-analyses to develop and refine the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS) over the course of three studies, according to best-practices in psychometrics and scale development (Chapter 3). These three sources of data will be merged and the construct of Male Supremacy will be defined and explored, resulting in a valid and reliable scale to measure contemporary male supremacy - the MSS.

Overarching Research Questions

1. Is male supremacy a measurable, unified, ideological construct that can be captured using qualitative and quantitative methods?

2. What are the fundamental beliefs that comprise contemporary male supremacy in men?

3. What personality traits are related to male supremacy in men?

4. Is male supremacy today the same as it was in previous eras?

5. What is the relationship between male supremacy and political ideology in men?

6. What is the relationship between social exclusion and male supremacy?

7. What role does the internet play in developing this emergent form of male supremacy?

Chapter 2:

Online Ethnography and a Key Informant Interview

This is a man's world.
But it wouldn't be nothing, nothing, not one little thing,
without a woman or a girl.
He's lost in the wilderness
He's lost in bitterness, he's lost lost

- **"It's a Man's Man's World" by** *James Brown*

Overview of Qualitative Research

This mixed-methods dissertation first began with qualitative online ethnographic research and thematic coding, and was augmented by a semi-structured qualitative interview with a key informant - the creator of one the largest male supremacy forums on the internet. The online ethnographic work identified the major ideas, beliefs, and attitudes that constitute male supremacist ideology, and examined how those ideas are created and crystallized through the interconnected logics of the Man-O-Sphere. During the process of creating, testing, and refining the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS), the key informant interview was conducted with the founder of an incel forum that was started in response to Reddit.com banning the online community from its platform. This interview allowed the ideas and items comprising the MSS to be evaluated and receive feedback from a content expert on incel ideology. The interview subject responded to the framing and operationalization of incels ideology, the philosophies of MGTOW and The Red Pill, and key components of online male supremacy.

This chapter will detail the online ethnographic process and the insights generated therein, the process of distilling the ethnographic data into scale items, and will also feature insights derived from the key informant interview to complement the ethnographic findings.

Online Ethnography

The online ethnographic research initially began around 2015, consisting of reading relevant forums and conducting online observation, initially noting this frequent connection between online male supremacy forums and a new kind of conservative political rhetoric which made appeals to disaffected young men, specifically those who felt the encroachment of political correctness and feminism into their online spaces (Massanari, 2017). These men were users of

Reddit, YouTube, incel forums, toxic masculine bloggers, and comprised the broader Man-O-Sphere community. Although there are no reliable demographic breakdowns of individual blogs or incel forums Reddit's demographics (see *Figure 4* below) tend to skew younger and male (Madrigal, 2013).

Figure 4.
Reddit demographics by age and sex.
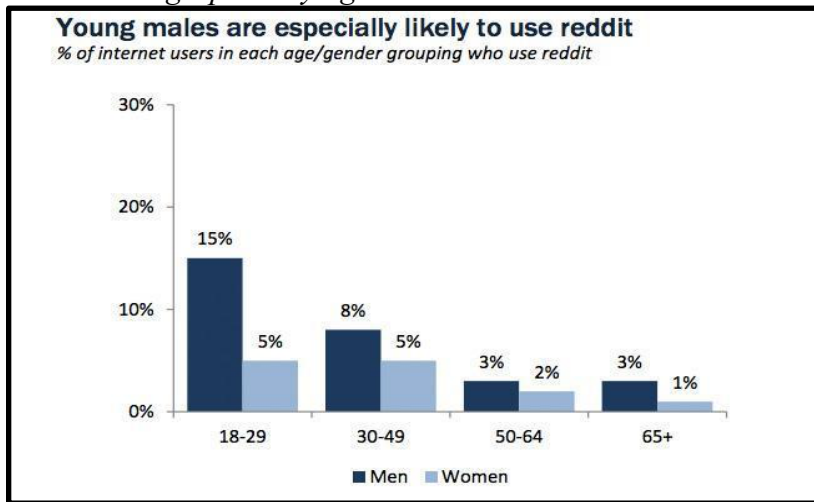
Having said that, there was an informal survey conducted on incels.co (n = 671) that can provide some insights into the demographics of this small sample. The survey results indicated that all subjects were male; 42.8% were European, 38% were American; 54.8% are White / Caucasian, 8.7% were Black, 9% identified as Middle Eastern; 36% of subjects were between 18 and 21 years old, 27.9% were between 22 and 25 years old, 18.1% were between 26 and 30 years old, and finally 8.7% were between 31 and 40 years old. So, the forum users skew very young. In terms of religion, 67.4% identified as Atheist / Agnostic, 23.7% identified as Christian. And finally, 36.9% study, 25.5% work, 13.6% work and study, and 24% identify as Not in Education Employment or Training (NEET). Most interestingly, 50.8% said that they do not have any friends.

Websites within the Man-O-Sphere were visited between two and five times per week from 2015 to 2020; however, in 2017, in the wake of President Donald Trump's election, this reading and observation took on a more formal, systematic approach. I utilized connections between source material to discover other branches of the online network of male supremacist forums; source material in this context refers to website links, forum rules, forum posts, blog posts, or wikis that explicitly brand themselves as introductions to the concept(s) or theory that underlies that particular forum/website. The r/RedPill forum for example contains a number of resources and links to websites, other forums, and posts which attempt to lay the groundwork of the Red Pill ideology (see *Figure 5* below*)*. The sidebar contains links to the rules and glossary that are employed by the Red Pill forums, the network of Red Pill-specific online communities, a series of articles/posts that introduce the foundational concepts of the Red Pill ideology, a section on Theory Reading, and references to other types of source material.

The same type of formalized list of essential readings exists for other forums and websites as well – incel forums, Pickup Artist blogs and sub-reddits all have their own version of formalized wikis, essential readings, foundational concepts, and theory reading. There would be frequent, sometimes daily, visits to subreddits like r/RedPill, r/MGTOW, r/Incels, r/Braincels, r/PUA, r/PUAhate, as well as incel.co and incel.me. These forums would in turn link to other source material such as the website *Return of Kings* by Daryush 'Roosh' Valizadeh, *The Rational Male* by Rollo Tomassi, or *The Gorilla Mindset* by alt-right pundit Mike Cernovich (Tomassi, 2013; Cernovich, 2015).

Figure 5.
The r/RedPill sidebar links.

1,724,546 Subscribers

129,234 Bypassing Quarantine Right Now

WELCOME TO THE RED PILL

The Red Pill: Discussion of sexual strategy in a culture increasingly lacking a positive identity for men.
Why Are We Quarantined?

THE RULES & GLOSSARY

You are REQUIRED to read these before posting. Ignorance of the rules is not an excuse.
Official Rules
Endorsed Contributors: Respect The Tag
Glossary of Terms and Acronyms (2015)
Personal Question/Advice?
Here to troll? Here's a **Glossary of Shaming Tactics**, try to be creative and avoid these. We know you won't, that's why you're easy to spot.
Flairs

THE RED PILL NETWORK

Official TRP YouTube Channel
TRP.RED - Daily Prescription
PODCASTS - TRP.RED
Rational Male User Blogs
TRP IRC Channel
Official Fail Safe Forums (Currently Locked)
Join Our Mailing List

NEW HERE?

New here? Read the following threads and the *Theory Reading* below. Read before participating:
Introduction
Confessions of a Reformed Incel
Michael's Story
The Misandry Bubble
The Manipulated Man

THEORY READING

Women in Love
Men in Love
Of Love and War
Schedules of Mating
All-in-One Red Pill 101
Briffault's Law
Relationships, the Red Pill, and you
Sexual Utopia in Power
Women, the most responsible teenager in the house
Sexual strategy is amoral
The Light-Switch Effect
On Value and the Value of Women
48 Laws of Power Superthread
Powertalk and other Language Categories
Red Pill Antibiotic Nuke
Gender Studies Is Nonsense

REFERENCES

Everything you need to know about Shit Tests
Shit Tests 101
Comprehensive Guide to Shit Tests
Goals - A beginners guide on how to attain them
One Key Step to Not Giving a Fuck
How To Tease Bitches
How To Train Bitches
How To Manage Your Bitches
The Red Pill Finance Thread - redux

LINKS TO THE MANOSPHERE

Puerarchy
The Rational Male
Illimitable Men
Dalrock
Alpha Game
Chateau Heartiste, aka Roissy
The Red Pill Room Private Man
A Voice For Men
Shrink 4 Men
Owning Your Shit

FILTER BY FLAIR

• **Red Pill Theory**
• **Red Pill Example**
• **Blue Pill Example**
• **Building Power**
• **Culture**
• **Men's Rights**
• **Field Report**
• **Rant/Venting**
• **Long Term Relationships**
• **Meta**
• **Fitness**
• **MGTOW**
• **Science**
• **Off Topic**
• **Married Red Pill**
• **Finance**

RED PILL SUBREDDITS

/r/TheRedPill
/r/RedPillWomen
/r/askTRP
/r/RedPillParenting
/r/thankTRP
/r/becomeaman
/r/altTRP
/r/GEOTRP
/r/TRPOffTopic

THE ARCHIVES

Stickied Threads
2013 AMA Series
30 Day Challenges

Following the Grounded Theory principle of seeking data until a category is saturated (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012), source material and texts from the broader Man-O-Sphere were explored and analyzed until themes and underlying logics were revealed. Because these male supremacist groups are overtly focused on developing alternative theories to feminism, queer theory, and reinterpretations of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, it is not difficult to uncover many of the underlying principles of this male supremacist worldview. In fact, due in part to the isolation that many of these men feel, as well as community norms around encouraging explicit theory building and hypothesizing, the community is rather vocal in

articulating its worldview and ideology. Often these theories and ideas conflict, logically do not follow, or are otherwise contradictory, but nevertheless they are explicit.

Coding and Developing Themes

After data collection reached the point of saturation, the data was analyzed for themes, general concepts, and organizing principles. Initially, the themes found underpinning this emerging form of male supremacy were: *Biologically Justified Sexism* (which includes sub-categories – Hypergamy, Female Dishonesty, and Female value); *Sex and Relationships* (which includes the sub-categories– Power Dynamics, Relationships, and Sex); and *Feminism, Feminists, and Other Enemies* (which includes the sub-categories – Government/Society, Feminist characterizations, and non-Female Enemies).

The first category – Biologically Justified Sexism – included a number of evolutionary psychology concepts and essentializing the two sexes on the basis of their biology, anatomy, and hormones. The organizing principle of this category is that, due to one's fixed biological and anatomical nature, men and women are fundamentally different creatures, with different motivations, different personalities, different goals in life, and employ disparate behaviors used to meet those goals. Importantly, men's nature is not as fixed or essentialized, it is only women who seem to function as a monolith. This is consistent with a large body of research on outgroup homogeneity - the general tendency to perceive members of one's ingroup as being more variable, complex, and multifaceted than members of an outgroup - showing that men demonstrate significantly greater gender outgroup homogeneity than women (Rubin, Hewstone, Crips, Voci, & Richards, 2004).

The second category concerns sex and romantic relationships. The PUA and TRP communities are especially focused on these issues related to changing norms around sexual consent, how to rank people based on attractiveness, dominant and submissive sexual personas, the (psuedo-)science of seduction, the prominent role of physical attraction in every aspect of life, the importance of sex and sexual partners for men (both in terms of number and attractiveness), and the two-tiered levels of attraction women feel based on when in their ovulatory cycle they are encountering men.

Finally, there is the list of grievance-based enemies, antagonists, and conspirators who are plotting against the male sex – this comprises the third category, Feminism, Feminists, and Other Enemies. This category is important because it expands the scope of concerns beyond the realm of romance, dating, and self-help, connecting the toxic masculine community to political ideology, social concerns, specific racial and ethnic beliefs, and a worldview that one can fully center their identity around. This is also the thread of concerns that can be traced back from the Men's Liberation Movement of the 1970s all the way to the incels of 2020.

After developing the initial framework for understanding male supremacy, a second round of coding and categorization was performed in collaboration with another graduate research psychologist. Through discussion and analysis of themes, categories and subcategories were broken apart or combined, new codes were defined, and eventually these developed into eight core principles of toxic masculinity (see *Table 1* below).

Items were initially created by using the language, words, phrases, ideas, axioms, guidelines, and rules explicitly endorsed and promoted by these online communities. Once the items were created, the eight principles were used to categorize the items developed for the Male Supremacy Scale (see *Appendix A*).

Table 1.
Emergent themes from online ethnographic research in the Man-O-Sphere.

Name of Theme	Description of Theme	Example of Theme
Hypergamy	Because of biology, women's core desire is to have sex with the best (i.e., most evolutionarily fit) men possible and have children with them.	*Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible.*
Female Dishonesty in Relationships	Women are naturally deceptive, dishonest, and prone to infidelity.	*Women are naturally more deceptive than men.*
Physical Attractiveness Determines Women's Value	A woman's value is determined by her physical attractiveness, which is biologically determined by fertility cues.	*A woman's physical attractiveness is more important to her success than a man's physical attractiveness is.*
Sex Determines Men's Value	A man's value (i.e., masculinity) is primarily determined by the number and quality of his sexual partners. Men should pursue sex through any means necessary, including coercion.	*A man should never turn down sex.*
Anti-feminism	The purpose of feminism is to give women an unfair advantage over men. Women often fabricate sexual assault claims out of self-interest.	*Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men.*
Relationships are Power Struggles	Romantic relationships are a zero-sum competition between men and women, where a woman's goal is to obtain commitment from a man while withholding sex, and a man's goal in a relationship is to obtain sex while withholding commitment.	*If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand.*

| Biological Determinism | Men and women have innate, fixed, biological differences which lead them to approach romantic relationships in fundamentally different ways. Women are more influenced by their biology than men. | *Women are more influenced by their biology than men are* |
| Power Dynamics | All social relationships are competitive, hostile, zero-sum interactions with clear winners and losers. It is important to be confident, dominant, and self-interested in all social interactions. | *One should try to be dominant in social situations.* |

Key Informant Interview

The key informant (KI) interview occurred November 3rd, 2020 over the video platform Zoom. KI was contacted through the profile information found on his incel moderator profile. Given the intense mistrust and disdain for out-group members of the incel community, there are not many interviews with incels conducted in any sort of psychological framing (Kanojia, 2020a, Kanojia, 2020b, Kanojia, 2021a, Kanojia, 2021b), making KI's insights and feedback on the MSS items and constructs all the more valuable. Unsurprisingly, KI's language around and framing of relationships, society, and gender dynamics are all steeped in a male supremacist framework. The themes that emerged from the key informant interview are: the concept of a dominant "alpha" male, a sense of victimization, the importance of free speech, belief in biological determinism, blaming feminism for a variety of social ills, and the nihilistic hopelessness known in these digital spaces as *The Blackpill*.

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The Hegemonic Masculine Ideal - Alpha Male / Chad

One of the first themes to emerge from the interview was the ubiquity of the Alpha Male/Chad concept. In male supremacist ideology, the hegemonic masculine ideal is known as the Alpha Male or the Chad. These men represent the aspiration for subordinate masculinities, i.e. incels and "beta males"; they are highly sexually proficient, they are unfeeling towards women; they are dominant, rich, powerful, and successful; and are untouched by mental health problems, physical ailments, or insecurities. In discussing his views regarding feminism's effect on society, KI says:

> Women nowadays don't really want to marry. They want to have the freedom to explore their choice and go out with many men, and typically that means if you're not looking to settle, you're looking just for attractive men who are adventurous and you want adventure. So, again it works against unattractive men (para. 360)

These attractive, adventurous men are juxtaposed to the unattractive men - the incels and beta males. This ranking of masculinities produces a strong sense that the world is hierarchically structured; that there is a dominant masculine ideal that dominates the subordinate masculinities. The theory is that while the dominant males - and their attractive female counterparts - are able to romance whomever they want, unattractive females are able to find insecure men to date them. This concept that KI is referencing is reflected in the themes *Biological Determinism* and *Hypergamy*, where women want to date the most attractive men possible, and this desire is biologically imprinted on them. Meanwhile, as KI laments, incels are left with no one. Their subsequent lack of sexual success reflects negatively on their masculinity. Later KI explains that:

> no matter how attractive you are as a woman, typically you have a very good chance of ending up with someone. While if you're a very unattractive man, even if you go for

unattractive women you have a lot of competition. So yes, typically you end up alone,"

(para. 342).

Note here the underlying assumption that life is a competition, a zero-sum game where you are

pitted against other men for a scarce, valuable resource (i.e. sex with women). In this way, KI is

laying out a vision for what male supremacists believe about what women want, who women

want, and thus what kind of man one ought to aspire to be - rich, powerful, successful, tall and

physically superior. And if one fails to live up to this hegemonic masculine ideal, they are

destined to be alone, avoided, and stigmatized.

Victimization and Stigma

An important theme from the interview that is not directly reflected in the MSS is the

profound sense of victimization that incels and other male supremacists feel. There subtle hints

of these grievance-based notions in some of the Anti-Feminism items (see *Appendix A*), such as

Modern society prioritizes women over men, *Men are treated unfairly because of feminism*, *Men

in the U.S. are treated as second-class citizens*, and *Women frequently use rape laws to gain an

unfair advantage over men*. Note in all of these items the ways that men are unjustly regarded,

unfairly treated. This sense of victimization is crucial to the political and social mobilization of

this digital community.

Grievance-based identities (as explored in Chapter 3's Study 4) can coalesce around the

stigma, shame, and rejection that they share. Baumeister's research on the effects of social

exclusion on pro-social behavior reflect this notion - people who have been rejected

subsequently seek out connection and community (Baumeister, Brewer, Tice, & Twenge, 2007).

The stigma of being an incel was emphasized throughout the interview. KI notes that people are

ashamed of their being an incel (para. 175), that the media contributes to this sense of shame by speaking negatively about incels (para. 604), and that governments contribute to this stigma by designating incels terrorists (para. 169). Wrapped up in this sense of being a target by society - feminism, the government, media - is the feeling of being censored and having their freedom of expression impinged upon. These feelings are reflected in the *Power Dynamics* theme, in that their concerns about stigma and victimization at the hands of media and larger society reflect the overarching concern male supremacists have with society being comprised of winners and losers; those that are dominant and able to do and say what they want, versus those who are weak and at the mercy of more powerful agents. The stigma and sense of victimization they feel comes directly into conflict with the ethos that the ideology proscribes: always be strong and dominant, never admit weakness or vulnerability, and your ideal role is as the victimizer, not the victim.

Free Speech and Unmoderated Forums

Given that the Man-O-Sphere is an online network, some of its concerns will be uniquely online concerns. Free speech on the internet is a rallying cry of the digital male supremacist community, in part because the forums are frequently banned and taken down due to the dehumanizing language, virulent misogyny (e.g. rape threats, death threats), and the use of racial-ethinic slurs and stereotypes that reflect white supremacist ideology. KI characterizes the incel community as rebels, a community residing on the edge of what is acceptable discourse - their toxicity doing something important for freedom of speech on the internet. KI specifically emphasized how appealing he found the language of the incel forums:

> I found it very striking the way that incels spoke, as in the language they use. It was very
>
> up front, to the point, they didn't mince words and I really liked that, because to me,

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incels enter the territory of free speech a lot, in the sense that it's like a mixed field. It's

not just 'oh these people can't find someone interested in them,' but also these people

are, how to put it, they are on the edge of censorship and the line of where is too far and

what you should be able to say without being censored. If you visit the forum you'll

probably notice the language is very coarse and very offensive to some people, but that is

your right at the same time (para. 186).

But beyond the political, KI underscores the importance of the community as a social safe space

for these men to say anything, "I see people say this is the only place where I can actually say

what I'm thinking without people coming after me or being banned or whatever (para. 198), and

later said, "what made me stay in particular was [the] language, was the way people spoke,"

(para. 234). Being able to say anything without consequences, being free to be offensive, cruel,

or shocking, was not only prized, but used as a justification for why the toxic language found in

these forums was acceptable. This fixation on free speech and unmoderated online content both

reflects the theme of *Power Dynamics* similarly to the *Victimization and Stigma* section above,

but also speaks to the Anti-Feminism theme. Within these male supremacist digital spaces, the

rising influence of feminism is to blame for social norms which police hate speech and demand

that websites and forums take responsibility for the content disseminated on their platforms.

Biological Determinism and Pseudoscience

One of the most consistent themes across the conversation with KI was this interweaving

of biological determinism, pseudo-evolutionary psychology, and the framing of male supremacy

through the lens of science, data, and physical anatomy. So much of the rhetoric found in the

Man-O-Sphere is couched in the language of biology, anatomy, and evolutionary psychology -

these narratives are a ripple effect from the Pick Up Artist (PUA) community that emerged in the early to mid-2000s. Amanda Denes (2011) describes the tension between essentialist concepts of identity and more contextual-constructionist concepts of identity described by Irigaray (1989):

> Irigaray's concept of identity, which is a crossing of the personal and the social, the biological and the cultural, the body and the mind, and which is expressed in an ever-changing and open-ended narrative… contradicts an essentialist interpretation that considers identity as fixed, unchangeable, and biologically determined. (p.145).

By arguing that men's actions can predictably elicit a woman's evolutionary responses, one removes female agency. Human females are thus depicted as reactionary and without agency due to evolutionary psychology's equating of human experience with animal experience (Denes, 2011). The arguments found in male supremacist online communities - reflecting the themes *Physical Attractiveness Determines Women's Value*, *Sex Determines Men's Value*, *Hypergamy*, and *Biological Determinism* - often deploy science to understand female sexuality in an essentialized way with no recognition of context or qualitative differences. Male supremacist narratives use misappropriated evolutionary psychology, and nature-based approaches to argue that women's logic is fallible, untrustworthy, or even non-existent, and that consent should therefore be assessed based on bodily responses (Denes, 2011). This mentality suggests that if, "the body remains present and physical resistance is not employed, consent is granted and the approach remains within the realm of [legal/consensual] seduction scripts," (Denes, 2011, p. 418). KI explicitly refers to these evolutionary and biological determinist theories. When asked if biology equally affects men and women in relationships, he responds:

> Well, that's biological evolution. You have the idea that men wish to impregnate as many people as possible, where women need to choose their mate. So, it's not the same for

both. When a [man] can leave a women stranded for nine months while she has the baby, while the man is kind of moving on and he can keep having sex with as many women as he wants. So obviously, typically women need to be more protective of who they choose, which does happen. While men try to get as many women as they can, which does happen," (para. 390).

Here, KI is referencing the evolutionary psychology/evolutionary biology concept of Parental Investment Theory (Trivers, 1972), which suggests that sex differences in reproductive capacities influence mate selection choices, and that certainty in a child's genetic relationship to the respective parents influences how each parent regards the child. Thus, women are more invested in their offspring because they know that the child is related to them through gestation and birth, whereas men have low parental investment because they are less sure whether they have actually fathered the child. Fully debating the merits of evolutionary psychology is beyond the scope of this chapter, but suffice to say, the ways that Parental Investment Theory is deployed in the Man-O-Sphere ignores culture, context, social practices, and instead reduces romantic and sexual courtship practices to fixed, biological scripts. Rather than using a more nuanced approach to psychological and evolutionary influences on human behavior - such as Moral Foundations Theory's discussion of Cultural Learning (Graham et al., 2013), and the ways that foundational-primal evolutionary pressures are expressed in a variety of different ways, each capable of producing completely different, sometimes contradictory behavioral outcomes - instead male supremacists use a mechanistic, reductionist, harmfully overly-simplified version of this evolutionary principle.

KI's understanding of fertility and evolutionary psychology's concept of assessing a sexual-reproducitive partner's gene quality are overlaid on patriarchal-sexist notions that for

women, "by the time they reach 30 or so age - which is called "The Wall" in Man-O-Sphere terms - that they are no longer desirable by these very attractive men because the very attractive men have a new batch of younger women," (para. 360). Here we can see how male supremacist ideas tying women's value to their fertility and youth - because their value is defined by their reproductive capacity - becomes intertwined with their notions of the hegemonic masculine ideal, and the sexually promiscuous behaviors tied to that model of masculinity. The last piece of this puzzle comes when KI explains that these women who are older than 30 are then forced to settle for lesser men (i.e. beta males, subordinate males), all the while hoping that they will be able to mate with higher status men than those whom they have settled for. This is the concept of hypergamy - that women are always looking for better, higher status partners, even and especially when they are in a committed relationship with a less high status male.

Blaming Feminism

This concept about mate selection is once again used to justify sexist beliefs about women's duplicitousness, untrustworthiness in relationships, and the biologically-determined nature of women's romantic and sexual behaviors. KI - like others in the Man-O-Sphere - argues that feminism and online dating have created the problem of incels in society. The influence of the themes *Anti-Feminism* and *Hypergamy* can be seen throughout his response. In discussing the perils of feminism for men, KI said that incels exist now but:

> they didn't exist before. Well they did, but in such low numbers that they really weren't
> something that was really significant. But nowadays they're clearly significant because
> they are here and the reason for that is because of how relationship dynamics have been

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changed over time…So technically feminism is encouraging women to, how do I put it,

make use of their youth but at the expense of their latter years (para. 360).

While KI will cede that first and second wave feminism were necessary for establishing equality

between humans, "third and fourth wave [feminism] are very convoluted and they don't really

even have any particular aims. Except just gain more," (para. 354). And when asked why there

are more incels now than before, KI will point to feminism and online dating dynamics. It is the

empowerment of women to choose attractive sexual partners over stable, unattractive ones that

has created an incel-class of men, those who will never be chosen for sexual activity due to their

height, physical appearance, status, or social skills.

The Black Pill

A final emergent theme from the key informant interview is the notion of the Black Pill. As

previously discussed in Chapter 1, there are many subcultures within the Man-O-Sphere. While

male supremacist ideology permeates all of these groups, there are subtle differences in the

orientation that incels take towards male supremacy compared to the Red Pill community, or

those who identify as MGTOW (Men Go Their Own Way) for instance. The way that KI

describes this difference is that incels invest in the Black Pill, whereas his definition of the red

pill is understood as, "more of a philosophical idea," which can be applied to relationships or

politics, but is not necessarily tied to just attracting women.

The Black Pill starts with the premise that everyone has a recognizable value in the

sexual marketplace (e.g. "She's a ten! But she's dating a 6. He must be rich."), and that this

value is genetically determined - reflecting the theme *Physical Attractiveness Determines*

Women's Value and *Biological Determinism*. Given that, there is no hope for men who are low in

sexual marketplace value to ever dig themselves out of the hole that their biology has put them in. They will never have sex or relationships, and their only option is to LDAR (Lay Down And Rot). As Wynn (2018) points out in her video on Incels, "sex and relationships are forever out of reach, and hence…happiness is impossible…the black pill is essentially dogmatic hopelessness about dating and about life in general." The idea is that having hope and wanting to believe in anything beyond genetic determinism is merely a coping mechanism, a delusion to continue living. This is what the Man-O-Sphere refers to as the Blue Pill.

The Red Pill, in this formulation, is being awoken to how reality really is - might is right, power is everything, being attractive is the most important component of sexual success, and there are ways to manipulate women into sex if only you are willing to employ those strategies. But incels and those who ascribe to the Black Pill will say that even the Red Pill is somewhat delusional; that believing that things can get better, that you can change your fate through different sexual strategies, are just more fantasies and self-delusions. Instead, the real truth is the Black Pill: there is no hope - your fate was sealed as soon as you inherited your genetic code. When asked about this fatalistic vision of human nature KI retorted, "is it really nihilistic if it's based on data?" (para. 657). He points out that, "if you are, four feet, [or] five four…in terms of height you're going to be rejected by over 95% of women," (para. 652) and then goes on to say that, "the black pill is, for a lot of people they [bring] their own emotions to it but for me at the core it's just science," (para. 652). While the concept of the Black Pill itself is psychologically damaging, its deployment in these online forums creates an extra level of harm to those who frequent incel forums due to the underlying logic it uses. The sheer, baldface hopelessness of the Black Pill motivates an online forum ethic that is adhered to by incel communities: do not comfort me, do not try to provide arguments for a better future, do not dispute my hopelessness.

The logical end point of the Black Pill is suicide, and thus suicidal ideations are extraordinarily common in incel forums. These communities strictly moderate any posts or users that attempt to offer encouragement or dispute the fatalistic vision of the Black Pill. The safe space that is created by the online incel community is the space to engage in maximal self-flagellation, self-deprecation, and extreme hopelessness. Thus, when a socially alienated young man comes to this online space, they are only met with validation of their self-hatred. KI's understanding of the Black Pill can be summed up when saying:

> I mean, if you have a 99% chance of dying, is it really nihilistic if you say that, "wow, it's over. I'm doomed." I mean you can say yes, but it's just a natural reaction I suppose, but like I said, a lot of people add their own emotions to it which is why I try to…pull that away because a lot of people think that, "oh nothing matters, or I should just kill myself now, and it's reasonable to think that at times but it's not part of the Black Pill per se (para. 663).

It is important to KI that he distinguishes the science of the Black Pill from the consequences of the rhetoric. Given that he created and maintains a website that promotes such content, his desire to insulate himself from the suicidal ideations that the site promotes is understandable.

Conclusion

Chapter 2 reviews the online ethnographic research process, as well as the key informant interview with a subject matter expert in the online male supremacy community. The online ethnographic research process required frequent visits to the largest and most active male supremacy forums online, as well as following the network of interconnected websites, blogs, apps, male supremacist-specific wikis, manifestos, and YouTube channels that collectively

comprise the Man-O-Sphere. This work eventually culminated in eight themes (see *Table 1*): Hypergamy, Female Dishonesty, Physical Attractiveness Determines Women's Value, Sex Determines Men's Value, Anti-Feminism, Relationships are Power Struggles, Biological Determinism, Power Dynamics. These themes were developed into scale items that became the basis for the preliminary MSS (see *Appendix A*), culminating in the pilot testing of the MSS in Study 1 of Chapter 3.

In addition, this chapter also explores the intersections between those eight emergent themes from the ethnographic research and the perspective of the creator and head moderator for a large online male supremacy forum. Through that discussion a number of motifs emerged: the ubiquity of the Alpha Male/Chad concept, a sense of victimization and stigma around inceldom, the appeal of unmoderated forums in the context of increasing pressure to curtail maximal freedom of speech in digital spaces, the central role that biological determinism and evolutionary psychology play in rationalizing and justifying male supremacy, blaming feminism for proliferating incels and harming both men and women, and the Black Pill and the role of suicidal ideations in incel communities.

One of the unique aspects of male supremacy as a psychological construct is that it is an ideology, i.e., a way of thinking and interpreting the world, that also appeals to and reinforces a certain set of psychological dispositions. There are personality traits, attitudes, political and social orientations that all relate to male supremacy without directly addressing gender, sex, or beliefs about relationships. But further, and more importantly, this construction of male supremacy is unlike other psychological constructs in that it is drawn out and elicited through digital community.

Narcissism or extraversion are understood to be traits native to the individual,

characteristics that exist in the person prior to their measurement or diagnosis, traits that can be

detected by trained clinicians and psychological scales. And this is true of male supremacy as

well; however, what is unique about male supremacy as understood in this dissertation is that the

male supremacist ideology and the constellation of personality traits and dispositions that

accompany this ideology are filtered through and influenced by online communities and digital

platforms. The Man-O-Sphere has had a significant impact on contemporary sexist notions, on

the hegemonic masculine ideal, on toxic masculinity, and on the reach and breadth of misogyny.

Because gender and masculine identity construction is such a social phenomenon - so influenced

by media, culture, religion, and politics - it is not surprising that online communities are having a

significant influence on how young boys and men understand themselves and each other.

Contemporary concepts and beliefs about masculinity, as well as models of manhood,

emerge from online discourse and enter the broader culture. The Daily Mail headline (See *Figure

6* below) making a pun about the conflict between Steve Bannon and Donald Trump while using

the term "cuck" is just one example of the Man-O-Sphere's language penetrating mainstream

political discourse.

Figure 6.
The term "cuck" as used by mainstream conservative media.

Note. Cover of New York Daily News, January 4, 2018.

While many people in society are influenced by male supremacist ideas like the distinction between Alphas/Beta, cucks, the Black Pill, and hypergamy, they may never have come into direct contact with the source material that underlies the logics of this ideology.

Male supremacy is an ideology that appeals to a broad coalition of people, and while the contemporary ideas that underpin modern male supremacy emerge from communities of incels, MGTOW, Men's Rights Activists, and Red Pill forums, many men who endorse these ideas do not frequent the Man-O-Sphere or visit the spaces where these ideas are created and connected to this male supremacist ideological framework. Male supremacy is not new; patriarchy is not new,

the beliefs that rationalize and justify it are not new, nor is the harassment and bullying that enforces it. The hegemonic masculine ideal, which exists within the patriarchy, changes and adapts to the time, place, context, and culture of the region and people under its control. The Man-O-Sphere, and the constellation of sexist beliefs that emerges from it, has shaped the expression of modern male supremacy such that young boys and men are responding to contemporary male supremacist notions developed within the Man-O-Sphere. The goal of developing the Male Supremacy Scale is to capture these contemporary notions that are influencing modern male supremacy, and to see what personality traits and social identities are related to the endorsement of these contemporary male supremacist ideas.

In order to understand male supremacy in all its complexity, multiple types of methods and approaches to study are required. The insights gained through qualitative research that happened over the course of years is critical to informing the quantitative data analysis that is to follow over the course of four studies, as detailed in Chapter 3. By grounding the item-generation process in qualitative research, the hope is that the MSS reflects the logics and arguments that the male supremacist online community makes to themselves and to society. Online ethnography and the multi-year process of monitoring and coding the content of these male supremacist digital platforms offers an opportunity to researchers to directly observe the communities being researched; reading how they speak to each other, how they speak about their hated out-group, and what strategies and tactics they use to persuade newcomers to their worldview and ideology. By combining this qualitative approach with a quantitative scale construction procedure, the hope is that the MSS reflects a better-practices approach to scale construction and psychological construct measurement.

Chapter 3:

Scale Development and Quantitative Data Analysis

Soy un perdedor

I'm a loser baby,

so why don't you kill me?

- "Loser" by *Beck*

Introduction to the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS)

While there are a number of scales and instruments to measure sexism, masculinity, lay theories of gender, and attitudes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Kachel, Steffens, & Niedlich, 2016; Levant et al., 2007; Spence, Helmreich, & Strapp, 1973), there has not been a scale to measure the emerging form of male supremacy as articulated by the present-day constellation of sexist and toxic masculine spaces found online. Constructing the initial scale to measure this emerging form of online male supremacy was a multi-step process, involving qualitative online ethnographic research conducted over many years, thematic coding, a collaborative effort to create and refine items, a pilot test, distilling down the survey instrument, all culminating in the development of the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS).

The process of developing, refining, and validating the MSS combined the 9-step approach to scale development recommended by Boateng and colleagues (2018), along with recommendations by Simms (2008) on psychological scale construction. Based on these scale development procedures, this dissertation used the factor-analytic approach for developing and validating the MSS (Simms, 2008). The scale was created using the factor-analytic approach, and not the rational-theoretical approach or the empirical criterion-keying methods (Simms, 2008). According to Simms and Loevinger, there are three essential phases to establishing construct validity in scale development: establishing substantive validity, structural validity, and external validity (Simms, 2008; Loevinger, 1957).

The substantive validity phase has been achieved by first, conducting a thorough literature review to determine if a new scale is needed, and once it was established that it was needed, defining the constructs - which was achieved during the ethnographic phase of Chapter 2. After thematic coding of the online ethnographic research, an initial list of items was

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generated to capture the themes that emerged through analysis of manifestos, online forum posts, blogs, subreddits, YouTube videos, and social media content that comprise the Man-O-Sphere. Chapter 2 details the ways items were initially developed, through an inductive process - using the rules, guidelines, tenets, and axioms proffered by the "experts" in Red Pill, Incel, MGTOW, and Pickup Artist ideology, i.e. the community itself.

After the development of an initial pool of items (see *Appendix A*), the next phase of establishing construct validity is obtaining structural validity: develop an item selection strategy; collect item responses; conduct psychometric evaluation of the items; create provisional scales; and add, modify, or eliminate items (Simms, 2008). Once the provisional scale was created, a pilot-test was conducted (Study 1), and then the same process was replicated with a more appropriate sample (Study 2). The final phase of achieving construct validity is to obtain external validity: conducting studies to evaluate convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity (Study 3 and Study 4).

That process will be detailed in this chapter (Chapter 3), across four different studies conducted between 2019 to 2022. Study 1 (n = 320) was a pilot test using a convenience sample of undergraduate psychology students at the University of California Irvine; Study 2 (n = 1,281) was a better, more diverse sample derived from a social psychology survey platform called YourMorals.org, whose data set was used to pare down the MSS from 79 items to 15, utilizing an exploratory and confirmatory factor-analysis process; Study 3 (n = 568) was a sample from MTurk that established convergent and discriminant validity with a variety of other construct-relevant scales; finally, Study 4 (n = 947) used a sample from the online survey platform Prolific, which established external validity with a second set of scales used to establish convergent and discriminant validity.

To this point reliability and validity will have been obtained, to complete the scale development process, the scale and subscales are finalized, and the scale development process will be reported on (Simms, 2008). After presenting the methods, results, and conclusions for Studies 1 through 4, a general discussion of findings from the MSS will begin Chapter 4.

Note that in all four studies in this chapter, the hypotheses below will reflect results for the total study sample, unless there are specific and important differences between men and women on the measure. In the cases where sex differences are presented, the analyses are framed specifically around men in the study samples. There are two reasons for this: one is straightforward - establishing construct validity for the Male Supremacy Scale; the second is both conceptual and due to the nature of the qualitative data collection process.

In any system of oppression (e.g. patriarchy), being the dominant class (e.g. men) compared to being in the subordinate class (e.g. women) will necessarily change your relationship to the system and the ideology that underpins it. Some people in the subordinate class (e.g. women who support and uphold male supremacy) will validate, reinforce, and champion the ideology that justifies their oppression, but their reasoning for doing so and how they configure their relationship to that ideology is necessarily different for that subordinate class compared to the dominant class. Men (in theory) directly benefit from upholding the patriarchal system so long as they adhere to the hegemonic masculine norms of their society. Men who adhere to male supremacy are doing so because they are trying to live up to the ideals that they believe will grant them respect, admiration, power, and status; whereas, women upholding male supremacy either gain some amount of validation by doing so, or else they risk incurring the misogyny (harassment, intimidation, violence) that comes to women who step out of the patriarchal social order.

