

Digital Male Supremacy: Online Narratives Before, During, and After the 2024 Election

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Executive Summary



Key Findings

- 1. Male supremacist content is extremely prevalent.** 5-15% of all analyzed posts on most platforms included male supremacist content.
- 2. Male supremacist tropes were frequently coupled with racist, antisemitic, and other hateful tropes.**
- 3. Following the inauguration, posts calling for violence against women became more specific.** Posts calling for violence against women and LGBTQ+ people appeared throughout the full codebooking period.
- 4. Sexism targeting female politicians reflects attacks on everyday women.** The implication: when women in the public sphere are unsafe, women everywhere are unsafe.
- 5. Grievance-based sentiments—frustration, hate, and violence, among others—spiked after the inauguration.** Posters blamed DEI programs, feminism, and “wokeness” as the root cause of their problems.
- 6. The belief that women are being brainwashed has moved from the fringe to the mainstream.**
- 7. Following the election, as content celebrating traditional gender norms became more prevalent, so did talk of enforcing traditional gender roles.** Following the Inauguration, posters expressed a desire to punish and/or discipline women who stepped outside traditionalist gender norms.
- 8. Following the election, posters used Harris’ election loss to claim that all women were “losers.”**
- 9. Women and men faced double-binds or “lose-lose” behavioral expectations.**
- 10. Anti-LGBTQ+ tropes have been thought to be consistent for decades; however, the sample yielded new anti-LGBTQ+ tropes.**

0.25%

Percentage of male supremacist words compared to all other words on most platforms analyzed*

5-15%

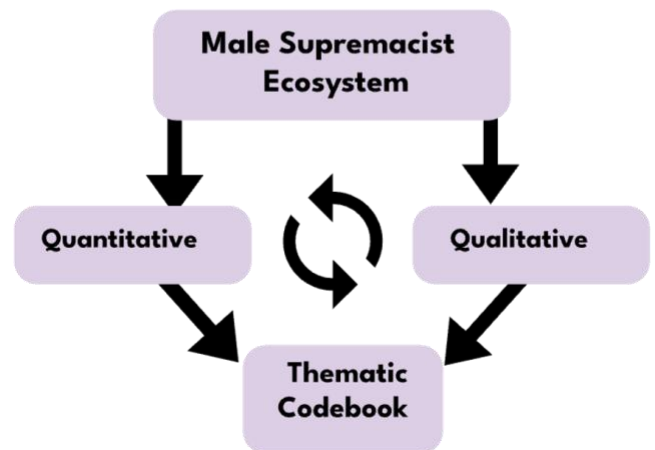
Percentage of all posts on most platforms analyzed* (on “any given Tuesday”) that included male supremacist content

*4Chan, Gab, Telegram, Truth Social

Project Overview

- This project examined online male supremacist narratives during three key periods surrounding the 2024 election: The pre-election period (Aug-Nov. 4, 2024); the period between election day and inauguration or the “interim period” (Nov. 5, 2024 - Jan. 19, 2025); and the post-election period (Jan. 20 - April 20, 2025).
- This allowed us to trace the evolution and emergence of certain tropes online surrounding the election, and to identify the tropes that carry salience in the post-election period and thus cannot be written off as “election talk”.
- The identified tropes and themes can support researchers, activists, and democracy defenders into addressing, prioritizing, and counteracting male supremacist narratives that are serving to reinforce rigid and regressive gender norms and can push women, LGBTQ people, and other targeted groups out of public life.

Methodology



Quantitative Analysis- Uncover key terms, discursive clusters, and base-rate analysis of misogynistic content

Qualitative Analysis- Uncover “latent” meanings and key rhetorical strategies

Opportunities for Action

This research opens pathways for meaningful intervention. By understanding how harmful narratives spread and evolve, we can develop targeted strategies to counter their impact and build more inclusive communities.



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Research & Analysis

Continue monitoring narrative evolution across platforms to stay ahead of emerging threats and identify intervention points.



Alternative Narratives

Develop and test alternative narratives that challenge harmful tropes while promoting equity, inclusion, and resilience.



