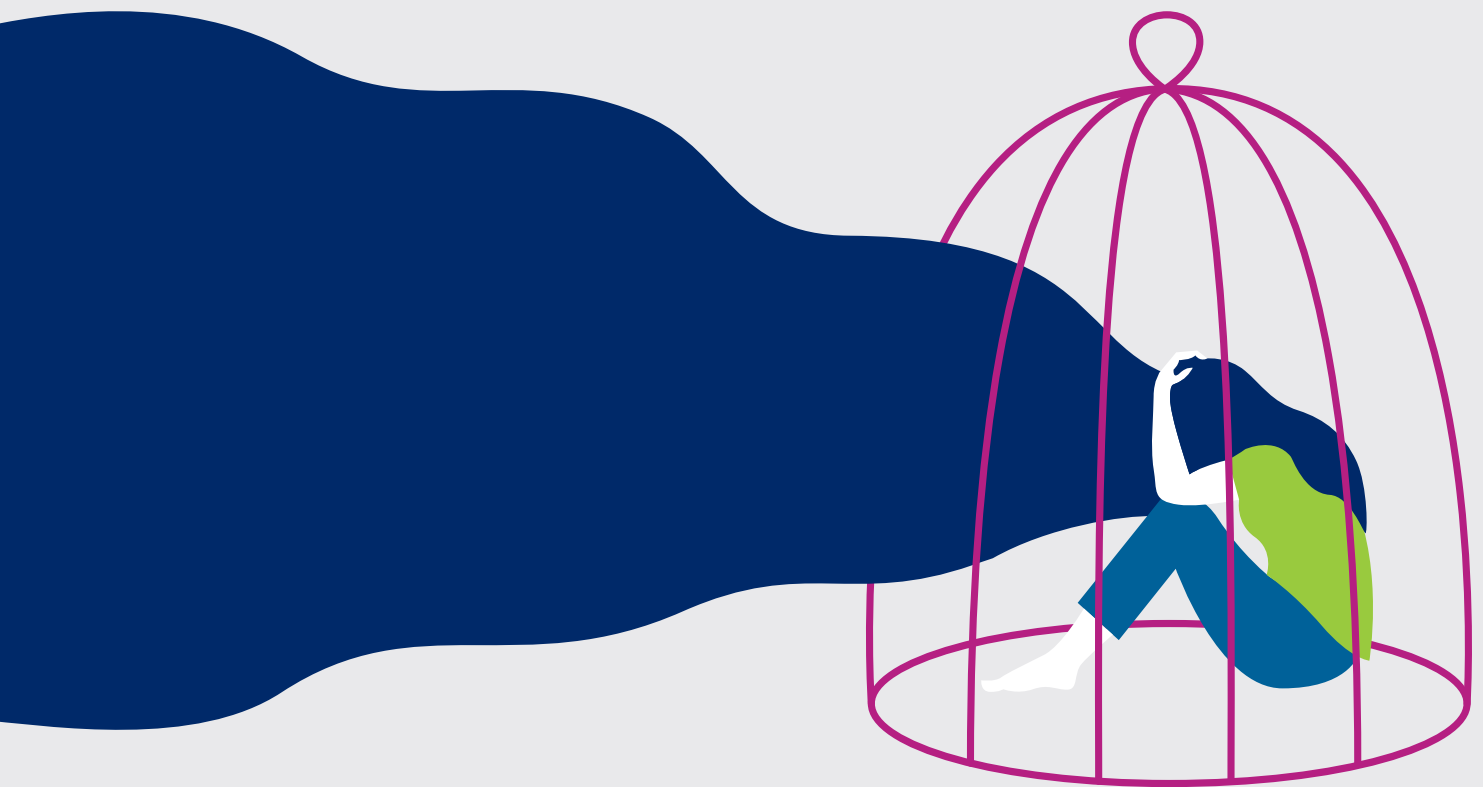


Policy Brief

THE LINKAGES BETWEEN VIOLENT MISOGYNY AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND RADICALIZATION THAT LEAD TO TERRORISM



FOREWORD



International organizations and policymakers have been paying increasing attention to women and girls' recruitment to violent extremism, mainly due to academia and (women's) civil society organisations' efforts to put this topic on

the security agenda. However, much less focus has been on producing comprehensive analyses of the gendered reasons for male radicalization to violence. As such, violent misogyny has received little attention by the security community, despite the fact that an increasing number of researchers and civil society actors are seeing areas of overlap between violent misogynistic attitudes and the support for violent extremism.