While it is certainly the case that some women hold male supremacist beliefs and participate in male supremacist online communities, the communities from which the online ethnographic research derived the item language are not places hospitable to women, and consequently have much lower representation in the discourse within the Man-O-Sphere. This becomes an important limitation to contextualizing the quantitative findings of the MSS with women in the sample. There are differences in how male supremacy manifests and is upheld for men compared to women who adhere to male supremacist ideology, so it is important at the outset of this scale development process to measure male supremacy by first establishing the validity of the construct in its most prototypical form. There are women-only spaces on the internet that promote their own version of male supremacy - The Pink Pill, Vindicta, Female Dating Strategies, for example. These are spaces that use the language and logics of male supremacy to support women in navigating the sexual marketplace and increase their sexual market place value, better attract the male gaze, and allow women a place to rant about men's behavior while deploying the same racist stereotypes that plague the Man-O-Sphere (BlackandUgly, 2022).

The goal of this dissertation is first and foremost to define, describe, and operationalize male supremacy as it manifests in contemporary online discourse, so the first step in that process is establishing the boundaries and component parts of male supremacy among men - the target audience of this ideology and the demographic that comprises the vast majority of the online network of male supremacy. Thus, a scale to measure male supremacy should evaluate and analyze the sexist beliefs, ideas, and theories that underpin the ideology in men, as well as examine the behaviors that men engage in and experience which uphold the ideology - doing so

will establish construct validity for the scale. Future research will expand on the concepts articulated in this dissertation and will evaluate how women express and deploy male supremacy.

Therefore, Studies 2-4 will uniformly present data analysis on the total sample and when sex differences are evaluated in this chapter, the analysis will primarily discuss and theorize about male respondents. The hope is that the MSS will be a valuable instrument in exploring a program of research on male supremacy, which will include in-depth analysis and theorizing of male supremacy as deployed by women, the LGBTQ community, and other marginalized groups (see *Future Directions* in Chapter 4).

Hypotheses for Establishing Construct Validity:

Hypothesis 1

Men will score higher on male supremacy, as measured by the Male Supremacy Scale, than women.

Hypothesis 2

> **2.A.** For the total study sample, heterosexuals will score higher on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than any other sexual orientation.

> **2.B.** Men who indicate they are heterosexual will score higher on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than any other sexual orientation.

Hypothesis 3

> **3.A.** For the total study sample, those who indicate their relationship status is single will score higher on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than any other relationship status.

3.B. Men who indicate their relationship status is single will score higher on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than any other relationship status.

Hypothesis 4

4.A. For the total study sample of those who indicate that they are single, the more unhappy they report being about their single status, the higher they will score on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale.

4.B. Of the men who indicate that they are single, the more unhappy they report being about their single status, the higher they will score on a male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale.

Hypotheses for Establishing Convergent/Discriminant Validity and Construct-Relevance:

Hypothesis 5

5.A. For the total study sample, those who report either voting for former U.S. President Donald Trump or would have voted for Trump, will have a higher male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than those who reported voting for anyone else.

5.B. Men who report either voting for former U.S. President Donald Trump, or would have voted for Trump, will have a higher male supremacy score derived from the Male Supremacy Scale than those who reported voting for anyone else.

Hypothesis 6

6.A. For the total study sample, there is a positive, statistically significant relationship between Conservative political ideology and male supremacy scores derived from the Male Supremacy Scale.

6.B. For men, there is a positive, statistically significant relationship between Conservative political ideology and male supremacy scores derived from the Male Supremacy Scale.

Hypothesis 7

7.A. For the total study sample, there is a stronger relationship between male supremacy scores derived from the Male Supremacy Scale and political orientation on social issues than there is for political orientation on economic issues.

7.B. For men, there is a stronger relationship between male supremacy scores derived from the Male Supremacy Scale and political orientation on social issues than there is for political orientation on economic issues.

Hypothesis 8

8.A. Evaluating the relationship between the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and the Male Supremacy Scale across the total study sample, there will be a stronger relationship between the Hostile Sexism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale than the Benevolent Sexism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale.

8.B. Evaluating the relationship between the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and the Male Supremacy Scale, for men there will be a stronger relationship between the Hostile Sexism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale than the Benevolent Sexism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale.

Hypothesis 9

9.A. Evaluating the relationship between the Dark Triad of Personality and the Male Supremacy Scale across the total study sample, there will be a stronger relationship

between the Machiavellianism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale than either the Psychopathy subscale or the Narcissism subscale.

9.B. Evaluating the relationship between the Dark Triad of Personality and the Male Supremacy Scale, for men there will be a stronger relationship between the Machiavellianism subscale and the Male Supremacy Scale than either the Psychopathy subscale or the Narcissism subscale.

Hypothesis 10

10.A. For the total study sample, higher scores on the Rightwing Authoritarianism scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale.

10.B. Higher scores on the Rightwing Authoritarianism scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale for men.

Hypothesis 11

11.A. For the total study sample, higher scores on the Social Dominance Orientation scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale.

11.B. Higher scores on the Social Dominance Orientation scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale for men.

Hypothesis 12

12.A. For the total study sample, higher scores on the Irrational Suspicion subscale of the Conspiracy Mentality Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale.

12.B. Higher scores on the Irrational Suspicion subscale of the Conspiracy Mentality Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale for men.

Hypothesis 13

13.A. For the total study sample, higher scores on the Racial Resentment Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale.

13.B. Higher scores on the Racial Resentment Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale for men.

Hypothesis 14

14.A. For for total study sample, higher scores on the Psychological Entitlement Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale.

14.B. Higher scores on the Psychological Entitlement Scale will predict higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale for men.

Study 1

Overview

The purpose of Study 1 was to develop an initial survey measuring male supremacy using factor analysis procedures. This study is the first step in a program of research aimed at understanding the causes and consequences of male supremacy.

Method

Participants

Participants who completed the pilot test were a convenience sample of undergraduates (n=320) from University of California Irvine in 2019. As such, the sample comprises 273 females and only 53 males – a major limitation of the pilot test. The majority of participants identified as heterosexual (84% heterosexual, 6% bisexual, 3% homosexual, 3% other, 4% prefer not to say) and Hispanic (43% Hispanic, 30% East Asian, 21% White, 8% West Asian, 4% Pacific Islander, 10% Other). The average participant was 20.78 ($SD = 3.46$) years old and was

politically liberal (on a scale from 1= "very liberal" to 7 = "very conservative": $M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.18$).

Materials

The MSS was accessible to UC Irvine undergraduates online and thus completed at the participants' convenience. There was no monetary compensation for participation in the study, although undergraduates do receive classroom extra credit points for participation. Survey data was collected over the period 1/10/20 to 3/3/20

Measures

The measures all specifically relate to the MSS. The total aggregated MSS score is the key outcome variable of interest. However, each of the eight subscales of the MSS will also be evaluated to see how they relate to predictor variables. The predictor variables in this study are the Dark Triad of Personality, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, and the demographic variables. As with the MSS, the subscales of the Dark Triad and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is evaluated to see what relationships exist between them and the outcome variable, as well as between them and subscales of the MSS.

Male Supremacy. The pilot instrument to measure male supremacy is 79 items, broken down into 8 separate themes derived from the ethnographic research as discussed in Chapter 2 (see *Appendix A* for all items and categories). The number of items in each subscale correspond to the number of ideas/themes coded, items generated, and eventually assigned to that category; there was purposefully no attempt to artificially balance the number of items within each subscale. Thus, the size of the subscale reflects the prominence of those ideas within the *Man-O-Sphere*. The survey took approximately 20 minutes to complete.

While initially the language for the items were derived through ethnographic research, where possible, the language, phrasing, or syntax from previously validated sex and/or gender scale items was used. Once the items were created, they were compared to a compendium of previously validated sex, sexism, and/or gender items. So long as the male supremacist idea was properly captured by an item from a previously validated scale, the language, sentence structure, or phrasing was employed. The following scales were used or referenced when possible: the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (Morgan, 1996), the Male Role Norm Inventory - Revised (Levant et al., 2007), the Macho Scale (Villemez & Touhey, 1977), the Attitudes Towards Men Scale (Iazzo, 1983), and the Sexual Relationship Scale (Hughes & Snell, 1990).

Dark Triad of Personality. In addition to measuring male supremacist beliefs, this study also seeks to examine how male supremacy relates to a personality construct like the Dark Triad of Personality (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). This 22-item measure consists of three sub-scales: Machiavellianism, subclinical psychopathy, and subclinical narcissism. Machiavellianism relates to how consciously manipulative a person is with those around them (ex: *I tend to manipulate others to get my way*); subclinical psychopathy measures high impulsivity and thrill-seeking along with low empathy and anxiety (ex: *I tend to be callous or insensitive*); and subclinical narcissism includes grandiosity, entitlement, dominance, and superiority (ex: *I tend to want others to admire me*) (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fisk, 1996) is a 22-item scale comprised of two subscales: Benevolent Sexism and Hostile Sexism. Hostile sexism is understood by Glick and Fisk as antipathy towards women based on faulty and inflexible overgeneralization, to borrow the phrasing from Gordon Allport's definition of ethnic

prejudice (ex: *Women seek power by gaining control over men*) (Glick & Fisk, 1996; Allport, 1954). Benevolent sexism is defined as, "a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)," (Glick & Fisk, 1996, p. 491). Benevolent sexism frames women as delicate, naturally caring and maternal, graceful, innocent, chaste, and sensitive (ex: *Women should be cherished and protected by men*).

Demographic variables. The demographic information collected from each participant included: sex (Male, Female, Not listed); sexual orientation (Heterosexual, Homosexual, Bisexual, Not listed, Prefer not to say, and an open-ended response option); age; ethnicity, with an ability to choose more than one option (White/Caucasian, African American, Hispanic, East Asian, South or West Asian, Native American, Pacific Islander, and an open-ended 'Other' option); current relationship status (Single, Friends with benefits, In a relationship, Married); how you feel about your single status (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Strongly dislike being single' to 'Strongly enjoy being single'); political ideology (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Very liberal' to 'Very conservative', as well as 'Don't know/not political', and 'Other'); political ideology on social issues (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Very liberal' to 'Very conservative', as well as 'Don't know/not political', and 'Can't pick one'); political ideology on economic issues (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Very liberal' to 'Very conservative', as well as 'Don't know/not political', and 'Can't pick one'); your intention to vote for a 2016 US presidential candidate, i.e. who you voted for or would have voted for in the 2016 presidential election (Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and an open-ended 'Other' option); religious affiliation (Agnostic, Atheist, Buddhist, Christian-Catholic, Christian-Protestant, Christian-other, Hindu,

Jewish, Muslim, Other, 'I do not consider myself affiliated with any particular religion', and an open-ended 'Other' option); religiosity (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Not at all religious' to "Very religious'); MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status[1] (Adler & Stewart, 2007) (a 10-point scale ranging from 0 to 10, with the response instructions indicating that respondents place themselves somewhere on a ladder whose rungs are defined as: 'At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off, those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs' to 'At the bottom are the people who are the worst off, those who have the least money, least education, worst jobs, or no job').

Male supremacy as an ideology and worldview is entirely concerned with one's social status; where one ranks in the masculine hierarchy; how closely one adheres to the hegemonic masculine ideal; whether one adopts a dominant or subordinate masculine identity; if one does or does not require toxic masculinity to bully them into upholding the patriarchal social order. But male supremacy is adhered to by a wide variety of subgroups and subcultures, some of which exhibit inflated egos, some of which exhibit severely punctured egos. One could expect that self-reported social status amongst male supremacists will be heavily influenced by their particular formulation of masculine identity, and thus the data captured on subjective social status will not yield interpretable results.

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[1] Subjective social status data was collected in Studies 1-4, but not evaluated statistically. In this case, the relationship between subjective social status and male supremacy is conceptually muddled. Theoretically, incels and MGTOW men should rate themselves lower in social status relative to other men and people in society, regardless of whether or not that is objectively true; conversely, PUA and TRP men would theoretically have an over-inflated sense of social status relative to others in society. Since these studies do not specifically ask survey respondents to identify with any particular sub-group within the Man-O-Sphere, the relationship between subjective social status and male supremacy is difficult to untangle.

Procedure

Participants completed the pilot test survey online through the Social Sciences
Participation Pool in return for course credit. After completing a consent form, participants were
presented with the Male Supremacy items (see *Appendix A*) in random order. Participants were
asked to respond to each item on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = "Strongly Disagree" to
7 = "Strongly Agree". After completing the MSS items, participants completed (in random
order): the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the Dark Triad Scale
(Paulhus & Williams, 2002), which measures Narcissism, Psychopathy, and Machiavellianism.
Finally, participants completed a demographics form and were debriefed and thanked for their
participation. IRB approval was granted by University of California Irvine in order to collect
pilot test data.

Data Analysis

Data from the pilot test was first analyzed using an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA),
conducted to determine which items could be removed from analysis, followed by a second EFA
to evaluate factor loadings, and finally a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was used to
examine the scale's factor structure, reliability, and convergent, discriminant, and incremental
validity. Once the EFAs establish the number of factors, the CFA helps determine which model
works best, whether the subscales/factors are lower-level dimensions of second-order constructs,
or if they are indeed independent factors representing separate constructs. The model's
comparative fit index (CFI), its root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), standardized
root mean square residual (SRMR), and Bayesian information criterion (BIC) were assessed to
determine how well the model performs.

When running the EFAs, direct oblimin rotation was used. Oblique rotations are recommended for social science data analysis when there is reason to believe that the items are correlated with each other (Mahalik et al., 2003). In this case, items in the MSS are hypothesized to capture different components of a more general male supremacist ideology.

To establish the homogeneity of the scale, inter-item correlations examined the average of the inter-item correlations as well as their distribution, with the goal being inter-item correlations that fall between 0.15 and 0.5 (Simms, 2008). Correlation matrices of all items were used to determine if a specific item is actually related more strongly to one factor than the one it was initially classified under.

Results

Given the low number of male participants in Study 1, the findings themselves should only be treated as tentative. However, the scale development process and the statistical procedures used for developing an instrument to measure male supremacy are still relevant for describing the arc of the MSS's creation and the way it improves over repeated iterations. For the pilot test data in Study 1 (n=320), two EFAs and a CFA were conducted and factor loadings were evaluated. The first EFA determined which factors are present in the data by using a Very Simple Structure (VSS) analysis (Revelle & Rocklin, 1979). The VSS suggested that a minimum Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) of -12005.33 would be obtained with three factors. Additionally, a principle components analysis (PCA) was conducted with an oblimin rotation and was graphed with the Eigenvalues on a scree plot (see *Figure 7* below).

Visual examination of the scree plot revealed that the "elbow" occurs at around three factors. Thus, based on both the VSS and the scree plot, three factors were extracted with the first EFA.

Figure 7.
Scree plot showing the eigenvalues from a PCA of all original male supremacy items.
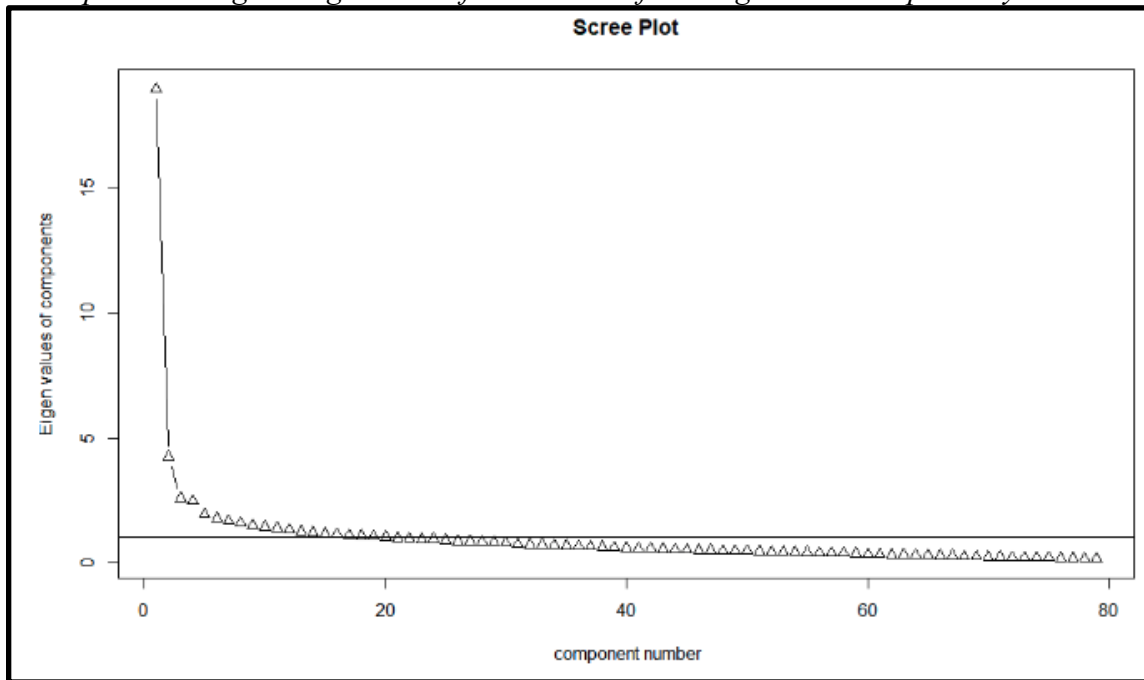
After conducting the initial EFA, factor loadings were examined and poorly performing items

were eliminated if their largest factor loading was less than 0.4, or if they had a significant cross-

loading on multiple factors. These criteria reduced the initial pool from 79 items to 30 items (see

Table 2 below).

Table 2.
Pilot test results for the three factors related to male supremacy (n = 320).

Item	Factor 1: *Relationships*	Factor 2: *Feminism*	Factor 3: *Hypermasculinity*
49. Romantic relationships are bad for men	**.78**	-.05	-.05
21. All women are gold diggers	**.78**	-.02	-.07
55. If a man commits to a woman, she will lose interest in him	**.74**	.04	-.01
42. A man should never turn down sex	**.68**	.01	-.01
18. Men in romantic relationships need to be constantly on guard for cheating	**.60**	-.01	.14

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74. It's better to double down than admit you're wrong	**.58**	-.01	.03
16. Women are more likely to cheat on their partners than men	**.54**	.02	.08
43. It is ok for a man to use any and all means to convince a woman to have sex	**.54**	.10	-.04
54. When a man commits to a relationship, he gives up his power in the relationship	**.53**	.15	.05
24. A woman's love for a man is naturally more unreliable than a man's love for a woman	**.50**	.03	.14
57. If a man tells a woman he is attracted to her, this will make her less attracted to him	**.49**	-.01	.14
5. Women are biologically programmed to want as many babies as possible	**.42**	.08	.05
9. A woman's physical attractiveness determines her value as a person	**.41**	.11	.07
73. Apologizing is admitting weakness	**.39**	.12	.04
30. Men are treated unfairly because of feminism	-.07	**.76**	.02
36. Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men	-.01	**.73**	.04
40. Feminists are seeking to control men	.10	**.70**	.02
33. Feminists are unattractive	.04	**.71**	.02
31. Feminists have legitimate concerns about how women are treated in society (R)	-.04	**-.56**	.07
38. Feminism is anti-biology	.13	**.51**	.03
28. Feminism is all about how women are victimized by men	.06	**.47**	-.06
37. Feminism benefits men (R)	.08	**-.46**	-.13
35. Women in the U.S. are treated as second-class citizens (R)	.02	**-.38**	.15
44. Women prefer sexually dominant men	-.03	-.08	**.65**
58. Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are	.01	.11	**.60**
3. Women cannot help being attracted to rich men	.07	.08	**.59**
7. Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women	.06	-.04	**.59**
47. Women prefer tough guys to sensitive guys	.07	-.01	**.50**
67. Men naturally have different personalities than women	-.08	.11	**.33**
11. Genetics determine how attractive someone is	-.09	.05	**.32**

Note. Bolded numbers indicate factor loadings. Cronbach's alpha for the 30-item scale: α =

.91.

A second EFA was run on only these items, which found that the items grouped into three factors. To test the fit of the final items, a CFA was conducted with three latent factors corresponding to the factors from the EFA results. Each of the final 30 items was modeled as loading onto the latent factor it was most closely associated with in the EFA results. This model was an adequate but not exceptional fit for the data, CFI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.04, SRMR = 0.05. As noted in the section on participants, only 53 men (17%) took the pilot test, which led to an inversion of the factors. Since most of the sample held pro-feminist, pro-relationship, and anti-hypermasculinity views, the factors reflect those beliefs. For example, most of the sample reported positive feelings towards feminism, such that items assessing the value of feminism or feminist ideals tended to hang together as a factor, but were negatively related to a high toxic masculinity score.

The three factors that emerged from the pilot test data were: Female Dishonesty in Relationships, Anti-Feminism, and Hypermasculinity/Women are Attracted to Alphas. The Female Dishonesty in Relationships factor was comprised of one item from the *Hypergamy* theme (5), one item from *Physical Attractiveness Determines Female Value* theme (9), three items from the *Female Dishonesty* theme (16, 18, 24), two items from the *Sex Determines Men's Value* theme (42, 43), four items from the *Relationships are Power Struggles* theme (49, 54, 55, 57), and two items from the *Power Dynamics* theme (73, 74). This factor mostly contains items that described beliefs related to romantic and sexual relationships. Interestingly, there are some items (items 73 and 74) that were initially categorized under the Power Dynamics sub-category, that relate more generally to how men should approach interactions with others, or how they should behave at work, at school, or when socializing around other men.

The Anti-Feminism factor straightforwardly captures the general feelings that one has towards feminism and feminists. It is comprised of nine items from the *Anti-Feminism* theme (28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40).

And finally, the Hypermasculinity/Women Like Alphas factor contains a variety of items that touch on how women feel about men as dominant, aggressive, and high status. It is comprised of two *Hypergamy* items (3, 7), one *Physical Attractiveness Determines Female Value* item (11), two items from the *Sex Determines Men's Value* theme (44, 47), one item from the theme *Relationships are Power Struggles* (58), and one item from the *Biological Determinism* theme (67). Again, any conclusion from these data should be drawn reluctantly as the sample was not composed of enough men to draw firm conclusions.

The male supremacy scale (MSS) is the product of a factor analytic procedure that distilled down 79 items and 8 main themes into a 3 factor scale with considerably fewer items. Thus, the items that remain capture ideas and assumptions about male supremacy that are not directly represented in the three factors. For example, an embedded argument within the MSS is biological determinism, another is conspiratorial thinking. These themes are seen in items across all three factors, though they themselves are not separate factors that hang best together in the scale. The sum total of the MSS items represents different components of male supremacy, which can not be disentangled or analyzed apart from one another.

While the factor analytic process in Study 1 was valuable for creating a three-factor model of an instrument to measure male supremacy, the results of the quantitative data analysis of the MSS in relation to other predictor variables are not reported here due to the sample being ill-suited to draw firm conclusions from the data. Below is a table outlining the zero-order correlations (see *Table 3* below); however, the sample's demographics (n = 53 men) limit the

scope of what can be learned through data analysis, which is why samples with more heterosexual men are needed for future waves of data collection (Study 2). While the statistical analyses should be treated as very tentative, the results tended to confirm the hypotheses outlined above.

Findings from the pilot test data identified men (M = 3.30, SD = .78) as higher in male supremacy than women (M = 2.97, SD = .63) on the MSS. One's total MSS score correlated more strongly with the Hostile Sexism subscale (r = .76, p < .000) of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory than the Benevolent Sexism subscale (r = .42, p < .000). And the Dark Triad of Personality in aggregate correlated strongly with the total male supremacy score (r = .51, p <.000), with the Machiavellianism sub-scale (r = .40, p < .000), Narcissism (r = .45, p < .000), and Psychopathy (r = .32, p < .000) subscales of the Dark Triad of Personality all correlating relatively strongly with total male supremacy scores.

Table 3.
Zero-order correlations between MSS and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Dark Triad of Personality (n = 314).

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Total MSS	1.00							
2. Ambivalent Sexism Inventory	.73***	1.00						
3. Benevolent Sexism Subscale	.42***	.80***	1.00					
4. Hostile Sexism Subscale	.76***	.87***	.40***	1.00				
5. Dark Triad of Personality Scale	.51***	.42***	.22***	.46***	1.00			
6. Narcissism Subscale of DT	.45***	.36***	.22***	.38***	.86***	1.00		

7. Machiavellianism Subscale of DT	.40***	.37***	.19***	.41***	.78***	.48***	1.00	
8. Psychopathy Subscale of DT	.32***	.24***	.07	31.***	.68***	.29***	.50***	1.00

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Discussion

Using a convenience sample of UC Irvine undergraduates (n = 314), Study 1 was able to develop a preliminary scale for measuring male supremacy by way of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. The tentative instrument to measure male supremacy reduced 79 items and 8 themes into a 30-item, 3-factor scale (Anti-Feminism, Female Dishonesty in Relationships, Hypermasculinity/'Women Like Alphas'). This 3-factor scale has strong internal consistency (α = .91), and conceptually reflects core elements of male supremacy - anti-feminism (i.e. upholding patriarchy), female dishonesty (i.e. a series of sexist beliefs), and 'women like alphas' (i.e. toxic masculinity).

Without an adequate number of men in the sample, all statistical analyses should be viewed as provisionary until subsequent studies can better validate the relationship between the male supremacy scale and other scales. Most importantly, the factor analytic approach was successful in culling the original list of 79 items and producing a three-factor scale that will be useful to compare to the next iteration of the MSS in Study 2.

Study 2

Overview

The purpose of Study 2 was to further develop and psychometrically validate the MSS using a larger, more appropriate sample. The same factor-analysis procedures used in Study 1 will be applied to Study 2. While the pilot (Study 1) was useful for establishing a baseline level of construct validity for the MSS - men scored higher than women, heterosexuals scored higher than homosexuals, the MSS more strongly relates to hostile sexism than benevolent sexism - a larger sample was needed for Study 2, in particular more men taking the MSS, in order to properly establish the validity of the MSS. The expected outcome of Study 2 was a valid, reliable measure of Male Supremacy that is shorter than 79 items, and more directly captures male supremacist ideology.

Study 2 was focused on developing the scale and evaluating the construct validity of the scale, and not the convergent validity, discriminant validity, or examining the MSS in relation to construct-relevant scales. Thus, Study 2 will only evaluate Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 3, Hypothesis 4, Hypothesis 5, Hypothesis 6, and Hypothesis 7.

Method

Participants

This wave of data collection (n=1,281) occurred on YourMorals.org (YM) – visitors to this site complete surveys to learn about their moral beliefs. The target goal for participant recruitment was anything over 500 subjects, and without any financial incentive from the survey platform, it was assumed that this would take multiple months to achieve; however, the level of activity on YM was greater than anticipated, thus the number of survey participants was much higher than expected over this 7 week period. Basic demographics indicate more men (n = 553) than women (n = 465) completed the MSS, demonstrating that this sample will be more appropriate for drawing inferences about male supremacy than Study 1's sample. There are also more

heterosexuals (n = 793) than homosexuals (n = 59) or bisexuals (n = 135) in the sample. And

unlike the pilot test, the mean age for the YM sample is 32.3 (SD = 15.0), a much older sample

than the undergraduate sample from UC Irvine (mean = 20.7 years, SD = 3.33). The racial-ethnic

breakdown of the sample revealed that most identified as White/Caucasian (62.6%) or multi-

racial/multi-ethnic (9.7%), with the other racial-ethnic participants being either African

Americans (3%), Hispanic (3.2%), East Asian (3.5%), South or West Asian (2.9%), Native

American (0.2%), Pacific Islander (0.3%), or Other (2%).

Measures

The total aggregated male supremacy score is the key outcome variable of interest.

However, each of the eight themes of the MSS will also be evaluated to see how they relate to

predictor variables. The predictor variables in this study will only be the demographic variables -

sex, sexual orientation, relationship status, feelings about relationship status, political ideology,

political orientation on social issues, political orientation on economic issues, and who the

subject voted for or intended to vote for in the 2016 election.

Male Supremacy. The Male Supremacy Scale used in Study 2 is the scale comprised of

79 items used in Study 1 (see *Appendix A* for all items and subscales).

Demographic variables. The demographic information collected from each participant

in Study 2 mirrored that of Study 1.

Procedure

For Study 2, participants completed the survey online through YourMorals.org. The MSS

was accessible to anyone who signed up for the online survey platform YourMorals.org and thus

completed the MSS at the participants' convenience. There was no compensation for

participation in the study. Survey data was collected over the period 1/10/20 to 3/3/20.

Potential research subjects visit YM, register with the website, and are presented with a variety of psychological and social science scales and measures to respond to. Research subjects chose this study evaluating masculinity and online behavior, and after completing a consent form, participants were presented with the Male Supremacy items (see *Appendix A*) in random order. After completing the MSS items, participants completed a demographics form and were debriefed and thanked for their participation. IRB approval was granted by University of California Irvine in order to collect pilot test data.

Since Study 2 had a more appropriate sample for the narrowing of items for a final version of the MSS scale, the same procedure was replicated from Study 1 using the YM sample to narrow down the scale. Data from Study 2 was first analyzed using an EFA, followed by a second EFA to evaluate factor loadings, and finally a CFA was run to determine the scale's factor structure, reliability, and convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity. The model's comparative fit index (CFI), its root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and Bayesian information criterion (BIC) were assessed to determine how well the model performs.

When running the EFAs, direct oblimin rotation was used because items in the MSS are hypothesized to capture different components of a more general male supremacist ideology. To establish the homogeneity of the scale, inter-item correlations examined the average of the inter-item correlations as well as their distribution, and correlation matrices of all items were used to determine factor classification.

Results

Factor Analysis Results. For Study 2, the same factor analytic procedures were deployed in order to develop a scale to measure male supremacy. Though Study 1 was useful for

developing the process, all procedures were started anew in Study 2 in order to develop the MSS with a more appropriate sample. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted and factor loadings were evaluated, ultimately paring down the initial pool of 79 items to 15 items divided evenly among three factors. The first EFA determined which factors are present in the data by using a Very Simple Structure (VSS) analysis (Revelle & Rocklin, 1979). The VSS suggested that a minimum BIC of -24214.64 would be obtained with three factors. Additionally, a principle components analysis (PCA) was conducted with an oblimin rotation and was graphed with the Eigenvalues on a scree plot (see *Figure 8* below).

Visual examination of the scree plot revealed that, as in Study 1, three factors again emerged from the original set of items. The factors reflected the same underlying constructs as in Study 1, though Study 2 was able to cull the items down to a 15-item scale with 5 items evenly distributed across the three subscales, as opposed to Study 1's 30-item scale. There was a fourth factor that arguably could have been included - a set of items that measured toxic masculine ideas about power dynamics in social situations - but ultimately these items mirrored Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 1994) so closely that it was deemed unnecessary to include. Thus, based on both the VSS and the scree plot, three factors were extracted with the first EFA.

Figure 8.
Scree plot showing the eigenvalues from a PCA of all male supremacy items.
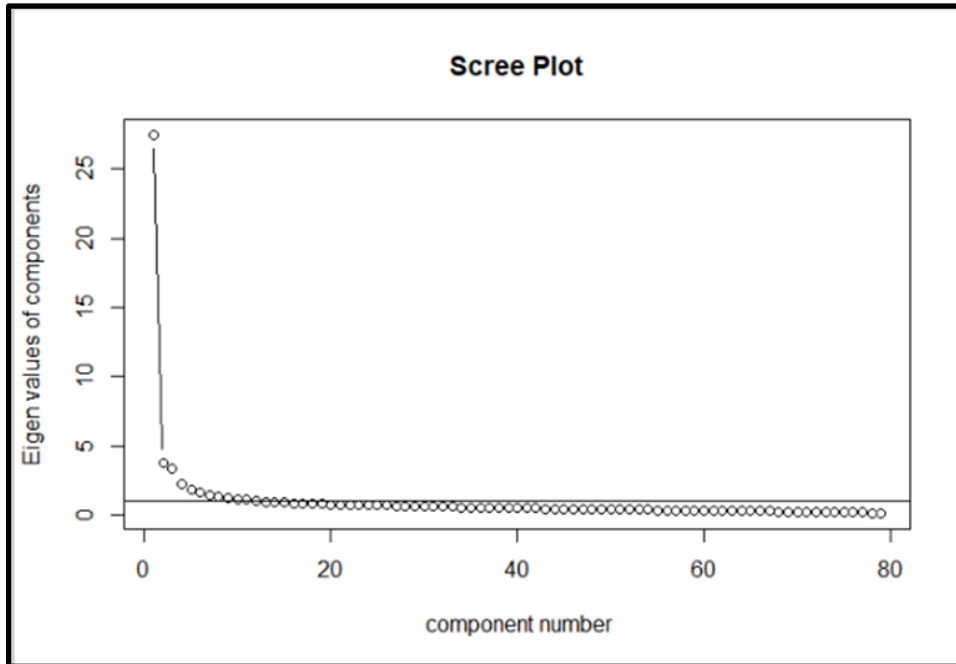
After conducting the initial EFA, factor loadings were examined and poorly performing items were eliminated if their largest factor loading was less than 0.4, or if they had a significant cross-loading on multiple factors. This criteria reduced the initial pool from 79 items to 15 items. A second EFA was run on only these items, which found that the items grouped into three factors (see *Table 4* below).

Table 4.
Factor loadings for the final 15 items - three factors related to male supremacy.

Item	Factor 1: *Anti-Feminism*	Factor 2: *Women Like Alphas*	Factor 3: *Female Dishonesty*
Feminism is about hating men	**.79**	.05	.13
Modern society prioritizes women over men	**.71**	.13	.07

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Feminists are unattractive	**.74**	.11	.10
Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men	**.83**	.01	.06
Feminists are seeking to control men	**.83**	.07	.04
Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible	.10	**.72**	.09
Women cannot help being attracted to rich men	.05	**.59**	.16
Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are	.04	**.63**	.14
Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status	.02	**.68**	.12
Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women	.15	**.51**	.05
If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand	.14	.04	**.55**
In a relationship, women are less trustworthy than men	.20	.06	**.53**
Men in romantic relationships need to be constantly on guard for cheating	.18	-.01	**.57**
Women have a biological drive to cheat on their partners	.00	.26	**.60**
You can't trust women to be faithful in relationships	.09	.05	**.70**

Note: Bolded numbers indicate factor loadings.

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To test the fit of the final items, a CFA was conducted with three latent factors corresponding to the factors from the EFA results. Each of the final 15 items was modeled as loading onto the latent factor it was most closely associated with in the EFA results. This model was a good fit for the data, CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.05, SRMR = 0.03. The Cronbach's alpha for the 15-item MSS in Study 2 is α = .932, indicating very strong internal consistency for the MSS.

The three subscales that emerged from the factor analysis were: Female Dishonesty, Anti-Feminism, and Women are Attracted to Alphas. Remarkably, these factors emerged in Study 1 as well, though Study 2 was able to arrive at the same factors using half as many items. Although the MSS does not contain items from all 8 themes reflective of the online ethnographic research, several of the themes show up in items interspersed throughout the MSS. For example, the logics underpinning Biologically Justified Sexism - the theme described in Chapter 2 as being composed of evolutionary psychology concepts and essentializing the two sexes on the basis of their biology, anatomy, and hormones - can be seen in the item *Women have a biological drive to cheat on their partners*. Or the theme of hypergamy - the pseudoscientific notion derived from evolutionary psychology that because of women's biology, their core desire is to have sex with the best, most evolutionarily fit men possible and have children with them - showing up in many of the items in the MSS subscale *Women Like Alphas*. The MSS successfully captures many different components of the 8 themes observed through the online ethnographic research, while being a relatively short instrument.

The Female Dishonesty (FD) factor mostly contains items that described beliefs related to romance, infidelity, and sexual relationships. These items are:

1. If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand
2. In a relationship, women are less trustworthy than men

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3. Men in romantic relationships need to be constantly on guard for cheating

4. Women have a biological drive to cheat on their partners

5. You can't trust women to be faithful in relationships

One of the foundational beliefs of male supremacy is the inherent duplicitousness of women; they cannot be trusted, they are always scheming and plotting in order to either get the upper hand in the relationship or to move onto the bigger, better man; and you, as the Man in this situation, must constantly be on-guard, must be hypervigilant, and must never let your guard down with the woman you are involved with romantically. These traits and this lens for seeing women justifies and rationalizes the differential treatment they receive in society. The underlying logic to this subscale is that women are worse, scientifically, and so of course they are treated differently than men. Men can be trusted in relationships, men do not have a biological drive to cheat on their partners. But the item *If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand* is touching on a different concept than the trust and infidelity items; that item captures an idea that is pervasive in PUA and Red Pill online communities, namely the transactional view of relationships as a calculated negotiation between men's resources (their commitment) and women's resources (their sexuality). Together, these items not only paint a picture of what a male supremacist thinks it is like to be in a relationship, but also underscores the inherent inferiority of women compared to men. Importantly, these character flaws attributed to women are described as biological, genetic, fixed-behaviors that apply to all women.

The Anti-Feminism (AF) factor captures the feelings that male supremacists have towards feminism and feminists. These items are:

1. Feminism is about hating men

2. Modern society prioritizes women over men

3. Feminists are unattractive

4. Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men

5. Feminists are seeking to control men

While two of the five items are straightforwardly anti-feminism/feminists - *Feminism is about hating men* and *Feminists are unattractive* - the other three items in this subscale exhibit conspiratorial thinking regarding both what feminists are attempting to do - *Feminists are seeking to control men* - and what feminists are trying to accomplish through feminism - *Feminists are seeking to control men* and *Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men*. To frame feminism as being about hating and controlling men, and argue that feminism is a modern guise to manipulate society, implicitly argues for the type of gendered social relations that are non-feminist, that are anti-feminist, that are, in a word, patriarchal.

Finally, the Women Like Alphas (WLA) factor contains a variety of items that explore hypermasculinity, as well as how male supremacists imagine women feel about men who are dominant, aggressive, and high status. These items are:

1. Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible

2. Women cannot help being attracted to rich men

3. Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are

4. Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status

5. Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women

Of the three items in the WLA subscale that touch on status - *Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible, Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are*, and *Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status*

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- the first two once again underscore the biological, instinctual aspect of this predilection. It is not just that women prefer men with higher status, it is that their nature wills them to those who have higher status; women are seen in male supremacist ideology as more impacted by their biology than men are (Denes, 2011), and thus succumb to their primal nature as mother and (unfaithful/untrustworthy) romantic partner.

The other two items in the WLA subscale introduce proxies for status, money and testosterone - *Women cannot help being attracted to rich men* and *Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women*. So here we now round out the conception of what it is to ascend to the contemporary hegemonic masculine ideal: a rich, high testosterone, high status male. The testosterone item in particular is meant to draw on that same biological determinism and fixed/genetic essentialist narrative that runs as a current throughout the MSS, underscoring the new ways that masculinity is defined in this online male supremacist space. It is a scientific argument for being Manly. Nevermind that many women have higher testosterone levels than many men, or that testosterone levels vary greatly within the same man over the course of a month. The science does not matter as much as the symbolic meaning of being High Testosterone; that is a discreet, subliminal way of talking about strength, size, and being physically imposing.