Collaborations

Foster collaboration between researchers, activists, and practitioners to amplify impact and share best practices.



Prevention Programs

Create upstream interventions that help people recognize and resist manipulative rhetoric before it takes hold.



Education & Training

Equip communities with tools to identify harmful narratives and build resilience against extremist messaging.



Positive Messaging

Amplify stories and narratives that promote healthy relationships, equality, and respect across all identities.

Digital Male Supremacy: Online Narratives Before, During, and After the 2024 Election

Commentators dubbed the 2024 election the “[gender election](#)” for a host of reasons. A deluge of gendered and racialized narratives [claimed](#) that Kamala Harris, a Black and South Asian woman, “slept her way to the top.” Campaign rhetoric attacked her competence and echoed longstanding tropes that women are too [emotional, untrustworthy, or unqualified](#) for positions of leadership. Rhetoric also [embraced](#) traditional hypermasculinity, punctuated with Hulk Hogan ripping off his shirt, promises to be a “protector” for “abandoned, lonely, or scared” women, and significant engagement with [male-dominated online spaces](#). Narratives targeting the LGBTQ+ community, particularly trans individuals, featured heavily in election discourse. The 30-second “Kamala is for they/them, Trump is for you” advertisement reportedly moved voters by 2.7 points, and was part of nearly [\\$215 million](#) that the campaign poured into television ads attacking trans rights. Following the election, [slogans](#) like “your body, my choice” circulated widely, alongside [calls to repeal the 19th amendment](#), which gives women the right to vote. This rhetoric did not emerge in a vacuum but amid an [increase](#) in misogyny and gender-based bigotry, including a documented rise in male supremacist violence.

Over Zero and American University’s Polarization & Extremism Research & Innovation Lab (PERIL) had long observed and heard anecdotally from partners that hateful misogyny was increasingly present in political rhetoric and community-based organizing. What had built steadily over time reached a crescendo and took center stage throughout the presidential election, begging the question about the trajectory of these harmful narratives. In online spaces, where gender-based hate is fostered and increasingly normalized, what were Americans outside of public office saying? And how did this evolve throughout the election season—from the leadup to Election Day, following the election results but before the Inauguration, and following the Inauguration into the first three months of the new administration? For practitioners and funders working to counter the spread and impact of misogyny and male supremacy, collaborating with scholars to identify, prioritize, and interrupt harmful narratives and tropes that are resonating in the spaces that often seed more mainstream conversations is critically important.

To answer these questions, Over Zero and PERIL collaborated on a mixed-methods, longitudinal analysis of male supremacist content on digital platforms, which we refer to as “codebooking.” This codebooking project spanned three key time periods surrounding the 2024 U.S. presidential election: The pre-election period (Aug-Nov. 4, 2024); the period between Election Day and Inauguration or the “interim period” (Nov. 5, 2024 - Jan. 19, 2025); and the post-Inauguration period (Jan. 20 - April 20, 2025). This allowed us to trace the evolution, emergence, and fading of certain tropes throughout the election, and particularly to identify the narratives prevalent in the post-Inauguration period that cannot simply be written off as “election talk.”

Research on the spread and resonance of misogynistic and male supremacist rhetoric has never been more urgent. Globally, political and cultural leaders, buoyed by [algorithms that privilege hate and outrage](#), are [leveraging gendered anxieties](#) and [scapegoating LGBTQ+ people](#) to deepen

divisions, curtail rights and freedoms, reshape cultural norms, and lay the groundwork for more authoritarian forms of government.

Understanding and counteracting these movements requires taking seriously the discourse in the online spaces where ideas around social and gender hierarchies and violence are cultivated and thrive. It may be tempting to write off what's said in these spaces—often shrouded in humor and irony—as fringe or “[just a joke](#).” However, this misses how using humor and irony disguise “hateful ideas as countercultural to a boring, triggered mainstream,” desensitizing the audience to what's being said while also allowing the speaker to [deny accountability](#). When influential leaders echo or platform narratives previously reserved for the darkest corners of the internet, they make their way into the mainstream. What follows are incremental shifts in public attitudes around gender-related issues and broader cultural norms that both endanger targeted groups and can provide a pretext to reshape education, culture, law and politics.