OSCE participating States recognize gender as an integral component of the approach to comprehensive security approach, which is needed to prevent and counter violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism (VERLT). Including gender perspectives is vital for strategies, policies and programmes in this field to be effective and sustainable. Designing appropriate interventions that can prevent violent extremist and terrorist radicalization requires us to look into previously neglected areas, like gendered perspectives that drive men to violent extremism.

The extra-budgetary project WIN for Women and Men - Strengthening comprehensive security through innovating and networking for gender equality aims to address this gap by developing knowledge and awareness on innovative areas where gender equality and security intersect. WIN strives to transform harmful social norms and unequal power relations and aims to raise awareness with decision-makers on the importance of integrating gender into security policies and mechanisms.







I am pleased to present this policy brief on The Linkages between Violent Misogyny and Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism, which is a novelty for the OSCE. It provides concrete recommendations for further research, policy development, and programmatic interventions for participating States, civil society organizations, academia and international organizations, which ultimately aim to enhance the safety and security of all in the OSCE area.

Finally, I would like to thank the donors of the WIN project for making it possible for the OSCE to venture into such cutting-edge areas of research that enrich our analysis and make our work more effective and impactful. This policy brief in particular would not have been possible without the generous support of Norway, the United States and Sweden.

Dr Lara Scarpitta, OSCE
Senior Adviser on Gender Issues

This policy brief is based on policy-focused research and interviews concerning the links between violent misogyny and violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism (VERLT). The research was commissioned by the OSCE Office of the Secretary General Gender Issues Programme together with the OSCE Transnational Threats Department's Action against Terrorism Unit as part of the WIN for Women and Men – Strengthening Comprehensive Security through Innovating and Networking for Gender Equality project. The research was conducted by the consultant Dr. Melissa Johnston with Dr. Sara Meger.

KEY MESSAGES

-  A growing body of research indicates that violent misogynistic attitudes and attitudes supporting VERLT strongly overlap¹. More research is needed to examine the causality.
-  Addressing violent misogyny's links to VERLT is a significant, but overlooked and misunderstood, security concern for the OSCE and its participating States. At the individual level, violent misogyny can motivate men and women to participate in VERLT. At the group level, violent misogyny plays a role in the operation and ideology of violent extremist groups².
-  The OSCE participating States and executive structures could benefit from operationalizing a comprehensive approach to mainstreaming gender into preventing and countering VERLT (P/CVERLT) that includes understanding and identifying manifestations of violent misogyny in training and capacity-building for a variety of stakeholders.
-  The OSCE could strengthen its gender perspective in P/CVERLT publications and guidelines by including violent misogyny in future publications and guidelines on gender and P/CVERLT for stakeholders working in the field, including rehabilitation and reintegration (R&R), policy and practice in participating States.
-  Including violent misogyny as a central concern of P/CVERLT is in line with comprehensive gender mainstreaming, considers gender power relations at its centre and goes beyond looking at the roles played by and participation of women. Relevant commitments follow from the Ministerial Declaration on P/CVERLT (2015) and the 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality³.
-  Women's civil society organizations are uniquely positioned to recognize, understand and address violent misogyny as it manifests in different contexts. As a result, the OSCE and participating States should include non-governmental actors, including women's civil society organizations, that deal with the national-level impacts of violent misogyny in key decision-making bodies that address VERLT.

¹ See, for example, Johnston and True, 2019; Hunter and Jouenne 2021; Flood, Roose and Alfano 2020; Kim 2022.