WLA items are presenting an image of what it is to be an acceptable man in society; it is framed as a prescriptive - here is what women want, so do this - but in reality, it is a projection of what these men aspire to be. Male supremacists want to be wanted by women because that is the ultimate validation of one's masculinity, and so they hold themselves and each other to this standard of masculinity that demands a constant display of one's status relative to the other men in the room, all for the sake of being validated by a woman. The online male supremacy

community - in particular, the incel and PUA communities - use a slang term called *mogging* which is a verb-form of the term AMOG (Alpha Male of the Group) to describe the act of dominating another person in a social situation, i.e. "that guy came up and mogged me right as I started talking to Amy," (Mogging, 2021). Often mogging is discussed in the context of a high status "alpha male" humiliating a low status man; note then the ways that the WLA items highlight the importance of being high status, demonstrating one's high status to women and to the other men with whom they are competing for status.

The correlations between the three subscales were all statistically significant. The Anti-Feminism subscale and the Female Dishonesty subscale were found to be positively correlated, $r(1,124) = .62, p < .001$; the Anti-Feminism subscale and the Women Like Alphas subscale were found to be positively correlated, $r(1,119) = .60, p < .001$; and the Female Dishonesty subscale and Women Like Alphas subscale were found to be positively correlated, $r(1,119) = .55, p < .001$. The subscales also demonstrated strong internal validity, with the Female Dishonesty subscale having a Cronbach's alpha of .849, the Anti-Feminism subscale having a Cronbach's alpha of .935, and the Women Like Alphas subscale having a Cronbach's alpha of .859. The Study 2 sample mean male supremacy score was 230.75, SD = 67.88.

Note that all data analysis for Studies 1-4 will evaluate the MSS in terms of the whole scale, and not evaluate subscales separately. Male supremacy is an ideology, it is a worldview, and as such it demands all components be aggregated in order to create a coherent image. To understand a male supremacist's problem with feminists separate from their inherent distrust of women is incoherent, for example. The subscales illuminate an interesting tri-part structure of male supremacy, but they do not operate in isolation of one another; male supremacy demands the denial of feminist philosophy because it is antithetical to the patriarchal social order; male

supremacy utilizes erroneous beliefs about women to undermine their trustworthiness and their humanity, ultimately justifying and rationalizing the patriarchal social order; male supremacy, by attempting to define masculinity by what women want men to be, produces its own vision for masculinity and an ideal to aspire to. All three of these concepts undergird male supremacy as a whole, and should not be interpreted separately. Hence why data analysis of the MSS in Study 1 and subsequent studies will only include evaluations of the total MSS, and not the three subscales that comprise it.

Construct Validity Results for Study 2. The YourMorals sample (n = 1,170) was large enough and had a sufficient number of men to help establish construct validity for the MSS. In terms of the hypotheses laid out in the beginning of Chapter 3, Study 2 only assessed Hypotheses 1 through 7 in order to establish construct validity and determine the MSS in relation to political identity. Studies 3 and 4 will evaluate the MSS in relation to construct-relevant scales.

Hypothesis 1. As predicted, men (m = 252.66, SD = 69.38) scored significantly higher than women (m = 208.06, SD = 57.21) on the male supremacy score, $t(1145) = 11.80$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.70$. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the effect of sex on total male supremacy scores. The effect of sex on total male supremacy scores was significant at the $p < .05$ level [$t(1,145) = 11.80$, $p < .001$, $d = .70$]. As predicted, men in the sample endorsed male supremacy at significantly higher levels compared to women.

Hypothesis 2. As predicted for the total sample, people who identify as heterosexual (m = 238.85, SD = 68.38) scored higher on the aggregate male supremacy score compared to homosexuals (m = 217.47, SD = 74.50) and bisexuals (m = 197.03, SD = 69.72). A one-way ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of sexual orientation on total male supremacy

scores among the total sample at the $p < .05$ level for the 3 conditions [$F(2, 984) = 22.60$, p <.001, $\eta^2 = .04$].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-group effect is mostly driven by the difference between heterosexuals (m = 238.85, SD = 68.38) compared to bisexuals (m = 197.03, SD = 69.72). While heterosexuals in Study 2 (m = 238.85, SD = 68.38) scored slightly higher than homosexuals (m = 217.47, SD = 74.50), these results missed the statistical threshold of significance (MD = 21.38, SD = 9.30, $p = .06$).

Hypothesis 3. Contrary to hypothesis 3A's prediction, subjects in the total sample who indicated their relationship status was *Single* (m = 234.14, SD = 75.55) scored slightly higher on male supremacy than people who were *In a relationship* (m = 227.52, SD = 73.51), and those who said they were *Married* (m = 229.05, SD = 61.54). However, singles in Study 2 were slightly lower on male supremacy than those whose relationship status is *Friends with benefits* (m = 235.35, SD = 72.22). A one-way ANOVA showed no statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the groups, $F(3, 1029) = .625$, $p = .60$.

To evaluate this same construct a different way, a two-way ANOVA was conducted to analyze the effect of sex and relationships status on the aggregate male supremacy score. A two-way ANOVA revealed that there was not a significant interaction between the effects of sex and relationship status on male supremacy [$F(6, 1021) = .574$, $p = .751$]. Simple main effects analysis showed that sex has a large statistically significant effect on male supremacy scores (p <.001), but relationship status did not have a statistically significant effect on male supremacy scores ($p = .381$). Further evaluating sex and relationship status, a two-way ANOVA showed that the pairwise comparison of single men to single women was strongly statistically significant (MD = 54.33, SE = 6.61, p <.001, 95% CI [41.36, 67.30]), likely driven by the difference

between men and women, and not the difference between the various relationship statuses. In summary, a person's relationship status does not impact their endorsement of male supremacist ideology.

Hypothesis 4. As predicted for the total Study 2 sample, single people's unhappiness about their single status was significantly related to their male supremacy score, such that the more strongly they disliked their single status, the higher their male supremacy score, $(b = -.13,$ $t(430) = -2.72, p = .007, R^2_{adj} = .02)$. However, this effect was not very strong. While certain contingents of the male supremacist community may be particularly displeased with their single status, e.g. incels, other male supremacists do not share that same mentality about singledom, ultimately muddling the results.

Establishing Convergent/Discriminant Validity and Construct-relevance for Study 2:

Hypothesis 5. As predicted for the total Study 2 sample (n = 1,001), subjects who reported either voting for Trump in 2016 or would have voted for Trump in 2016 had a significantly higher aggregate male supremacy score than subjects who reported voting for anyone else (see *Figure 9* below). A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the total sample's intention to vote for the presidential candidate Donald Trump (m = 288.62, SD = 64.99), Hilary Clinton (m = 199.59, SD = 55.82), or Someone Else (m = 241.36, SD = 70.44) on one's total male supremacy score. There was a significant effect of presidential candidate choice on male supremacy score at the *p* <.05 level for the three conditions [$F(2, 998)$ = 163.37, *p* <.001, η^2 = .25]. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the male supremacy score for subjects reporting voting for Trump was significantly higher than those who voted for Clinton (MD = 89.03, SE = 5.01, *p* <.001) or Someone Else (MD = 47.27,

SE =5.63, *p* <.001). Taken together, these results suggest that people who voted for or would have voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 election endorse significantly more male supremacist ideas than those people who voted for or would have voted for Hillary Clinton or a third-party candidate.

Figure 9.
Total MSS score comparing who one voted for in the 2016 US presidential election (n = 1,001).

Total MSS Score by Presidential Voting Preference in 2016
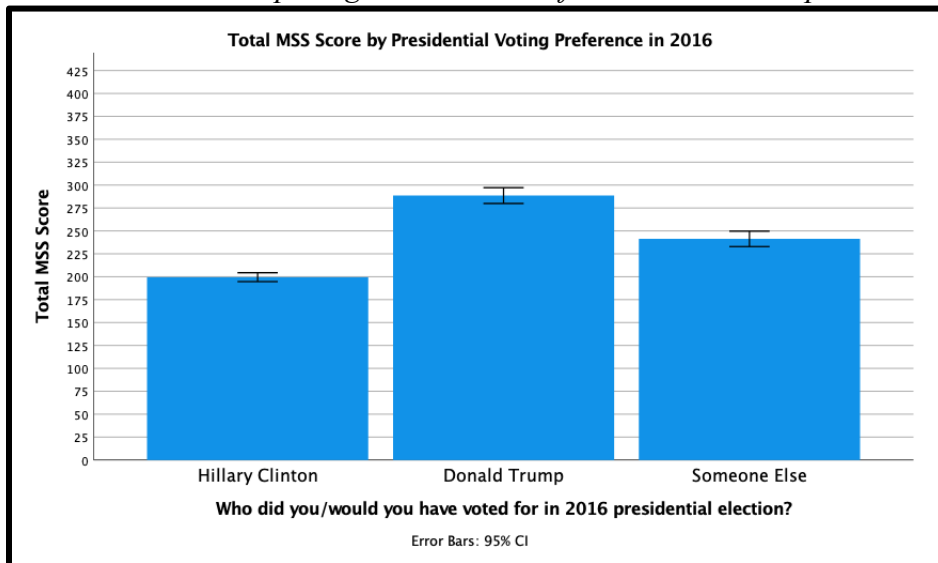
Hypothesis 6. As predicted, for the total Study 2 sample there is a positive, statistically significant relationship between Conservative political ideology and aggregate male supremacy scores. A linear regression was calculated to predict total male supremacy scores based on political ideology. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for subjects who are more politically Conservative indicating higher male supremacy scores, *b* = .48, *t*(1,034) = 17.50, *p* <.001. Subjects self-reporting a Conservative political ideology explained a significant portion of variance in total male supremacy scores, R^2$_{adj}$ = .23, F(1, 1,033) = 306.25, *p* <.001.

Looking at the total Study 2 sample's support for specific political parties - and not political ideology - there is also a strong significant relationship between support for the

Republican party and total male supremacy scores - more so than any other political party identification, and dramatically more so for men who support the Democratic party. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the total sample's political party support on male supremacy, looking at Democrats, Republicans, Independents, Other party, No preference, and No answer. There was a significant effect of political party support on male supremacy scores at the $p <.05$ level for the 6 conditions [$F(5, 1,139) = 31.14$, $p <.001$, $\eta^2 = .12$].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean male supremacy score for people supporting the Republican party (m = 271.47, SD = 59.03) was significantly higher than either people identifying as Democrats (m = 199.10, SD = 52.49), people identifying as *Independents* (m = 237.03, SD = 72.70), those whose party preference is *Other Party* (m = 221.60, SD = 69.29), people who indicated *No Preference* when asked about political party identification (m = 239.25, SD = 55.42), and subjects who chose *No Answer* when asked about political party preference (m = 244.38, SD = 71.25) in this sample (see *Figure* 10 below). Democrats (m = 199.10, SD = 52.49) were the lowest in male supremacy of any political party affiliation, differing most significantly from Republicans (MD = -72.37, SE = 6.44, *p* <.001), but also differing significantly from all other political party identifications except *Other Party* (*Independents*: MD = -37.92, SE = 5.14, *p* <.001; *No Preference*: -40.15, SE = 7.55, *p* <.001; *No Answer*: MD = -45.28, SE = 5.32, *p* <.001). Taken together, we see a strong through-line of male supremacy for both Conservative ideology and Republican party support.

Figure 10.
Political Party support by total MSS scores for total sample (n = 1,144).

Study 2 Subjects' Total MSS Score by Political Party Identification

Error Bars: 95% CI
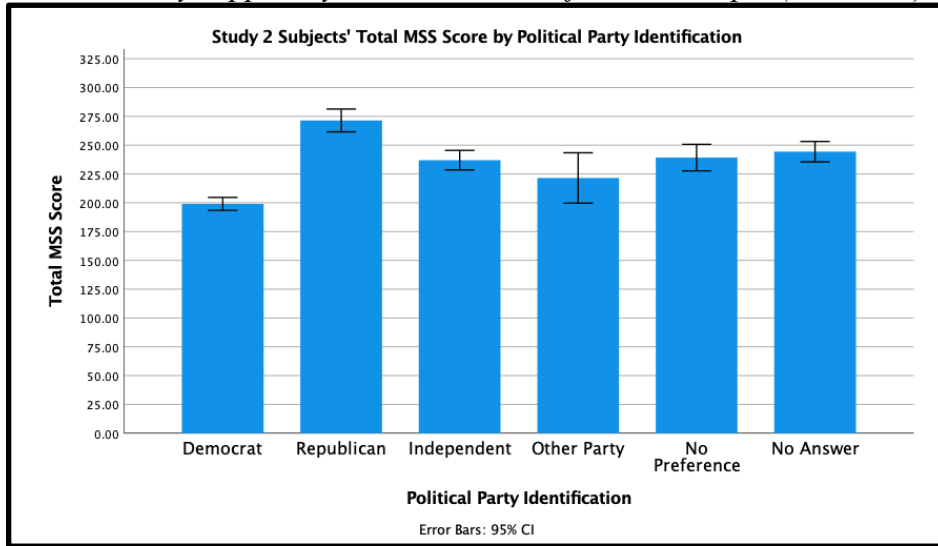
   Hypothesis 7. Contrary to hypothesis 7A, the total sample in Study 2 saw an equally

strong relationship between male supremacy and conservative political orientation on social

issues as with conservative political orientation on economic issues. A linear regression was

conducted to predict total male supremacy scores based on the total sample's political positions

on economic issues and social issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for

endorsing conservative thinking on both social issues ($b = .32$, $t(1,013) = 10.18$, $p < .001$) and

economic issues ($b = .32$, $t(1,013) = 10.18$, $p < .001$). The sample's political orientation on social

and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores,

$R^2_{adj} = .32$, $F(2, 1,011) = 240.56$, $p < .001$. Male supremacy and the nature of gendered social

relations are social issues more so than economic issues, however, the total sample showed that

both issues were equally related to male supremacy.

  Contrary to hypothesis 7B, for men in Study 2 there is a slightly stronger relationship

between male supremacy and conservative political orientation on economic issues than there is

for conservative political orientation on social issues, though both are strongly related to male

supremacy. A linear regression was conducted to predict total male supremacy scores based on

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men's political positions on economic issues and social issues. A regression analysis revealed a significant effect for endorsing conservative thinking on both economic issues ($b = .36$, $t(505) = 8.53$, $p < .001$) and social issues ($b = .31$, $t(505) = 7.40$, $p < .001$). Men's political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .34$, $F(2, 503) = 131.90$, $p < .001$. This finding did not confirm Hypothesis 6, that for men there will be a stronger relationship between male supremacy and political orientation on social issues, rather than on economic issues). Male supremacy and the nature of gendered social relations are social issues more so than economic issues; however, the difference between the social and economic variables in this calculation was small enough that they can be considered essentially equally important for men in this sample.

For women in Study 2, there is a stronger relationship between male supremacy and conservative political orientation on social issues than there is for conservative political orientation on economic issues, though both are related to male supremacy. A linear regression was conducted to predict total male supremacy scores based on women's political positions on economic issues and social issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for endorsing conservative thinking on both social issues ($b = .38$, $t(460) = 6.32$, $p < .001$) and economic issues ($b = .13$, $t(460) = 1.09$, $p = .04$). Women's political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .23$, $F(2, 458) = 70.67$, $p < .001$. Male supremacy and the nature of gendered social relations are social issues more so than economic issues, and women in Study 2 reflected that notion.

Male Supremacy and Race. The number of total Study 2 subjects (n = 1,120) distributed throughout the YM sample racial-ethnically was too imbalanced to draw any firm conclusions. Those who identified as White/Caucasian (n = 732) comprised 71.8% of the sample, with the

next highest being Multi-ethnic/Multi-racial (n = 113) at 11.1%, and East Asian (n = 41) at 4%.

A one-way ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the racial-ethnic groups, $F(8,1011) = 2.53$, $p = .010$, $\eta^2 = .02$. This difference is largely driven by the large differences between African Americans (m = 200.53, SD = 63.36) compared to both *East Asian* (MD = -54.32, SE = 16.32, $p = .025$) and to a lesser degree *South or West Asian* (MD = -52.70, SE = 17.08, $p = .053$) groups. In this Study 2 sample, African Americans expressed lower amounts of male supremacy compared to East Asians; however, the number of East Asian Study 2 participants (n = 41) is too low to draw any firm conclusions.

The number of men (n = 547) distributed throughout the YM sample racial-ethnically was too imbalanced to draw any firm conclusions. Those who identified as White/Caucasian (n = 414) comprised 76% of the sample, with the next highest being Multi-ethnic/Multi-racial (n = 49) at 9%, and East Asian (n = 22) at 3.6%. A one-way ANOVA showed no statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the male-only groups, $F(8,538) = 1.35$, $p = .215$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

The number of women (n = 453) distributed throughout the YM sample racial-ethnically was too imbalanced to draw any firm conclusions. Those who identified as White/Caucasian (n = 306) comprised 67.4% of the sample, with the next highest being Multi-ethnic/Multi-racial (n = 61) at 13.4%, and African American (n = 26) at 5.7%. A one-way ANOVA showed no statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the female-only groups, $F(6,447) = 1.99$, $p = .065$, $\eta^2 = .03$.

Discussion

After developing the initial data analysis strategy in the pilot (Study 1), the YourMorals sample in Study 2 offered the opportunity to run the same factor analysis procedures with a larger (n = 1,170) sample, with a large enough number of men (n = 608) to draw reliable conclusions about a potential instrument to measure male supremacy.

Similar to the pilot, Study 2 used a combination of Principal Component Analysis (PCA), Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to pare down the Male Supremacy Scale (MSS). This model was a good fit for the data (CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.05, SRMR = 0.03), and pared down the MSS from 79 items and 8 subscales, ultimately arriving at a 3-factor model equally distributing 15 total items across the following 3 subscales: Anti-Feminism (AF), Female Dishonesty (FD), Women Like Alphas (WLA).

Although there is no way to untangle the years of work on developing the MSS from the years of reading, writing, and research on male supremacy, it is quite remarkable how the factors that emerged from the MSS reflect the conceptual definitions of male supremacy found in the literature. The MSS's three subscales capture the critical elements of the patriarchal system, and each of them represents in their own way the components that define male supremacy. To better understand and visualize the relationships between Patriarchy, Male Supremacy, and Hegemonic Masculinity, Figures 8-10 depict the structures of each and the beliefs and behaviors that uphold these constructs. Figure 9 reflects the organizing principle that Kate Mann (2018) uses to describe the Patriarchy (a system of gendered social relations) that is upheld by two concepts: Sexism (a body of ideas that rationalizes and justifies the patriarchal social order), and Misogyny (the policing, harassing, and bullying of women and girls who challenge the patriarchal social order). This multifaceted definition of Patriarchy is particularly appealing because it captures both the ideas and behaviors that perpetuate patriarchy. The Male Supremacy Scale uses the

conceptual structure that Manne has developed and applies it to Male Supremacy (see *Figure 8* below), as well as to the Hegemonic Masculine Ideal (see *Figure 10*), which is also supported by both sexist ideas and policing/harassing/bullying behaviors, i.e. toxic masculinity.

As discussed in the introduction, male supremacy in this dissertation is understood as the combination of toxic masculinity and the particular sexist beliefs that are aimed at upholding the patriarchal social order (See *Figure 11* below). These three structures - patriarchy, patriarchal-sexism, and toxic masculinity - can be overlaid on the Male Supremacy Scale's three subscales.

Figure 11.
Structure of male supremacy, sexism, and toxic masculinity.
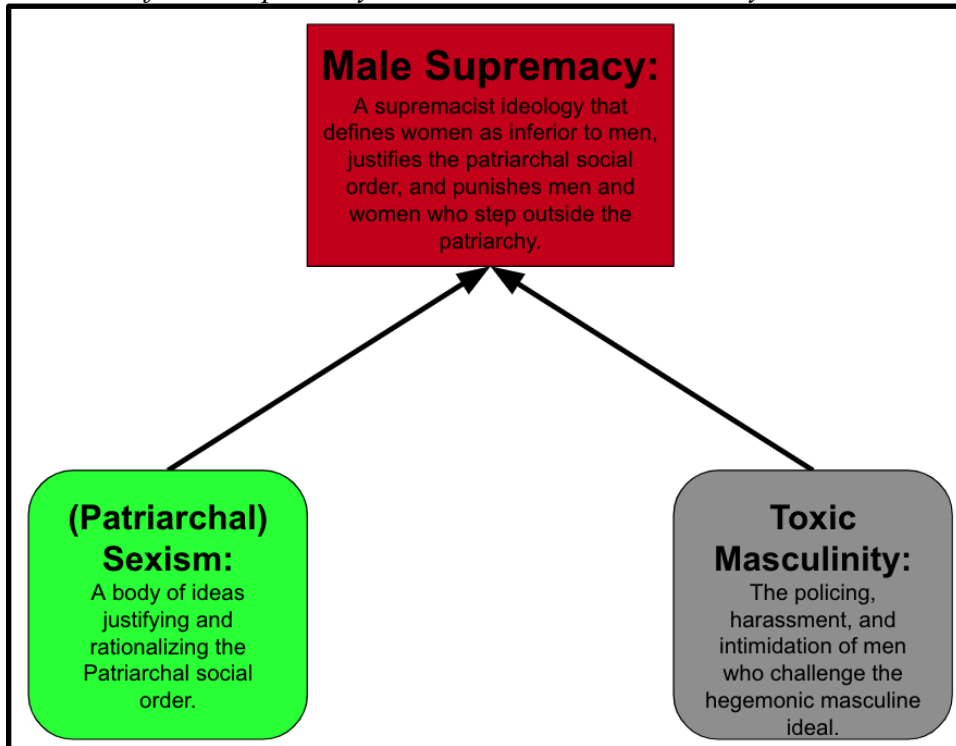
The Anti-Feminism subscale parallels this concept of Patriarchy (see *Figure 12* below) in that feminism is a direct challenge to the patriarchal system of gendered social relations. Feminism highlights the oppressive, abusive, discriminatory nature of this system, and proposes

a myriad of correctives for it. Feminism stands in direct opposition to Patriarchy; if there is an

underlying philosophy to anti-feminism, a logic that underpins those AF subscale items, the

system that this philosophy would promote is Patriarchy.

Figure 12.
Structure of patriarchy, sexism, and misogyny.

Patriarchy:
A system of gendered social relations that elevates (some) men to positions of power/authority and denies women positions of power/authority.

(Patriarchal) Sexism:
A body of ideas justifying and rationalizing the Patriarchal social order.

Misogyny:
Threats, harassment, and intimidation for women challenging the Patriarchal social order.
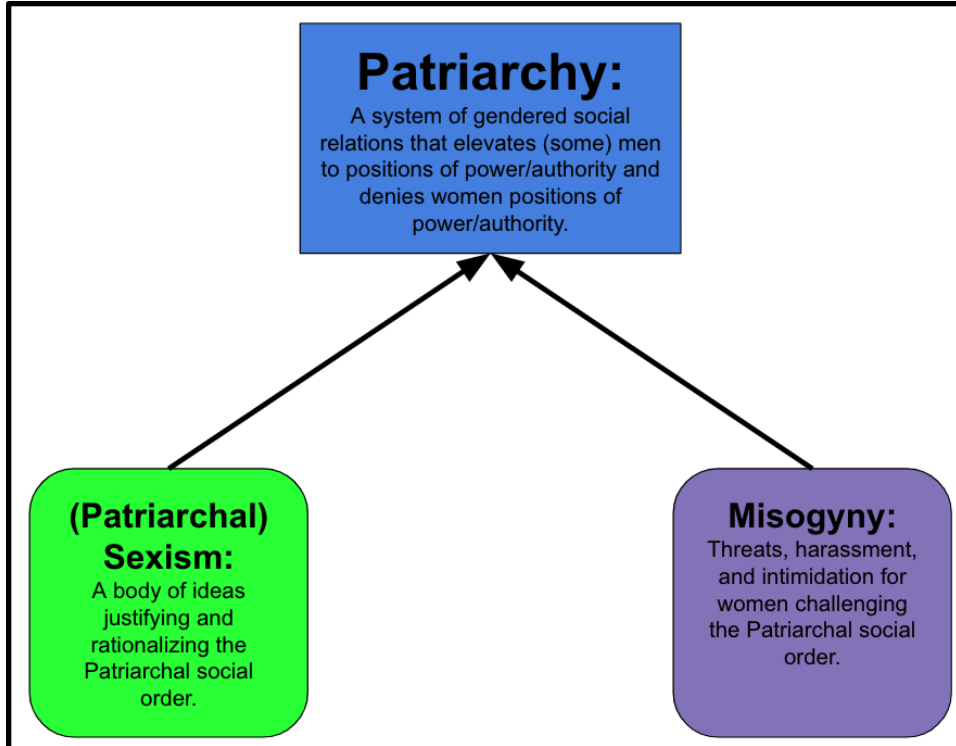
The Female Dishonesty (FD) subscale maps onto the Patriarchal-Sexism component of

Male Supremacy. The items contained in the FD subscale are the justifications and

rationalizations for why women are to be kept from positions of power and authority: they are

dishonest and not to be trusted, they have a predisposition for scheming and plotting even and

especially against those they are in romantic relationships with, and most damning of all, these

character flaws are biological, they are genetic, they are fixed and predetermined. The items that

comprise the FD subscale are meant to capture the male supremacist vision of who a woman is in

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a relationship (because of course all women are the same), and why romantic entanglements must be treated as adversarial. This is also why women must not be allowed into positions of power or authority - they are born morally inferior.

And finally, the Women Like Alphas (WLA) subscale presents a vision for what toxic masculinity is trying to produce with its policing of male behavior. WLA items present an argument - that women prefer men who are a certain type of way - and thus, if you want the approval of women (which of course you do), then you need to behave like so: be rich, be high in testosterone, and be high in social status. Toxic masculinity, like Patriarchy and Sexism, is a multi-faceted term that requires a lot of unpacking, so of course five items are not going to cover all components of toxic masculinity. But the WLA subscale captures the biological determinism and the pseudo-scientific interpretation of evolutionary psychology principles that underlies hegemonic masculine-sexism.

The combination of status and testosterone covers most of the domains of behavior that toxic masculinity is trying to promote; physically, be tough, strong, big, intimidating, and cultivate your capacity for violence; socially, be successful, powerful, dominant (not submissive), aggressive, competitive, and are the one controlling whatever relationships you have and whatever social situations you are in. If you add in the logics that underlie Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 1994), the fourth factor of the MSS that was ultimately removed, you can round out the full picture of the ideology that underlies toxic masculinity (See *Figure 13* below).

Figure 13.
Structure of hegemonic masculinity, sexism, and toxic masculinity.
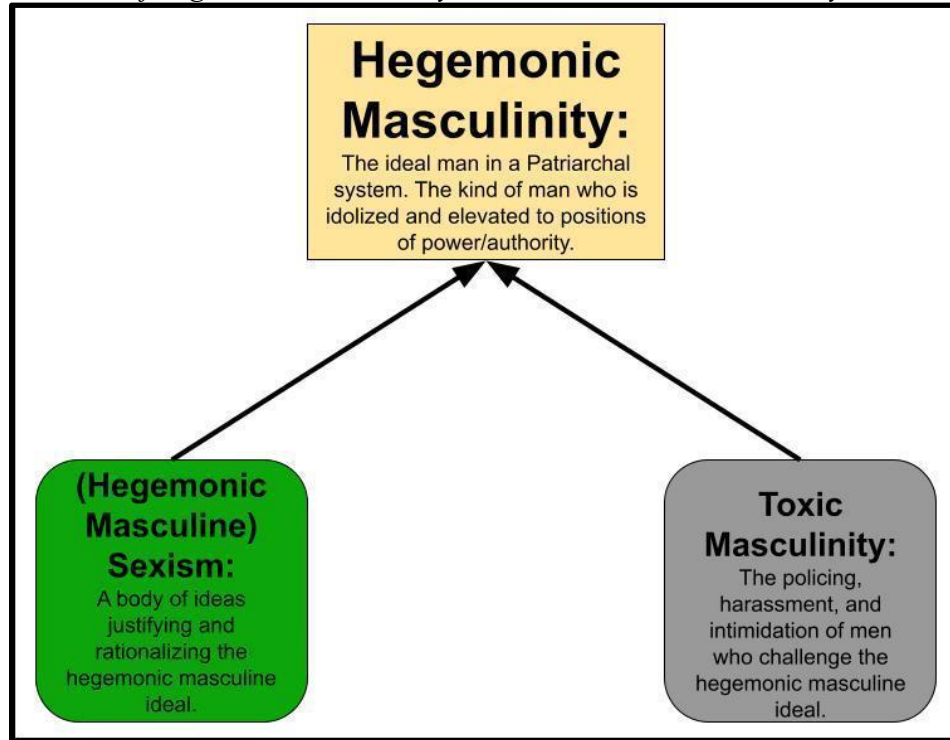
The 3-factor, 15-item Male Supremacy Scale (MSS) is the product of two studies worth of factor analyses and scale refinement, though Study 1 was merely a pilot study to establish factor analytic procedures and evaluate a general structure for the MSS. As a model the MSS fits the data well, and conceptually reflects the logics that underlie male supremacy. The hypotheses meant to establish construct validity worked in some instances, but not all. Men scored significantly higher than women, as predicted. Heterosexuals had higher mean scores on the MSS than other sexual orientations, but the results were not very strong. The political orientation and political party questions all looked as expected - male supremacy is strongly associated with Conservative political ideology, Republican party support, and very strongly associated with Trump support. Data collection for Studies 1 and 2 occurred after the Trump campaign/administration, where Trump and the GOP deployed male supremacist talking points and rhetoric widely.

Some of those hypotheses reflect early theorizing that has since evolved over the course of the project. For example, incels feel very negatively about their single status, however, PUA, Red Pill, and now the relatively newer MGTOW community members, all are more enthusiastic about being single. Thus, hypotheses around relationship status and feelings about singledom are muddled by the evolving subdivisions within the Man-O-Sphere. One of the unique challenges of measuring contemporary male supremacy is that male supremacy has existed for a very long time, yet the mediums and platforms through which it is being disseminated have changed dramatically in the last 30 years. Due to social media and the borderless nature of the internet, misogyny is now easier to deploy against women in public facing roles; toxic masculinity is to come across as boys and men browse the digital forums; sexist ideas are spread through radicalizing online networks that reach all ages, and can be stumbled upon by any demographic that spends significant time online.

Male supremacy is an ideology and worldview, one that can shape personality and disposition if accepted and internalized deeply enough. However, this ideology is not inborn the way that a psychological construct like narcissism or openness to new experiences are assumed to be present or potentially present in a person at birth. The content of sexist beliefs that play a part in upholding male supremacy are evolving to reflect contemporary realities - concerns with online dating dynamics, trans rights, and the importance of testosterone for measuring masculinity. This is why measuring male supremacy requires deeply understanding the digital communities that are spurring the growth of new terms and jargon, new frameworks for interpreting romantic relationships, and new models for masculine and feminine identity construction. Though male supremacy has existed for a long time, the rationalizing beliefs and

bullying and harassing behaviors are being updated by the interconnected network of online

males supremacists.

Study 3

Overview

The MSS was refined over the course of two studies, ultimately producing a three-factor

instrument (Anti-Feminism, Female Dishonesty, Women Like Alphas), with five items per

subscale, for a total of 15 items. Study 3 continued to explore and establish construct validity by

testing the 7 hypotheses proposed in the introduction of Chapter 3. Study 3 will also establish

convergent and discriminant validity with the MSS and other instruments that measure constructs

theoretically related to male supremacy, i.e. racial resentment, intellectual humility, moral purity,

and conspiratorial thinking. In addition to those scales, there are a number of items assessing

trust in various people, groups, and institutions, such as Trump, the CDC, social media, and the

Supreme Court.

Method

Participants

This wave of data collection (n = 568) occurred on mTurk. Basic demographics indicate slightly

fewer men (n = 248) participated than women (n = 296), however the distribution of this sample

was more appropriate than Study 1 for drawing inferences about male supremacy. Data on sexual

orientation was not collected in Study 3. The mean age for Study 3's sample was 33.04 (SD =

12.86), very comparable to Study 2's mean age of 32.3 years old (SD = 15.0). The racial-ethnic

breakdown of the sample revealed that most identified as White/Caucasian (58.8%), Asian

(15.3%), Black/African American (8.5%), multi-racial/multi-ethnic (5.6%), LatinX (5.5%), with the other racial-ethnic participants being either Native American (.5%), Middle Eastern (.5%), and Indian (.4%).

Measures

The total aggregated male supremacy score is the key outcome variable of interest. The predictor variables in this study will be the demographic variables - sex, relationship status, political party, political orientation on social issues, political orientation on economic issues, and who the subject voted for or intended to vote for in the 2016 election - as well as construct-relevant scales that will help to establish convergent and discriminant validity, scales measuring Conspiracy Mentality, Intellectual Humility, Moral Purity, and Racial Resentment. It is hypothesized that male supremacy will be related to high levels of conspiratorial thinking, moral purity, and racial resentment, as well as low levels of intellectual humility.

Male Supremacy Scale. The Male Supremacy Scale (MSS) is a 15-item scale, broken down into three subscales (Anti-Feminism, Female Dishonesty, and Women Like Alphas) that are comprised of 5 items each (See *Appendix C* for complete list of MSS items). Note that in the *Women Like Alphas* subscale for Study 3 and Study 4, one item *Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women* was replaced with the item *Women are attracted to high status men*. Though the Cronbach's Alpha was not affected at all by the switch from one item to the other (removing either item would reduce the Cronbach's Alpha score for the MSS from .936 to .933), the corrected item-total correlation was slightly stronger with *Women are attracted to high status men* (item-total correlation = .62) compared to *Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women* (item-total correlation = .59).

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Conspiracy Mentality Scale. The Conspiracy Mentality Scale (CMS) is a 20-item scale, containing two subscales: Irrational Skepticism (IS) and Rational Skepticism (RS) (Stojanov & Halberstadt, 2019). The IS subscale (16 items) captures a general approach to the world in which significant social or political events are explained as the workings of a powerful agent with malevolent goals, and the official truth is regarded as an illusion (ex: *There is secret planning and manipulation going on to make bad things happen*). The RS subscale (4 items) taps into a more rational or healthy skepticism about the world, arguing that humans have evolved to be suspicious because it is adaptive (ex: *Many things happen without the public's knowledge*). Juxtaposed to irrational skepticism, which reflects the point at which rational suspicion morphs into nihilism and becomes maladaptive. The CMS uses a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree'.

Intellectual Humility. The 6-item IH Scale is a measure of the degree to which people recognize that their beliefs are fallible (Leary et al., 2017). Intellectual humility (IH) involves acknowledging that one's own convictions might be mistaken, accompanied by an awareness of the limitations in evidence for one's beliefs and of one's own limitations in gathering and evaluating relevant information (ex: *In the face of conflicting evidence, I am open to changing my opinions*). IH is demonstrated both when dealing with matters of fact (for example, realizing that one's memory of a past event or understanding of a scientific fact may be mistaken) and matters of opinion (for example, realizing one's political attitudes, religious beliefs, or cultural values may be incorrect). The IH scale uses a 5-point Likert scale that ranges from 'Not at all like me' to 'Very much like me'.

Moral Purity. The Moral Purity (MP) subscale of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham et al., 2013; Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009) contains 6 items that are meant to capture

the "ethic of divinity". This concept includes moral goods such as purity, sanctity, and the suppression of humanity's baser and more carnal instincts - lust, hunger, and material greed - achieved by cultivating a more spiritual mindset (ex: *People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed*). Virtues of purity and sanctity emphasized in religious communities are also related to disgust and contamination sensitivity, and practices related to purity and pollution serve more than hygienic functions, they also serve social functions. The MP subscale uses a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree'.

Racial Resentment Scale. The Racial Resentment Scale (RRS) captures both White people's feelings towards Blacks people, and their support for American values - particularly secularized versions of the Protestant work ethic (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). The RRS contains three components: anti-black affect, a belief that Black people have not conformed to the Protestant work ethic, and a refusal to acknowledge ongoing discrimination against Black people. The logic underlying the RRS views African Americans as inferior because they do not live up to American values, i.e. the Protestant work ethic, and not because of their inherent, biological inferiority (ex: *Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors*). The RRS uses a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree'.

Trust variables. Developed by University of California Irvine's Hot Cognition Lab, subjects were asked to rate on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from Strongly Distrust to Strongly Trust, "To what extent do you trust _____" and were presented with the following 12 individuals/institutions: President Trump, U.S. Congress, the Supreme Court, Police Departments, State government officials (e.g., State Assembly, Governor), Scientists, Social

media (e.g., Facebook, Instagram), Friends and family, Your personal physician or other health care provider, the CDC, Online news sources (e.g. CNN, Yahoo, NYTimes.com), TV/Radio/Print news.

Feeling thermometers. Using a feeling thermometer, respondents express their feelings in terms of degrees, with their attitudes corresponding to temperatures. A rating of -10, very cold, indicates that a respondent does not like a given person, group, or issue at all; a rating of +10, very warm, translates to the respondent liking that person, group, or issue very much. Feeling thermometers in Study 3 ask subjects to assess on a scale from -10 to +10 how cold to warm subjects feel about: Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Mike Pence, and Kamala Harris.

Demographic variables. The demographic information collected from each participant included: sex (Male, Female, Not listed); age; race-ethnicity (White, Black/African American, LatinX, Asian, Native American, Indian, Middle Eastern, and an open-ended 'Other' option); current relationship status (Single, Friends with benefits, In a relationship, Married); political ideology on social issues (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Very liberal' to 'Very conservative', as well as 'Don't know/not political', and 'Can't pick one'); political ideology on economic issues (a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'Very liberal' to 'Very conservative', as well as 'Don't know/not political', and 'Can't pick one'); who you voted for or would have voted for in the 2016 presidential election (Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and an open-ended 'Other' option); political party affiliation ('Strong Republican' to 'Strong Democrat').

Procedure

The MSS was accessible to anyone who signed up for the online survey platform mTurk and thus completed the MSS at the participants' convenience. There was no compensation for

participation in the study. Survey data was collected from 10/30/2020 to 10/31/2020, and was collected as part of a larger survey to examine a variety of political issues in the days right before the 2020 U.S. Presidential election. For Study 3, participants completed the survey online through MTurk. After completing a consent form, participants were presented with the Male Supremacy items (see *Appendix C*) in random order, along with the Conspiracy Mentality Scale (CMS), Intellectual Humility Scale (IH), the Moral Purity subscale (MP) from the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, the Racial Resentment Scale (RRS), a number of items assessing trust in various groups/institutions, and demographics questions. Participants were asked to respond to each item on a Likert scale, and after completing the survey were debriefed and thanked for their participation. All results will report on male participants (n = 248), female participants (n = 296), and the full Study 3 sample (n = 568).

Study 3 was focused on evaluating the construct validity of the scale, as well as examining convergent validity, discriminant validity, and testing the MSS in relation to construct-relevant scales. Most of the same hypotheses used to establish construct validity for the MSS in Study 2 will be assessed in Study 3, followed by analysis of the MSS in relation to other instruments to assess their relationship to male supremacy. Study 3 collected data on and evaluated Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 3, Hypothesis 5, Hypothesis 6, Hypothesis 12, and Hypothesis 13.