This also creates an opening to [consolidate authoritarian control](#). Indeed, when targeted groups are rhetorically and politically attacked as a threat—whether to one's way of life, to traditional gender roles, to women and children, or to security—it creates an opening for leaders to expand state power and remove checks on that power in the name of protection. This also creates a precedent for suspending rights and freedoms and expanding state power whenever a new “threat” is constructed.

Key Findings from the Research

Below we summarize the key findings from our codebooking, paying particular attention to the narratives and tropes that emerged in the periods between Election Day and the Inauguration (interim period) and following the Inauguration. Why? As scholars, activists, and democracy defenders confront the rise and impact of misogynistic and male supremacist narratives, it is critically important to understand and prioritize those narratives that cannot be dismissed as “election talk.”

This document serves a quick reference for key findings, as well as early implications for practitioners. We understand practitioners are dealing with multiple, complex, and urgent demands on their time and resources. In the appendix, we provide a breakdown of the key findings in each of the three time periods, as well as a full glossary of the male supremacist tropes that surfaced.

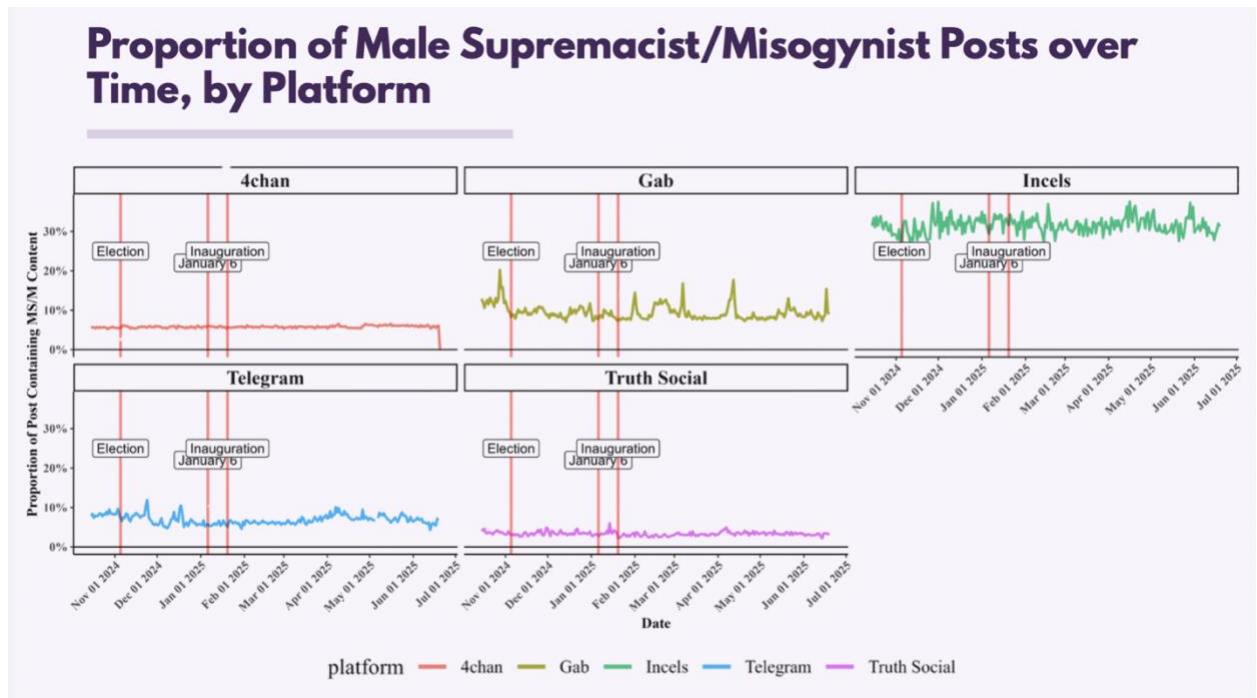
A few notes on methodology. Our research focuses on four key sub-divisions of male supremacy: sexism (belittling and hatred of women), misogyny (the policing of dominant, gendered standards of existence), toxic masculinity (how certain gendered norms are applied to men to the detriment of everyone), and anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric. These subdivisions were all coded among some of the most prolific and hateful accounts found on 4chan, Gab, Telegram, Truth Social, and the largest incel forum, as well as smaller samplings of more mainstream platforms: Bluesky, Instagram, Reddit, and X/Twitter. As noted, we organized this in three key time periods surrounding the election: pre-election, between Election Day and Inauguration, and in the post-Inauguration period.