² Johnston & True, 2019

³ See in particular [MC.DOC/4/15](#), paras. 13 and 18c.

INTRODUCTION

What is the role of violent misogyny⁴ in VERLT?

With increased attention paid to the importance of women and girls both in and to violent extremist groups, gender became a focus of policymakers and scholars alike. This later evolved into attempts to understand the gender dynamics that influence the involvement of men and boys in VERLT. Some States have started to pay attention to gender perspectives within policies to prevent and counter VERLT, and the volume of research on gender and violent extremism has grown, but the issue of violent misogyny and VERLT has not been examined sufficiently.

Violent misogyny is a significant, but overlooked, factor in VERLT, while research shows that the two phenomena overlap⁵. Linkages between violent misogyny and VERLT are evident in three major areas:

- 1) the backlash against gender equality as part of the ideology and mobilization strategies of violent extremist groups;**
- 2) the role of thwarted or frustrated masculinity being exploited in recruitment strategies; and**
- 3) the less examined area of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including gender-based hate crimes, as a factor in recruitment to violent extremist groups.**

These three areas offer various points for policy interventions by the OSCE and participating States, which is the focus of this brief.

However, the policy evidence base in terms of how to operationalize the link between violent misogyny and VERLT in prevention or security strategies is not yet clear. No baseline studies or monitoring and evaluation of interventions that tackle violent misogyny and VERLT at the same time were found within this study. Therefore, some caution is necessary, and more policy-focused research is required.

Nonetheless, this policy brief represents a first step in considering how the OSCE and its participating States can address violent misogyny in P/CVERLT. The following sections describe the aims of this policy-oriented research project, its key findings and their implications, and it provides recommendations for policymakers to address violent misogyny as a factor in VERLT.

⁴ See the glossary for a definition.

⁵ Johnston and True, 2019; Johnston, True and Benalla, 2019; Violence Prevention Network and Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, 2021

AIMS AND METHODS

This research aimed to identify key findings from existing research and policy evidence of the links between violent misogyny and VERLT, and to identify opportunities and promising practices for incorporating a view of violent misogyny into existing guidelines and policies on P/CVERLT. This project was guided by the following core question:

Is violent misogyny a useful variable for the OSCE to consider when providing policy support and programmatic activities on VERLT?

The research was mixed-method and conducted in stages. The first stage was a literature review of scholarly work on misogyny and VERLT.

The research then used two methods to work with primary data from OSCE participating States: a content analysis of existing policy documents, and semi-structured qualitative interviews with key informants. Publicly available national action plans, national strategies, legal frameworks on VERLT, and P/CVERLT guidelines from all OSCE participating States (n=137) were analysed for the inclusion of gender as a factor in violent extremism.

Second, 24 key informant interviews (20 women, 4 men)⁶ were conducted with respondents in five OSCE participating States: Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Tajikistan and the United Kingdom.

Interview respondents in the five case study countries thus represented a cross-section of different geographic and socio-political realities across OSCE participating States. Respondents included OSCE mission staff members, women's rights activists, NGO staff working on issues related to the R&R of former violent extremists, and government officials working on P/CVERLT. Respondents were asked about existing policies and programmes on VERLT, the extent of gender mainstreaming in this work and the perceived role of gender and misogyny in the manifestations of VERLT within their country of work.

⁶ The gender imbalance among the respondents reflects the fact that the majority of those working on the topic of gender, including in the field of security policy, are women.

VIOLENT MISOGYNY AND VERLT

Violent misogyny combines a belief in male supremacy and women's subordination with support for violence against women (VAW). VAW can in some cases be viewed as a form of material practice of misogyny, with hatred of women and violence against women together resulting in '**violent misogyny**'. Overall, violent misogyny is the material means by which the structure of patriarchy is upheld and enforced.

Analyses that have adopted a view of misogynistic attitudes towards women and violent extremism have focused almost exclusively on online 'incel'⁷ cultures and the 'lone wolf' forms of mass violence perpetrated by individuals subscribing to incel ideology. The role of men and masculinities as a gendered factor in violent extremism along with the relationship between misogyny and other forms of violent extremism have rarely been studied.