Results

As seen in the previous iteration of the MSS (Study 2), the Cronbach's alpha for the 15-item MSS in Study 3's dataset is $\alpha = .957$, indicating very strong internal consistency for the MSS. The Study 3 overall sample mean male supremacy score was 39.49, SD = 20.53.

Construct Validity Results for Study 3.

Hypothesis 1. Men (m = 49.60, SD = 20.92) scored significantly higher than women (m = 31.34, SD = 16.14) on the aggregate male supremacy score in this sample. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the effect of sex on total male supremacy scores. The effect of sex on total male supremacy scores was significant at the $p < .05$ level [$t(542) = -11.48$, $p < .001$, $d = -.99$]. As expected, men in the sample endorsed male supremacy at significantly higher levels compared to women.

Hypothesis 3. Contrary to Hypothesis 3A, for the total Study 3 sample those who self-reported their relationship status as *Single* (m = 40.87, SD = 21.08) and those who self-reported their relationship status as *Married* (m = 40.83, SD = 20.14) scored almost identically to each other on the MSS, and were both much higher on male supremacy than people who were *Dating for more than 6 months* (m = 31.75, SD = 16.50). A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of relationship status on total male supremacy scores, in individuals who reported their relationships status to be either *Single*, *Dating more than 6 months*, or *Married*. There was also an *Other* category (n = 2) and a *Dating less than 6 months* category (n = 13) that were dropped from analysis because too few individuals reported those relationship statuses. For the remaining groups, there was a significant effect of relationships status on the total male supremacy scores at the $p < .05$ level for the remaining 3 conditions [F(2, 519) = 8.14, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-groups effect is completely driven by the difference between people who self-report their relationship status as dating for longer than 6 months compared to singles (MD = -9.12, SE = 2.36, $p < .001$) and

married people (MD = -9.08, SE = 2.65, p = .002). It appears that for the overall Study 3 sample, male supremacy is almost identical for single and married people, and it is those who are dating for more than 6 months that appear to endorse less male supremacy. This may be that some male supremacists would either reject commitment to a relationship overall (i.e. stay single), or else they would enter into a highly traditional gendered relationship (i.e. married), but would not split the difference by committing to a long-term relationship which lacks the formal trappings of marriage. Given that male supremacy is an ideology with many factions that are ideologically motivated, rigid in their application of said ideology, and varied in their approach to women and society, it appears most likely that the relationship between male supremacy and relationship status is muddled and unclear. For some male supremacists, such as incels and Pickup Artists, romantic-sexual relationships are a key feature and organizing component of their masculine identity, whereas other male supremacists do not center romantic-sexual relationships as much (e.g. MGTOW).

Establishing Convergent/Discriminant Validity and Construct-relevance for Study 3:

Hypothesis 5. As predicted, for the whole Study 3 sample those that indicated they voted for or intended to vote for Donald Trump had higher mean male supremacy scores than presidential voting preference. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of 2020 presidential voting preference on total male supremacy scores, in people who reported voting for or intention to vote for Donald Trump (m = 55.10, SD = 20.26), Joe Biden (m = 33.71, SD = 18.19), or said they are not voting (m = 45.76, SD = 17.43). The other presidential preference options - *Howie Hawkins* (n = 9), *Jo Jorgensen* (n = 13), and *Someone else* (n = 16) - were dropped from analysis due to a low number of responses. There was a significant effect of

presidential voting preference on male supremacy (see *Figure 14* below) at the $p < .05$ level for the remaining 3 conditions [$F(2, 515) = 53.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .17$].

      Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that there is a significant between-groups effect between people who intended to vote for Trump compared to people who intended to vote for Biden (MD = 21.39, SE = 2.18, $p < .001$), as well as for Trump voters compared to those who said *I'm not voting* (m = 9.34, SE = 2.97, $p = .005$).

Figure 14.
Total study sample's MSS score by 2020 presidential candidate voting intention (n = 568).
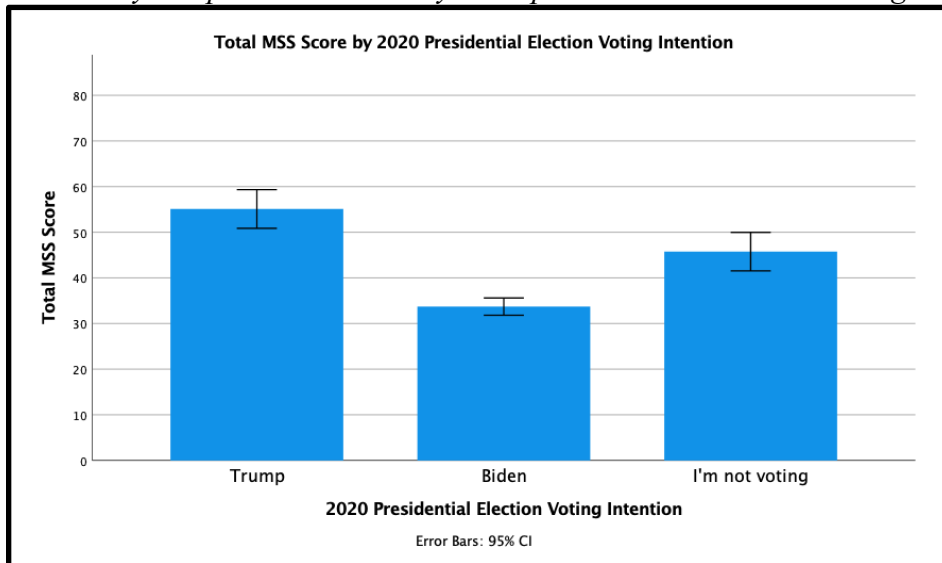
In order to assess the Study 3 total sample's Feeling Thermometer data regarding how they felt about Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden (see *Table 5* below), a linear regression was calculated to predict total male supremacy scores based on feelings towards each group. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect, such that positive feelings towards Donald Trump significantly related to male supremacy scores, $b = .44$, $t(545) = 5.73$, $p < .001$. Feelings towards Trump explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .23$, $F(4, 541) = 42.55$, $p < .001$. In this sample, intention to vote for Trump was

the only one of the predictor variables to be significantly related to male supremacy; even

positive feelings towards Republicans - Donald Trump's political party - was not a predictor of

male supremacy for men. This indicates that there is something unique about feelings towards

Trump for people that is separate and above feelings towards the Republican party that he was

the chosen candidate for.

Table 5.
Linear regression assessing feeling thermometer scores for Democrats, Republicans, Trump, and Biden predicting total male supremacy (n = 545).

Variable	Standardized Beta (*b*)	Significance (*p*)	Unstandardized Beta (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI)
Democrats	-.09	.151	-.31	-.84, .22
Republicans	.05	.499	.18	-.33, .68
Donald Trump	.44	<.001	1.40	.92, 1.88
Joe Biden	.08	.292	.27	-.24, .78
R-Square Adjusted for Model: R^2_{adj} = .23				

A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of political

party affiliation on total male supremacy scores for the whole Study 3 sample, evaluating those

who reported identifying as a Strong Republican, a Republican, Lean Republican, Neither

Republican or Democrat/None/Undecided, Lean Democrat, Democrat, or Strong Democrat.

There was a significant effect of political party affiliation on total male supremacy scores at the *p*

< .05 level for the 7 conditions [$F(6, 544)$ = 25.22, p <.001, η^2 = .22]. These results suggest that

those people who identify as Republican are higher in male supremacy scores than those who

identify as Democrats (see *Figure 15* below).

Figure 15.
Total sample's male supremacy score by political party affiliation (n = 550).
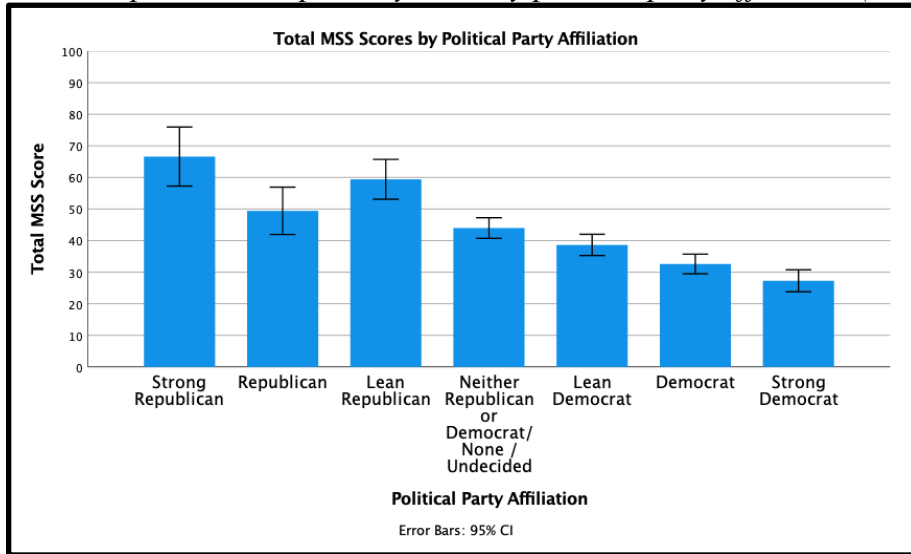
Hypothesis 7. As predicted, for the total Study 3 sample there was a much stronger relationship between male supremacy scores and political orientation on social issues compared to political orientation on economic issues. A linear regression was calculated to evaluate total male supremacy scores based on their political orientation on social issues and economic issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect, such that political orientation on social issues was significantly related to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.45$, $t(550) = -7.37$, $p < .001$]; however, political orientation on economic issues did not significantly relate to male supremacy scores [$b = -.08$, $t(550) = -1.32$, $p = .188$]. Political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .26$, $F(2, 548) = 96.56$, $p < .001$. Political orientation on social issues was the only predictor variable to be significantly related to male supremacy. For Study 3's sample, it is social issues and not economic issues that affect male supremacist thinking.

Hypothesis 12. In order to better understand how male supremacy relates to other psychological constructs, the MSS was evaluated in relation to the Conspiracy Mentality Scale (CMS). When evaluating the total sample's MSS scores in relation to the Conspiracy Mentality Scale (CMS), Study 3 found that the sample's total CMS score significantly predicts their total MSS scores. A linear regression was calculated to examine total male supremacy scores on the MSS by total conspiracy mentality scale scores. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect, which indicates higher scores on the conspiracy mentality scale was significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .42$, $t(561) = 10.81$, $p < .001$. For the total sample in Study 3, conspiratorial thinking explained a significant proportion of variance in their aggregate male supremacy scores (see *Figure 16* below), $R^2_{adj} = .17$, $F(1, 560) = 116.75$, $p < .001$. In addition to assessing the total CMS, linear regressions were also calculated to evaluate the subscales' (Rational and Irrational Suspicion) relationship to total MSS scores.

Figure 16.
Linear regression evaluating total MSS score by the total conspiracy mentality scale (n = 561).
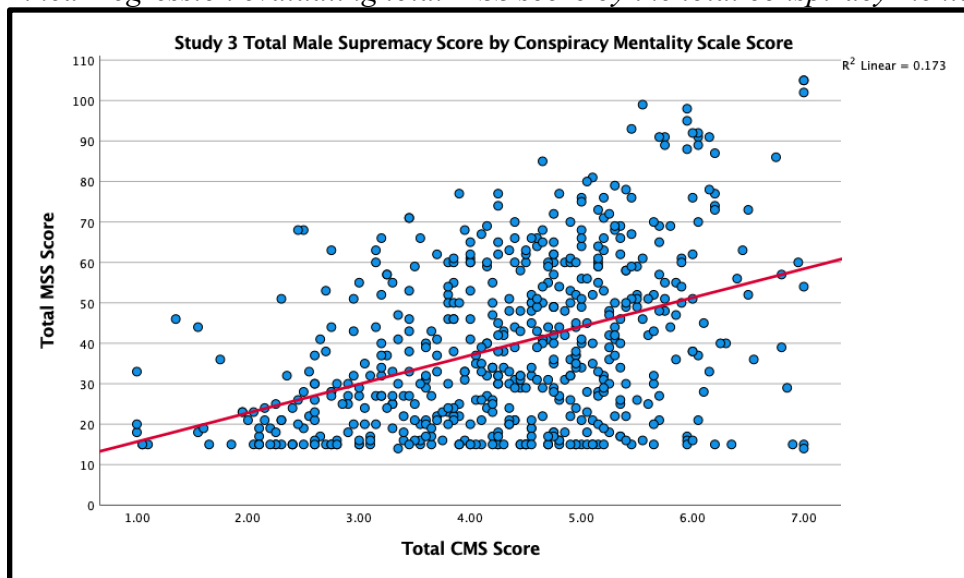
In the Study 3 total sample, higher scores on the Irrational Suspicion subscale was very strongly related to higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale, and higher scores on the Rational Suspicion subscale was significantly related to lower male supremacy scores. Linear regression was used to determine if irrational suspicion and rational suspicion significantly predicted total male supremacy scores. The overall regression was statistically significant $R^2_{adj} = .20$, $F(2, 559) = 70.32$, $p < .001$. It was found that for the total sample, the Irrational Suspicion subscale was significantly related to total MSS scores [$b = .52$, $t(561) = 10.89$, $p < .001$]. The Rational Suspicion subscale significantly predicted total male supremacy scores ($b = -.14$, $t(561) = -2.85$, $p = .004$). Taken together, these results suggest that the male supremacist worldview is reinforced and facilitated by conspiratorial thinking, and does not reflect a rational approach to evaluating the motives of individuals, society, and the world.

For men in Study 3, their total CMS score significantly predicts their total MSS scores. A linear regression was calculated to examine total male supremacy scores in men on the MSS based on their total conspiracy mentality scale scores. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for men, which indicates higher scores on the conspiracy mentality scale for men was significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .50$, $t(246) = 9.07$, $p < .001$. Mens' conspiratorial thinking explained a significant proportion of variance in their aggregate male supremacy scores (see *Figure 17* below), $R^2_{adj} = .25$, $F(1, 245) = 82.33$, $p < .001$. In addition to assessing the total CMS, linear regressions were also calculated to evaluate the subscales' (Rational and Irrational Suspicion) relationship to total MSS scores.

Figure 17.
Linear regression evaluating men's total MSS score by the total conspiracy mentality scale (n = 246).
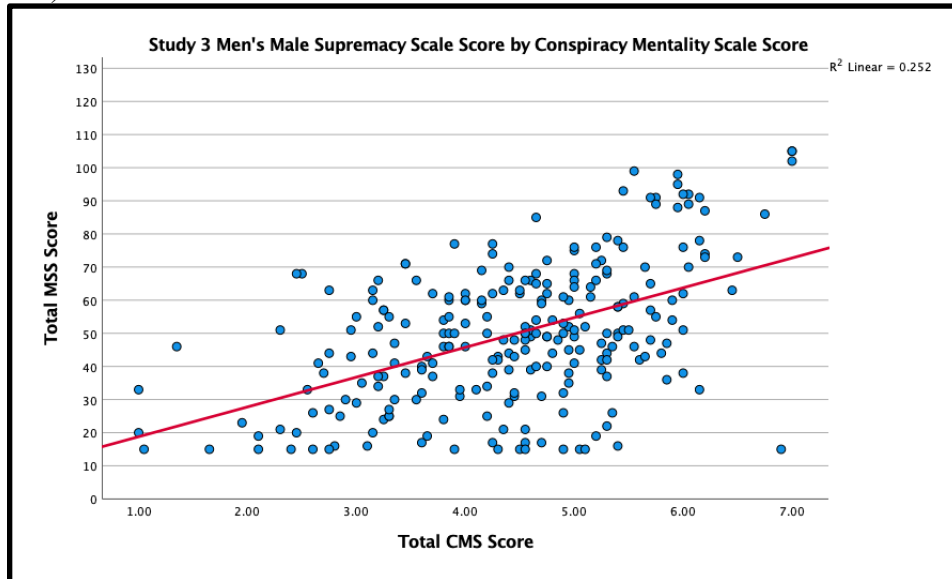
As predicted by Hypothesis 12B, higher scores on the Irrational Suspicion subscale for men was very strongly related to higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale. Linear regression was used to determine if irrational suspicion and rational suspicion significantly predicted total male supremacy scores in men. The overall regression was statistically significant $R^2_{adj} = .29$, $F(2, 244) = 49.95$, $p < .001$. It was found that for men both subscales were significantly related to total MSS scores, however, the Irrational Suspicion subscale is much more strongly related. The Rational Suspicion subscale for men significantly predicted total male supremacy scores ($b = -.15$, $t(246) = -2.21$, $p = .028$), indicating that the higher in rational suspicion men are, the lower their male supremacy score. But the Irrational Suspicion subscale was strongly significantly related to total male supremacy scores, $b = .62$, $t(246) = 9.11$, $p < .001$. Taken together, these results suggest that the male supremacist worldview is reinforced and facilitated by conspiratorial thinking in men.

Moving onto the evaluation of women's MSS scores in relation to the Conspiracy

Mentality Scale (CMS), Study 3 found that women's total CMS score significantly predicts their

total MSS scores. A linear regression was calculated to examine total male supremacy scores in

women on the MSS based on their total conspiracy mentality scale scores. Regression analysis

revealed a significant effect for women, which indicates higher scores on the conspiracy

mentality scale for women was significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .37$,

$t(295) = 6.75$, $p < .001$. Women's conspiratorial thinking explained a significant proportion of

variance in their aggregate male supremacy scores (see *Figure 18* below), $R^2_{adj} = .13$, $F(1, 294) =$

45.51, $p < .001$. In addition to assessing the total CMS, linear regressions were also calculated to

evaluate the subscales' (Rational and Irrational Suspicion) relationship to total MSS scores.

Figure 18.
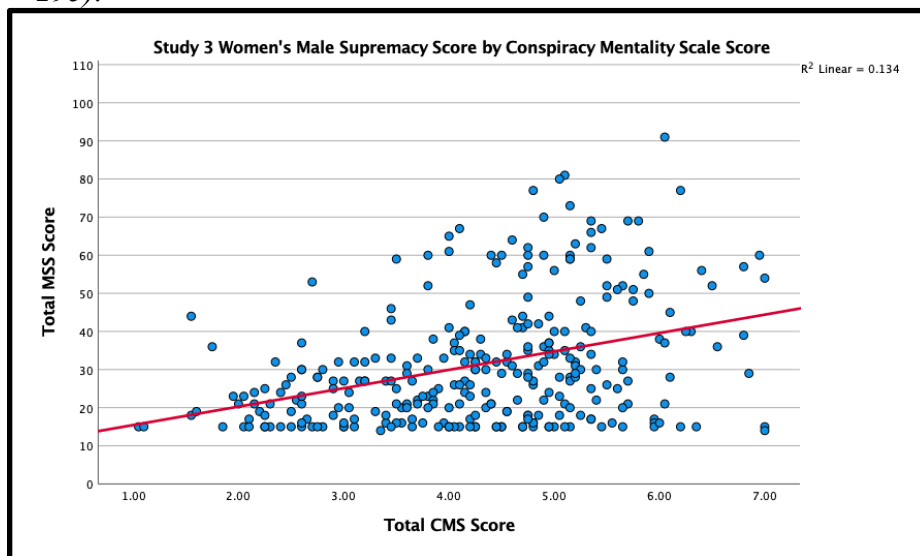*Linear regression evaluating women's total MSS score by the total conspiracy mentality scale (n = 295).*

For women in Study 3, higher scores on the Irrational Suspicion subscale was very

strongly related to higher scores on the Male Supremacy Scale. Linear regression was used to

determine if irrational suspicion and rational suspicion significantly predicted total male supremacy scores in women. The overall regression was statistically significant R^2_{adj} = .15, F(2, 293) = 26.92, p <.001. It was found that for women, only the Irrational Suspicion subscale was significantly related to total MSS scores [b = .62, t(246) = 9.11, p <.001]. The Rational Suspicion subscale for women did not significantly predict total male supremacy scores (b = -.12, t(295) = -1.79, p = .074). Taken together, these results suggest that the male supremacist worldview is reinforced and facilitated by conspiratorial thinking in women.

In summary, given the strong conspiratorial element of the Anti-Feminist subscale, as well as the *a priori* distrust of women, it is not surprising that irrational suspicion is an important component of male supremacy.

Hypothesis 13. As predicted, for the total sample in Study 3 there is a strong relationship between endorsing racist ideas and endorsing male supremacist ideas. Higher scores on the racial resentment scale (RRS) are related to higher male supremacy scores in Study 3's total sample. A linear regression was calculated to predict total male supremacy scores based on the sample's racial resentment scale score, revealing a significant effect for racial resentment, which indicates that racial resentment was significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, b = .59, t(552) = 17.15, p <.001. Racial resentment levels explained a significant proportion of variance in total male supremacy scores, R^2_{adj} = .35, F(1, 551) = 294.04, p <.001.

There is a strong relationship between white supremacy and male supremacy (see Chapter 4), therefore, this finding is an important contribution to establishing the validity of the MSS by demonstrating its connection to racial resentment.

Moral Purity Subscale of Moral Foundations Questionnaire and Male Supremacy

The moral purity subscale of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) was used in

Study 3 to assess its relationship to male supremacy among men, women, and the whole sample.

Moral purity, as defined by the MFQ, breaks down along two lines: moral relevance and moral

judgements. The 5-item MFQ Moral Purity (MP) subscale assesses both moral relevance and

moral judgements in aggregate.

The total sample was assessed in Study 3 to determine the relationship between MP and

MSS overall. A linear regression was calculated to assess the relationship between the overall

sample's total male supremacy scores and their total moral purity scores. As predicted,

regression analysis revealed a significant effect for moral purity, wherein moral purity

significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .48$, $t(565) = 12.93$, $p < .001$. Moral

purity levels explained a significant proportion of variance in total male supremacy scores, R^2_{adj}

$= .23$, $F(1, 564) = 167.23$, $p < .001$. These results suggest that moral purity is strongly related to

male supremacy.

When evaluating which of the five items from the MP subscale most strongly relates to

male supremacy for the whole Study 3 sample, a linear regression model predicting male

supremacy based on all the moral purity items indicated that, *controlling sexual desires is an*

important and valuable virtue is by far the most strongly related to overall male supremacy ($b =$

$.28$, $t(565) = 5.44$, $p < .001$); however, every item in the MP subscale was significantly related to

male supremacy. This suggests that moral purity and male supremacy are interconnected, that

there is something specific about how male supremacists approach morality that is tapped into by

notions of moral purity - approaching morality with a certain rigidity and desire to approach

gender identity with notions of sanctity and the suppression of certain desires.

A linear regression was calculated to assess the relationship between men's total male supremacy scores and their total moral purity scores. As predicted, regression analysis revealed a significant effect for moral purity in men, wherein moral purity significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .51$, $t(247) = 9.24$, $p < .001$. Men's moral purity levels explained a significant proportion of variance in total male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .26$, $F(1, 246) = 85.35$, $p < .001$. These results suggest that for men, moral purity - the Moral Foundation that links moral intuitions to disgust, and feelings of moral and spiritual purity to cleanliness - is strongly related to male supremacy.

When evaluating which of the five items from the MP subscale most strongly relates to male supremacy for men, a linear regression model predicting male supremacy based on all the moral purity items for men indicated that, *controlling sexual desires is an important and valuable virtue* is by far the most strongly related to overall male supremacy ($b = .28$, $t(247) = 3.85$, $p < .001$). Although, *If God disapproves of an action, it is morally bad* was also statistically significantly related to male supremacy, though not as strongly ($b = .19$, $t(247) = 2.69$, $p = .008$).

A linear regression was calculated to assess the relationship between women's total male supremacy scores and their total moral purity scores. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for moral purity in women, wherein moral purity significantly related to higher male supremacy scores, $b = .42$, $t(295) = 7.91$, $p < .001$. Women's moral purity levels explained a significant proportion of variance in total male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .17$, $F(1, 294) = 62.49$, $p < .001$. These results suggest that for women, moral purity is also strongly related to male supremacy.

When evaluating which of the five items from the MP subscale most strongly relates to male supremacy for women, a linear regression model predicting male supremacy based on all

the moral purity items for women indicated that, *controlling sexual desires is an important and valuable virtue* is still the most strongly related to overall male supremacy (b = .23, $t(295)$ = 3.09, p =.002); however, other MP items also showed significance. The item *Purity and decency are important for being morally good* was significantly related to higher MSS scores (b = .20, $t(295)$ = 2.56, p = .011), as well as *Some acts are wrong because they are unnatural* (b = .19, $t(295)$ = 2.50, p = .013). There was even a fourth item from the MP subscale that almost rose to the level of statistical significance at the p <.05 level, *People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed* (b = -.15, $t(295)$ = -1.95, p = .052). This suggests that there is an interesting and important difference between men and women in terms of formulating morality and identity as female male supremacists. Future projects will explore these differences in more detail (see Chapter 4 - *Future Directions*).

Intellectual Humility and Male Supremacy

In Study 3's total sample, intellectual humility was not significantly related to male supremacy. A linear regression was calculated to predict male supremacy scores based on the intellectual humility scale scores in the total sample. Regression analysis revealed a non-significant effect for intellectual humility on male supremacy scores, b = -.06, $t(561)$ = -1.35, p = .176.

Intellectual humility in men was significantly related to male supremacy, such that higher levels of intellectual humility in men predicts lower levels of male supremacy. A linear regression was calculated to predict male supremacy scores in men based on their scores on the intellectual humility scale. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for intellectual humility in men significantly relating to lower male supremacy scores, b = -.15, $t(245)$ = -2.43, p

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= .016. Men's intellectual humility scores explained a small amount of variance in total male supremacy scores, R^2_{adj} = .02, F(1, 244) = 5.90, p = .016.

For women, intellectual humility was significantly related to male supremacy, such that higher levels of intellectual humility in women predicts lower levels of male supremacy. A linear regression was calculated to predict male supremacy scores in women based on their scores on the intellectual humility scale. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for intellectual humility in women significantly relating to lower male supremacy scores, b = -.12, t(295) = -2.03, p = .043. Women's intellectual humility scores explained a small amount of variance in total male supremacy scores, R^2_{adj} = .01, F(1, 294) = 4.12, p = .043.

These results suggest that intellectual humility is somewhat important for understanding male supremacy in men in particular, but not as much for women. Men who are male supremacists have reduced intellectual humility, possibly related to their strong endorsement of conspiratorial thinking (see Hypothesis 12) and the sense that they possess knowledge and insight into gender and society that others lack. This is an integral component of the Red Pill concept - that those individuals who believe themselves to have been "red pilled" are wide-eyed and awake to the true nature of women, relationships, and sex.

Trust Variables

Study 3 assessed men's trust across a variety of institutions and individuals (see *Table 7* below). Individual linear regressions were calculated to predict male supremacy scores in men based on their trust in: President Trump, the US Congress, the Supreme Court, Police Departments, State government officials, Scientists, Social Media, Friends and Family, Your

personal physician or other healthcare provider, the CDC, Online news sources, and

TV/Radio/Print news.

The total sample for Study 3 was evaluated on the basis of trust across a variety of

institutions and individuals (see *Table 6* below). Regression analysis for the total sample in

Study 3 revealed that the variables most positively associated with male supremacy were trust in

Trump ($b = .48$, $p < .001$), followed by trust in police ($b = .28$, $p < .001$). Further, the variables

most negatively associated with male supremacy were trust in scientists ($b = -31$, $p < .001$), and

trust in the CDC ($b = -.28$, $p < .001$). These results suggest that in terms of what people and

institutions people trust, the two best predictors of high male supremacy are trust in Trump and

trust in police, and the two best predictors of low male supremacy are trust in scientists and the

CDC.

Table 6.
Total sample's media trust variables predicting total male supremacy scores (n = 562).

Independent Variables (IV)	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
To what extent do you trust President Trump?	.48	<.001	13.10	6.68, 9.03
To what extent do you trust the US Congress?	.11	.012	2.03	.45, 3.62
To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court?	.17	<.001	3.19	1.67, 4.71
To what extent	.28	<.001	4.64	3.30, 5.98

do you trust police departments?				
To what extent do you trust state government officials (e.g. State Assembly, Governor)?	-.001	.981	-.02	-1.59, 1.55
To what extent do you trust scientists?	-.31	<.001	-7.49	-9.37, -5.62
To what extent do you trust social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram)?	.15	<.001	3.08	1.39, 4.78
To what extent do you trust friends and family?	.06	.164	1.32	-.54, 3.18
To what extent do you trust your personal physician or other health care provider?	-.15	<.001	-3.61	-5.59, -1.64
To what extent do you trust the CDC?	-.28	<.001	-5.52	-7.11, -3.92
To what extent do you trust online news sources (e.g. CNN, Yahoo, NYTimes.com)?	-.14	<.001	-2.50	-3.93, -1.07
To what extent do you trust TV, radio, print	-.10	.013	-1.95	-3.49, -.41

news?				

Regression analysis for men in Study 3 revealed that the variables most positively

associated with male supremacy were trust in Trump ($b = .49$, $p < .001$), followed by trust in

social media ($b = .27$, $p < .001$). Further, the variables most negatively associated with male

supremacy were trust in scientists ($b = -34$, $p < .001$), and trust in the CDC ($b = -.27$, $p < .001$).

These results (see *Table 7* below) suggest that in terms of what people and institutions men trust,

the two best predictors of high male supremacy are trust in Trump and trust in social media, and

the two best predictors of low male supremacy are trust in scientists and the CDC.

Table 7.
Men's media trust variables predicting total male supremacy scores (n = 247).

Independent Variables (IV)	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
To what extent do you trust President Trump?	.49	<.001	7.79	6.03, 9.55
To what extent do you trust the US Congress?	.21	<.001	3.98	1.65, 6.31
To what extent do you trust the Supreme Court?	.15	.019	2.68	.44, 4.92
To what extent do you trust police departments?	.24	<.001	4.05	2.01, 6.09
To what extent	.04	.550	.73	-1.68, 3.15

do you trust state government officials (e.g. State Assembly, Governor)?			
To what extent do you trust scientists?	-.34	<.001	-7.71	-10.39, -5.03
To what extent do you trust social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram)?	.27	<.001	5.71	3.20, 8.22
To what extent do you trust friends and family?	.07	.282	1.55	-1.28, 4.37
To what extent do you trust your personal physician or other health care provider?	-.15	.019	-3.36	-6.17, -.56
To what extent do you trust the CDC?	-.27	<.001	-5.41	-7.88, -2.95
To what extent do you trust online news sources (e.g. CNN, Yahoo, NYTimes.com)?	-.08	.203	-1.48	-3.75, .80
To what extent do you trust TV, radio, print news?	-.02	.766	-.37	-2.82, 2.08

Study 3 also assessed women's trust across a variety of institutions and individuals (see *Table 8* below). Individual linear regressions were calculated to predict male supremacy scores in women based on their trust in: President Trump, the US Congress, the Supreme Court, Police Departments, State government officials, Scientists, Social Media, Friends and Family, Your personal physician or other healthcare provider, the CDC, Online news sources, and TV/Radio/Print news.

Regression analysis for women in Study 3 revealed that the variables most positively associated with male supremacy were trust in Trump ($b = .51$, $p < .001$), followed by trust in police ($b = .26$, $p < .001$). Further, the variables most negatively associated with male supremacy were trust in scientists ($b = -34$, $p < .001$), and trust in the CDC ($b = -.34$, $p < .001$). These results suggest that in terms of what people and institutions women trust, the two best predictors of high male supremacy are trust in Trump and trust in social media, and the two best predictors of low male supremacy are trust in scientists and the CDC.

Table 8.
Women's media trust variables predicting total male supremacy scores (n = 296).

Independent Variables (IV)	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
To what extent do you trust President Trump?	.51	<.001	10.19	.36, .54
To what extent do you trust the US Congress?	.03	.608	.03	-.09, .15
To what extent	.14	.019	.14	.02, .26

do you trust the Supreme Court?			
To what extent do you trust police departments?	.26	<.001	.24	.14, .34
To what extent do you trust state government officials (e.g. State Assembly, Governor)?	-.10	.082	-.10	-.22, .01
To what extent do you trust scientists?	-.34	<.001	-.44	-.59, -.30
To what extent do you trust social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram)?	.06	.279	.07	-.06, .20
To what extent do you trust friends and family?	.01	.816	.02	-.12, .15
To what extent do you trust your personal physician or other health care provider?	-.23	<.001	-.32	-.48, -.16
To what extent do you trust the CDC?	-.34	<.001	-.36	-.47, -.24
To what extent do you trust online news sources (e.g. CNN, Yahoo, NYTimes.com)?	-.24	<.001	-.22	-.32, -.12

To what extent do you trust TV, radio, print news?	-.19	<.001	-.19	-.30, -.08

Discussion

While Study 2 was primarily focused on establishing the MSS as a reliable scale derived in a statistically and procedurally sound manner, Study 3 focused both on further validating the construct validity of the scale and also determining what the MSS relates to in terms of racial animus, conspiratorial thinking, or one's political party affiliation. The Cronbach's alpha for the MSS is still very high ($\alpha = .96$), and the Cronbach's alpha for each subscale is also very high for each (Anti-feminism subscale, $\alpha = .93$, Female Dishonesty subscale, $\alpha = .92$, and 'Women Like Alphas' subscale, $\alpha = .92$).

In terms of construct validity, results from Study 3 indicate that men scored higher than women (Hypothesis 1), and showed the same muddled relationship between one's relationship status (single, married, dating) and one's endorsement of male supremacy (Hypothesis 3). In terms of establishing convergent and discriminant validity with the MSS, Study 3 was able to further define and operationalize contemporary male supremacy by evaluating the MSS in relation to a number of construct-relevant scales and items.

The relationship between political ideology and male supremacy is starting to take shape. Trump support, but not support for the Republican party, is what most strongly predicts male supremacy in this sample (Hypotheses 5 and 7). Compared to Democrats, Republicans are higher in male supremacy, but it is not just any Right-leaning politics - it is a certain type of political rhetoric, a particular brand of toxic masculine political discourse that Trump and his administration employed to tap into the ideology of male supremacy. Feminism and

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contemporary feminist politics intentionally attempt to upend traditional power structures and patriarchal systems; male supremacist political rhetoric is used in order to align anti-feminist sentiments with broader political conservative ideas, including anti-LGBTQ and anti-Critical Race Theory political platforms.

The relationship between racial resentment - as measured by the Racial Resentment Scale - and male supremacy is statistically straightforward but conceptually complicated (Hypothesis 13). In Study 3 men's racial resentment levels explained a significant proportion of variance in total male supremacy scores (R^2_{adj} = .28); this ideological overlap between white supremacy and male supremacy is hardly surprising, considering they both borrow from the same reservoir of racial hierarchies and race science. Embedded systems of racial oppression depend on an array of justifications and reinforcements, among these is the misuse of scientific language and framing to provide a veneer of legitimacy to historic racist stereotypes regarding intelligence, criminality, and the viability of diverse societies (Hughes et al., 2022). This justification and rationalization of supremacist ideology in the domain of race mirrors that same logic found in sexism's justification of the patriarchal social order. There is the same desire to justify systems of oppression on genetic grounds, the same framing of some humans as inherently duplicitous and morally flawed on a biological level, and not coincidentally, the same group being framed as the saviors of society and the only ones appropriate and capable of governing the system (i.e. white men). White women have an important role to play in a society governed by the logics of white supremacy - those white women cannot be feminists. They cannot be advocates for upending systems of oppression. Questioning male supremacy is itself a threat to white supremacy, and thus cannot be tolerated in either white supremacy or patriarchy.

The relationship between race and the Man-O-Sphere will be explored in further detail in Chapter 4; however, it is important to note here that in Studies 1-3 race has not been a significant predictor of male supremacy scores in the MSS. Male supremacist thinking is not limited to just one race or ethnicity. Each racial-ethnic group identity has some unique impact on their own hegemonic masculine ideal, the specific narratives that underpin masculinity in those cultures, and the ways that the patriarchal social order is policed in those communities; however, patriarchal sexism, misogyny, and toxic masculinity are all features of society, regardless of geography or the specific racial-ethnic background.

When evaluating the results on trust, it was striking that trust in Trump and trust in social media were the two variables most strongly related to male supremacy scores on the MSS. That speaks to the medium and specific messaging featured in Trump's political rhetoric - the themes of male supremacy (and white supremacy) in his speech connected with a particular type of male Republican voter - ones that are particularly concerned with social issues within the political sphere. Not every Republican male in this sample endorses male supremacy, and the nuancing of political ideology as portrayed by social issues versus economic issues, and support for political party compared to support for a political figure, helps add texture to the relationship between Trump support and male supremacy. In addition to the invoking of racial and male supremacist ideologies, conspiratorial thinking was an important feature of Trump's political rhetoric - creating himself and openly endorsing others' conspiracy theories (Brewster & Ray, 2020; Cillizza, 2021; Miller, Colvin, & Seitz, 2020).

Conspiratorial thinking features prominently in the MSS, as well as male supremacy more broadly (Hypothesis 12). Supremacist ideology, and bigotry in general, often require enemies to be defended against, a terrifying, all-powerful opposition, used in order to evoke fear

and hatred in those who ascribe to the ideology. In order to galvanize support and frame these bigoted ideas as more than just critique - but instead offers a positive set of beliefs and a vision for what the world is actually like - bigotry often produces enemies and grand theories of malevolence in order to frame hateful ideologies and their supportive communities as themselves victims of oppression (Wynn, 2021). Whether this is Men's Rights Activists declaring that men are actually the oppressed sex in society, trans-exclusionary radical feminists arguing that trans people are more likely to be perpetrators of violence (rather than victims of violence), or white supremacists fearmongering about White Genocide and the Great Replacement Theory, there is rhetorical value in these communities flipping the victim-perpetrator dynamic on its head. By framing their ideological struggle as an underdog story, as a response to - and not a product of - oppressive social forces, they are able to persuade people that they are participating in an ideological struggle against evil, bad, inhuman forces.

The two subscales that comprise the Conspiracy Mentality Scale (CMS) are rational suspicion (RS) and irrational suspicion (IS). Both are related to total MSS scores; rational suspicion was negatively related to total MSS scores for men ($b = -.15$), indicating that the higher men's rational suspicion the lower one's MSS score and inversely the lower the rational suspicion for men, the higher their total MSS score. However, it is the irrational suspicion subscale that is strongly statistically significantly related to total MSS scores in men ($b = .62$). Evaluating the items that comprise the irrational suspicion subscale of the CMS, there are parallels between the more conspiratorial anti-feminist beliefs in the MSS's Anti-Feminism subscale (*Modern society prioritizes women over men*, *Feminists are seeking to control men*) and specific items in the IS subscale (*Powerful entities are controlling matters behind the scenes*, *There is secret planning and manipulation going on to make bad things happen*). In the case of

these men who are high in irrational suspicion, women generally and feminists specifically are scheming, planning, and manipulating media and society in order to control men and gain advantage in romantic, social, and professional settings.