Our hope is that through identifying the male supremacist narratives that gained traction in the period surrounding the 2024 U.S. presidential election—particularly in the post-election

period—we can better support those on the frontlines working to develop, amplify, and iterate intervention and prevention strategies that counter and build alternatives to these narratives.

1. Male supremacist content is extremely prevalent.

Our work validates practitioners' anecdotal observations—if it seems like hateful, male supremacist rhetoric is extremely prevalent, that's because it is. **Between five and fifteen percent of all analyzed posts included male supremacist content.**



The above figure illustrates a simplified version of the quantitative data collected from all three sample phases, highlighting the base rate data for each of the five fringe platforms collected on "any given Tuesday." This data represents the proportion of the most recent 50,000 posts from each day of collection which included language from our male supremacy and misogyny search term appendix.

2. Hate is intersectional and spills over across categories.

Male supremacist tropes were frequently coupled with racist, antisemitic, and other hateful tropes. We analyzed the relationship between male supremacy and antisemitism and found many platforms had a significant number of posts (1-4%) engaging in both. For instance, posters reiterated Andrew Tate's antisemitic conspiracy theories claiming that George Soros was responsible for him being charged with sex trafficking.

In fact, there was a **positive and statistically verifiable correlation between male supremacy and antisemitism on every platform with the exception of the incel forum.** This is likely due to that platform's much narrower rhetorical focus on incel- and male supremacy-specific grievances, relative to other alt-tech platforms, such as Gab or Telegram. We also uncovered similar intersections of racism and misogyny, with many posters applying tropes around aggression, promiscuity, and subservience to women of color and LGBTQ+ women. This is not surprising, as male supremacy intersects with other

supremacist ideologies and identity categories that are often targeted, including race and religion.

As these findings attest, hateful people are broadly hateful. Indeed, when one opens themselves up to pseudoscientific and supremacist explanations, all manner of hateful beliefs and ideas can be adopted, even if they are contradictory or weakly held. This is an important finding for researchers and practitioners working to combat discrimination and misogyny. **Concern for discrimination or bigotry targeting one group necessitates concern for it targeting other groups—and work to target any single form of discrimination is insufficient.**

3. **Following the Inauguration, calls for violence against women became more specific.**

Following the Inauguration, there was explicit praise of deadly violence against women. While earlier codebooking phases featured posts gesturing toward support of violence against women, the post-Inauguration period featured more specific calls. This included reactions to the deadly Florida State shooting expressing frustration that the shooter didn't end up killing any women.

Calls for violence against groups deemed the “opposition”—such as liberals, women, LGBTQ+ individuals, Jewish people, and those who are not white—were prevalent in both samples following the election. **The groups most often targeted in these posts were women and LGBTQ+ people.** Some posters made reference to other extremist beliefs, such as “The Day of the Rope,” a white supremacist phrase that calls for the hanging of “race traitors.” When not explicitly calling for physical violence, the threat of violence was often present. Posts on mainstream platforms suggested that equal rights for women meant that they became legitimate targets of violence (“equal rights, equal fights”).

Together, these attacks make clear that, to male supremacists, some groups simply do not matter and are not deserving of safety. As it relates to women and LGBTQ+ people, male supremacists insist that they need to “know their place” — which isn't in public life, positions of leadership, or according to some, deserving of the right to vote.