Some scholars have begun tracing the links between individual sexist attitudes and the perpetration of domestic violence with the perpetration of mass violence, using the idea of a '**continuum of violence**' that is itself based in misogyny.⁸ Smith, for example, notes that male perpetrators of terrorism very often have histories of interpersonal violence, particularly in the form of violence against women and girls. This leads her to argue that "**hatred of women and a history of domestic violence are key indicators**" of the wider process of dehumanization that underpins mass violence.⁹ Other research has also suggested that **perpetrators of VERLT often have histories of violence against women**.¹⁰ This points to the need for further study of the relationship between misogyny and violent extremism.

At the individual level, violent misogyny in the form of violence against women and hostile sexism is related to VERLT. Empirical findings¹¹ show a statistically significant **relationship between support for violence against women and support for violent extremism**. Respondents who agree with attitudes of violence against women are 4.67 times more likely to support violent extremism than people in the sample who disagree with that type of violence, holding all the other variables in the model constant.¹²

This relationship is stronger than any other variable that might predict VERLT (age, socio-economic status, education, gender or employment status). In addition, those who have **misogynistic attitudes** are over four times (4.66) more likely to support violent extremism than people who strongly disagree with these attitudes, holding all the other variables in the model constant.

Policymakers seeking to make evidence-based policies should take the relationship between violence against women and VERLT into account. This can include understanding how domestic violence might be a gateway, at an individual level, to radicalization to extremism. However, they should also look more closely at how misogyny operates at the group level to inform the ideology and behaviours of extremist groups and the forms of violence they are likely to employ.

⁷ See the glossary for a definition.

⁸ Gentry, 2020; Smith, 2019.

⁹ Smith, 2019: 9.

¹⁰ McCulloch, Walklate, Maher, Fitz-Gibbon and McGowan, 2019.

¹¹ Johnston and True, 2019; Johnston, True, Gordon, Chilmeran and Morales, 2019.

¹² "Violent misogyny" is a concept that combines a belief in male supremacy and women's subordination (hostile sexist attitudes) with attitudes in support of violence against women (VAW). This concept was operationalised and tested through the variables "support for violence against women" and "hostile sexism" in prior research by Johnston et al. 2019.

OUR FINDINGS

FINDING 1.

GENDER IS STILL UNDERSTOOD TO RELATE ONLY TO WOMEN

One of the key findings from both the documentary analysis and the interviews was the extent to which, after decades of gender mainstreaming, many policymakers and practitioners still see the term 'gender' as code for 'women'.

Gender is often seen as a women's issue, especially in the security sector, leading to inadequate gender mainstreaming measures. The gender power relations of male domination and female subordination are left unexamined. Gender mainstreaming is designed to look at gender power relations, not just women's participation. However, the extent to which gender mainstreaming, or adopting a gender analysis within P/CVERLT work was implemented in most cases did not go beyond recognizing men and women as distinct actors in VERLT, and thus highlighting the fact that women also participate in VERLT.

A further important way to operationalize gender as power relations would be to understand how many versions of masculinity are dependent on power — power over other men, and power over women. For example, counsellors working on R&R described how gender meant looking at masculinity and VERLT:



For men and boys, they have an exaggerated idea of masculinity that is simply not obtainable, and this puts a lot of pressure on them.



Yes, this promise, to have an opportunity to be a real man, is a big factor. And I can remember a couple of cases of men who didn't live up to this idea of masculinity, men who experienced shame, boys who were outsiders, and then, when they join a violent extremist group, they experience a strengthening of their identity. ... And then we also notice with the newer kinds of extremism, the Incels ..., where ideas of femininity also play a role. For the Incels, they think, oh, if I can't find a woman, it's not my fault, it is the women's fault."

There is a need to better understand how socio-political and economic factors influence violent misogynistic attitudes. Hard-security approaches to VERLT alone will not be sufficient to address the gendered determinants of VERLT and may exacerbate existing grievances, such as thwarted masculinity and aggrieved male entitlement, leading to increased recruitment and radicalization to violence.