But more broadly, one of the foundational beliefs of male supremacy is that feminism is a conspiracy to emasculate Western (read: white) men; that society as a whole has become feminized, soft, and weak; and further, that this is intentionally done in order to allow hypermasculine brutes (read: non-white men) to step in and take over. This is part of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory that is deployed by white supremacists, but invokes themes of racialized sexism. The conspiracy theory says that Jews and enemies of Western culture intentionally allow non-white men to come into the country in order to reproduce with white women, thus destroying the purity of the white race. During the white supremacist rally Unite the Right in Charlottesville during 2017, the crowd was chanting, "Jews will not replace us," which was in reference to this conspiracy theory (Rosenberg, 2017).

That is one of the reasons this dissertation chose Male *Supremacy* as its central term - in order to tie it to white supremacy and the parallel logics it employs. Feminism is a plot; our immigration policy is a plot; dating apps are products of the same grand conspiracy that our political system is implicated in. But this is all irrational suspicion on the macro-level - society-wide conspiracies, organized by the government or a shady cartel of ultra-powerful elites. The irrational suspicion that underpins male supremacist thinking also manifests on the micro-level; women are liars and gold diggers who are trying to take advantage of you, trying to take your money and trap you in a committed relationship, only to betray you for a better man. This idea is the essence of the Female Dishonesty subscale, that any man in a relationship with a woman must be suspicious of their motives and behaviors; that women are predisposed to deceit, and

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you must be hypervigilant in your interactions with them. Importantly, this irrational suspicion also gets applied to other men; part of toxic masculine socialization is the emphasis on competition and establishing oneself as a dominant male in any and all situations.

In the Results section of Study 2, the term *mogging* was defined and discussed as an important feature of male supremacists' concept of masculinity; *mogging* refers to situations where an idealized "alpha male" dominates and/or humiliates (they are one in the same in a male supremacist's mind) a lesser "beta male" in some social situation. In this formation of the patriarchal social order, men are pitted against each other at all times, in all circumstances, in order to establish hierarchy in that particular situation. Therefore, men also need to be suspicious of, and vigilantly resist being emasculated by, other men. Men of the PUA and Red Pill communities are hyper aware of threats to their social status, and on guard against their attempts to establish dominance; and incels are also hyper aware of these male hierarchies, but unlike the PUA and TRP men, incels believe they are on the lowest rung of the male social ladder and thus are on the lookout for those more dominant men who will likely humiliate and dominate them. The conspiratorial mindset allows for a sense of victimization, it allows for a sense that one is struggling against forces of evil on the micro and macro levels, and it allows for the justification of violence and extremism as a means of preserving the good, the righteous, and the sacred.

Invoking concepts of sanctity and purity in discussions of patriarchal gendered social relations also contributes to the moral disgust that male supremacists feel towards women who challenge patriarchy. The Moral Purity subscale in Study 3 indicates a strong relationship between men who score high on moral purity and men who score high on male supremacy, but this statistical relationship was driven mostly by the item *Controlling sexual desires is an important and valuable virtue* ($b = .28$). This is not surprising, because male supremacy is

extremely prescriptive about how women should treat sex and sexual desires; due to feminism, Western women in male supremacist ideology are assumed to be promiscuous, adulterous, and incapable of resisting the sexual lure of high-status men, and their promiscuity and hypergamous nature is characterized as a moral failing. But men in male supremacist ideology also have to control their sexual desires, in order to channel them in the appropriate ways, such as not focusing all of your attention on one woman (known in The Red Pill community as *one-itis)*.

The scholar Mary Douglas explores the connection between cleanliness, purity, ritual, and morality in the classic anthropology text *Purity and Danger* (1966). There she outlines the connection between ancient notions of contamination and disease, and contemporary concerns with moral transgressions, especially in the realm of sex and relationships. Douglas notes that:

> "When the principle of male dominance is applied to the ordering of social life but is contracted by other principles such as that of female independence, or the inherent right of women as the weaker sex to be more protected from violence than men, then [the concept of] sex pollution is likely to flourish," (Douglas, 1966, p. 176).

Her description of the Mae Enga community of New Guinea is illustrative of a broader connection between moral purity and relationships between men and women, highlighting the Enga belief that, "sexual relations take on the character of a conflict between enemies in which the man sees himself as endangered by his sexual partner…that contact with women weakens male strength," and that two fundamental beliefs in their culture are the superiority of men and their vulnerability to female influence (Douglas, 1966, p. 181-182). In contemporary male supremacist thinking, sexual promiscuity defiles women's bodies. Their anatomical integrity is a reflection of their moral purity; like *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Wilde, 1954), women's bodies display physically the moral pollution they've wrought through deed and action. It is a gross

misunderstanding (both vulgar and large) of anatomy, and speaks to the ways that old notions of

purity and contamination work their way into contemporary notions of sex and reproduction.

Study 4

Overview

Over the course of three studies, the MSS has been crafted, refined, and had a number of

construct-relevant instruments and demographic data run with it in order to establish convergent

and discriminant validity. Study 4 is the final step in that process - a last set of construct-relevant

scales are tested alongside the MSS in order to see how it relates to, and is different from, scales

that measure sexism, individual personality traits, political dispositions, a sense of entitlement,

issue-specific items (e.g. feelings about abortion, guns, immigration, free speech), and a set of

items assessing how negatively or positively subjects feel towards grievance-based groups (e.g.

QAnon, Neo-Nazis, Black Lives Matter, Feminists). Beyond those aims, Study 4 also uses

single-issue attitude items and the evaluation of grievance-based groups in order to more fully

explore the political manifestations of male supremacy. Therefore for Study 4, data will be

collected on the following hypotheses: Hypotheses 1, Hypotheses 3, Hypotheses 5 , Hypotheses

7 , Hypotheses 8 , Hypotheses 9 , Hypotheses 10, Hypotheses 11, and Hypotheses 14.

Method

Participants

The sample for Study 4 was recruited through the Prolific survey subject pool (n = 947),

in order to ensure a large enough sample size to allow for data analysis. This sample comprises

51.6% men (n = 489) and 47.2% women (n = 447), making it appropriate for men-only analysis.

The racial breakdown for the whole sample is 69% White, 8.7% Multi-racial/Multi-ethnic, 7.4% Hispanic/Latinx, 7.2% Asian/Asian American, 6% Black/African American, 0.7% Middle Eastern, 0.3% Indian, 0.3% Native American/Indian/Alaska Native, and 0.1% Pacific Islander/Hawaiian.

Measures

The total aggregated male supremacy score is the key outcome variable of interest. The predictor variables in this study are the demographic variables - sex, relationship status, political party of choice, general political ideology, political orientation on social issues, political orientation on economic issues, and who the subject voted for or intended to vote for in the 2016 election - as well construct-relevant scales that will help to establish convergent and discriminant validity with the Male Supremacy Scale, including the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Dark Triad of Personality, Rightwing Authoritarianism Scale, Social Dominance Orientation, the Psychological Entitlement Scale, issue-specific attitudes (abortion, immigration, guns, free speech), and a set of items evaluating how positively or negatively subjects feel about particular grievance-based people/groups (e.g. Incels, the Boogaloo, Feminists, Black Lives Matter).

Right-wing Authoritarianism. Originally developed by Adorno and colleagues in 1950, and improved upon by Altemeyer in 1981, Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) identifies three core authoritarian characteristics identified: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission (Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981). RWA measures ideological attitudes that express the threat-driven goal of maintaining and establishing group order, societal order, group cohesion, and security (ex: *Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done*) (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006). The current study uses the Altemeyer (2006) scale, which has

subjects assess 22 items on a scale from -4 to + 4. This measure predicts prejudice against groups that are seen as threatening the ingroup, or societal security, societal order, stability, and/or group cohesion (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006).

Social Dominance Orientation. Pratto and colleagues described Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) as a, "general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical," and the, "extent to which one desires that one's ingroup dominate and be superior to outgroups," (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 742). This study uses the $SDO_{7(s)}$ which has subjects assess eight total items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Oppose → Strongly Favor. SDO measures ideological attitudes that express the competitively driven goal of establishing and maintaining ingroup dominance, power, and superiority (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006). A prototypical person high in SDO would dislike and devalue outgroups that aroused their competitiveness over relative dominance, power, and superiority (Duckitt & Sibley, 2006). An example of an item from the original SDO scale is: *To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others* (Pratto et al., 1994).

Psychological Entitlement Scale. The Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES) understands psychological entitlement as a stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others, reflected in desired or actual behaviors (ex: *People like me deserve an extra break now and then*) (Campbell, 2004). Importantly, psychological entitlement is experienced across situations, i.e. it does not necessarily refer to entitlement that results from a specific circumstance, such as getting a good grade for studying hard (Campbell, 2004). The PES is a nine item instrument that assesses the degree to which a subject agrees with the statements using a 7-point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree → Strongly Agree).

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Feeling thermometers. Feeling thermometers ask subjects to assess on a scale from -10 to +10 how subjects feel about: Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Mike Pence, and Kamala Harris (as with Study 3). Additionally, Study 4 includes a set of feeling thermometers for grievance-based groups: QAnon, The Boogaloo, Incels, Oath Keepers, Black Lives Matter, Feminists, Vaccine (COVID) Skeptics, White Nationalists, Proud Boys, Black Panthers, Neo-Nazis, Militia Movements, ANTIFA, Occupy Wallstreet, Gender Critical, and Holocaust Skeptics.

Issue items. Study 4 includes two items that were adapted from Pew Research Center polls that ask about abortion and gun control, one item adapted from a CBS News poll that asked about immigration, and a final item that was independently generated related to free speech. These issue items are as follows:

- Abortion: *In general, do you agree or disagree with the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision that established a woman's right to an abortion?*
    - 5-point Likert scale - Strongly disagree → Strongly agree
- Gun Control: *Do you favor stricter gun control laws or oppose stricter gun control laws?*
    - *3 options: Favor, Not sure, Oppose*
- Immigration: *Generally, do you think immigrants coming to the United States make American society better in the long run, make American society worse in the long run, or do you think immigrants coming to the U.S. do not have much of an effect on American society one way or the other?*
    - *3 options - Better, Not much effect, Worse*
- Free Speech: *Should websites be allowed to restrict the speech of its users?*

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       ○   5-point Likert scale - Definitely not → Definitely yes

Demographic variables. The demographic information collected from each participant included: sex, race-ethnicity, current relationship status, political ideology on social issues and economic issues, political party affiliation, 2020 presidential candidate preference, and political party affiliation.

Procedure

The MSS was accessible to anyone who signed up for the online survey platform Prolific and completed the MSS at the participants' convenience. There was compensation for participation in the study - subjects were compensated approximately $2.00 for taking the survey. Survey data was collected from 1/3/2022 to 1/21/2022.

Results

As seen in the previous iterations of the MSS (Study 2 and Study 3), the Cronbach's alpha for the 15-item MSS in Study 4's dataset is high, $\alpha = .936$, indicating very strong internal consistency for the MSS. The Study 4 sample mean male supremacy score was 230.75, SD = 67.88. The original hypotheses used to establish construct validity for the MSS will be assessed first, followed by analysis of the MSS in relation to other instruments to assess their relationship to male supremacy.

Construct Validity Results for Study 4

Hypothesis 1. Men scored significantly higher than women on the aggregate male supremacy score in this sample. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the

effect of sex on total male supremacy scores. The effect of sex on total male supremacy scores was significant at the $p < .05$ level [$t(923) = -13.13$, $p < .001$]. Men (m = 49.55, SD = 18.65) demonstrated significantly more male supremacy compared to women (m = 35.18, SD = 14.11).

Hypothesis 3. For the total Study 4 sample, those who reported their relationships status is *Single* (m = 41.91, SD = 19.07) scored almost identically to those whose relationship status was *Dating less than 6 months* (m = 40.69, SD = 15.58), those whose relationships status was *Dating longer than 6 months* (m = 40.70, SD = 18.35), or those who reported their relationship status as *Other* (m = 37.29, SD = 18.94). However, people who reported their relationship status as *Married* (m = 45.07, SD = 16.70) had significantly higher male supremacy scores. A one-way ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the groups, $F(4, 929) = 2.69$, $p = .03$. However, post hoc comparisons however did not reveal any significant differences between the groups, and the effect size ($\eta^2 = .01$) was not large.

Contrary to hypothesis 3B, men who reported their relationships status is *Single* (m = 50.47, SD = 19.81) scored only slightly higher on the aggregate male supremacy score than those men whose relationship status is *Dating less than 6 months* (m = 49.17, SD = 14.03), men who relationships status is *Dating longer than 6 months* (m = 48.51, SD = 18.86), or men who are *Married* (m = 48.76, SD = 17.47). There were a few (n = 7) men in Study 4 who reported their relationship status as *Other* (m = 56.00, SD = 19.18) and had higher mean male supremacy scores than single men. A one-way ANOVA showed no statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the groups, $F(4, 477) = .48$, $p = .751$. Despite the influence of incels and MGTOW contingents on the Man-O-Sphere, feelings about singledom did not relate strongly to male supremacy.

For women, those who reported their relationships status is *Single* (m = 32.14, SD = 12.41) scored almost identically to those women whose relationship status was *Dating less than 6 months* (m = 32.19, SD = 12.06), women whose relationships status was *Dating longer than 6 months* (m = 33.47, SD = 14.21), or women who reported their relationship status as *Other* (m = 29.19, SD = 13.02). However, women who reported their relationship status as *Married* (m = 41.26, SD = 14.60) had significantly higher male supremacy scores. A one-way ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference on male supremacy scores between the groups, $F_{(4, 438)} = 10.51$, $p < .001$.

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-group effect is driven by the difference between the married women and the rest of the groups. Married women were significantly higher on male supremacy scores than single women (MD = 9.12, SE = 1.54, $p < .001$), women dating more than 6 months (MD = 7.79, SE = 1.78, $p < .001$), and women who chose *Other* as their relationship status (MD = 12.07, SE = 3.58, $p = .007$). Study 4 results suggest that married women in this sample exhibit high levels of male supremacy relative to any other relationship status (see *Figure 19* below).

Figure 19.
Women's total MSS score by relationship status (n = 442).
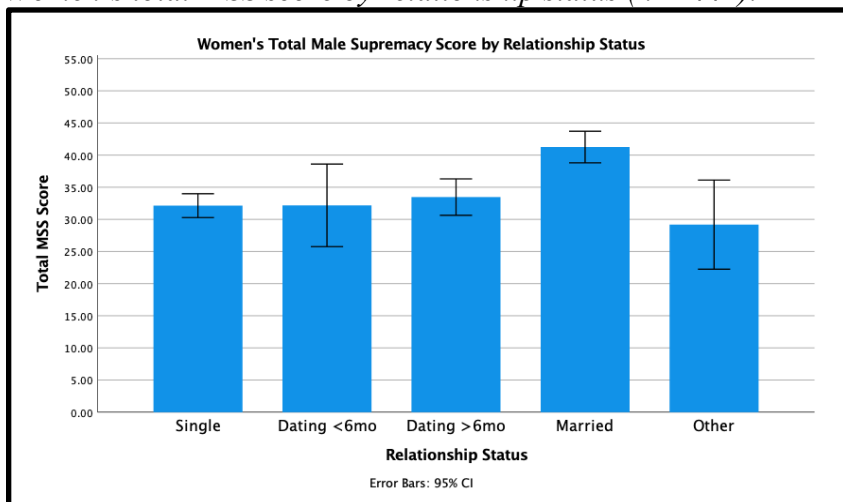
Women's Total Male Supremacy Score by Relationship Status

To evaluate this same construct a different way, a two-way ANOVA was conducted to analyze the effect of sex and relationships status on the aggregate male supremacy score. A two-way ANOVA revealed that there was a significant interaction between the effects of sex and relationship status [F(8, 919) = 2.96, p = .003]. Simple main effects analysis showed that sex has a large statistically significant effect on male supremacy scores (p <.001), but relationship status did not have a statistically significant effect on male supremacy scores (p = .347). A two-way ANOVA showed that the pairwise comparison of single men to single women was strongly statistically significant (MD = -18.33, SE = 1.70, p <.001, 95% CI [-21.66, -15.00]). A similar effect was seen across all relationship statuses - men and women were significantly different.

These results suggest that the difference in total MSS scores between men and women of different relationship statuses is likely driven by the difference between men and women, and not the difference between the relationship statuses. These results look similar to Study 2 and Study 3, and paint a picture of male supremacy that suggests relationship status is not an important factor in one's endorsement of male supremacist beliefs.

Hypothesis 5. As predicted, for the total Study 4 sample those who indicated they voted for or intended to vote for Donald Trump (m = 50.35, SD = 16.09) had higher mean male supremacy scores than any other presidential voting choice. The choices *Jo Jorgensen*, *Howie Hawkins*, and *Someone else* were dropped from analysis due to low number of responses. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of presidential voting preference on total male supremacy scores. There was a significant effect of presidential voting preference on male supremacy at the p < .05 level for the remaining 3 conditions [F(2, 897) = 79.50, p <.001, η^2 = .15].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-groups effect is found among all three groups - Trump voters, Biden voters, and non-voters. Trump voters were significantly higher on male supremacy than Biden voters (MD = 15.78, SE = 1.29, *p* <.001), and somewhat higher those who did not vote (MD = 4.87, SE = 1.51, *p* = .004). Further, Biden voters were significantly lower than non-voters (MD = -10.91, SE = 1.42, *p* <.001). Trump voters in Study 4 endorsed male supremacist beliefs at much higher rates than those who voted for Biden or who did not vote (see *Figure 20* below).

Figure 20.
Study 4 total MSS score by presidential voting intention (n = 899).
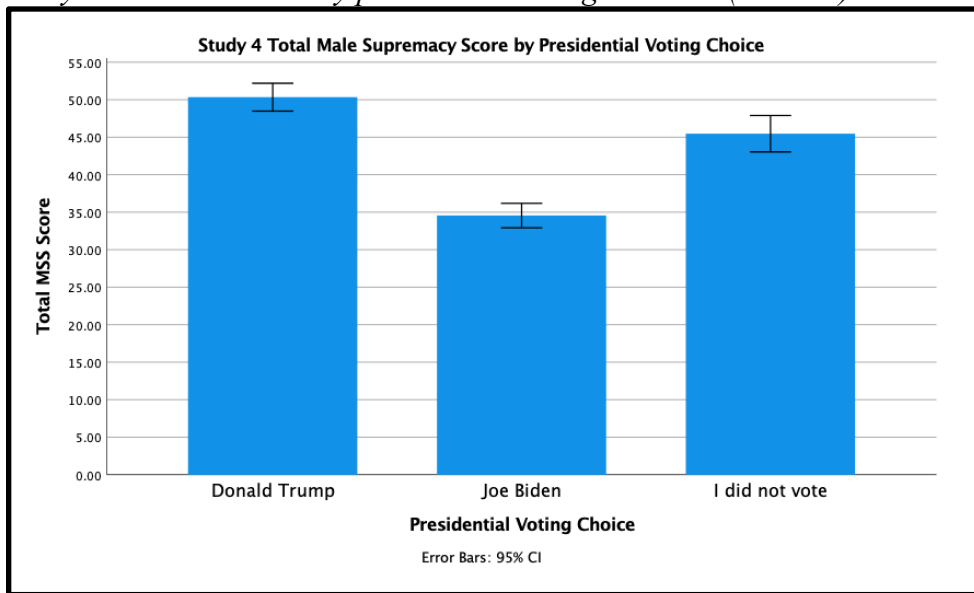
In terms of Study 4's total sample, for those who reported their political party affiliation as *Strong Republican* (m = 54.20, SD = 16.88) had the highest aggregate male supremacy score of any political affiliation, followed by Republican (m = 49.62, SD = 16.44) (see *Figure 21* below). A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to assess the relationship between political party affiliation and total male supremacy scores revealed a significant effect of political

party affiliation on male supremacy score at the $p < .05$ level for the 7 conditions [$F(6, 928) = 39.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .20$].

Post hoc analysis for the whole Study 4 sample was conducted using the Tukey HSD test, revealing the largest difference between these groups is between *Strong Republican* and *Strong Democrat* (MD = 21.35, SE = 3.85, $p < .001$). Further, these results show that those who identify as *Strong Republicans* are highest in male supremacy scores compared to *Republicans*, *Lean Republican*, *Lean Democrat*, *Democrat*, and *Strong Democrat*. The male supremacy trend is a steady line down from Republican to Democrat, with the only exception being those who chose *Neither Republican or Democrat / None / Undecided* category. As was noted above, the higher male supremacy scores amongst this group suggests that this category is not capturing political moderates, but instead are better represented by non-mainstream political affiliations, closer in MSS scores to the *Republican* category than to the *Lean Democrat*, *Democrat*, or *Strong Democrat* groups.

Figure 21.
Total sample's male supremacy scores by political party affiliation (n = 442).

Study 4's Total Male Supremacy Scores by Political Party Affiliation
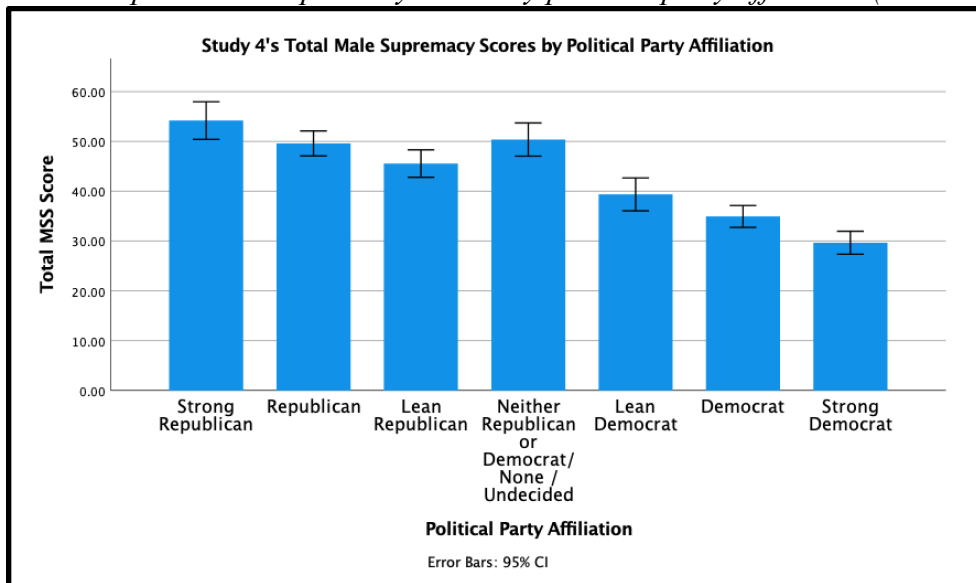
Study 4 used the same Feeling Thermometers as Study 3 to assess on a scale from -10 to +10 how subjects felt about Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden. A linear regression was calculated to predict the total Study 4 sample's MSS score based on their feelings towards Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden (see *Table 9* below). Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for Trump, specifically, that positive feelings towards Donald Trump were associated with substantially higher male supremacy scores ($b = .44$, $t(910) = 7.33$, $p < .001$) than any other condition. Positive feelings for Donald Trump was significantly associated with male supremacy, though feelings towards the Democrats ($b = -.19$, $t(910) = -3.49$, $p < .001$) and feelings towards Biden ($b = .14$, $t(910) = 2.50$, $p = .013$) were negatively related to male supremacy and also statistically significant. Interestingly, for the whole sample in Study 4, favorable feelings toward Republicans - Donald Trump's political party - was the only non-significant predictor of male supremacy in this regression analysis. These findings suggest that support for Democrats generally and Joe Biden specifically are related to lower male supremacy scores, and conversely, there is something distinctly male supremacist about Trump's brand of politics, which speaks to people differently than the standard rhetoric of the Republican party.

Table 9.
Study 4's feeling thermometer results for Democrats, Republicans, Trump, and Biden predicting total male supremacy (n = 910).

Variable	Standardized Beta (*b*)	Significance (*p*)	Unstandardized Beta (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI)
Democrats	-.19	<.001	-.59	-.92, -.26
Republicans	-.01	.804	-.04	-.34, .26
Donald Trump	.43	<.001	1.09	.80, 1.38

Joe Biden	.14	.013	.41	.09, .73
R-Square Adjusted for Model: $R^2_{adj} = .22$				

As predicted, men who indicated they voted for or intended to vote for Donald Trump had higher mean male supremacy scores than any other named presidential voting choice. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of men's presidential voting preference on total male supremacy scores, in men who reported voting for Joe Biden, or those who said they were not voting. The presidential voting choices *Howie Hawkins*, *Jo Jorgensen*, and *Someone else* were dropped from analysis for low numbers of responses. There was a significant effect of male presidential voting preference on male supremacy at the *p* < .05 level for the remaining 3 conditions [$F(2, 454) = 19.50$, *p* <.001, $\eta^2 = .08$].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-groups effect is really driven by the difference between men who intended to vote for Trump (m = 56.30, SD = 17.31) compared to men who intended to vote for Biden (m = 43.19, SD = 19.38) and men who did not vote (m = 49.68, SD = 17.50). For men, the mean difference in total MSS scores between Trump and Biden was significant (MD = 13.11, SE = 2.09, *p* <.001), as was the difference between male Trump voters and men who did not vote (MD = 6.62, SE = 2.10, *p* = .02). There was also a significant difference between Biden voters and those who did not vote (MD = -6.49, SE = 2.03, *p* = .004). Overall, male Trump voters exhibited the highest levels of male supremacy of either of the other groups (see *Figure 22* below).

Figure 22.
Men's total MSS score by presidential voting preference (n = 456).
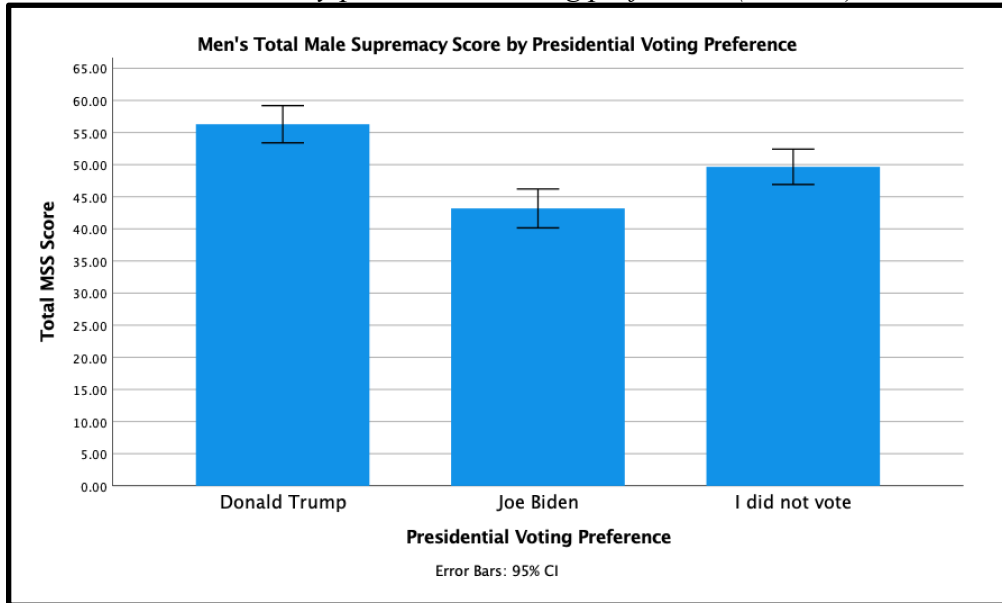
A linear regression was calculated to predict men's total male supremacy scores based on their feelings towards Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden (see *Table 10* below). Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for Trump, specifically, that men's positive feelings towards Donald Trump was associated with substantially higher male supremacy scores ($b = .40$, $t(464) = 5.45$, $p < .001$) than any other condition. Men's positive feelings for Donald Trump was the only predictor variable that was significantly associated with male supremacy; even men's favorable feelings toward Republicans - Donald Trump's political party – was not a significant predictor of male supremacy in this regression analysis. This suggests that for men, there is something distinct about Trump's brand of politics which speaks to people differently than the standard rhetoric of the Republican party.

Table 10.

Men's feeling thermometer results for Democrats, Republicans, Trump, and Biden predicting total male supremacy (n = 464).

Variable	Standardized Beta (*b*)	Significance (*p*)	Unstandardized Beta (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI)
Democrats	-.12	.129	-.38	-.87, .11
Republicans	-.02	.794	-.06	-.47, .36
Donald Trump	.40	<.001	1.09	.70, 1.48
Joe Biden	.04	.571	.14	-.34, .61
R-Square Adjusted for Model: R^2_{adj} = .18				

Finally, a one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of men's political party affiliation on total male supremacy scores, in individuals who reported identifying as a Strong Republican, a Republican, Lean Republican, Neither Republican or Democrat/None/Undecided, Lean Democrat, Democrat, or Strong Democrat. For men in Study 4 who reported their political party affiliation, Strong Republican (m = 59.08, SD = 19.02) had the highest aggregate male supremacy score of any political affiliation, followed by Republican (m = 55.11, SD = 17.16) (see *Figure 23* below). A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to assess the relationship between men's political party affiliation and their total male supremacy score. There was a significant effect of political party affiliation on male supremacy score at the p <.05 level for the 7 conditions [$F(6, 481)$ = 10.01, p <.001, η^2 = .11].

While post hoc analysis using the Tukey HSD test does in fact show the largest difference between the groups being between *Strong Republican* and *Strong Democrat* (MD = 21.35, SE = 3.85, p <.001), Figure DD below better depicts the trend in the results of assessing men's political party affiliation on endorsement of male supremacist ideas.

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Figure 23.
Men's total male supremacy scores by political party affiliation (n = 481).
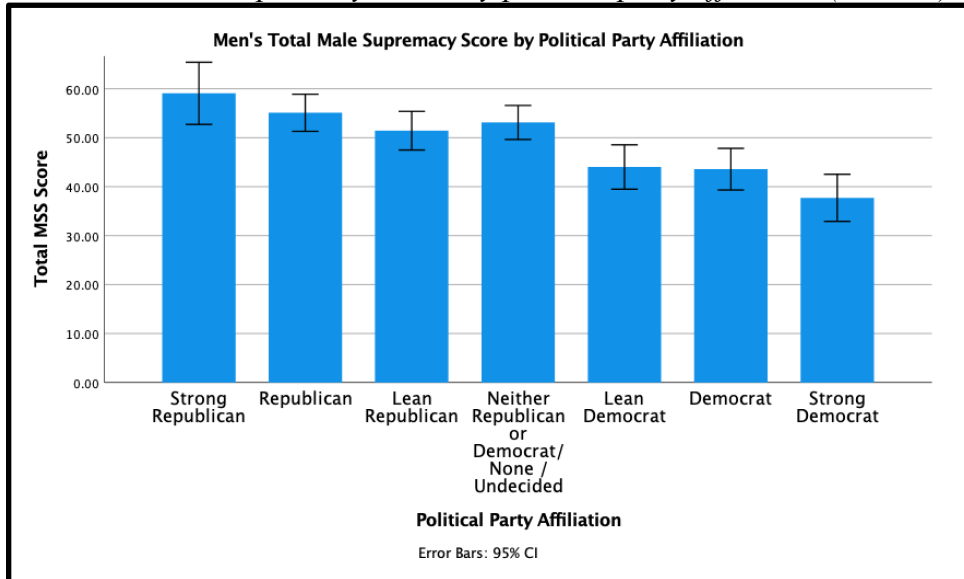
These results show that those men who identify as *Strong Republicans* are highest in male

supremacy scores compared to *Republicans*, *Lean Republican*, *Lean Democrat*, *Democrat*, and

Strong Democrat. The male supremacy trend is a steady line down from Republican to

Democrat, with the only exception being the men who chose *Neither Republican or Democrat /*

None / Undecided category. The higher male supremacy scores amongst this group of men

suggests that this category is not capturing political moderates who are straddling the line

between the Republicans and Democrats, but are better represented by non-mainstream political

affiliations. They are more closely related to *None* and *Neither Republican or Democrat* than

they are to *Undecided* as they are typically understood in presidential campaigns, and seemingly

more in line with Republican-leaning men than Democrat-leaning men.

Women who indicated they voted for or intended to vote for Donald Trump (m = 44.90,

SD = 12.69) had higher mean male supremacy scores than any other presidential voting choice

(i.e. Joe Biden, Jo Jorgensen, Howie Hawkins, Someone else, or I did not vote). A one-way

between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of women's presidential voting

preference on total male supremacy scores. Howie Hawkins and Jo Jorgensen did not receive any

votes from Study 4's sample of women, and women who voted for *Someone else* had a low number of responses as well (n = 3), and thus were therefore dropped from analysis. There was a significant effect of female presidential voting preference on male supremacy at the *p* < .05 level for the remaining 3 conditions [F(2, 431) = 82.26, *p* <.001, η^2 = .28].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD indicate that this between-groups effect is driven by the difference between women who intended to vote for Trump and the other two groups. Female Trump voters were significantly higher on male supremacy than women who intended to vote for Biden (MD = 16.05, SE = 1.25, *p* <.001), and women who did not vote (MD = 11.12, SE = 1.87, *p* <.001). Female Trump voters in Study 4 endorsed male supremacist beliefs at much higher rates than women intending to vote for Biden or who did not vote (see *Figure 24 below*).

Figure 24.
Women's total MSS score by Presidential voting intention (n = 437).
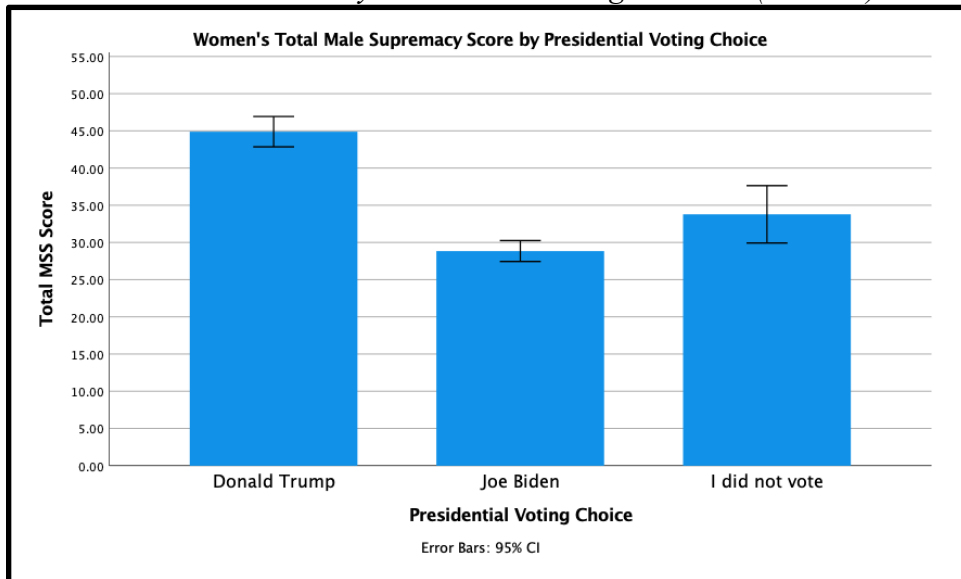
A linear regression was also calculated to predict women's total male supremacy scores based on their feelings towards Democrats, Republicans, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden (see

Table 11 below). Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for Trump, specifically, that women's positive feelings towards Donald Trump were associated with substantially higher male supremacy scores ($b = .49$, $t(434) = 5.23$, $p < .001$) than any other condition. Women's positive feelings for Donald Trump was the only predictor variable that was significantly associated with male supremacy; even women's favorable feelings toward Republicans - Donald Trump's political party – was not a significant predictor of male supremacy in this regression analysis. This suggests that for women, there is something distinct about Trump's brand of politics which speaks to people differently than the standard rhetoric of the Republican party.

Table 11.
Women's feeling thermometer results for Democrats, Republicans, Trump, and Biden predicting total male supremacy (n = 434).

Variable	Standardized Beta (*b*)	Significance (*p*)	Unstandardized Beta (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI)
Democrats	-.12	.142	-.26	-.62, .09
Republicans	-.03	.752	.06	-.30, .41
Donald Trump	.49	<.001	.91	.57, 1.25
Joe Biden	.02	.758	.05	-.29, .39
R-Square Adjusted for Model: $R^2_{adj} = .34$				

For women in Study 4 who reported their political party affiliation, Strong Republican (m = 49.90, SD = 13.55) had the highest aggregate male supremacy score of any political affiliation, followed by Republican (m = 44.19, SD = 13.51) (see *Figure 25* below). A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to assess the relationship between women's political party affiliation and their total male supremacy score. There was a significant effect of political

party affiliation on male supremacy score at the p <.05 level for the 7 conditions [$F(6, 436) =$ 34.73, p <.001, $\eta^2 = .32$].

While post hoc analysis using the Tukey HSD test does show the largest difference between these female groups being between *Strong Republican* and *Strong Democrat* (MD = 21.35, SE = 3.85, p <.001), Figure DD below better depicts the trend in the results of assessing women's political party affiliation on endorsement of male supremacist ideas.

Figure 25.
Women's male supremacy scores by political party affiliation (n = 442).
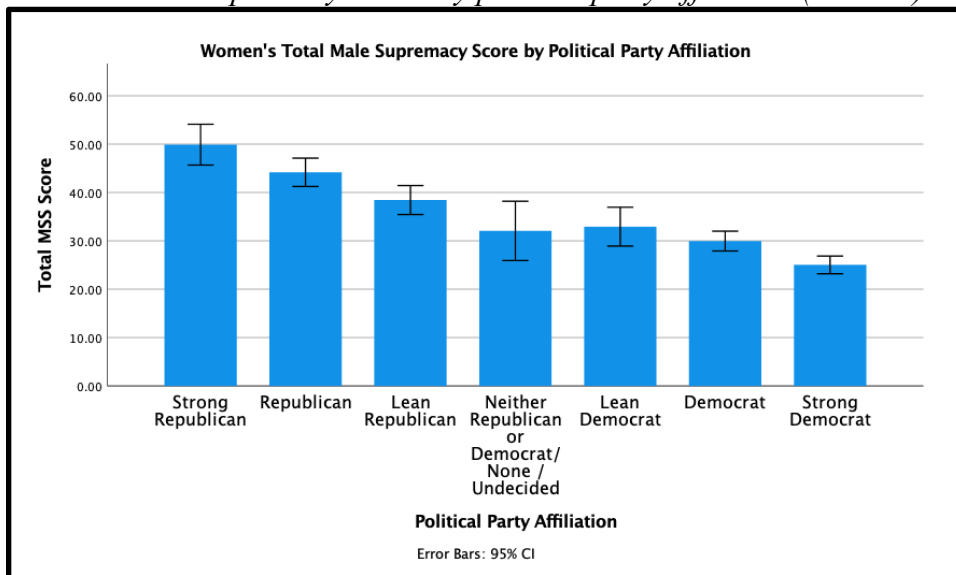
These results show that those women who identify as *Strong Republicans* are highest in male supremacy scores compared to *Republicans*, *Lean Republican*, *Lean Democrat*, *Democrat*, and *Strong Democrat*. For women in Study 4, the male supremacy trend is a steady line down from Republican to Democrat.