4. **Sexism targeted at female politicians reflects attacks on everyday women.**

Online posters targeted women in public office and “everyday women” with similar attacks on their appearance, sexuality, and mental disposition. **The implication: when women in the public sphere are unsafe, women everywhere are unsafe.**

This is especially alarming given the impact of these attacks in pushing women from assuming positions of leadership. Research from the [Brennan Center](#), for instance, has found that women holding state and local office in the U.S. were three to four times as likely as men to experience abuse targeting their gender, which in turn deterred women from running for reelection and leading on more contentious issues, including LGBTQ+ rights and gun regulations. Recognizing that attacks on women politicians mirror those facing everyday women, it stands to reason that they may be similarly impacting women in leadership positions outside of government.

5. Grievance-based sentiments spiked post-Inauguration.

Grievance-based narratives are rooted in a sense of perceived injustice—having been wronged, left behind, or betrayed in some way. Grievance-based sentiments spiked after Trump’s 2025 Inauguration. Posters blamed diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs, feminism, and general “wokeness” as the root cause of their problems. They called out feminism as selfish, a social cancer, and a way to absolve women from their “duties.” This was likely in response to political attacks on these themes, and consistent with observed spikes in online posts calling for women to “[get back to the kitchen](#).” As one poster noted, “at no other point in human history have women enjoyed more freedom, more rights, more privileges, more comfort...much or all of which is a direct result of male benevolence, ingenuity, labor, and genius. And yet simultaneously at no other point in human history have women had so much hate, spite, contempt, disrespect, and ungratefulness towards men as today. Total feminist ideological capture.” Further, following the Inauguration, posters suggested that DEI, feminism, and women’s rights were “dead.”

In this time period, posters repeatedly held out women as being born privileged, while men have had to fight for their position in society, further suggesting that any claim of oppression by women is false. As one example mockingly noted: “I don’t work. All my bills are paid for and I can raise my own kids. Help! Help! I’m bein’ oppressed!”

Given that grievance-based rhetoric is often highly [correlated with violence](#), we believe that this is a pressing area for further study and prevention efforts. Also, observing how grievance-based narratives move from fringe to the mainstream platforms is a potential avenue for exploring how male supremacy and other forms of extremism move into mainstream ideology, recruiting adherents as they go.

6. The belief that women are being brainwashed has moved from the fringes to the mainstream.

Following the Inauguration, some accounts asserted that women were “brainwashed” by DEI, feminism, or wokeness. This trope moved from the fringes to the mainstream in our qualitative sample, likely in part due to these terms picking up mainstream political cache in recent years—and in concert with the rise of scapegoating “the left.” This narrative may have also emerged as an attempt to explain gender differences in voting behavior—or more specifically as a purported explanation for why women were more likely to have voted for Kamala Harris in the 2024 election. This occurred alongside the Trump campaign and later the administration targeting and eliminating programs that promoted gender and racial equality.

7. Following the election, as content celebrating traditional gender norms became more prevalent, so did talk of enforcing traditional gender roles.

In the qualitative sample between Election Day and Inauguration, references to returning to traditional gender roles were more prevalent. This was an escalation in our sample from

the pre-election period. Posters praised “trad” women, suggesting they were embodying “real women,” directed women to make them a sandwich, and complained about women who worked outside the home. Prior to the election, most of the references related to “trad” gender norms lamented how society had moved away from these positions.

Following the Inauguration, posters expressed a desire to punish and/or discipline women who stepped outside traditionalist gender norms—including those who identified as liberal, disagreed with men, or refused to fulfill a “woman’s purpose.” The desired punishment ranged from embarrassment to physical and sexual assault. In this time period, “trad” posts also focused heavily on the possibility of finding virgin women to marry.

Following the Inauguration, real men were held out as breadwinners, responsible for “protecting” their women. Some complained that real men were being weeded out by wokeness. Posters called for a return of “real masculinity” and complained that white women were not having enough babies—echoing the dangerous and racist Great Replacement conspiracy theory, which posits that white populations are being deliberately “replaced” by non-white immigrants through higher birth rates. One account noted, “If men are born to protect and provide we should agree that women are also born to take care of the house and raise the children...”

Posters also flatly demonized abortion rights, suggesting that anyone who receives an abortion is satanic. One poster noted, “if it’s in women’s nature to want to be mothers why are women so good at killing infants?,” while another mused “Your body, my choice. Forever.”