FINDING 2.

NEED TO STRENGTHEN MAINSTREAMING OF GENDER IN P/CVERLT POLICY

To explore how gender mainstreaming remains incomplete, we draw on the dataset of official policies and legislation on VERLT and classify three levels of gender awareness in policy¹³:

- 1) policies that recognize gender as “gender power relations” between men and women as contributing to VERLT and P/CVERLT;**
- 2) policies that mention men and women as separate groups, or mention gender mainstreaming in institutional or security responses;**
- 3) policies that are gender-blind — that is, they make no mention of sex or gender at all.**

Among countries that have mainstreamed gender, the approaches often remains mixed and incomplete, with good practice in some official legislation and policies, and room for improvement in others. Analysing gender as the structure of power between men and women that is sustained over time means, at a minimum, acknowledging gender dynamics as central to the operation and ideology of violent extremist groups.

The analysis demonstrates that most national action plans are gender-blind, with a small number including women in some way (generally, in acknowledging women as wives of foreign terrorist fighters), and a still smaller number attentive to gender power relations. Most of the “gender-blind” category simply do not mention gender at all.

A prevailing theme that emerged from both the document analysis and interviews was how, in spite of efforts to mainstream gender within P/CVERLT frameworks over time, the understanding of gender has remained rather simplistic and has failed to take into consideration **gender relations as power relations.**

There is growing recognition among scholars, and increasingly among practitioners and organizations, including OSCE executive structures, of the links between VAW, misogyny, and gender and VERLT. This has yet to trickle down to policy, and there was no formal attention to violent misogyny as a part of gender mainstreaming in P/CVERLT in any of the data (policies or practices) examined.¹⁴ There was little evidence either from the document analysis or from the interviews of systematic engagement with gender as a framework for understanding or addressing VERLT, nor were there attempts to operationalize the connection between violent misogyny and VERLT.

¹³ Using the NVivo search function, the occurrence of the occurrence of words related to women or gender was identified, and then the context of their use in the policy to determine each country's placement in the three categories was looked at.

¹⁴ While no evidence was found of formal attention to violent misogyny as a part of gender mainstreaming in the policies or practices examined, there are examples where violent extremist misogynistic attacks have been prosecuted under counter-terrorism laws, such as in Canada.

FINDING 3.

VIOLENT EXTREMISTS PROMOTE A HIERARCHICAL AND RESTRICTIVE GENDER ORDER

Despite the lack of systematic inclusion of gender analysis in policy, respondents generally agreed that right-wing, Islamist and male-supremacist violent extremist groups are all advocating for a hierarchical and restrictive gender order, wherein men can be breadwinners and patriarchal leaders, while women's natural role is to bear, care for and educate the next generation. Respondents recognized that there is a tangible backlash against gender equality.

The appeal of a hierarchical gender order could also attract women. In Central Asia, for instance, mass male migration to work abroad left many women feeling deprived of the security of marriage and children, which fostered women's support for a "traditional" gender order, according to one respondent. In addition, respondents working in rehabilitating and reintegrating violent extremist offenders and their families noted that women's support for a "traditional" gender order could be a factor in radicalization:



The expectations on women are growing all the time. You must not only find a husband, you must have a career, and children. And this path in violent extremism offers a solution that relieves women of those expectations”



FINDING 4.

POLICYMAKERS SEE INTUITIVE BUT UNCLEAR LINKS BETWEEN VIOLENT MISOGYNY AND VERLT

Respondents agreed that the links between violent misogyny and VERLT were likely, but they were not sure how or why. Because of a lack of attention to analysing gender power relations and incomplete mainstreaming of gender in P/CVERLT policy, policymakers and practitioners are currently not well positioned to identify and address the links between violent misogyny and VERLT. One part of the issue is that addressing violent misogyny seems to fall somewhere between departments, and thus identifying government respondents working on issues related to both violent misogyny and VERLT was difficult.