Hypothesis 7. As predicted, for the overall sample in Study 4 there was a stronger relationship between male supremacy scores and political orientation on social issues than between political orientation on economic issues and male supremacy, though both are statistically significant. A linear regression was calculated to predict Study 4's total male

supremacy scores based on political orientation on social issues and economic issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect, such that political orientation on social issues significantly relates to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.36$, $t(934) = -7.31$, $p <.001$]; however, political orientation on economic issues also significantly related to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.13$, $t(934) = -2.56$, $p = .011$]. Political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .22$, $F(2, 932) = 129.79$, $p <.001$. The total sample in Study 4 showed stronger political orientation on social issues than economic issues, although both were significantly related to male supremacy.

As predicated, for men in Study 4 there was a strong relationship between male supremacy scores and political orientation on social issues, but no relationship between political orientation on economic issues and male supremacy. A linear regression was calculated to predict men's total male supremacy scores based on their political orientation on social issues and economic issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for men, such that political orientation on social issues significantly relates to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.37$, $t(481) = -5.84$, $p <.001$]; however, men's political orientation on economic issues did not significantly relate to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.05$, $t(481) = -.78$, $p = .437$]. Men's political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .16$, $F(2, 479) = 46.80$, $p <.001$. Men's political orientation on social issues was the only predictor variable to be significantly related to male supremacy - it is social issues and not economic issues that are related to male supremacist thinking in Study 4's sample of men.

For women in Study 4, there was a strong relationship between male supremacy scores and political orientation on social issues, as well as a strong relationship between political orientation on economic issues and male supremacy. A linear regression was calculated to predict women's total male supremacy scores based on their political orientation on social issues and economic issues. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for women, such that political orientation on social issues significantly relates to higher male supremacy scores [$b = -.32$, $t(442) = -4.19$, $p < .001$]. Furthermore, women's political orientation on economic issues significantly related to higher male supremacy scores as well[$b = -.28$, $t(442) = -3.70$, $p < .001$]. Women's political orientation on social and economic issues explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .33$, $F(2, 440) = 107.77$, $p < .001$. Women's political orientation on social issues was more strongly related to male supremacy than their political orientation on economic issues, but both were significant contributors to female expression of male supremacy.

Feelings about social issues, i.e. abortion, freedom of speech, is better at explaining the relationship between political orientation and male supremacy than feelings about economic issues, i.e. taxes, the national debt. The results of this hypothesis have varied somewhat across studies, indicating that the distinction is more complicated than a simple binary between social and economic issues.

Establishing Convergent/Discriminant Validity and Construct-relevance for Study 4

Hypothesis 8. In Study 4, the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS) - the two subscales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - was assessed for its convergent and discriminant validity in relation to male supremacy. For the total population of

Study 4, the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS) was assessed

for its convergent and discriminant validity in relation to male supremacy. As predicted, based

on the total sample in this study the relationship between hostile sexism and male supremacy is

extremely strong, while there is also a significant relationship between benevolent sexism and

male supremacy. Regression analysis revealed a strongly significant effect on male supremacy

scores for endorsing hostile sexism ($b = .74$, $t(935) = 34.10$, $p < .001$), as well as as less strong

but still significant effect for benevolent sexism ($b = .06$, $t(935) = 2.95$, $p = .003$). Hostile and

benevolent sexism explained a significant proportion of variance in overall male supremacy

scores, $R^2_{adj} = .58$, $F(2, 933) = 647.53$, $p < .001$.

A linear regression was also run to evaluate Study 4's total Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

scores in relation to male supremacy, and regression analysis demonstrated a significant effect

was found ($b = .65$, $t(935) = 26.27$, $p < .001$. Overall ambivalent sexism score explained a

significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .42$, $F(1, 934) = 690.26$, p

$< .001$.

As predicted, based on the sample of men in this study the relationship between hostile

sexism and male supremacy is extremely strong, while there is no significant link between

benevolent sexism and male supremacy. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on

male supremacy scores for men endorsing hostile sexism ($b = .74$, $t(481) = 24.11$, $p < .001$), but

not for men endorsing benevolent sexism ($b = .03$, $t(481) = .918$, $p = .359$). Men's hostile and

benevolent sexism explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, R^2_{adj}

$= .56$, $F(2, 479) = 308.84$, $p < .001$.

Finally, a linear regression was run to evaluate men's total Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

scores in relation to male supremacy, and regression analysis demonstrated a significant effect

was found ($b = .62$, $t(481) = 17.16$, $p < .001$. Men's overall ambivalent sexism score explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .38$, $F(1, 480) = 294.49$, $p < .001$. These findings confirm Hypothesis 8 and shed light on the nature of men's male supremacy as measured by the MSS. This form of male supremacy is importantly different from other types of sexism. Male supremacy as constructed in the Man-O-Sphere is not putting women on a pedestal, nor do they desire to cherish women for their refined taste and superior moral sensibility. The tone and tenor of contemporary male supremacy is much more aligned with hostile sexism - seeing women as manipulative, power hungry, and entitled. The relationship between the hostile sexism subscale and the MSS in men is so strong that it will be important to disentangle the two concepts in the Discussion section below.

For women in Study 4, the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS) was assessed for its convergent and discriminant validity in relation to male supremacy. Based on the sample of women in this study, the relationship between hostile sexism and male supremacy is extremely strong, while there is also a significant relationship between benevolent sexism and male supremacy. Regression analysis revealed a strongly significant effect on male supremacy scores for women endorsing hostile sexism ($b = .64$, $t(442) = 18.36$, $p < .001$), as well as less strong but still significant effect for women endorsing benevolent sexism ($b = .17$, $t(442) = 4.96$, $p < .001$). Women's hostile and benevolent sexism explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .51$, $F(2, 440) = 229.25$, $p < .001$.

A linear regression was also run to evaluate women's total Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores in relation to male supremacy, and regression analysis demonstrated a significant effect was found ($b = .66$, $t(442) = 18.26$, $p < .001$. Women's overall ambivalent sexism score explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .43$, $F(1, 441) = 333.49$, p

<.001. These findings suggest that women high in male supremacy are organizing these beliefs differently, and configuring their ideology differently, than men who are endorsing male supremacist ideology. The nature of the relationship between women and male supremacy is importantly different than it is for men given that women are the subordinate class within the patriarchy and men are the dominant class, and these results reflect that difference.

Together, these findings suggest that the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is strongly related to male supremacy, and further, that men and women organize male supremacist beliefs differently, configuring their ideology differently depending on whether they are part of the subordinate class within the patriarchy or the dominant class.

Hypothesis 9. Contrary to hypothesis 9A, when evaluating the whole sample from Study 4 to see the relationship between the Dark Triad of Personality and male supremacy, regression analysis revealed a significant effect of male supremacy for subjects endorsing the Narcissism subscale items ($b = -.18$, $t(935) = -5.05$, $p < .001$), the Machiavellianism subscale ($b = -.13$, $t(935) = -3.03$, $p = .003$), and the Psychopathy subscale items ($b = -.14$, $t(935) = -3.53$, $p < .001$). For the whole Study 4 sample, the Dark Triad of Personality explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy, $R^2_{adj} = .13$, $F(3, 932) = 48.13$, $p < .001$.

For Study 4, regression analysis evaluating the Dark Triad in relation to the MSS revealed a significant effect ($b = -.36$, $t(935) = -11.95$, $p < .001$). Overall Dark Triad scores explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .13$, $F(1, 934) = 142.73$, $p < .001$. People high in male supremacy score high on the Dark Triad of Personality. This relationship between the two makes sense given the explicit endorsement of DT personality traits by the male supremacist online community.

Hypothesis 9B posits that for men, the Dark Triad of Personality will demonstrate a stronger relationship between the Machiavellianism subscale and the MSS than either other subscale (psychopathy and narcissism). Contrary to hypothesis 9B, results from Study 4's sample of men suggest that the opposite is true: the Machiavellianism subscale was not statistically significantly related to the MSS, whereas the Psychopathy and Narcissism subscales were significantly related to total MSS scores. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy scores for men endorsing the narcissism subscale items ($b = -.20$, $t(481) = -3.96$, $p < .001$), as well as for men endorsing the psychopathy subscale items ($b = -.17$, $t(481) = -3.14$, $p = .002$), but not for men endorsing the Machiavellianism subscale items ($b = -.06$, $t(481) = -1.06$, $p = .290$). For the men in Study 4, narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy, $R^2_{adj} = .12$, $F(3, 478) = 21.74$, $p < .001$. When using a linear regression equation to evaluate the total Dark Triad in relation to the MSS, regression analysis revealed a significant effect ($b = -.34$, $t(481) = -8.00$, $p < .001$). Men's overall Dark Triad score explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .12$, $F(1, 480) = 63.96$, $p < .001$.

These findings suggest that the men in Study 4 who rate high in male supremacy are narcissistic and display features of psychopathy. They may not report manipulating and exploiting others, but they do report feeling entitled, being quick to anger, trying to be dominant in social situations, and lacking remorse for their actions. This unpredicted finding underscores the importance of distinguishing between ideas that are promoted compared to ideas that are internalized within male supremacist online communities. Some male supremacist communities explicitly endorse Machiavellianism as a valuable and desirable quality; however, that does not

mean that male supremacists are actually manipulating, lying to, deceiving, and exploiting the people in their lives.

Study 4's sample of women show a statistically significant relationship between Machiavellianism and male supremacy, as well as with Narcissism and the MSS, but not Psychopathy. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect of male supremacy for women endorsing the Narcissism subscale items ($b = -.15$, $t(442) = -2.72$, $p = .007$), as well as for women endorsing the Machiavellianism subscale ($b = -.14$, $t(442) = -2.33$, $p = .020$), but not for women endorsing the Psychopathy subscale items ($b = .04$, $t(442) = .68$, $p = .496$). For the women in Study 4, narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism explained a small but statistically significant proportion of variance in male supremacy, $R^2_{adj} = .05$, $F(3, 439) = 7.91$, $p < .001$.

When using a linear regression equation to evaluate the total Dark Triad in relation to the MSS in women, regression analysis revealed a significant effect ($b = -.21$, $t(442) = -4.49$, $p < .001$). Women's overall Dark Triad score explained a small but statistically significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .04$, $F(1, 441) = 20.16$, $p < .001$. Both men and women who are high in male supremacy score high on the narcissism subscale; however, unlike the men in Study 4 who are high in male supremacy, these results show that for the women in this sample high levels of male supremacy are related to narcissism and Machiavellianism, but not psychopathy.

Hypothesis 10. Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) was assessed in Study 4, in order to determine its relationship to total male supremacy scores in this sample. The total Study 4 sample was assessed on its Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) as it relates to the total sample's male supremacy scores. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for RWA ($b = .52$,

$t(935) = 18.38$, $p < .001$). Right-wing Authoritarianism in Study 4's total sample explained a significant proportion of variance in their male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .27$, $F(1, 934) = 337.62$, $p < .001$. For Study 4, endorsement of male supremacy as measured by the MSS is strongly related to authoritarianism.

Hypothesis 9B assessing convergent and discriminant validity correctly proposed that men's higher scores on RWA will predict higher scores on the MSS. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for men exhibiting RWA ($b = .49$, $t(481) = 12.44$, $p < .001$). Men's Right-wing Authoritarianism explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy, $R^2_{adj} = .24$, $F(1, 480) = 154.75$, $p < .001$. Male supremacy as measured by the MSS is related to authoritarianism; the anti-feminist component of the MSS speaks to the desire to return to more traditional gender roles and social mores that are prominently featured in multiple RWA items.

Further, the Women Like Alphas subscale describes a vision for what male supremacists aspire to as men, to be dominant, powerful, and reap social rewards as a result - this vision of strong, Alpha Male leadership is also reflected in the RWA items that laud authority figures and strong leaders generally, and could also explain the strong relationship between male supremacy and Trump support.

Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) was also assessed in Study 4's female sample, in order to determine the relationship between RWA and male supremacy scores in women. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect for women exhibiting RWA ($b = .59$, $t(442) = 15.16$, $p < .001$). Women's Right-wing Authoritarianism explained a significant proportion of variance in their male supremacy, $R^2_{adj} = .34$, $F(1, 441) = 229.74$, $p < .001$. For women in Study 4, their endorsement of male supremacy as measured by the MSS is related to authoritarianism;

the anti-feminist component of the MSS speaks to the desire to return to more traditional gender roles and social mores that are prominently featured in multiple RWA items.

The relationship between authoritarianism and male supremacy will be explicitly explored in Chapter 4, but in short, rigid social hierarchies, and comfort with dominant classes within society assuming authority over subordinate classes, are both important components of the patriarchal social order - these are fundamental concepts to both authoritarians and male supremacists.

Hypothesis 11. As predicted, for the whole Study 4 sample higher scores on Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) predict higher scores on the MSS. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect of male supremacy on social dominance orientation ($b = .47$, $t(935) = 16.43$, $p < .001$. In Study 4's sample, SDO explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy $R^2_{adj} = .22$, $F(1, 934) = 270.03$, $p < .001$.

As predicted, for men in Study 4 higher scores on Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) predict higher scores on the MSS. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy for men exhibiting SDO ($b = .47$, $t(481) = 11.54$, $p < .001$. In Study 4, men's social dominance orientation explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy $R^2_{adj} = .22$, $F(1, 480) = 133.27$, $p < .001$.

For women in Study 4, higher scores on Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) predict higher scores on the MSS. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy for women exhibiting SDO ($b = .50$, $t(442) = 11.95$, $p < .001$. In Study 4, women's social dominance orientation explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy $R^2_{adj} = .24$, $F(1, 441) = 142.83$, $p < .001$.

Given the relationship between male supremacy and hegemonic masculinity, it follows logically that men who are highly invested in hierarchies of male dominance, that stake their identity on an imagined superiority to women and subordinate males, that those men would also be high in social dominance orientation. Furthermore, regardless of gender so much of male supremacy is rooted in defining oneself in opposition to hated out-groups (e.g., feminists, beta males) and that which is different and worse than what you aspire to be. SDO's emphasis on in-group dominance and superiority over existentially threatening outsiders parallels the same logics that underlie male supremacy, hence why this core element of male supremacy was seen in men, women, and the whole sample.

Hypothesis 14. As predicted, for the total sample in Study 4, psychological entitlement predicts higher levels of male supremacy. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy for those who scored high on the Psychological Entitlement Scale ($b = .30$, $t(935) = 9.64$, $p < .001$). The sample's sense of psychological entitlement explained a small but statistically significant proportion of variance in their male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .09$, $F(1, 934) = 92.94$, $p < .001$. There is an important relationship between male supremacy and a sense of entitlement. Given that the patriarchal social order is built on the concept of privilege, it follows that those who are invested in male supremacist ideology would also see themselves as entitled to unearned power, authority, and privilege over subordinate out-groups.

As predicted, the Psychological Entitlement Scale predicts higher scores on the MSS for men. Results from Study 4 indicate that men who score higher in psychological entitlement display higher levels of male supremacy. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy for men who scored high in psychological entitlement ($b = .34$, $t(481) = 8.04$, p

<.001). Men's sense of psychological entitlement explained a significant proportion of variance in male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .12$, $F(1, 480) = 64.56$, $p < .001$.

The definition of patriarchal sexism used in this dissertation characterizes it as the rationalization and justification of a gendered system of social relations in which some men are elevated to positions of power and authority, while women are kept from positions of power and authority. This rationalization on some level requires a sense of entitlement to the power and authority that is unearned yet still presumed. Furthermore, Campbell (2004) notes that psychological entitlement appears to be related to or a subfactor of narcissism, which is borne out in the correlation between the Dark Triad's Narcissism subscale and the PES ($r = -.64$, $p < .001$). Thus, men in this sample who are high in male supremacy were displaying high levels of narcissism (as established in the Dark Triad hypothesis above), and would also be expected to display high levels of psychological entitlement.

For women in Study 4, psychological entitlement predicts higher levels of male supremacy endorsement. Regression analysis revealed a significant effect on male supremacy for women who scored high on the Psychological Entitlement Scale ($b = .25$, $t(442) = 5.40$, $p < .001$). Women's sense of psychological entitlement explained a small but statistically significant proportion of variance in their male supremacy scores, $R^2_{adj} = .06$, $F(1, 441) = 29.19$, $p < .001$.

Feeling Thermometers for Grievance-based Groups

The total sample in Study 4 was analyzed to determine the relationship between affinity for grievance-based groups and male supremacy (see *Table 12* below). Results from Study 4's total sample indicate that evaluations of grievance-based groups are strongly associated with

male supremacy. When evaluating the results of Study 4's total sample, the grievance-based groups that had the highest levels of affinity in the male-only and female-only samples also scored particularly high on male supremacy in the total sample. Namely, *the Proud Boys*, *the Boogaloo*, and *White Nationalists* showed the strongest positive relationship between affinity towards the group and male supremacy.

Table 12.
Individual linear regressions evaluating the total sample's feelings towards grievance-based groups predicting MSS scores in Study 4 (n = 947).

Grievance-based Group	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
QAnon	.32	<.001	1.31	47.94, 1.60
The Boogaloo	.50	<.001	2.10	1.61, 2.59
Incels	.41	<.001	1.92	1.55, 2.30
Oath Keepers	.42	<.001	1.41	1.08, 1.75
Black Lives Matter	-.48	<.001	-1.18	-1.32, -1.04
Feminists	-.66	<.001	-1.99	-2.14, -1.84
Vaccine (COVID) Skeptics	.38	<.001	1.12	.94, 1.30
White Nationalists	.45	<.001	1.98	1.71, 2.26
Proud Boys	.51	<.001	1.87	1.62, 2.11
Black Panthers	-.42	<.001	-1.25	-1.45, -1.05
Neo-Nazis	.34	<.001	2.14	1.74, 2.53
Militia Movements	.41	<.001	1.55	1.28, 1.83
ANTIFA	-.38	<.001	-1.09	-1.28, -.89
Occupy Wall	-.30	<.001	-.99	-1.26, -.73

Street				
Gender Critical	.15	.003	.55	-.19, .90
Holocaust Skeptics	.35	<.001	1.77	1.45, 2.10

Results from men in Study 4 indicate that evaluations of grievance-based groups are strongly associated with male supremacy. The grievance-based identities chosen reflect groups on both sides of the political and ideological spectrum, from White Nationalists and Neo-Nazis to ANTIFA and Black Lives Matter (see *Table 13* below). It is telling that so many grievance-based affinities align with male supremacy, given the ways that online discourse in the Man-O-Sphere positions men and the Man-O-Sphere as aggrieved victims of society. There are numerous items in the MSS that touch on male supremacists' sense of victimization; victimization at the hands of society; victimization at the hands of feminism; victimization at the hands of the individual woman you are in a relationship with.

The strongest relationship between feelings towards a grievance-based group and male supremacy is feelings towards feminists, which is unsurprising given the MSS's Anti-Feminism subscale. But more informative was the relationship between male supremacy and feelings towards The Boogaloo, Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, and Militia Movements. These are four extremist groups that figured prominently in the January 6th insurrection, and their affinity for male supremacy speaks to the intersectional nature of extremism and male supremacy. These supremacist ideologies are interrelated, and the beliefs that underpin male supremacy also uphold white supremacist and authoritarian world views. In Daniel Koehler's work on extremist ideology (2022), he remarks that:

Commitment and integration into an extremist milieu do not automatically have to

be based on ideological convictions. It can be, and arguably even more often is,

driven by the desire to belong to a group, for social status and recognition,

friendships, fun, and adventure…Extremism is a relational concept reflecting

ideological distance and dependency at the same time (p. 4-5).

Given this understanding of extremism, it logically follows that sympathy for extremist groups

like The Boogaloo or militia movements aligns with sympathy for male supremacist ideology.

The loosely connected networks of online male supremacists are providing the same type of

kinship and bondedness that other grievance-based identities offer, and feature the same type of

understandings about hierarchies, authority, and who is considered part of the out-group. Male

supremacist thinking reflects the same disposition that are found in many types of grievance-

based groups - Proud Boys, White Nationalists, Neo-Nazis, The Boogaloo - and whether it is

explicit or subtle, the beliefs that rationalize and justify a patriarchal society also justify white

supremacy and other authoritarian systems of oppression.

Table 13.
Individual linear regressions evaluating men's feelings towards grievance-based groups predicting MSS scores in Study 4 (n = 464).

Grievance-based Group	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
QAnon	.37	<.001	1.57	1.16, 1.98
The Boogaloo	.51	<.001	2.13	1.53, 2.73
Incels	.34	<.001	1.56	1.04, 2.08
Oath Keepers	.42	<.001	1.40	.98, 1.82
Black Lives Matter	-.39	<.001	-1.02	-1.24, -.81

Feminists	-.61	<.001	-2.08	-2.33, -1.84
Vaccine (COVID) Skeptics	.39	<.001	1.21	.95, 1.47
White Nationalists	.43	<.001	1.77	1.42, 2.13
Proud Boys	.50	<.001	1.84	1.50, 2.18
Black Panthers	-.35	<.001	-1.13	-1.44, -.81
Neo-Nazis	.33	<.001	1.88	1.38, 2.38
Militia Movements	.41	<.001	1.52	1.17, 1.88
ANTIFA	-.33	<.001	-1.06	-1.36, -.76
Occupy Wall Street	-.22	<.001	-.73	-1.09, -.36
Gender Critical	.11	.108	.38	-.09, .85
Holocaust Skeptics	.37	<.001	1.75	1.33, 2.17

The female sample in Study 4 was also analyzed to determine the relationship between affinity for grievance-based groups and male supremacy (see *Table 14* below). Results from women in Study 4 indicate that evaluations of grievance-based groups are strongly associated with male supremacy. The most striking difference between the male and female samples in terms of grievance-based affinity involves the more politically Leftist groups. The female sample in Study 4 demonstrated a stronger negative relationship between male supremacy and affinity for *Occupy Wall Street* (men's b = -.11, women's b = -.42), as well as male supremacy and affinity for *Black Lives Matter* (men's b = -.35, women's b = -.58). The grievance-based groups that women high in male supremacy had the most affinity for were *Vaccine (COVID) Skeptics*, followed by *the Proud Boys*, and *White Nationalists*. This is juxtaposed to men in Study 4 who were high in male supremacy, who had the most positive feelings towards *The Boogaloo*, *the*

Proud Boys, and *White Nationalists*. Women who are sympathetic towards anti-vaxxers and

vaccine-skeptics are more likely to endorse male supremacy. This suggests that vaccine

hesitancy could be a possible pathway for radicalization among women into other forms of

extremism.

Table 14.
Individual linear regressions evaluating women's feelings towards grievance-based groups
predicting MSS scores in Study 4 (n = 447).

Grievance-based Group	Standardized Beta Coefficient (b)	Significance (p)	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient (B)	95% Confidence Intervals (CI)
QAnon	.26	<.001	.81	.48, 1.12
The Boogaloo	.36	<.001	1.18	.36, 2.01
Incels	.32	<.001	1.14	.67, 1.60
Oath Keepers	.40	<.001	1.03	.58, 1.49
Black Lives Matter	-.58	<.001	-1.09	-1.24, -.95
Feminists	-.65	<.001	-1.52	-1.69, -1.35
Vaccine (COVID) Skeptics	.45	<.001	1.03	.84, 1.22
White Nationalists	.39	<.001	1.64	1.26, 2.03
Proud Boys	.43	<.001	1.33	1.01, 1.64
Black Panthers	-.47	<.001	-1.04	-1.24, -.83
Neo-Nazis	.30	<.001	1.81	1.26, 2.36
Militia Movements	.36	<.001	1.16	.78, 1.53
ANTIFA	-.45	<.001	-.99	-1.19, -.78
Occupy Wall Street	-.42	<.001	-1.08	-1.39, -.76
Gender Critical	.10	.224	.29	-.18, .76

Holocaust Skeptics	.24	<.001	1.08	.63, 1.53

Single Item Political Issues

In Study 4, four single-issue items were included to assess the relationship between feelings on these issues (free speech, abortion, gun control, and immigration) and total male supremacy scores on the MSS. The results for these single-item political issues are calculated controlling for political affiliation, in order to see how positions on these issues relate to male supremacy above and beyond one's political orientation.

Free Speech. Subjects in Study 4 were asked the question, "Should websites be allowed to restrict the speech of its users?" and were provided five possible response options, ranging from *Definitely not* to *Definitely yes*. Responses were evaluated in relation to their male supremacy scores to see how positions on free speech relate to male supremacy. In conducting this analysis, the respondent's political affiliation was controlled for, in order to see how their feelings about free speech relate to male supremacy above and beyond their political affiliation.

For the whole sample in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant difference between free speech positions on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was a significant effect of free speech positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 929) = 5.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that those who responded *Definitely not* to the question of websites restricting speech of its users were significantly different on male supremacy scores than any other group. The largest mean difference was with the *Definitely yes* group (MD = 7.15, SE = 2.08, $p < .001$), but even difference between the group

responding *Definitely not* compared to *Probably not* were significantly different (MD = 5.84, SE = 1.63, *p* <.001). Furthermore, no other position on the free speech of website users showed a statistically significant difference on male supremacy compared to the other responses. These results suggest that those who categorically refuse any moderation of speech on websites are significantly higher in male supremacy than those who hold any other position on the issue. People who believe that free speech is not to be restricted under any circumstances are higher in male supremacy scores than those who are open to restrictions on speech.

For men in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of free speech positions on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results for men in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was a significant effect of free speech positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 476) = 3.73$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that the group of men who responded *Definitely not* to the question of websites restricting speech of its users were significantly different on male supremacy scores than any other group. The largest mean difference was with the *Definitely yes* group (MD = 8.44, SE = 2.93, *p* = .004), but even difference between the group of men responding *Definitely not* compared to *Probably not* were significantly different (MD = 5.72, SE = 2.34, *p* = .015). Furthermore, no other position on the free speech of website users showed a statistically significant difference on male supremacy compared to the other responses. These results suggest that those men who categorically refuse any moderation of speech on websites are significantly higher in male supremacy than men who hold any other position on the issue. Men who believe that free speech is not to be restricted are higher in male supremacy scores than those men who are open to restrictions on speech. This

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finding touches on a unique aspect of the MSS, namely that the items are derived from online ethnographic research; thus, the digital medium that these male supremacist communities use to congregate and communicate introduces its own political concern - free speech and censorship on the internet. Many online forums have found digital communities that prominently feature male supremacy to be toxic, and thus make efforts to move those users off the website - Reddit famously being one such site.

For women in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant difference between free speech positions on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results for women in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was no significant effect of free speech positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 437) = 1.44$, $p = .220$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that the group of women who responded *Definitely not* to the question of websites restricting speech of its users were significantly different on male supremacy scores than those who responded *Definitely yes* (MD = 5.21, SE = 2.36, $p = .028$), but that was the only comparison of women that showed any statistically significant relationship between free speech positions and male supremacy after controlling for political affiliation.

Abortion. Subjects in Study 4 were asked the question, "In general, do you agree or disagree with the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision that established a woman's right to an abortion?" and were provided five possible response options, ranging from *Strongly disagree* to *Strongly agree*. Responses were evaluated in relation to their male supremacy scores to see how positions on abortion relate to male supremacy. In conducting this analysis, political affiliation was controlled for in order to see how subjects' positions on abortion relate to male supremacy above and beyond political party affiliation.

For the total sample in Study 4, a one-way between-subjects ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statically significant effect of abortion positions on male supremacy, controlling for political affiliation. Results show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was a significant effect for abortion positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 928) = 13.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Similar to the men-only sample in Study 4, the abortion position group with the highest male supremacy score in this sample are those who responded *Neither agree nor disagree* with Roe v. Wade (m = 53.11, SD = 20.09). While the lowest male supremacy scores were represented by those who strongly agree with Roe v. Wade (m = 35.51, SD = 15.82).

Post hoc comparisons indicate that those who neither agree nor disagree with Roe v. Wade are significantly higher in male supremacy than either those who strongly agree with Roe v. Wade (MD = 12.43, SE = 1.99, $p < .001$) and those who strongly disagree with Roe v. Wade (MD = 7.00, SE = 2.28, $p = .002$). These results reveal that indifference to the issue of abortion is more indicative of male supremacy than even strongly opposing it. Individuals who are anti-abortion may be strongly religious - indeed in this sample, religious intensity and one's level of agreement on Roe v. Wade are significantly correlated [$r = -.54$, $p < .001$] - but that does not mean that these religious people who are anti-abortion also endorse the belief that women like Alpha males, or that women desire men with superior genes for the purpose of reproduction. Finding the connection between indifference to abortion rights and contemporary male supremacy add another layer of nuance to the picture of what male supremacist ideology looks like.

For men in Study 4, a one-way between-subjects ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of abortion positions on male supremacy, controlling for political affiliation. Results for men in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there

was a significant effect for abortion positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 475) = 11.27$, p

$<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Interestingly, the abortion position group with the highest male supremacy score

in this sample of men are those who responded *Neither agree nor disagree* with Roe v. Wade (m

= 60.38, SD = 18.92). While the lowest male supremacy scores were represented by the men

who strongly agree with Roe v. Wade (m = 41.91, SD = 18.65).

Post hoc comparisons indicate that those men who strongly agree with Roe v. Wade are

statistically significantly lower on male supremacy than men who hold any other position on

abortion. For men who neither agree nor disagree with Roe v. Wade, their male supremacy

scores were statistically significantly different from those who *Strongly agree* with Roe v. Wade

(MD = 15.73, SE = 2.70, p <.001) and those who *Strongly disagree* (MD = 6.91, SE = 3.15, p =

.029). These results suggest that men who strongly agree with a woman's right to an abortion

display significantly lower levels of male supremacy than any other group.

For women in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically

significant difference between abortion positions on male supremacy controlling for political

affiliation. Results for women in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there

was no significant effect of abortion positions on male supremacy scores, $F(4, 437) = 1.40$, p =

.232, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that the group of

women who responded *Strongly agree* to the question of supporting Roe v. Wade were

significantly different on male supremacy scores than those who responded *Somewhat disagree*

(MD = 5.07, SE = 2.28, p = .027), but that was the only comparison of women that showed any

statistically significant relationship between abortion positions and male supremacy after

controlling for political affiliation.

Gun Control. Subjects in Study 4 were asked, "Do you favor stricter gun control laws or oppose stricter gun control laws?" and were offered the following response options: *Favor*, *Oppose*, or *Not sure*. Responses were evaluated in relation to their male supremacy scores to see how positions on gun control relate to male supremacy. In conducting this analysis, the respondent's political affiliation was controlled for, in order to see how their feelings about gun control relate to male supremacy above and beyond their political affiliation.

For the total sample in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was a significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy scores, $F(2, 931) = 8.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that those who favor stricter gun control are lower on male supremacy compared to those who oppose stricter gun control laws (MD = -6.12, SE = 1.52, $p < .001$). These results suggest that people who oppose gun control exhibit higher levels of male supremacy than those who favor gun control laws or who are not sure about gun control laws.

For men in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results for men in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was a significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy scores, $F(2, 478) = 7.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that the group of men who favor stricter gun control are lower on male supremacy compared to those who oppose stricter

gun control laws (MD = -7.85, SE = 2.11, *p* <.001). These results suggest that men who oppose gun control exhibit higher levels of male supremacy than those who favor gun control laws or who are not sure about gun control laws.

The NRA and pro-gun media content promotes a certain ideal masculinity that is associate with patriotism and protectionism in order to give male gun owners a means of displaying their manhood (Carlson, 2015; Scaptura & Boyle, 2021). The NRA actively invokes constructed memories of frontier masculinities - made mostly to working-class white men who are threatened by women's rights and civil rights movements - and in the preferred narrative, gun ownership allows these men to construct masculine identities based on an imagined frontier masculinity and American freedom (Scaptura & Boyle, 2021). For men who aspire to the hegemonic masculine ideal outlined in male supremacist ideology, gun ownership may be a way to attain a sense of confidence and a feeling of being a dominant male.

An interesting connection between masculinity and gun ownership detailed by Scaptura and Boyle (2021) is that as more men felt more economic anxiety in the contemporary US capitalist economy, there was a shift in the hegemonic masculine ideal from Provider to Protector. Gun ownership allows some of those men who were feeling emasculated by an inability to occupy the role of provider and bread winner to regain some sense of self-confidence and sense of dominance by allowing them to occupy the role of hero and family protector. By carrying a gun, symbolically, these men renegotiate their masculine identities as protectors of the family (Cassino & Besen-Cassino, 2019). This protection-based identity is highly classed and raced: the narratives of men highlight they have an obligation as "good," "decent," and "responsible" men to protect their families against highly racialized crime (Carlson, 2015).

For women in Study 4, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results for women in Study 4 show that after controlling for political affiliation, there was no significant effect of gun control support on male supremacy scores, $F(2, 439) = .69$, $p = .501$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$.

Immigration. Subjects in Study 4 were asked the question, "Generally, do you think immigrants coming to the United States make American society better in the long run, make American society worse in the long run, or do you think immigrants coming to the U.S. do not have much of an effect on American society one way or the other?" and were given the response options *Better*, *Worse*, *Not much effect*. Responses were evaluated in relation to their male supremacy scores to see how positions on immigration relate to male supremacy controlling for political affiliation, in order to see how their feelings about free speech relate to male supremacy above and beyond their political affiliation.

For the total Study 4 sample, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant effect of immigration positions on male supremacy controlling for political affiliation. Results for the total sample show that after controlling for political affiliations, there was a significant effect of immigration positions on male supremacy, $F(2, 806) = 13.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Post hoc analysis based on estimated marginal means show that those who believe immigrants make American society better are lower on male supremacy compared to those who believe that immigrants make America worse (MD = -8.04, SE = 1.89, $p < .001$). These results suggest that those who see immigrants and diversity as a problem demonstrate higher levels of male supremacy than value diversity and believe that immigrants make the United States

stronger and better. Study 3 established the relationship between the MSS and racial resentment, and this finding about immigration adds another level of depth to that finding. Male supremacy is intertwined with white supremacy, so it follows that people high in male supremacy would also see immigrants as a threat to American society. Study 3 also established a link between male supremacy and conspiratorial thinking, and one prominent white supremacist conspiracy theory is that nefarious actors (read: Jewish people) are strategically allowing immigrants to come to the US in order to eventually destroy the white race through interracial marriage/reproduction.

Discussion

Though Study 4 also confirmed construct validity, this last quantitative study run with the MSS was primarily conducted with the intention of establishing convergent and discriminant validity. Study 4's sample of men still had higher male supremacy scores than women, still saw their relationship status as weakly related to male supremacy, and like Study 3 saw a stronger relationship between male supremacy and Conservative political orientation on social issues compared to Conservative political orientation on economic issues.

Study 4 replicated Study 3's finding that for men in this sample Trump support, more so than Republican party support, predicted higher male supremacy scores on the MSS. The relationship between Republican party support, Conservative political orientation on social issues, and Trump's brand of politics are all reflected in the results parsing their relationship to male supremacy. There is a set of political concerns that relate to dynamics between men and women in society, as well as men and women in relationships, that touch on a fundamental divide in the American electorate. Study 4 points to this divide, but highlighting the ways that Trump was able to galvanize a portion of Republicans who were particularly interested in that

type of rhetoric, originating with his campaign against Hillary Clinton, but carried over through his administration's time in office, and into his reelection campaign against Joe Biden. When evaluating the other scales related to the MSS in Study 4, the nature of Trump's appeal begins to take shape.

The relationship between the Male Supremacy Scale and the Hostile Sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is remarkably strong, statistically speaking. The standardized beta coefficient from the linear regression predicting male supremacy from hostile sexism is .74 ($p <.001$), which is so large as to bring into question the value of the MSS above and beyond the HS subscale. However, this strong relationship between one of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory's subscales and the MSS also demonstrates the convergent validity of the Male Supremacy Scale. It is not the same in terms of content or ideological framework as the ASI, but insofar as contemporary male supremacy centers hostility towards women, the HS subscale captures that component very well. To explain the strong relationship it is important to note that the MSS contains a few items that reflect similar sentiments to some of the Hostile Sexism items.

The Hostile Sexism item *Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight leash* is similar in sentiment to the MSS item *If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand*. Both underscore the strategic manner that women supposedly approach heterosexual romantic relationships with; these items frame romantic relationships between men and women as competitive endeavors and zero-sum games - once a man commits to a woman, she will take power from him, and power is a finite resource in a relationship which determines who is better, stronger, and more dominant. Further, there are a few items in the HS subscale that address the dishonest nature of women - a sentiment reflected in the Female Dishonesty subscale of the MSS. HS items like *When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination* and *Women exaggerate*

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problems at work reflect that same duplicitousness and conniving nature. Hostile sexism in Study 4 reflects the political hypotheses laid out in Chapter 3.

HS subscale scores are significantly higher among those who identify as *Strong Republicans* (m = 4.03, SD = .82) compared to *Strong Democrats* (m = 3.07, SD = .62) (MD = 2.38, SE = .16, *p* <.001), and Biden supporters (m = 3.26, SD = .76) compared to Trump supporters (m = 3.78, SD = .79) (MD = .53, SE = .06, *p* <.001). The BS subscale in Study 4 however was not significantly related to men's MSS scores, whereas the HS subscale was strongly related. This speaks to the difference between male supremacy as manifest in the Man-O-Sphere and older, more traditional forms of sexism measured previously with the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Contemporary male supremacy does not put women on a pedestal, does not consider them to be morally superior or have refined culture and taste. Instead, contemporary male supremacy characterizes women as liars, cheats, and biologically and morally flawed. The toxicity found in the forums, blogs, and websites that comprise the Man-O-Sphere reflect this association with hostile rather than benevolent sexism.

It is also possible that these digital mediums accentuate the hostility towards women, feminists, and subordinate males. While the misogyny and aggression towards women and feminists is embedded in male supremacist ideology, the anonymity of online spaces, combined with the internet's incentivizing of anger as the primary emotion transmitted through communication, and the shallowing of weighty conversation into social media tweets, posts, and comments all contribute to the relationship between digital hostility and male supremacy (Carr, 2010; Grey, 2015; Ott, 2017).

Our male sample in Study 4 who scored high in male supremacy also scored high in both Rightwing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. This is not surprising in that

SDO and RWA have been established in the literature to be conceptually associated with each other (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002; Lippa & Arrad, 1999; Whitley, 1999), and in this study their Pearson correlation was also found to be statistically significant ($r = .45$, $p < .001$). Trump's political rhetoric makes appeals to conventionalism and authoritarian aggression (both core authoritarian characteristics), and that may also interest those who are invested in social hierarchies and comfortable with some (weaker) groups being subordinate to other (stronger) groups.