Of course, these posts did not happen in a vacuum, but amid increasingly popular tradwife influencers and the growth of the “[femosphere](#),” or “[womansphere](#),” a web of social media influencers (often tradwives), activists, and online publications aligned in their opposition to feminism and desire to return to traditional gender roles: “women as submissive homemakers, men as strong providers.” Some [tradwife influencers](#) also push Great Replacement narratives, arguing that white women have a duty to procreate to avoid “replacement.”

8. Following the election, posters viewed women as “losers” and “low intelligence.”

Between Election Day and the Inauguration, one of the most prominent new trends that emerged in our qualitative sample was calling women “losers.” This was deeply connected to Harris’ loss in the presidential election. This trope assumes that all women are the same (sometimes asserted through the shorthand “AWALT” or “all women are like that”), and that because Harris was a loser, women generally are losers. Such discourse incorrectly claims that women are a monolithic voting block, channeling group grievance into derogatory stereotypes. Following the election, language demeaning or mocking women also appeared more consistently in the sample. Relatedly, when male politicians or public figures were criticized, it was often through rhetoric attempting to “feminize them” as weak or incompetent. Misogynistic posters held out femininity and weakness as the antithesis of what it means to be a man.

Throughout the full codebooking period, posters claimed that women were stupid or illogical—in their everyday decision-making, for supporting Harris, and/or for agreeing that

Donald Trump had been rightly convicted of felonies. These tropes existed on both fringe and mainstream platforms.

In some instances, posters (baselessly) claimed that liberal women would cause mass violence, death, and destruction if put in positions of power. This was frequently presented as a critique of Kamala Harris and a concern that her election would lead to annihilation and warfare—likely emerging from the belief that women are too emotional, irrational, and hysterical to be given access to the U.S. nuclear codes. While this died down following the Inauguration, posts continued to discuss that, without Trump’s intervention, the Democrat-led government would have caused destruction.

9. Both women and men faced impossible double-binds.

Throughout our sample and across the three time periods, **women faced impossible double-binds or lose-lose behavioral expectations**. Women were castigated for being too emotional, but also too cold and calculating; too manipulative or conspiratorial, but also too unintelligent or illogical; prude while hypersexual; and so on. They were encouraged to be mothers, then attacked for failing to raise successful children. In fact, moms were often the first line of attack for male supremacists, who blamed ideas or posts they disagreed with on poor mothering. Further, following the election, we saw an increase in posts criticizing women as lazy and deceptive for using men for material gain, while simultaneously praising “tradwomen” who had foregone careers (and financial independence) to be homemakers. Taken together, it becomes clear that there is no winning for women.

Men, too, faced double binds. They were encouraged to aspire to this masculine “Chad” ideal, even as Chads were simultaneously demonized for “having it easy.”

Because the cognitive dissonance of these arguments is so extreme, it may be necessary to bypass these double binds through prevention messaging, rather than trying to respond after the double-bind has taken hold. If people understand they are being led into a lose-lose situation, they may be better positioned to resist the manipulation that leads them into this cognitive trap. Future work might explore the psychological and rhetorical roots of these double-binds, or the role of choosing the right messenger in upstream “pre-bunking” of these myths.

10. Anti-LGBTQ+ narratives are evolving.

Homophobic and anti-trans content was stable in its frequency across the three time periods; general anti-LGBTQ+ hate was high and highly prevalent across our samples. Further, while decades-old tropes—such as promiscuity, drug addiction, dead-naming, and slurs—were present, our sample yielded new anti-LGBTQ+ tropes, including accusing people of using queerness to gain status or attention.

Trans people were also depicted as sneaky and plotting a cultural takeover. The frequency of anti-trans slurs fell in the period between Election Day and the Inauguration, possibly because users believed that, following the campaign rhetoric, the Trump administration would counter a perceived cultural takeover. However, this narrative became more

frequent again following the Inauguration—perhaps indicating an increased acceptance of anti-trans rhetoric and actions following the rhetoric and Executive Orders targeting trans rights that Donald Trump signed on the first day of his presidency.