A majority of respondents felt, when describing certain examples of the links between violent misogyny and VERLT, that the link might be there, but that they had inadequate theoretical and empirical tools to measure or understand it and that more evidence was needed to go beyond theory.

The respondents suggested that little attention has been paid in research and practice to how violent misogyny and power over women might play a role in individual men's radicalization to VERLT, as a route to greater power and status in their lives, and promised access to women as a key recruitment tactic for men in VERLT and in conflict more broadly.¹⁵

Although most respondents agreed that violent extremist groups supported traditional gender roles and promoted a sexist gender order, neither the interviews nor the research was able to identify how, or if, violent misogyny was explicitly and consciously operationalized in or incorporated into VERLT ideologies.

In addition, several respondents noted how poor economic conditions had led to male marginalization and a sense of thwarted masculinity — of men not being able to meet the expectations of being a breadwinner and getting married — and had motivated them to join violent extremist groups. Similarly, one respondent noted that poor socio-economic conditions leading to men's inability to provide for their families might also become a push factor in women's search for social and financial safety under the gender order offered by violent extremist groups.

Finally, caution is required in addressing the potential backlash against gender equality. Violent misogyny features in VERLT, but it is also a society-wide problem. While several respondents expressed the opinion that violent misogyny in VERLT should be tackled as part of broader gender equality measures, others suggested that this could lead to a backlash and even exacerbate the problem. As a result, tackling all aspects of gender inequality, including misogynistic attitudes, may help reduce VERLT in the long term but could lead to a backlash against gender equality in the short term. Thus, all stakeholders need to ensure the safety and security of practitioners and women's rights defenders who address violent misogyny.

¹⁵ Hudson and Hodgson, 2020; Meger, 2016.

FINDING 5.

FRONT-LINE R&R WORKERS INCORPORATE GENDER EQUALITY INTO THEIR WORK BUT REQUIRE BETTER TOOLS AND GUIDANCE

Some respondents noted that violence against women and strict gender roles played a significant part in women's radicalization to violence. Front-line R&R workers noted that women members of violent extremist groups were often victims of SGBV and/or strict patriarchal control, and that this could, ironically, lead them to join a violent extremist group for protection from male violence. At the same time, because male violent extremists were often perpetrators of SGBV, women may seek to leave a group because of that violence.

In particular, front-line R&R workers noted that their clients often experienced gender-based violence at the hands of male relatives who were members of violent extremist groups; they also noted that domestic violence was a common factor across ideologies.

Finally, some respondents in women's civil society organizations were aware of worrying trends with violent misogyny and VERLT — for example, seeing increased public misogyny towards politicians and civil society activists, or seeing increased activity online on the part of male supremacist groups like incels — but they had few tools to understand the implications for both security and gender equality.



FINDING 6.

THERE ARE GOOD PRACTICES IN INCORPORATING GENDER POWER RELATIONS AS RELEVANT TO VERLT

The overall blind spot with regard to gender power relations not only limits our understanding of how gender operates to inform and legitimize VERLT but also has direct security implications by missing violent misogyny as an individual-level factor in VERLT, and missing violent misogyny as a factor in the ideology of groups engaged in VERLT.

Our research did uncover some positive practices adopting a “**gender as power relations**” approach within P/CVERLT policies. These good practices, which were overwhelmingly formulated between 2017 and 2019, may provide a framework within which to incorporate a view of violent misogyny as related to VERLT. As such, we can point to the progressive development of a gender perspective. The differences between these two groups of national policies — those that take account of gender power relations and those

that merely include women — are important, because it is not simply the presence or absence of women inside violent extremism groups that is important; rather, gender relations are crucial to the goals and functioning of many extremist groups.

Respondents stressed the need for guidelines on gender and violent misogyny across sectors. There is an opportunity to link existing services dealing with young male victims and perpetrators of violence against women with risk assessment and referral systems. This would require awareness-raising and capacity-building among non-governmental and governmental stakeholders on how to address violent misogyny in VERLT.



RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research, the following recommendations were generated that target OSCE participating States and OSCE executive structures, respectively. Implementation of these recommendations should be accompanied by additional research into violent misogyny and VERLT.

FOR PARTICIPATING STATES

Participating States may benefit from considering the following actions:

- Strengthen co-operation between programmes on gender-based violence, P/CVERLT and R&R programmes, as well as between authorities (including law enforcement) tasked with addressing online violence against women and preventing and countering VERLT online;
- Develop and implement evidence-based awareness-raising activities on violent misogyny as part of participating States' and civil society R&R and correctional programmes for violent extremist offenders;
- Develop and implement awareness-raising activities on violent misogyny, for legislators as well as security and justice sector staff to channel knowledge into lawmaking, institution-building and operational work;
- Include civil society actors working on women's rights in decision-making bodies on VERLT to allow those bodies to properly detect and address violent misogyny;
- Include civil society actors addressing SGBV awareness-raising when conducting training events on violent misogyny and VERLT;
- Fund research into how violent misogyny interacts concretely with VERLT and into how to use this variable in technical and policy guidance on human-rights compliant R&R and P/CVERLT referral mechanisms and on the prevalence of histories of gender-based violence (as either perpetrators or victims) among men and women supporting VERLT;
- Add training on violent misogyny and VERLT to Women Peace and Security (WPS) programmes to enable women's civil society organizations to identify and counter VERLT linked to a backlash against gender equality;
- Create working groups or cluster programming, including civil society, to act as bridges between different government departments and all key stakeholders to address violent misogyny in VERLT;
- Ensure sufficient funding for research and programming and establish full-time positions dedicated to thematic areas related to violent misogyny and VERLT; and
- Design or adapt existing budgets on P/CVERLT to be gender-responsive.

FOR THE OSCE

The OSCE can increase the awareness and understanding of violent misogyny with links to VERLT among a range of stakeholders. Doing so has the potential to implement gender mainstreaming more robustly in P/CVERLT by bringing the focus back to gender power relations, and not just inclusion of women.

OSCE executive structures could consider taking the following actions:

- Include ways to address violent misogyny in capacity-building on gender mainstreaming in P/CVERLT for governmental and non-governmental stakeholders.
- Support government agencies in developing guidelines on addressing violent misogyny and VERLT through a multi-stakeholder approach; guidelines could address gender-based violence, including gender-based hate crimes, movements opposed to gender equality, and online radicalization where violent misogyny and VERLT overlap;
- Continue to develop training and guidelines using examples of all forms of VERLT, particularly evolving and emerging forms of VERLT, such as gender-driven violent extremism, including the targeting of public spaces primarily frequented by women and attacks on women in digital spaces;
- Provide training on P/CVERLT for OSCE staff members working on gender issues and in-depth training on gender mainstreaming for OSCE staff members working on P/CVERLT across all three dimensions;
- Facilitate dialogues (national, regional, OSCE-wide) on the topic of violent misogyny that include policymakers working on P/CVERLT and civil society, particularly women's civil society organizations;
- Support national workshops investigating how gender power relations, generally, and violent misogyny, specifically, play a role in women's and men's radicalization to violence across the ideological spectrum of violent extremism; and
- Facilitate the development of evidence-based tools that are sensitive not just to sex or gender but also to violent misogyny as a variable in VERLT.

GLOSSARY

Gender

A term used to describe socially constructed roles for women and men. It is an acquired identity that is learned, changes over time and varies widely within and across cultures. In contrast, the term sex is used to indicate the biological differences between men and women.

(Source: [*Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism – Good Practices for Law Enforcement | OSCE*](#))

Gender perspective

A way of seeing or analysing the impact of gender on people's opportunities, social roles and interactions. This way of seeing enables one to carry out gender analysis and subsequently to mainstream a gender perspective into any proposed programme, policy or organization.