As the image of male supremacy begins to take on great clarity by Study 4, it is striking how intertwined male supremacy is with entitlement, narcissism, and grievance. With an aggrieved person there is often an underlying resentment associated with something that is unfair or unjust, whether it is real or imagined, which can be expressed as complaints, protests, or behaviors. The clear association between male supremacy and affinity for grievance-based groups demonstrates the ways that male supremacy positions itself as both the clear, strong, decisive path towards understanding the true nature of human behavior, but also victims of more powerful social entities (e.g. Women, Feminists, Jews). Conceptually, entitlement sits right alongside grievance - believing that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others (entitlement) will inevitably activate a sense of injustice at being treated unfairly (grievance) when more is not given, when more of what one is entitled to is withheld.

This feedback loop is then further intensified when the entitled, aggrieved person exhibits narcissism, believing that they are special, deserving of admiration and attention, and wanting to be dominant in social situations. So much of male supremacist behavior in the Man-O-Sphere revolves around men lecturing one another about pseudo-gender theory, folk strategies for bedding as many women as quickly as possible, and anecdotes extrapolated to become grand

theories of human behavior. Aggrieved narcissists, feeling entitled and angry, gather in online

spaces to discuss their victimization and decide who is to blame for their hapless fate.

Chapter 4:

General Discussion and Conclusion

To have a grievance is to have a purpose in life.
A grievance can almost serve as a substitute for hope:
and it not infrequently happens that those who hunger for hope
give their allegiance to him who offers them a grievance.

- Eric Hoffer

Introduction

This project aimed to define, operationalize, and understand male supremacy as found in contemporary online discourse. This process has revealed some important findings related to male supremacist ideology as manifested in the interconnected network of male supremacist online spaces known as the Man-O-Sphere. These findings are the result of extensive online ethnographic research, a key informant interview, and a series of studies used to create an instrument for measuring male supremacy. The Male Supremacy Scale (MSS) - a 15-item, 3 factor scale - is the product of a factor analysis scale development process, and was used over the course of four studies to establish its construct, convergent, and discriminant validity. As a result of this process, we can now evaluate psychological constructs exhibited by a typical male supremacist, what the MSS says about masculinity, how male supremacy manifests in contemporary US politics, how male supremacy intersects with the logics of white supremacist racial hierarchies, and how maladaptive patterns of digital content consumption contribute to radicalization.

Discussion of MSS Findings

The MSS is a 3-factor, 15-item scale to measure male supremacy. Over the course of four studies, the Cronbach's alpha for the MSS was always over .90, indicating strong internal consistency in each iteration. The three factors that comprise the Male Supremacy Scale are: Anti-Feminism, Female Dishonesty, and 'Women Like Alphas'. While each of these subscales are important components of male supremacy, the interconnected logic of the ideology makes it more appropriate to evaluate in total, rather than looking at each subscale independently.

Over the course of four studies, the MSS was able to reliably establish some important components of male supremacy as a construct, which in turn allows the MSS to measure concepts proximal to and intersecting with male supremacy. As expected, men across all four studies scored higher on male supremacy, as measured by the MSS, than women (Hypothesis 1).

The relationship between male supremacy and political ideology was more nuanced than initially hypothesized; while higher levels of support for Conservative political ideology was related to higher levels of male supremacy (Hypothesis 7), political party support was not as strong a predictor of male supremacy. This is the value in assessing political ideology separate from political party support; in a two-party system, your vote does not always reflect the ideology that animates your political philosophy. And further, this set of studies highlights the importance of complicating political ideology, and assessing social versus economic issues within political ideology (Hypothesis 6). The findings here show that Trump support (Hypothesis 5), more so than Republican party support, predicted higher levels of male supremacist thinking. Moreover, it was social conservatism, and not economic conservatism, that was related to male supremacy.

For some men, Trump's political rhetoric tapped into something not exactly political, but politically adjacent. Feminism challenges the patriarchal social order - a foundational, organizing principle of male supremacist thinking and the socially conservative ideology. Trump's explicit derogation of women like Rosie O'Donnell and Hillary Clinton, his openly embracing toxic masculine behavior through his mocking and attempts to emasculate political rivals, and his framing of himself as strong, tough, never apologizing, never admitting he is wrong, all speak to the way Trump's political rhetoric centered male supremacist ideology throughout his campaigns and time in office. Antipathy towards feminism and feminists, believing that women are

inherently untrustworthy in relationships, and the belief that women are predisposed to valuing rich, powerful, high status men (and that women's valuations are paramount to one's self-concept), are not exactly political positions. There is not a necessary connection between how one feels about tax rates and what kind of man women are attracted to, but it seems that embracing a (male) supremacist ideology orients you towards a type of society, an understanding of human relations, that is incompatible with equity, social justice, and a socially progressive worldview (see the *psychological profile* section below).

The initial hypothesis evaluating the relationship between sexual orientation and male supremacy (Hypothesis 2) was that heterosexuals would exhibit significantly higher rates of male supremacist thinking than individuals who identify with any other sexual orientation. This was based in part on the notion that traditional male supremacist thinking endorsed an explicitly homophobic worldview; homohysteria and the policing of men's gendered behaviors was a central component of hegemonic masculinity in the U.S. (Mountford, 2015). However, that hypothesis was proven incorrect in Studies 1 and 2. While heterosexuals did have higher average scores on the MSS than other sexual orientations and were significantly higher on male supremacy than bisexuals in both Studies 1 and 2, they were not statistically significantly different from homosexuals in either study. Like women who endorse male supremacy, the LGBTQ community's endorsement of male supremacy is complicated and deserves its own project for exploring the specific ways that male supremacy manifests in marginalized groups targeted by male supremacy (see the *Future Directions* section below).

Finally, it was hypothesized that relationship status (Hypothesis 3) or feelings about one's relationship status (Hypothesis 4) would be linked to male supremacy; however, neither were related to male supremacy. Endorsing male supremacy does not preclude men from getting

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into relationships, and even those who are single and very unhappy about it are still not scoring significantly higher on the MSS than those who were single and happy about being single. While there are certainly contingents of men - for example, men who identify as incels or MGTOW - for whom their relationship status is related to their endorsing of male supremacy, many men carry those beliefs into their romantic relationships. Further, there are other contingents of men - for example, men who identify as Red Pill or PUA's - who are intentionally and happily single, who still exhibit high levels of male supremacist thinking. While feelings about romantic relationships are inextricably linked to male supremacy, those effects move in a multitude of directions.

In terms of evaluating the MSS in relation to other construct-relevant scales, the MSS showed interesting relationships to scales measuring sexism, personality constructs, political and ideological orientations, conspiratorial thinking, racial resentment, and entitlement (see Chapter 3). Overall, the MSS has demonstrated construct validity across four studies, and is a valid and reliable scale to measure contemporary male supremacy.

The MSS showed a differential relationship to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Hypothesis 8) for men and women, such that men's male supremacy scores were significantly related to their Hostile Sexism subscale score, but not their Benevolent Sexism subscale score. Whereas for women, expressions of both hostile and benevolent sexism were related to male supremacy.

The three personality constructs that make up the Dark Triad of Personality - Narcissism, Psychopathy, Machiavellianism - were importantly related to male supremacy, but not the way that was initially hypothesized (Hypothesis 9). Both men and women who were high in male supremacy were also high in narcissism. However, men high in male supremacy were also high

in psychopathy, but not Machiavellianism; juxtaposed to women high in male supremacy, who also demonstrated high scores on Machiavellianism, but not psychopathy.

The political constructs Social Dominance Orientation (Hypothesis 11) and Rightwing Authoritarianism (Hypothesis 10) both relate strongly to male supremacy. Interestingly, linear regression showed that women's RWA scores were even more strongly related to male supremacy than it was for the men. The same pattern held for SDO as well, where linear regression showed that SDO for women was more strongly related to MSS scores than SDO for men.

Conspiratorial thinking, specifically irrational suspicion, was strongly related to male supremacy (Hypothesis 12). Both men and women who scored high on the irrational suspicion subscale of the Conspiracy Mentality Scale endorsed equally high levels of male supremacy; however, only men in the sample also showed a relationship between high rational suspicion and low levels of male supremacy.

Male supremacy and white supremacy are inextricably linked, hence why high scores on the MSS also produced high scores on the Racial Resentment Scale (Hypothesis 13) for both men and women. Male supremacy still uses racialized logics to understand male hierarchies and male-female social dynamics.

Finally, the MSS showed a strong relationship between one's sense of entitlement - as measured by the Psychological Entitlement Scale - and male supremacy (Hypothesis 14). Entitlement was more strongly related to male supremacy in men than women, however both sexes showed a significant relationship between entitlement and male supremacy.

While the MSS is strongly related to other measures of sexism, it is measuring a separate and importantly different aspect of gendered social relations than other scales that measure sex

roles, gender role adherence, or feelings towards women. The MSS grounds its evaluation of male supremacy in previous understandings of sexism and misogyny, while also capturing the ideas espoused by contemporary male supremacist networks; these ideas include female biology as a predictor of sexual behavior (such as hypergamy and ovulatory shift), the inherent difference between men and women in romantic relationships (notions of female dishonesty and untrustworthiness), and the importance of displaying high status in all social situations.

While male supremacy has existed for hundreds and thousands of years, the justifications and rationalizations of male supremacy update to reflect new explanatory models and frameworks for understanding human behavior and human psychology. Furthermore, the mediums through which these ideas are disseminated have changed dramatically over the last 50 years, such that radicalizing male supremacist content is now readily accessible to masses of young boys and men. Extremist groups that would have had virtually no ability to organize and refine their ideology now have forums and platforms dedicated to assembling male supremacist communities. The MSS captures concepts found within contemporary male supremacy; the logics, language, and norms of online male supremacist discourse that have permeated mainstream thinking about men, women, and the gendered social relationships they inhabit.

A Psychological Profile of a Male Supremacist

The MSS was compared to a variety of psychological scales, measures of personality, political attitudes, and social constructs. Through multiple iterations of quantitative data analysis, as well as qualitative ethnographic research and a key informant interview, this dissertation can begin outlining the contours of a psychological profile for male supremacy. Though male supremacy can be endorsed by a wide range of people, there are a number of specific

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psychological features linked to this ideology: affinity for hierarchy and authority, hostile sexism and anti-female beliefs, racial resentment, conspiratorial thinking, entitlement, a sense of victimization, a lack of friendships in their life, and seeking out online spaces that do not regulate or moderate speech in online discourse.

Love of Authority and the Security of Ranking

Authoritarianism and patriarchy rest on a similar reverence for strong (male) leaders. Both promote the idea that there is a certain class of men that are worthy of being elevated to positions of authority, that ought to be put in charge, that know best, that are brilliant Geniuses with a capital G and/or Artists with a capital A. Admiration for strong leaders and investment in a supremacist social hierarchy are key features of authoritarians, male supremacists, and those who exhibit a social dominance orientation. The logics of male supremacy demand deference to authority, and the desire to exist in a social system that has dominant and subordinate groups; where subordinate groups have been corrupted, are inferior, and must be controlled in order to maintain social order and moral righteousness. Feminism is antithetical to these ideas. In patriarchy, women are subordinate to men, and thus a political movement and social philosophy that argues for equality between sexes undermines the very structure of patriarchy. This tension between feminism and authoritarianism is reflected in the ideological, as well as in the statistical relationship between RWA and the MSS.

Whitley (1999), citing Altemeyer (1981, 1998), argues that there are two characteristics of people who are high in authoritarianism which cause them to be prejudiced: First, people high in authoritarianism tend to organize their worldviews in terms of in-groups and out-groups, and perceive members of out-groups as threatening the traditional values authoritarians hold dear;

The second is self-righteousness - as those high in authoritarianism see themselves as morally superior to other people and thus feel justified in looking down on those who are defined by authority figures as less moral than themselves. The connection between this type of authoritarian personality and anti-feminist thinking then is that authoritarians are threatened by feminism because it challenges traditional gender roles, and allows for women to engage in behaviors that are seen as undermining the presumed male superiority over women, and promoting morally impure behavior - specifically, casual sex, premarital sex, and abortion (Study 4). This idea is reflected in the Study 3 data detailing the connection between male supremacy and moral purity. The Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) subscale measuring moral purity (MP) was strongly related to male supremacy; however, it was the item *Controlling sexual desires is an important and valuable virtue* that was driving that overall relationship between MP and the MSS.

A basic tenet of Social Identity Theory (SIT) is that belonging to a group confers mental health benefits to its members, benefits like improved self-esteem, a sense of belonging, and feeling that one is part of something bigger and more important than oneself (Hogg, 2016). SIT posits that people develop a positive social identity by categorizing themselves and others as members of competing social groups, emphasizing how they are different and superior to the outgroup (Koehler, 2021). Men high in male supremacy can derive valuable psychological benefit from defining themselves as *a priori* better than women, as naturally and biologically superior, as morally and intellectually superior. These men define themselves in opposition to women - the black and white thinking that is characteristic of RWA - and in doing so, elevate themselves and their group above the hated outgroup, i.e., women. Superiority implies hierarchy. It implicitly suggests that there are rankings of people, and men are higher than women. This is

also why male supremacists in the Man-O-Sphere are so wedded to the notion of Sexual Market Value (Wynn, 2018), which is the idea that all people can be ranked in terms of attractiveness from one to ten. Rankings provide social structure - a simple organizing philosophy. It appeals to those with a social dominance orientation, it appeals to supremacists. For a certain type of man, the love of authority and the comfort of ranking makes male supremacy an appealing ideology to embrace.

White Supremacy, Racial Resentment, and Male Supremacy Intermingled

Male supremacy is simply one variation of supremacist thinking; it follows the same logics as white supremacy, religious supremacy, and other ideologies that rank groups of people and arrange them by value, that profess that one group is undeniably superior to the others, and therefore believe that group deserves to dominant over and control those other groups. This is why social dominance orientation and rightwing authoritarianism are as related as they are; they both capture this general supremacist vision of humanity. Male supremacy positions men as the dominant group to be elevated to positions of power and authority; white supremacy positions white people as the dominant group; various religions will argue that their doctrine is the true word of God, and anyone who is not abiding by those commandments is sinful, a heretic, impure.

All these ideologies have an underlying logic: that there are good people and bad people; good people are people like me, bad people are those who differ from me in some important way. In the case of male supremacy, the societal condition of inequality pivots on the axis of sex/gender, with sexism justifying the dominance of men over women and misogyny enforcing that dominance. The role that white supremacist logic plays in male supremacy is complicated. On one hand, the male supremacy found in the Man-O-Sphere centers whiteness. One

straightforward example of this is found in the incel community, where racial-ethnic variations of the term incel are used to describe racial-ethnic minorities who are incels: currycel, ricecel, blackcel, and slavcel, all examples of *ethnicels* (Ethnicel, 2021). Here the implied racial-ethnic background of incels is white, thus, the need to create a non-normative, non-white term for incel. This same linguistic trope revealing latent white supremacist thinking is found in the incel community's discussion of racial-ethnic minorities who are successful with women: Chadpreet, Chadriguez, Tyrone, for example (Chad, 2022). As Lavin (2020) said in their book *Culture Warlords*:

> The racial worldview expressed in the incel-sphere is one in which whiteness is an innate advantage in schematics of sexual attractiveness; whiteness remains at the top of the pyramid, in a way imbued with the pseudoscience of sloppy, bastardized evolutionary psychology (p. 117).

But beyond the existence of these racial-ethnic subgroups within the incel community, there is also an explicitly racial theory about men and dating/relationships: Just Be White (JBW).

The JBW theory is an example of how complicated contemporary male supremacy is, and why it is importantly different from older measures of sexism. This contemporary male supremacy is being formulated in a post-critical race theory world, and is responding to contemporary online discourse that heavily features feminist theory, critical race theory, and discussions of privilege. Given the prevalence of those discourses in social media, websites, and forums, some racial-ethnic minorities have appropriated the language of critical race theory to explain their lack of sexual success with women. The JBW theory is deployed by racial-ethnic minorities in the Man-O-Sphere to argue that white men have it much easier than Indian, Middle Eastern, East Asian, or Latino men. East Asian men in the Man-O-Sphere will point out the ease

with which white men can enter relationships with East Asian women and use this as evidence for the JBW theory. Instead of highlighting the role of colonialism, and empowering East Asian women while combatting the effects of white supremacy on East Asian men, racial-ethnic male supremacist subcultures will use the internalized racial biases and explicit discrimination that minorities experience as justification for white supremacist ideas.

For instance, there are targeted harassment campaigns against racial-ethnic minority women who date outside of their race-ethnicity (Sirikul, 2022). Instead of viewing this position as an old, racist view of romantic relationships - after all anti-miscegenation laws have been part of American history since the Maryland General Assembly passed one in 1691 - they have deployed the rhetoric of critical race theory to argue that people should not date outside of their race-ethnicity in order to upend the white privilege that encourages East Asian women to date white men (Anti-miscegenation laws, 2022; Archelogy, 2021). Under the guise of fighting white supremacy, these ethnicels reinforce male supremacy. They encourage and organize misogynistic campaigns of harassment and threats against racial-ethnic minority women who date outside of their race-ethnicity (Mak, 2021). Talia Lavin (2020) notes the ways that, "radicalized misogyny [has] led users straight into the arms of white supremacy. …Just as white supremacy leads to misogyny, the causal relationship could be reversed. No hate is an island," (p. 122). But these are complicated variations of racial politics in contemporary male supremacy; there are also more straight-forward, explicitly racist narratives within the male supremacist ideology.

The early Man-O-Sphere was heavily influenced by the Pickup Artist (PUA) community, which Laura Bates (2021) notes relies heavily on, "deeply problematic racist stereotypes, particularly through sweeping generalizations about the 'types' of women in different countries, suggesting that they all conform to dehumanizing stereotypes," (p. 73). Bates documented some

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commonly held beliefs in the PUA community, such as the belief that women from a particular European country are sex-crazed, or that East Asian women are submissive to white men (Bates, 2021). The important takeaway here is that the PUA community, like the ethnicels, are leaning into and utilizing the same racist hierarchies and frameworks that any other white supremacist group is using.

There seems to be a fair amount of racial-ethnic diversity within the online male supremacy community, though the majority of the Man-O-Sphere is white. Interestingly, racial-ethnic identities did not significantly differ on male supremacy scores in any of the four MSS studies conducted. However, the ethnographic research reveals that different racial-ethnic groups configure their male supremacy according to the culture, values, and context that their identity is rooted in. So for example, Indian men and East Asian men both have a different racial-ethnic context than Black men for what particular values they incorporate into their masculine identity, what hegemonic masculine expectations they are trying to live up to, and what characteristics or expectations of them are they responding to. While the average level of male supremacy may not differ among these racial-ethnic groups, the particularities of their masculine identity will reflect the context and culture they are living in.

Within the Man-O-Sphere, race and racial stereotypes figure prominently into the logics and justifications for why particular incels or Red Pill men were successful/unsuccessful with women. Black men were still framed as hypersexual, East Asian and Indian masculinities were framed as subordinate masculinities, and these groups often used these forums to decry the discrimination they experience in the dating world. But for every ethnicel complaining about white privilege in the dating world and presenting the Just Be White theory, there were just as many white self-identified incels and MGTOW men ready to discuss their own experiences to

the contrary. Incels who identify as white would often push back on the notion that whiteness conferred benefits in the dating world, given their own struggles. Thus, race seems to be a confused topic within the Man-O-Sphere, so much so that the Incels Wikipedia refers to it as one of the topics that causes rifts within the incel community (Incelosphere rifts, 2021).

Hostility Towards Subordinates

One of the strongest statistical predictors of male supremacy on the MSS was high levels of hostile sexism, as measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Importantly, for men in Study 4 the Benevolent Sexism subscale was not strongly related to male supremacy, only the hostile sexism subscale. This squares with the online discourse, where there is little to no benevolent sexism expressed; male supremacist sexism is hostile, anti-feminist, and steeped in a profound distrust of women. One component of this hostility can be explained through Group-Based Threat.

Similar to the research on racial prejudice showing that White Americans respond negatively to experimental stimuli that discuss the racial-ethnic diversification of the American populace (Alba et al., 2005; Craig & Richeson, 2014; Craig, Rucker, & Richeson, 2017; Outten et al., 2012), male supremacists may be responding to perceived gains in women's rights and the proliferation of feminist discourse online as threats to their in-group identity. Their response to this group-based threat is to lash out, sometimes in the form of misogynistic threats or harassment, or even organized campaigns to intimidate and silence female journalists, writers, and professionals. But as Mark Greene (2018) details, those misogynistic impulses are also directed at men who embrace feminism, who reject the hegemonic masculine ideal, and who undermine the patriarchal social order. This is the very definition of toxic masculinity as

understood in this dissertation. The hostility expressed by male supremacists in the form of harassment, threats, physical violence, and intimidation is directed at anyone who undermines the ideology.

In light of the intersectional nature of male supremacy with white supremacy, group-based threats for these men are undermining multiple systems of supremacy and hierarchy, and upending the traditional social order. Anti-feminism and hostility towards women act as a throughline from the Men's Rights Movement of the 1970s all the way to the logics of the Man-O-Sphere today. Male supremacy is no longer couching these criticisms of women in benevolent, paternalistic terms; the hostility is explicit, toxic, and in their minds justified by the vile and duplicitous nature of the women they target. But subordinate males are also denigrated - referred to as cucks, soyboys, manlets. The hostility is facilitated in part by the anonymity of the internet and social media (Rathje, Van Bavel, & Linden, 2021), and in part by the toxic nature of the Man-O-Sphere's digital culture (Mantilla, 2013; Ribeiro et al., 2020).

Conspiratorial Thinking and the Plot to Emasculate (Western) Men

In order to hold the supremacist ideology that is espoused by the Man-O-Sphere, one has to believe a few core conspiracies. One is that society is engaged in a coordinated effort to undermine white, Western, male identity and sexuality. A second is that feminists are not actually interested in achieving equality between men and women, but are instead using equality as a guise to justify dominating, humiliating, and emasculating men. The third is contained within the very concept of the Red Pill - that society intentionally deceives men, obscuring the truth about what women really want, what men are really like, and how our human nature is being subverted by people (read: Jews) who want to undermine our biological impulses for their

own nefarious ends. Lavin (2020) also underscored bidirectional relationship between male supremacy and anti-semitism, which is often a proxy within male supremacist discourse for emasculated/emasculating culture. The popular white supremacist conspiracy, known as the Great Replacement, posits that Jews are intentionally allowing black and brown migrants into America in order to engage in miscegeny, out-reproduce the white population, thus destroying the white race. Note the intertwining of anti-semitism, white supremacy, and male supremacy; the operative mechanism for destroying the white community in this case is the sexual potency and superior breeding capabilities of non-white men. In this way male virility and sexual vigor are directly tied to the preservation of whiteness. The hypersexuality that is demanded by male supremacy is thus justified through these conspiracy theories. The deeper one invests in white supremacist conspiracy theories, the higher one's male supremacy scores; hence, the strong statistical relationship between racial resentment and male supremacy, as well as irrational suspicion - as measured in the Conspiracy Mentality Scale - and male supremacy.

Conspiracy theories within the male supremacist ideology are functional in a number of ways. They explain how weaker groups, e.g., women, subordinate men, are capable of succeeding in their goal of undermining masculinity. Conspiracy theories also connect a number of disparate extremist views to help patch together a coherent supremacist ideology. Finally, the very nature of this irrational suspicion - which regards the government, society, social institutions, and half the population with extreme distrust - allows for pseudoscience, misinformation, and disinformation to fill the void left from rejecting common sensibilities. In that liminal space created through the nihilistic embrace of supremacist ideology, it is easy to craft a comfortable worldview, one that protects your ego, shifts responsibility for your life dissatisfaction to an out-group enemy, and turns discontent into rage.

Entitlement

In some sense, entitlement and male privilege are baked into any system of gendered social relations that intentionally elevates some men to positions of power and authority. Male privilege is the carrot that is dangled in front of men - the tangible reward promised for adhering to and upholding the patriarchal system. The stick then in this metaphor is the toxic masculinity that polices and punishes those men who fail to uphold - or worse, undermine - the patriarchal system. So to say that a high degree of entitlement is a component of a male supremacist's psychological profile is in one sense a tautology - of course they are entitled, they believe they are adhering to a system that promises them unearned privileges by virtue of their sex. But there is a deeper level of entitlement in male supremacist spaces, one that is born from both profound loneliness, a lack of intimacy, and the emotional stunting that male supremacy prescribes (Greene, 2018). In this way, the statistical relationship between the Psychological Entitlement Scale and the Male Supremacy Scale (Study 4) reflects the ideological and conceptual logics that underlie gender-based supremacy.

Very early on in the key informant (KI) interview, KI made a point of nuancing a commonly held notion about incels. When asked how he defines being an incel, KI said:

> Well, the main problem with incels is the definition itself because if you take the word itself it means involuntary celibate, which is someone who is unable to simply engage in intercourse. But of course, if that was really the problem then a sex worker would really solve it. So, actually the definition is more…it tends to be a person who is unable to enter a romantic relationship despite desiring one. Of course, everyone wishes to have a happy

relationship, but there are people who actively try to seek one and are simply unable to

find anyone interested, and those people are incels (para. 103).

It is a striking comment because it goes against many of the prototypical ideas espoused by the

male supremacist community. His statement underscores the importance of intimacy, love, and

acceptance - rather than simply sex and bedding the most women possible, or the highest sexual

market value women possible. While KI is not representative of all male supremacists - there are

whole communities of PUA and TRP men who would vehemently disagree with the idea that

everyone wants to have a happy relationship - but KI's point underscores an important aspect of

male supremacy in relation to entitlement: these men desire intimacy, affection, sexuality, and a

romantic connection, and are unable to experience it. Christine Walker (2016) discussed this

phenomenon among men in therapy of being unable to distinguish between attraction and

connection to their therapist. These male clients were so conditioned by the rules of toxic

masculinity to restrict and suppress emotional expression that the only pathways for them to

experience connection and intimacy with someone is through feelings of sexual attraction, and

within the framework of a romantic relationship. The poverty of emotional intimacy, trust,

connection, and support that male supremacists receive from their male relationships also

contributes to this central focus on intimate, romantic relationships as the source of comfort and

emotional connection.

These boys and men who are struggling to secure a romantic relationship - the only

identifiable avenue available to them for finding intimacy and emotional connection with

someone - feel shut out from a very fundamental aspect of humanity. Feeling loved, feeling

accepted, feeling an intimate connection with another person, this is primal. Harry Harlow

(1965) demonstrated in monkeys the need for intimacy and affection, and psychologists have

documented the same need in people (Baumeister, Brewer, Tice, & Twenge, 2007; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Humans crave connection to others, as Michael Tomasello (2014) notes human beings are ultra-social creatures. Subgroups within the male supremacist online community, such as incels and MGTOW, complain loudly and clearly about their unhappiness with being unloved and unwanted. They feel entitled to relationships, entitled to sex, entitled to the benefits of patriarchy that they were promised in exchange for the adherence to the system and in exchange for the profound suppression of emotions, vulnerability, and desires that are unacceptable under the logics of patriarchy.

The offensive, logical end to this sense of entitlement to sex is found in the incel community's notion of Sexual Marxism, which is a position that advocates for government mandated sexual partners for all men, as well as some even darker policy implications (Sexual Marxism, 2021). This proposal comes in response to what the incel community sees as feminism's fundamental altering of sexual and romantic partner dynamics. The male supremacist community sees economic and social progress for women - women attaining higher levels of education, women being encouraged to pursue their careers and gain economic independence, women being allowed to pursue casual sexual relationships without any interference by fathers or male guardians - as coming at the expense of a certain class of men, who would have otherwise benefited from the social and economic coercion that forced some women into accepting sexual and romantic relationships that they are now rejecting. Note that this is ahistorical and ignores the ways that economics and social status played into previous generations' romantic and marriage considerations. But this is how male supremacists in the Man-O-Sphere understand feminism's role in changing the dynamics between men and women, and specifically, changing the dynamics in contemporary dating.

All of this is to say, entitlement is a key feature of male supremacy, but what male supremacists feel entitled to is not so obvious. On the surface, the claim is that male supremacists feel entitled to sex and women's bodies; however, under more careful - and possibly overgenerous - scrutiny of entitlement among male supremacists reveals a gaping void of intimacy and affection that they can only express through the desire for intercourse.

Victimization and Censorship

Throughout the Man-O-Sphere, there is this notion that men are silenced, that feminism and society have colluded to muzzle and subdue men. This silencing can take on the subtle form of thought-policing, a more explicit form like censorship and the stifling of free speech, or the fear that the government will start arresting incels under the guise of terrorism. One narrative that cuts across many different male supremacist online communities is the sense that feminism and the government are out to destroy men and masculinity as they know it, and these online spaces are the last refugee for radical, counter-cultural, defiant men. This sense of victimization comes from both how male supremacists are treated in society and by the government, but also how they are treated in digital spaces.

Throughout the interview (Chapter 2), KI made numerous references to the central importance of free speech to his online male supremacist community. He emphasized, upon first visiting the incel forums, how attractive the lack of regulation and moderation of speech was for him, and how critical it is that anyone be allowed to say anything in his forums. This exaltation of free speech is also reflected in the Study 4 item examining attitudes about free speech and censorship online, where those who said websites should definitely not restrict the speech of its users scored significantly higher on male supremacy than any other group that answered the

question. Male supremacists often hold the most extreme position on unfettered free speech, because the communities that they build online often trade in very disturbing speech, images, and ideas.

Reddit banned two incarnations of incel forums on their platform, prompting KI to create his own forum for incels. Other male supremacist communities have faced similar repercussions for toxicity, inciting violence, and brigading other subreddits or forums. The nature of the digital commons is such that communities that contain large numbers of people high in social dominance orientation and hostile sexism are going to eventually organize hostile, misogynistic actions against women, feminists, and other out-groups. The website or platform will decide to either regulate and moderate this behavior, or allow it to continue unabated. If they regulate and moderate, the community is forced to move, feels stigmatized, and will disperse most members but will galvanize a more extreme minority of members. These members will feel even more unfairly targeted and victimized.

The other type of victimization that is being expressed in male supremacist communities is happening to them on the level of government and society. Men's Rights Activists and other male supremacist groups see progressive politics, the courts, feminist discourse, and efforts to hold abusive men accountable as threats to the patriarchal social order. As traditional masculinity, sexism, and supremacist ideologies come under attack from progressive political discourse - and in particular, from feminist discourse - the response from male supremacists is to lash out and double down. Feminism, women, and the subordinate men who undermine the hegemonic masculine ideal are to blame for the sadness, rejection, and aimlessness that the plague the men of the Man-O-Sphere. Or as KI put it:

…it feels to me that we have gone past the point where feminism is really needed… I think that it has become unhealthy at this point both for men and women. …feminism is encouraging women to, how do I put it, make use of their youth but at the expense of their latter years (para 354-360).

KI goes on to make the point that this feminist encouragement for women to, "make use of their youth but at the expense of their latter years," is the reason why incels exist and are growing in numbers. The argument he and other male supremacists make is that feminism is creating empowered women who will not feel pressured into sexual relationships with men, and that this is bad for unattractive men. Male supremacist ideology says that feminist women are to blame for the loneliness, isolation, and alienation that these men feel.

Male supremacists will often blame media portrayals of them as unfair and ungenerous. They lament the Canadian court's decision to label the Proud Boys and violent misogynist groups as terrorists, fearing that this will lead to a nationwide crackdown on incels (Jackson, 2021). The sense of persecution and stigma are all tied together; male supremacists feel attacked, discriminated against, and unfairly portrayed. This is one of the interesting aspects of male supremacy - that it can be a gateway to other forms of radicalization precisely because many of the people who comprise the community are just frustrated, lonely, slighted men and boys. The range of radicalization is so broad that it can feel outrageous that a sexually frustrated and socially awkward high school boy can be classified as a terrorist for posting misogynistic memes on a website. However, the culture of these online male supremacist communities is such that encouraging violence is very common, as is glorifying mass shooters and mass killers who have publicly declared their violence as an act of male supremacy, such as Elliot Rogers, the 2014 killer in Isla Vista, California - referred to as "Saint Elliot" in incel forums (Branson-Potts &

Winton, 2018; Cernik, 2021). Thus, the nature of male supremacy as a broad ideology that brings

in men from a variety of backgrounds makes victimization and stigma feel more acute, since

only a small minority of male supremacists are part of the violent extremist wing.

In response to the ways that PUA, incel, and other male supremacist communities have

been regulated and moderated in other online platforms, as well as some high profile cases of

male supremacy being blamed for mass shooting and murders, there is now a strong sense of

victimization and stigma in the male supremacist community.

No Friends - Isolation and Exclusion

In the section on *Entitlement* above, there is reference made to the Christine Walker

(2016) article on men who confuse sexual attraction and emotional connection in therapy, due to

suppressing non-sexual emotions of intimacy and connection with others. Those boundaries on

emotional intimacy are described by Mark Greene (2018) using the metaphor of the Man Box, a

set of rules for being a man that serves to emotionally constrict boys, limiting the range of

acceptable emotions, and thus limiting their emotional capacity. The Man Box (Greene, 2018)

does not allow men to be emotionally open and vulnerable with each other - that is weak,

effeminate behavior, the domain of subordinate males and women. Greene (2018) highlights the

ways that young boys are taught that friendships are girly, and that girly things are bad; that male

friendships should be superficial, built on conversations about sports, politics, and movies, and

that these are not relationships that are appropriate for emotional openness and connection.

Greene (2018) says of male friendships:

In what is clearly representative of the isolating impact of man box culture, boys entering

late adolescence are shamed and bullied into seeing their close authentic connection with

their best friend as weak (feminine). Accordingly, they slowly disengage from their

closest friendships...Meanwhile, because the need for close friendships is shamed in boys

and men, [men] settle for friendships of proximity, surface-level relationships at our

workplace, at the PTA or the gym. The friendships are interchangeable (p. 27-28).

It was notable that KI and the incel community's own survey of the forum found that a complete

lack of friends is a common feature of the incels. In a survey of 669 incels, 50.8% said that they

do not have any friends, and KI said the same thing. To not be romantically or sexually

successful, and also have no friends, provides very little opportunity for intimate social

connection with peers. Among this male supremacist population, social isolation, loneliness, and

alienation are rampant (Hoffmann (Hoffman et al., 2020; Jaki et al., 2019).

Baumeister's work on social exclusion and rejection explains what happens on a

psychological level to men who feel excluded and cast off by society (Baumeister et al., 2007;

Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Research shows that experiencing social rejection leads to an

increase in aggression and hostility towards the person or people who rejected you, increases in

aggression and hostility towards new people that you interact with, and decreases pro-social

behavior (Twenge et al., 2001; Twenge et al., 2007). There is a fundamental element of social

rejection that links each of these online male supremacist communities together, and it can be

comforting to be presented the idea that it is the fault of feminism and an anti-male society that

you are so alienated. Male supremacy isolates men from women and those who do not subscribe

to those beliefs, but the relationship between male supremacy and social exclusion could move in

the opposite direction as well: those who are already socially isolated find comfort in this new

community of also-ostracized men. Baumeister found that:

being rejected by one person leads to more aggression toward a second person,

but not if the person is embraced by a third person. Such findings suggest

that feeling accepted and included by anybody can help restore the normal

inhibitions and restraints against violent behavior…there have been some signs that

socially excluded people seek to cultivate new possible friends (p. 510).

Consequently, the Man-O-Sphere can be understood in part as an adaptive response to the social

rejection and alienation that these male supremacists experience. They are coming online to find

community, to commiserate about having been wronged by women, and complain about the

society that has rejected them. Without friendships to receive intimacy, connection, and

acceptance, toxic online forums become a convenient stand-in. The dynamics of these spaces

however preclude warmth and genuine care being extended to users - instead, toxic masculinity

demands that users channel any emotional expression into anger and resentment towards their

out-groups and enemies.

Through a combination of years of online ethnographic research, a key informant

interview, and a factor analysis procedure for developing a quantitative instrument for measuring

male supremacy, the outlines of a psychological profile for a male supremacist are able to begin

taking shape. Male supremacists demonstrate an affinity for authority, and organize their

understanding of social groups in terms of a hierarchy of dominant and subordinate groups;

display racial resentments reflective of white supremacist ideology; exhibit high levels of

hostility towards women and other perceived subordinate groups; demonstrate conspiratorial

thinking and irrational suspicion; display high levels of psychological entitlement; express a

profound sense of victimization at the hands of society, government, individuals hostile to their

existence, and concern over being censored by those same entities; and possess a very limited

social network, if not completely bereft of close friends. While not every male supremacist will

display all of these traits and attitudes, these characteristics provide an outline for what aspects of male supremacy are important to the ideology but are not themselves the ideology.

Digital Situationism: Male Supremacy and Online Radicalization

While much of this project has focused on male supremacy - exploring it, defining it, talking to people about it, reading people talking to each other about it - the medium through which this research has been conducted cannot be disentangled from the construct being studied. For this reason, there has been a consistent effort throughout this project to locate the research within the Man-O-Sphere, to weave in terms like *online* and *digital*, and to discuss the dynamics that are designed into these forums and native to these specific apps and websites. This is because, as a social psychologist, my orientation is towards the belief that the situation and the context of a circumstance is just as important as the individual(s) experiencing said circumstance (Lewin, 1954). *Situationism* says that situations tend to matter the most when situations are "strong", and conversely, personality is likely to matter the most when situations are "weak". Mischel's (1977) definition of *strong situations* are ones that meet four criteria: Strong situations, "lead everyone to construe the particular events the same way, induce uniform expectancies regarding the most appropriate response pattern, provide adequate incentives for the performance of that response pattern, and require skills that everyone has to the same extent," (Mischel, 1977, p. 347). Thus, strong situations are those in which everyone knows what to do, and why, and how to do it. *Weak situations*, conversely, "are not uniformly encoded, do not generate uniform expectancies concerning desired behavior, do not offer sufficient incentives for its performance, or fail to provide the learning conditions required for successful genesis of behavior," (Mischel, 1977, p. 347). There is less external pressure put on the individuals in those

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situations to respond uniformly, and so there is more individual variance in how people will respond.

Social psychologists have extended this notion of strong and weak situations to talk about culture, and how organizational culture acts as a strong situation, as a form of social control. O'Reilly and Chatman (1996) use examples as diverse as cults, businesses, and self-help groups to examine the ways that organizational culture and institutional dynamics can create behaviors and maintain adherence to the beliefs that underlie those behaviors. How does this all relate to online radicalization? The Man-O-Sphere has its own culture, i.e., the rules, social mores, guidelines, and moderator directives that govern these online spaces. Each online space - whether that is Reddit, YouTube, Twitter, PUA chat rooms, 4Chan, Incel.is or another online male supremacist community - has its own design logics, its own system for posting and responding, its own website user experience (UX). These online spaces act as their own unique *situations*, and these digital situations produce, just as much as they represent, the thoughts, feelings, and attitudes of the community they house.