Conclusion

This study of male supremacy surrounding the 2024 U.S. presidential election validates what many practitioners have observed in their work: the disturbing prevalence of hateful rhetoric and narrative tropes. These tropes create a permission structure for all sorts of unspeakable outcomes: identity-based and gendered violence, rigid and regressive social and gender hierarchies, and more authoritarian forms of government.

Identifying and unpacking these narratives is a critical first step, but the work cannot stop there. Our hope is that this codebook provides scholars, activists, funders, and democracy defenders a roadmap of common narratives and tropes across key online spaces. Together, we must ideate, test, and iterate counter-strategies, interventions, alternative narratives to resist and reduce the impact of this rhetoric on our culture and our democracy.

APPENDIX—Findings by Time Period

It would be impossible to comprehensively list every interesting and important finding from codebooking male supremacist narratives throughout the 2024 election. Below, we list some of the key findings that emerged in each of the codebooking phases. For a full appendix of male supremacist tropes that surfaced in our research, please reach out to the PERIL team.

Key Pre-election Findings

1. *Hate is intersectional.* Sexism, misogyny, toxic masculinity, and anti-trans/homophobia are all highly interrelated and interwoven issues. While certain tropes are highlighted that fit within each of these larger categories, many posts delve into multiple or all of these larger categories simultaneously and almost seamlessly.
2. *General sexism targeted at female politicians.* The male supremacist critiques of female politicians like Harris and Pelosi are not especially distinct from criticisms of women more broadly. Criticisms based on appearance, sexuality, and mental disposition of women in general are cross-applied without much nuance to female politicians, and vice versa.
3. *Vaginal synecdoche runs rampant.* As defined in this study, vaginal synecdoche is a trope where a woman's reproductive organs are used as a stand in for a woman's entire value and being. Even outside of the specific examples in the vaginal synecdoche trope, casual remarks of rancid, overused, "roastie" vaginas are frequently intermingled with other sexist character assessments.

4. *Women face pre-election double binds.* Harris, female politicians, and women more generally faced a number of irreconcilable double binds in the pre-election era. For example, these women are accused of being superficial and uncaring, but then also too emotional. They are accused of prudishness but also oversexuality. They are accused of low intelligence but also grand conspiratorial aims.
5. *Men also face double binds.* In the contradictory male supremacist world view, men are meant to aspire toward being a “Chad,” who represents a hegemonic masculine ideal, has supposed access to sex from any woman, and is further positioned as superior to women. However, Chads are also demonized as having it “easy” compared to a wide array of incel subsets. Incels are viewed negatively as inadequate men, but they are also praised within their community for community building and resilience. Men are supposed to have sex with women and “ascend,” but such ascension also removes one from the tight-knit incel community. Virginity is bad, but sexual purity is also good. Men should be the ones running the household and making money, but women are also too cheap to contribute, meaning men are supposedly forced to do all the heavy lifting. The list goes on.
6. *A rising tide lifts all ships.* In other words, male supremacist tropes frequently came packaged with racist, antisemitic, and other such hateful tropes. In particular, this study analyzed the relationship between male supremacy and antisemitism, and found that many platforms had a significant number of posts engaging in both.
7. *Violence against women.* Responses to perceived wrongs by women were highly (sexually) violent. There were rampant suggestions of “bitch slapping” women for their mere existence, making them be subservient through sexual acts, or even outright suggestions of mass killings against women.
8. *Feminine slurs directed towards male politicians.* Unsurprisingly given the search terms of this study, a lot of slurs were found. What was somewhat more surprising was the use of gendered, feminine slurs to castigate male politicians. When male politicians were criticized, the criticisms specifically demeaned their masculinity and connoted them as weak and incompetent.
9. *Underrepresented tropes.* There were some tropes that were not as common as assumed going into this project. Calling women “Karens” seems to have died down, for instance. It was only found in the sample as being used in relation to Nancy Pelosi, and even then only twice. It is possible that this trope in particular was difficult to weaponize against Harris, a Black and Indian woman, since the Karen trope is typically deployed against white women. It’s also possible that the Karen trope finds more usage in left-leaning audiences, whereas most of these platforms cater to more far-right users.
10. *New tropes added to historical anti-LGBTQ+ tropes.* Anti-LGBTQ+ tropes have been the same for decades: promiscuity, drug addiction, slurs, etc. (although, interestingly, the drugs trope has been largely absent in the pre-election sample). The new angles on these are that there is a relatively new “transitioning for benefit” trope amongst incels and a higher than usual amount of anti-trans slurs. Surprisingly, from the qualitative work of this study, it seemed like there were more trans slurs than general homophobic slurs. However, later quantitative analysis proved this was more indicative of the sample than any verifiable trends.