(Source: "Gender Equality Glossary", UN Women Training Centre, <https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/mod/glossary/view.php?id=36>)

Gender power relations

A term that explains that gender is not a synonym for women, or sex, but that gender describes a structure of power between men and women that is sustained over time. Like all relationships of power, gender power relations develop historically, and the shape of gender power relations changes from place to place. However, everywhere gender power relations ascribe power to (some) men, while taking power away from women.

(Adapted from Cornwall (2007) https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/8321/IDSB_38_2_10.1111-j.1759-5436.2007.tb00353.x.pdf?sequence=1 and Kim (2022) [negotiating-gender-in-central-asia.pdf \(b-cdn.net\)](#))

Gender mainstreaming

A strategy for implementing greater gender equality. Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the gender implications of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels.

(Adapted from ECOSOC, *Review of Economic and Social Council agreed conclusions 1997/2 on mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programs in the United Nations system*, Resolution 2004/4, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/ECOSOCAC1997.2.PDF>)

Hostile sexism

A synonym for misogyny, and it is a term very widely used in social psychology to measure how sexism towards women is "ambivalent", containing open aggression towards women as well as ideas of protection and women's greater morality.

(Adapted from Glick and Fiske (1996) <https://psycnet.apa.org/fulltext/1996-03014-006.pdf>. See also Kim (2022) <https://capgwu.b-cdn.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/negotiating-gender-in-central-asia.pdf>)

Incels

Individuals who espouse a kind of violent extremism; incels claim that they are "involuntary celibates", which motivates their opposition to feminism; however, it is argued that the primary agenda of these men is male supremacy. Feminist scholars have tended to use the term 'male-supremacist violent extremism' as a more accurate descriptor for this group.

(Source: Tolentino (2018); Flood, Roose and Alfano (2020) https://www.academia.edu/45131882/Challenging_the_Use_of_Masculinity_as_a_Recruitment_Mechanism_in_Extremist_Narratives)

Violent misogyny

Open hostility or misogyny (comprising, inter alia, an unwillingness to accept women's equality or leadership, a distrust of women and their motives) together with the view that violence against women can be justified.

(Source: UN Women/Monash University: [Misogyny & Violent Extremism: Implications for Preventing Violent Extremism; Warning against 'Great Fracture', Secretary-General Calls on General Assembly to Reconnect with Organization's Values, Uphold Human Rights, Restore Trust | UN Press](#); and UNDP [Misogyny: The Extremist Gateway?](#))

Violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism (VERLT)

A dynamic process whereby an individual comes to accept terrorist violence as a possible, perhaps even legitimate, course of action. This may eventually, but not necessarily, lead this person to advocate, act in support of or engage in terrorism.

(Source: [Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism – Good Practices for Law Enforcement | OSCE](#))

Rehabilitation and reintegration (R&R):

Programmes that target individuals radicalized to violence (including but not limited to terrorist offenders) and sometimes also their families, as well as those who have not entered the prison system but who may demonstrate some level of support for violent extremism or terrorism, including those who have returned from territory held by Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL-Da'esh). R&R programmes may take place within prisons, outside custodial settings, in communities or as part of probation services. Programmes may offer educational and vocational training, counselling, employment opportunities and ideological re-education. In a public health context, this is known as "tertiary prevention".

(Source: [Non-custodial Rehabilitation and Reintegration in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: A Guidebook for Policymakers and Practitioners in South-Eastern Europe | OSCE](#))

Referral mechanism

A formal or informal mechanism involving practitioners and professionals from various disciplines, agencies and organizations that aims to identify, assess, assist and treat those individuals showing signs of being at risk of or vulnerable to engagement in VERLT or already on the path to VERLT.

(Source: [Understanding Referral Mechanisms in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: Guidebook for South-Eastern Europe | OSCE](#))

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OSCE Secretariat

Office of the Secretary General
Gender Issues Programme
Wallnerstrasse 6
1010 Vienna, Austria

Email: equality@osce.org
www.osce.org/secretariat/gender



This publication is part of the OSCE Secretariat WIN Project (Women and Men Innovating and Networking for Gender Equality).
The WIN project is implemented with support from the following donors:




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