This is part of what makes the study of male supremacy in online spaces so complex; it is impossible to disentangle the male supremacist ideology from the digital platforms that the ideology transmits itself through. Are politically polarized citizens rushing to Twitter to discuss politics, or is Twitter a medium that produces political polarization in its discourse? Marche (2016) asks his readers the question:

> Are we our real selves online or off? Is the screen the place where we indulge the
> fantasies that our offline selves would never dare? Or is the screen where we perform the
> truth of our being that that world of faces and consequences does not permit?

And the researcher Debbie Ging (2017) responds to this question by pointing out that the query itself risks essentializing the "real self" and creating a false dichotomy between the online world and "real life", overlooking that multiple and hybrid masculinities are regularly performed in different social contexts in order to maintain male hegemony (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Distinguishing between our online selves and our offline selves is as relevant as underscoring any other situation that affects our personality, how we express ourselves, the identities we emphasize or make most salient. It is not that, for example, our persona on Reddit is the same as our persona with our parents, it is just to say that Reddit demands no less modification of our identity than any other social situation.

The endeavor of trying to understand male supremacist ideas and beliefs separate from the medium in which these ideas are presented is wasted labor. Internet discourse reflects the medium it is expressed within; Twitter shapes dialogue between people, and that dialogue looks different than Reddit discourse or Instagram conversations. So in this sense, the site *is* the discourse - it shapes it, contorts it, incentivizes certain emotions, responses, and behaviors, while disincentivizing others.

One of the most pernicious aspects of incel forums - and this is true for other male supremacist forums as well - is the policy against users expressing concern for each other (Redpillschool, 2015). Users want to vent, complain, and wallow without the rest of the community trying to comfort them, provide them explanations as to why things are not as hopeless as they seem, or tell them that they are not as ugly or unlovable as they think. This kind of regulation on speech and behavior creates certain conditions within these forums and creates a specific type of culture in these communities.

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The male supremacist communities are dogged adherents to their community guidelines. They strongly enforce the cultural norms that guide the community. In part, this has to do with the sense of stigma and victimization that they feel; they do not want outsiders with bad intentions coming into their forums and trying to make them look bad, feel bad, or cause community disruption. However, these guidelines are also partially reflective of the ideology itself: those high in RWA and SDO are going to be deferential to authorities, in this case the moderators and site operators who dictate the rules and produce the forum guidelines; male supremacists are going to encourage men to toughen up, and not indulge in effeminate emotions/beta behaviors like demonstrating care or concern; those men who are already exhibiting high levels of hostility towards women are going to find a welcoming and encouraging space to proliferate that kind of misogyny and offensive language.

Virulent hostility on websites, apps, forums, and social media is not unique to male supremacist spaces. The internet incentivizes, heightens, and promotes the transmission of certain emotions across platforms - specifically, anger (Rathje, Van Bavel, & Van der Linden, 2021). Research indicates that this process happens in two different ways: the first is that people receive positive feedback for expressing moral outrage, the second is that people notice the community norms in that particular online space and attenuate their behavior to reflect the community's culture and practices (Brady, McLoughlin, Doan, & Crockett, 2021). It is not just that male supremacists are coming online and grateful for the space to express their ideology, it is that the spaces incentivize the expression of male supremacist ideas in people who may not, in a different context, express these ideas at all.

Reddit's upvoting system makes it particularly well designed to incentivize the expression of moral outrage; users receive direct feedback about what comments or posts people

liked of theirs, and which comments or posts they did not like. Users can then look around and see which types of comments and posts get the most engagement, the most likes, the most upvotes, and curtail their own behaviors to produce the type of content that the community wants. The same is true for any social media or website that allows Likes, retweets, hearts, or any other positive feedback. As a result of these digital incentivizing designs, ideology-driven online communities function as a sort of open-source philosophy, where users create posts that attempt to contribute to the ideas or philosophy of the male supremacist community, and if they do so successfully, their posts are upvoted, liked, or otherwise endorsed. This process, over time, allows a male supremacist community to refine their ideology, to determine what most appeals to their community, and what is most persuasive to others.

KI, in his interview, talked at length about how important it was that his forum be a place where free speech is protected and incels are allowed to speak freely and openly. However, what KI is missing is that his forum is not a neutral location where men come and say whatever is on their mind, his forum is a place that incentivizes men to endorse male supremacist ideas, rewards men for speaking in ways that are particularly shocking and offensive, and encourages men to visit the forum just so that they can embody the persona of its typical user. These men are egging each other on, encouraging and instigating misogyny, and collaboratively refining the ideology to be maximally appealing to its audience. It is in this way that the digital platform as it is designed, combined with the reinforcement that comes from the users, and the pressure to conform to the norms of the community, all coalesce to create a strong situation that exerts itself on the individual users.

Mechanisms of Online Radicalization - Cognitive Behavioral Harm

I would like to propose a possible explanation of the psychological mechanism by which a person becomes radicalized into a supremacist ideology. On the most granular level, online radicalization is a form of self-indoctrination into a worldview. Whereas previously, radicalization looked like joining a gang, entering a cult, or working with a terrorist group; now radicalization can happen all by yourself, in a room alone, with a computer and no other humans physically present. The rules, guidelines, and norms that govern the platform, combined with the ever-evolving, ever-growing content that is generated by the community, produce statements, axioms, and propositions that mirror the kinds of cognitive distortions that Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) examines in a therapeutic context. Over time, saturating oneself in the ideology of the Man-O-Sphere accomplishes something akin to reverse-CBT, wherein the individual is repeatedly exposed to and eventually adopts a series of cognitive distortions and maladaptive frameworks for interpreting and understanding their own life experiences.

To briefly contextualize cognitive behavioral therapy, CBT rests on the assumption that the ways people think about and interpret life events affects how they think, feel, and behave, and that unhelpful ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving can lead to psychological distress (Beck, 1964; Beck & Weishaar, 1989). So the distress that people feel in their lives arises from the meaning that people assign to life events, not just the events themselves. CBT involves identifying negative perceptions or distortions that are affecting behavior, working with a therapist to challenge those automatic thoughts, and compare them with reality (Beck & Weishaar, 1989). By reframing situations more realistically, stress often diminishes, and people can begin to develop habits that will relieve distress and enable future growth. Some examples (Covin, Dozois, Ogniewicz, & Seeds, 2011) of the cognitive distortions that CBT therapists are trained to identify are listed below (see *Table 15*).

Table 15.

Cognitive distortions defined by cognitive-behavioral therapy.

Type of Cognitive Distortion	Definition of Cognitive Distortion
Mind Reading	People will sometimes assume that others are thinking negatively about them. This might occur even though the other person has not said anything negative.
Catastrophizing	People can make negative predictions about the future. However, when there isn't much evidence for these predictions, and the predictions are focused on an irrationally worst case scenario, it is called catastrophizing.
All-or-Nothing Thinking	When people make evaluations, they can view things as being "either-or." For example, a concert can be considered to be either good or bad. On the other hand, people can also see shades of gray when making evaluations. For example, a concert can have some negative aspects, but be considered fairly good overall. When a person considers something as being either all good or all bad, we call that all-or-nothing thinking.
Emotional Reasoning	People can believe something to be true because it "feels" that way.
Labeling	People can label themselves as being a certain kind of person. If this occurs after something bad happens, it is called labeling.
Mental Filter	People sometimes have a filter for information. When there is positive and negative information, they only focus on the negative information.
Overgeneralization	When a negative event occurs, people might assume more bad things are going to happen. They see the negative event as the start of a pattern.
Personalization	People can believe they are responsible for negative things, even though they're not. In other words, they take a negative event, and assume they are the cause of it.

'Should' Statements	People sometimes think that things *should* or *must* be a certain way. These people will act in accordance with how they believe others think they ought to behave, without ever reflecting on who it is that they are trying to please.
Minimizing or Disqualifying the Positive	People can sometimes ignore or find ways of dismissing the positive things that happen to them. This behavior allows the person to continue their way of thinking without having to modify it to accommodate new, disconfirming information.

Looking at this list, almost all of these cognitive distortions can be found across online male supremacist spaces. The content that makes up these forums and platforms are thoughts and feelings of male supremacists, many of whom are managing distress and exhibiting maladaptive coping responses to that distress, so it should come as no shock that male supremacist forums are rife with cognitive distortions. However, what is important for the purposes of understanding online radicalization is that the users who consume male supremacist content are asked to adopt the worldviews that underpin male supremacy.

The male supremacist ideology is presented through the medium of digital communication on websites, apps, and platforms, and the unique cultural norms that each of these digital spaces prescribes; the demand that users read and embrace the rules, lessons, and guidelines of the community, along with the strict adherence to community mores as policed by moderators and other users, pushes users to adopt the worldview and belief system that the male supremacist community espouses. These men are essentializing, catastrophizing, black-and-white visions of the world ("all women are like that", "(because of biology) this is how human nature is and it cannot be changed", "It is inevitable that a woman will eventually cheat on their partner," etc.) look like the following cognitive distortions: All-or-Nothing Thinking, Overgeneralization, Disqualifying the Positive, Emotional Reasoning. Thus, these forums read

like a compendium of the thoughts and cognitive distortions of a depressed, lonely, self-hating man. So when someone who has not had a lot of luck dating, or just got rejected on Tinder logs onto one of these forums, they can sit down and read all of these self-loathing, toxic, fear-based, paranoid thoughts and ideas that are swirling around in the heads of depressed, angry, misogynists.

The internalizing of these male supremacist rules, beliefs, and narratives found in the Man-O-Sphere embed themselves in the person's self-talk, i.e., are incorporated into the super ego, such that now it organizes their thinking; how they interpret the world; how they interact with people; the things they pay attention to in a social interaction; the parts of a story/memory that are most salient to them. My hypothesis is that they are essentially performing anti-cognitive behavioral therapy on themselves - Cognitive Behavioral Harm (CBH). By internalizing these male supremacist messages and ideas, users are reprogramming themselves using these male supremacist-specific cognitive distortions.

What will happen when young men who are experiencing a normal, average amount of trepidation and difficulty dating intentionally seek out this kind of content? They are given a framework for interpreting their own life events that is harmful, that is catastrophizing and uses all-or-nothing thinking; trades in all manner of toxic masculine 'shoulds' and 'oughts' regarding manhood and what is expected of them sexually; are told that any rejection is a reflection of their attractiveness and by extension self-worth,; only ever see posts on these male supremacist forums that reflect the worldview of the community, thereby filtering out any views about women and feminism that are contrary to the male supremacist ideology. By reprogramming themselves through the internalizing of this kind of toxic content, they are radicalizing themselves by deeply embracing a supremacist worldview. This open-source philosophy
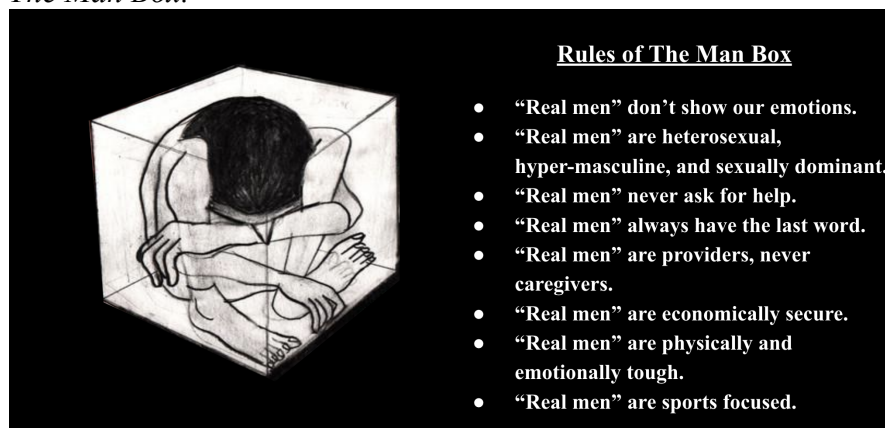
endemic to the Man-O-Sphere helps to establish, then validate, then refine these cognitive distortions, these "rules" that govern your life and your world - *All women are like that*, *there's no safety/security in romantic relationships*, and so on. The same mechanisms that allow CBT to undo the depression caused by false narratives and distorted versions of stories we tell ourselves can also be weaponized to convince people that they are unlovable, ugly, hopeless, losers, who are genetically-destined to be alone.

The Opposite of the Hegemonic Masculine Ideal?

Male supremacy elevates some men to positions of power and authority, this is the promise of investment in the patriarchal system - that you may one day be deemed worthy of the male privilege that patriarchy promises you, and given all the power, status, and rewards that come with it. Those men embody that quintessential strong, brilliant, undeniable (male) leader. This hegemonic masculine ideal is the model that men are supposed to use to base their identity on, compare themselves to, compare other men to, and this is what male supremacists believe that women want them to be. If you achieve this hegemonic masculine ideal, you will be rewarded with male privilege, power, status, and sex with beautiful women - the ultimate prizes in the male supremacist ideology. These are the carrots that are dangled in front of men; the stick of course is toxic masculinity - the targeted harassment of those boys and men who stray outside the bounds of the constricted boundaries of the masculine ideal.

The barriers and borders Mark Greene (2018) describes use the metaphor of the Man Box (see *Figure 26* below). The image of a man box is particularly evocative because it captures the constricting nature of masculinity; the feeling of being boxed in; that masculinity, when toxic and turned inward, can feel claustrophobic.

Figure 26.

The Man Box.

Rules of The Man Box

- "Real men" don't show our emotions.
- "Real men" are heterosexual, hyper-masculine, and sexually dominant.
- "Real men" never ask for help.
- "Real men" always have the last word.
- "Real men" are providers, never caregivers.
- "Real men" are economically secure.
- "Real men" are physically and emotionally tough.
- "Real men" are sports focused.

Note. Content by Mark Greene (2018), image by Valentine Gallardo.

But if the hegemonic masculine ideal, the Man Box, and toxic masculinity are all negative concepts derived from the male supremacist ideology, what then is the opposite? What lessons can we learn about how men ought to live, how they ought to behave, the type of man they ought to emulate? What can male supremacy tell us about non-supremacist masculinity? As the construct and definition of male supremacy has taken shape over the course of this multi-year project, these questions have sat at the heart of this endeavor to understand, operationalize, and examine male supremacy. If male supremacy is all that is bad and wrong with masculinity, then what is left to salvage? What is worth fighting for?

For some people, the opposite of the male supremacy could be called positive masculinity, or expansive masculinity, or healthy masculinity. But if we are trying to move away from male supremacy, I think the most concrete, straightforward idea of what we are trying to move towards is not one type of masculinity that inverts or reverses the hegemonic masculine ideal. It is *masculinities.* Plural. Multiple types of masculinity, multiple ways of being a man. That is the true inversion of the Man Box, that is the true upending of toxic masculinity. It is

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providing men the opportunity to be multifaceted, to internalize and embody multiple ways of being a man; not restricting yourself to one type of caricature of masculinity. Men need to feel free to be tough and caring and strong and vulnerable all at once. Boys should feel free to love dancing and cars and writing poetry and playing sports. Even providing these examples as dichotomies would reinforce the binaries that limit the identities that boys and men need to be able to hold all at once. It is tempting to give men and boys a single role model, a healthy masculine ideal that they can mimic, but this is just replacing one totem with another. This is the appeal of men like Jordan Peterson, for example, someone who tells young men how to live, what values to hold, and what they should be doing to improve themselves. But the opposite of male supremacy is not another ideal to live up to, not another authority issuing directives, it is men and boys feeling empowered to be their whole selves, without boxes, boundaries, or borders to constrict and constrain their identity.

When men and boys are not continually asked to perform a version of masculinity that asks them to live up to an impossible ideal, they will hopefully feel free to embrace all types of ways of being a man. Embodying the ethos that animates a vision of masculine *identities* requires men and boys to reject the sexist ideas that justify and rationalize a system that advantages men at the expense of women, it requires uplifting and supporting other men instead of trying to bully, harass, and intimidate them into investing into a patriarchal social system, and it requires men and boys to actively pursue a system of social relations that does not define men as superior to women or more worthy of power, status, or authority. What it does not require is fully abandoning any sense of gendered identity, nor does it ask that you hate men or masculinity.

Limitations

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A scale measuring male supremacy can only tell us what someone's score is at that particular moment, as is the case with any cross-sectional research. But there is reason to think that male supremacy is not a completely stable, static trait in all times and places, and across all contexts. It is possible that male supremacy is activated or is dampened in different moments of one's life or after a significant life event - like a divorce, losing a job, or a child being born. Thus, future studies should investigate male supremacy longitudinally, evaluating fluctuations in male supremacy, and determining if there are major life events or (missed) milestones that contribute to adopting male supremacist ideology.

The key informant interview provided rich, qualitative data that was used to contextualize the findings of the MSS. While it is difficult to find interview subjects, additional qualitative interviews would provide important nuance to the psychological profile developed from the quantitative data, online ethnography, and the key informant interview. A single key informant interview can be helpful, but a large sample of male supremacists evaluating the MSS's subscales, the MSS's individual items, and weighing in on salient issues related to the MSS would all be helpful in further nuancing male supremacy as measured by the MSS. This speaks to a larger issue that the dissertation faced – researching and writing during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The global pandemic forced people from all across the globe to spend more time online, and thus more time exposed to potentially radicalizing digital media content. The Polarization and Extremism Research Innovation Lab developed a resource for parents and caregivers of young people to address exactly this issue because it was such a common and predictable threat to youth in particular, but to adults as well (PERIL, 2020). In the case of the mass shooting in Buffalo, New York in 2022, the perpetrator explicitly stated that his process of radicalization

towards extremist violence began because he was bored during the pandemic and started spending more time on 4chan message boards (Collins, 2022). This combination of the growing online network of extremist content, a demand that unmoderated digital spaces continue to exist in order to uphold a perverse interpretation of one's commitment to free speech, combined with COVID demanding that people spend more time indoors and online, created conditions for violent extremism to grow and fester.

A more general limitation of this project is that male supremacy is inextricable from racial resentment, psychological entitlement, and social dominance orientation. Thus, to measure male supremacy in its most atomized form obscures the reality of the ideology, specifically that male supremacy cannot exist separate and distinct from white supremacy, the demonization of out-groups, and narcissistic entitlement. As was discussed in Chapter 3, during the factor analysis stage of the scale's development, the fourth factor - Power Dynamics - was removed from the MSS because it was so duplicative of SDO. Having said that, male supremacy cannot be fully defined without understanding the ways that male supremacy implicitly ties its ideology to power, status, hierarchy, and the importance of the male in-group dominating the female and subordinate male outgroups.

Future Directions

This current project to examine and operationalize male supremacy in men is only the first step in a larger program of research on male supremacist ideology and its intersections with other group identities. There are important and fascinating intersectional dynamics that arise with subordinate identities within the patriarchy that nevertheless uphold or secure this gendered, supremacist social order, in particular the roles of women and the perspectives of gay men.

Women and Male Supremacy

Unsurprisingly, men endorse male supremacist ideas more than women, although women do exhibit male supremacist thinking as well. Women play an important role in upholding white supremacist and male supremacist institutions, and enforcing male supremacist ideas and behaviors. Kate Manne (2017) describes misogyny as:

> serving to uphold patriarchal order, understood as one strand among various similar systems of domination...Misogyny does this by visiting hostile or adverse social consequences on a certain...class of girls or women to enforce or police social norms that are gendered either in theory (i.e., content) or in practice (i.e., norm enforcement mechanisms) (p. 13).

Note that Manne talks about misogyny being visited on, "a certain class of girls or women," because it is not all women who are subject to misogyny – it is those who stray outside the bounds of the patriarchal social order. This suggests that there is a certain class of women who stay within the patriarchal social order, corroborate and legitimize the ideology that underpins it, enforce toxic feminine norms on other women, and validate the toxic masculine logics that the men in their lives are subject to. The MSS was derived from research conducted on ostensibly all-male spaces. It is certainly possible, and even likely in these online spaces, that some of the posters, authors, and writers in the Man-O-Sphere are women; however, the vast majority of users purport to be men. Thus, talking about women's endorsement of male supremacy requires understanding the specific logics, arguments, beliefs, and ideas that women hold as particularly valuable for justifying and rationalizing the patriarchal social order, and harassing, intimidating, and threatening women who challenge the patriarchy. Using the MSS to extrapolate on women's feelings towards male supremacy will require additional nuancing with qualitative interviews

with women, as well as utilizing the female respondents' quantitative data from Studies 1 through 4. That will provide an important level of insight into the structure of male supremacy as practiced by women.

Gay Men and Male Supremacy

Though sexual orientations did not significantly differ on intensity of male supremacy in the quantitative studies, ethnographic research indicates that expressions of male supremacy among homosexual men is important and importantly different than for heterosexual men. The role of homosexual men in the Man-O-Sphere is unique because in some spaces they are lauded as valuable actors in the fight against women and feminism, all the while the logics of hegemonic masculinity, as well as homohysteria, still pervade. Homohysteria and the policing of effeminate behavior in men is an integral part of male supremacist logic and toxic masculinity because the ideology still possesses, "a commitment to gender binarism, as well as an anti-trans metaphysics of gender, [and] a heteronormative view of human sexuality," (Manne, 2017, p. 27). But unlike hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinities - such as incels and MGTOW men - both repudiate and reify elements of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This underscores the intersectional nature of masculine identity formation, and the ways that supremacist ideologies can still hold appeal for individuals who are promised some but not all the privileges promised to the dominant social group. As Ging (2017) points out, homosexual male supremacists - like other subordinate masculinities within the Man-O-Sphere - are still invested in achieving hegemony over women and feminism:

Gay positivity functions here to unite white, middle-class men, irrespective of sexual orientation, against feminism and other forms of "political correctness" that are perceived

as threats to freedom of expression and, ultimately, to their social privilege. The
ideological machinations of the Man-O-Sphere serve as a stark demonstration, therefore,
of how reduced homohysteria can happily coexist with extreme expressions of misogyny
and racism, indicating that inclusive masculinity theory's concept of inclusivity is limited
to white, middle-class men.

Understanding the ways that male supremacy is theoretically formulated and in actuality upheld
within homosexual male spaces will provide another level of nuance and sophistication to
contemporary male supremacy. This is a future project that requires its own process, similar to
the one used for the development of this current Male Supremacy Scale, of online ethnographic
research, qualitative interviews, quantitative factor analyses, and theorizing about the
intersection of homosexuality and male supremacy.

Declining Religiosity and Filling the Void with Male Supremacy

A final postulate to be pursued in a future project is the relationship for young men
between declining religiosity and the subsequent rise of Feminist thought, resulting in the
expanded influence of male supremacy in online spaces. Historically the Judeo-Christian-Islamic
religions declare the essential nature of traditional gender roles as both necessary, but also
divinely instantiated. The gender binary is taken for granted within these religious traditions,
with the story of Genesis using Adam and Eve as the models for all gendered social relations.
Thus, adherence to religion tacitly provided a theory of gender and gendered social relations. But
as religiosity declines among young Americans (Pew Research Center, 2019), many young men
are left without a theory of masculinity that they can comfortably substitute for the gender theory
that religion used to confer to the masses. When young men are regularly told that feminism is
anti-male, and thus is not a gender theory that can help them make meaning of their lives, they

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are left directionless and must find (often on the internet) alternative explanations for gendered social relations.

Although of course it makes sense for Feminism to focus on the conditions of women and girls, the waning influence of religion in society created a void that feminism filled for women - giving them a tool box and a framework for understanding and making meaning of their lives and the historic events that created and defined their material conditions. No such parallel theory or framework was developed for men, and in this absence, male supremacy was able to fill that void. In the wake of this changing narrative around gender, sexuality, and masculine identity, men are experiencing what Durkheim referred to as "anomie" (Durkheim, 1897).

The nihilistic, existential dread that male supremacists feel, known within the Man-O-Sphere as the Black Pill, harkens back to a concept described by sociologist Émile Durkheim's concept of anomie. For Durkheim, anomie arises from a mismatch between personal/group standards and wider social standards. Anomie speaks of the ways in which an individual's actions are matched, or integrated, with a system of social norms and practices, where the experience of anomie is experiencing a mismatch of norms, not simply the absence of norms (Durkheim, 1893; Durkheim, 1897). This concept can provide a useful explanatory model for the distress and anguish that many - particularly young - male supremacists express on online forums and digital platforms.

In Durkheim's view, traditional religions often provided the basis for the shared values which the anomic individual lacks (Durkheim, 1893; Durkheim, 1897). Robert King Merton also adopted the idea of anomie to develop Strain Theory, defining it as the discrepancy between common social goals and the legitimate means to attain those goals (Merton, 1938). In other words, an individual suffering from anomie would strive to attain the common goals of a specific

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society yet would not be able to reach these goals legitimately because of the structural

limitations in society. As a result, the individual would exhibit deviant, even possible criminal,

behavior. Male supremacists who are told that investment in the system of domination over

women and subordinate masculinities will result in power, status, wealth, and access to women's

bodies are dismayed to realize that their belief in these sexist ideas and their performance of

misogyny and toxic masculinity bring them no closer to their desired outcomes. Religion

provides structure to men's lives, provides a framework for understanding desirable and

undesirable behavior, and tells men what they should think about gender, sexuality, and the

opposite sex. Without the direction that religion often confers, male supremacist ideology may

be fulfilling that same role.

While speculative and only theoretical, the concept of anomie and its derivative, Strain

Theory, bolster the supposition that there is a relationship between declining religiosity and

increasingly feelings of hostility towards society (generally) and women (specifically) who

seemingly have placed the means for attaining happiness and a secure sense of masculinity just

outside of reach.

Mental Health Interventions and Male Supremacy

Once male supremacy and the MSS has been tested and refined, the next step is to

develop mental health interventions to prevent radicalization into male supremacist ideology, in

order to assist mental health professionals in off-ramping those who are at-risk of radicalization

into male supremacy, and to de-radicalize those who have already embraced male supremacy.

Mental health professionals - such as school counselors, clinical psychologists, marriage

and family therapists, mental health counselors, and licensed clinical social workers - will be

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called upon to work most directly with youth and adults who are becoming radicalized into male supremacy. There is currently a dearth of existing literature on the topic of deradicalizing clients in a therapeutic context, and thus, no single technique or theory that can provide guidance to all mental health professionals working with various types of radicalized clients. However, different forms of extremism and radicalization have interventions that are used for those specific groups or communities. For example, there are specific strategies used by therapists dealing with perpetrators of domestic violence or intimate partner violence; there are distinct strategies used by mental health professionals to help gang members exit their gang; there are unique processes for helping cult members leave a cult; there are particular techniques used by mental health professionals to facilitate deradicalization of terrorists and violent extremists (Burr, 2012; Leary, 2009; Schwartz & Kaslow, 1979; Whitsett, 1992; Winter & Feixas, 2019).

We can imagine utilizing a similar set of strategies for helping young men who are being radicalized by incel ideology and male supremacist online communities. While cult members, gang members, terrorists, and perpetrators of intimate partner violence all differ in important ways, there are overlapping processes by which mental health professionals can facilitate deradicalizing these groups of people.

Conclusion

This mixed-methods dissertation on male supremacy and online radicalization utilized online ethnographic research, a key informant interview, and an iterative process of scale development and validation across four studies (N = 3,116), in order to understand and operationalize contemporary male supremacy. The Male Supremacy Scale (MSS) is the result of a factor analytic procedure that pared down 79 items originally derived from the ethnographic research to 15 final items for the MSS, broken into 3 subscales - Anti-Feminism, Female

Dishonesty, and 'Women Like Alphas' - with 5 items each. Results indicate that men score higher on male supremacy than women, there were not significant differences on male supremacy among men of differing relationship statuses, feelings about their relationship status, or sexual orientations, and that Trump support specifically, and socially conservative ideology generally, predicted higher male supremacy scores. Male supremacists show proclivities towards rightwing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, hostile sexism, racial resentment, psychological entitlement, and conspiratorial thinking.

One of the foundational beliefs of male supremacy, and an argument that is found across not only the Man-O-Sphere but is also prevalent in mainstream discourse around feminism, is that feminism is anti-male. Although it may seem superfluous, it bears mentioning explicitly: Feminism is not anti-man. It is not anti-male. Feminism is anti-patriarchy. Toxic masculinity does not mean that all men are toxic. It means there are some ways that men are asked to be a man that promote harmful behavior - harmful to the men who adhere to those standards and harmful to those who love and care for those men. In the same way that being a doctor that rids human bodies of cancer does not mean you are anti-human body, it means you are anti-cancer. Being against toxic masculinity and male supremacy does not mean that you are anti-man, it means that you are anti-toxicity, you are anti-supremacist thinking. And to make matters more complicated, the men who are adherents to toxic masculine ideas, who subscribe to a male supremacist ideology, many of these men are only doing what they were taught. They are only doing what was expected of them; only reciting the lines they were given; only playing the role they were assigned in their script. Kate Manne (2017) makes this point when discussing how men are responding to changing norms in society by analogizing to a man who believes a woman is trespassing on his property:

The person on the other side of [this] divide, who is resentful of your misstep, may

experience genuine shock and distress as a result of your violating a norm, or refusing to

play your assigned part. He may have long been accustomed to expect the compliance or

performance of someone in your position. You yourself may have met his great

expectations dutifully in the past. So when you cease to, he may well be resentful. He

reacts as if you are in the wrong because, from his perspective, you *are* in the wrong. You

are miss-stepping, or over-stepping, or deviating, or wronging him (p. XIX).

That is what makes these anti-feminist arguments found in male supremacist ideology so

resonant with a variety of boys and men - some of them are responding quite rationally to a

violation of norms that they have been living by, and thus are understandably angry to find out

that the rules no longer apply, and that in fact, they have been playing by rules they did not have

to this whole time. Whether that is men being allowed to express emotional vulnerability, women

taking on the role of primary income earner for the family, or men and women being trans or

nonbinary - these are all rejections of a worldview and system that many people have invested

their whole lives into. It is no surprise that challenges to that worldview, to that gendered system

of social relations, would be met with defensiveness, rage, and fear of what comes after.

Reflecting on male supremacy, I think about this quote from Mr. Rogers (2002), "Mutual

caring relationships require kindness and patience, tolerance, optimism, joy in the other's

achievements, confidence in oneself, and the ability to give without undue thought of gain," and

I wonder, how does male supremacy help men build healthy romantic relationships? What does

male supremacy and toxic masculinity do for men, and why would someone invest in an

ideology that seemingly leads to rage, and hatred, and resentment. The sad truth is that the "red

pill" that these men have ingested is poisonous. As Alford (2005) puts it, "Hatred is self-

structure on the cheap" (p. 252) and "hate gives meaning to life" (p. 239). Male supremacist communities give men who are angry, isolated, and feeling robbed of something they were promised, a simple, fixed worldview; an ideology with clear distinctions and conclusions, one that frames your adversities as the product of a scheme to subjugate you. When reflecting on the young boys who are slowly awakening to the unspoken rules of masculine identity construction, the Man Box, and the contours of acceptable masculinity for their time and place, I think about the weight of virginity on them.

Losing one's virginity is such a rite of passage among young men in our culture, and the weight of failing to live up to that expectation can be the inciting incident for radicalization. The Man-O-Sphere theoretically provides these men a space to process the shame and stigma of not progressing through the stages of masculine identity development the way that society demands, of having failed to meet an expectation or milestone tied to one's masculinity. In reality, the Man-O-Sphere has contributed to the development of a new form of male supremacy, one that reflects the particular logics of incels, MGTOW, PUA, and Red Pill communities. For young men today, they are exposed to a toxic narrative framework for interpreting a very common struggle with love, sex, and relationships at their age.

This insidious form of radicalization can come from some profound disappointment, combined with a sort of envy-based idolization of those who have succeeded where you failed (Alphas, Chads, men aspiring to the hegemonic masculine ideal) and profound hatred for those who have done this to you (women, feminists, men who subscribe to subordinate masculinities) (Wynn, 2021). Not living up to the hegemonic ideal that you have been told to aspire to can produce profound distress and psychological turmoil, especially for young boys still developing a coherent gender identity.

The Neo-Freudian Karen Horney utilizes a framework for explaining the neurotic psychological conflicts people experience internally as a tension between one's Ideal Self and one's Real Self (Horney, 1950). Horney says in *Neurosis and Human Growth* that people have a vision of the person that they should be, that they ought to be, that they (have been told) they must be - referring to this as *the tyranny of the should* - and that the distance between who they actually are and who they think they should be represents the degree of neuroticism they experience (Horney, 1950). These boys and young men are asked to develop a masculine gender identity within the confines of an extremely narrow definition of what kind of man is acceptable to be, and are asked to continually demonstrate their commitment to that masculine identity. Manhood is constantly in need of reaffirmation and is highly susceptible to being undermined (Vandello et al., 2008). This constant need to achieve, to do, to attain in order to be deemed acceptable as a man provides too many opportunities for failure, too many milestones that can be missed, too much shame to love and accept oneself. Masculinity must open itself up to different types of masculinities, to a plurality of embodiments, or else it risks narrowing the field of possibilities and slipping into male supremacy.

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Appendix A: Original Male Supremacy Scale Items

Male Supremacy Scale:
- 79 items total
- 8 subscales - Female Value (FV), Hypergamy (H), Relationships (R), Female Dishonesty (FD), Biological Determinism (BD), Anti-Feminism (AF), Sex (S), Power Dynamics
- 7-point Likert scale: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree.

Hypergamy

1. Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible

2. The most important thing for women in romantic relationships is the social status of their partner

3. Women cannot help being attracted to rich men

4. Ovulation determines who a woman will have sex with

5. Women are biologically programmed to want as many babies as possible

6. Women are attracted to high status men

7. Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women

Physical Attractiveness Determines Women's Value

8. Women's attractiveness is determined by their age

9. A woman's physical attractiveness determines her value as a person

10. A women's physical attractiveness is more important to her success than a man's physical attractiveness is

11. Genetics determine how attractive someone is

12. A woman's fertility determines how attractive she is

13. Women become less desirable as they get older

14. The most important thing to men is the physical attractiveness of their partner

15.   Men only care about looks

Female Dishonesty

16.   Women are more likely to cheat on their partners than men

17.   In a relationship, women are less trustworthy than men

18.   Men in romantic relationships need to be constantly on guard for cheating

19.   Women have a biological drive to cheat on their partners

20.   Women are naturally more deceptive than men

21.   All women are gold diggers

22.   You can't trust women to be faithful in relationships

23.   Women are naturally more manipulative than men

24.   A woman's love for a man is naturally more unreliable than a man's love for a woman

Anti-feminism

25.   Feminism is about hating men

26.   Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as sexist

27.   Women are quick to play the victim

28.   Feminism is all about how women are victimized by men

29.   Modern society prioritizes women over men

30.   Men are treated unfairly because of feminism

31.   Feminists have legitimate concerns about how women are treated in society (R)

32.   Feminism is anti-biology

33.   Feminists are unattractive

34.   Men in the U.S. are treated as second-class citizens

35.   Women in the U.S. are treated as second-class citizens (R)

36.   Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men

37.   Feminism benefits men (R)

38.   False rape claims are a common problem

39.   Women frequently use rape laws to gain an unfair advantage over men

40.   Feminists are seeking to control men

Sex Determines Men's Value

41.   Men want to have sex more than anything else

42.   A man should never turn down sex

43.   It is ok for a man to use any and all means to convince a woman to have sex

44.   Women prefer sexually dominant men

45.   Sex is by its very nature coercive

46.   Women want to be sexually dominated

47.   Women prefer tough guys to sensitive guys

Relationships are Power Struggles

48.   Women are attracted to men who reject them

49.   Romantic relationships are bad for men

50.   Men in relationships should not be needy

51.   If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand

52.   Women use marriage to trap men in a relationship

53.   Women use sex to get what they want

54.   When a man commits to a relationship, he gives up his power in the relationship

55.   If a man commits to a woman, she will lose interest in him

56.   A man's independence is to be admired

57.   If a man tells a woman he is attracted to her, this will make her less attracted to him

58.   Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are

59.   Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status

60.   If a man does not occasionally assume an indifferent attitude towards a romantic partner, she might start to look for someone else

61.   When a woman has sex with someone she generally expects something in return

62.   All relationships are power struggles

63.   Women are not attracted to nice guys

64.   Women find it attractive when men play hard to get

Biological Determinism

65.   Knowing a person's gender tells you a lot about their personality

66.   Men naturally have different abilities than women

67.   Men naturally have different personalities than women

68.   Men and women are naturally attracted to different things in a romantic partners

69.   In terms of biology, men and women are more alike than they are different (R)

70.   Men and women are biologically programmed to want different things in a romantic relationship

71.   Women are more influenced by their biology than men are

Power Dynamics

72.   Most people will try to take advantage of you if given the opportunity

73.   Apologizing is admitting weakness

74.   It's better to double down than admit you're wrong

75.   One should try to be dominant in social situations

76.   To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others

77.   Most people look out for themselves first

78.   The more you open up to people, the more they have to use against you

79.   If you don't hold onto your power, others will take it from you

Appendix B: Male Supremacy Scale - Version 1

Male Supremacy Scale:
- 15 items total
- 3 subscales - Anti-Feminism (AF), Female Dishonesty (FD), Women Like Alphas (WLA)
- 7-point Likert scale: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree.

Anti-Feminism

1. Feminism is about hating men

2. Modern society prioritizes women over men

3. Feminists are unattractive

4. Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men

5. Feminists are seeking to control men

Female Dishonesty

6. If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand

7. In a relationship, women are less trustworthy than men

8. Men in romantic relationships need to be constantly on guard for cheating

9. Women have a biological drive to cheat on their partners

10. You can't trust women to be faithful in relationships

Women Like Alphas

11. Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible

12. Women cannot help being attracted to rich men

13.   Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are

14.   Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status

15.   Men with high testosterone levels are the most attractive to women

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Appendix C: Male Supremacy Scale - Final Version

Male Supremacy Scale:
- 15 items total
- 3 subscales - Anti-Feminism (AF), Female Dishonesty (FD), Women Like Alphas (WLA)
- 7-point Likert scale: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree.

Anti-Feminism

1. Feminism is about hating men

2. Modern society prioritizes women over men

3. Feminists are unattractive

4. Women use feminism to gain an unfair advantage over men

5. Feminists are seeking to control men

Female Dishonesty

6. If a man commits to a woman in a romantic relationship, she gets the upper hand

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Women Like Alphas

11. Women are biologically driven to seek out the highest status man possible

12.	Women cannot help being attracted to rich men

13.	Women cannot help but be attracted to those who are higher in status than they are

14.	Women are not attracted to men who have a low social status

15.	Women are attracted to high status men