12. *The base-rate use of male supremacy is alarming.* Between 5-15% of all posts on most of the platforms analyzed included male supremacist content. On a forum specific to the online incel community, this was between 25 and 35%. If you break it down to just words themselves, most platforms in this analysis have close to 0.25% of all words used being male supremacist. That means approximately 1 in every 400 words typed is hateful male supremacy. Again, this rate was much higher on the incel forum, with somewhere between 1 and 1.5% base rate usage, meaning that approximately 1-1.5 in every 100 words is hateful misogyny.

Key Interim Findings

1. *General evolution of tropes.* Many of the tropes highlighted in the pre-election period changed subtly, or in some cases drastically, between the pre-election and interim eras. Other tropes remained very consistent. These changes are noted with more depth in the full codebook.
2. *Less overt fear of LGBTQ+ cultural takeover.* Fear of cultural takeover from the LGBTQ+ community dropped off in the interim period qualitative sample, perhaps due to reassurances felt by anti-trans advocates based on the results of the election.
3. *More anti-LGBTQ+ tropes.* Somewhat ironically when compared to the finding above, there was an increase in the diversity of anti-LGBTQ+ tropes in the qualitative sample. The sample did not show any examples of deadnaming until the interim period. Similarly, other anti-LGBTQ+ tropes such as promiscuity and associations with AIDS occurred more frequently in the interim period sample, perhaps indicating a higher level of comfort in disseminating anti-LGBTQ+ narratives following Trump's election.
4. *Ableist sexism on the rise.* Use of ableist slurs increased in the qualitative sample, which coincides with recent studies that show a significant increase in ableist slurs on X following use by prominent public figures.
5. *Clarifying platform trends.* Posts on Incels are fairly consistent in their content, typically discussing Chads and violence against women and infrequently discussing current events and the election.
6. *Gendered media attacks expand.* The nature of the "Brainwashing/Controlling" trope—that women use their looks, status, and/or the media to brainwash and control the masses—shifted. In the pre-election period, this was applied to women broadly, often in relationships; in the interim sample, this took a sharp turn in being applied toward women in media controlling and brainwashing men, consistent with broader attacks on the media.
7. *Loser tropes.* One of the most prominent new trends that emerged in the interim era sample was that of women as losers. This was deeply connected to Harris's loss in the 2024 U.S. presidential election. This trope makes a couple of problematic assumptions: it assumes that all or nearly all women are liberal and that, accordingly, because Harris was a loser, women generally are losers.
8. *Animal references expand to mocking pet names.* The interim period sample saw an increase in references to women as animals, specifically with "pet" names becoming much more

prevalent as a way to mock women-presenting posters. Some examples include “PookieBear” and “kitten.”

9. *“Mainstream” examples.* While “mainstream” is a difficult metric to qualify, examples of some of the qualitative tropes on platforms like Twitter/X were supplemented with the “fringe” posts in this study. This, in many cases, revealed that these tropes have been applied in fairly similar ways and with similar vocabularies to more extreme website posts.
10. *Admiring nostalgic traditionalism.* References to traditionalist gender roles seemed to become more common in the interim period qualitative sample, with posters praising “trad” women, directing women to “make [them] a sandwich,” or complaining when women work outside the home. Relatedly, another trope conveyed preferences for traditionalist sexual proclivities and referred to particular sexual actions as “gross.” These displays of traditionalism are related to broader trends of tradwives and restrictive gender norms, yearning for a nostalgic past.
11. *Enforcing nostalgic traditionalism.* Another trope that emerged in the interim period is that of role enforcement, where misogynistic posters referenced the need or desire to punish and discipline women who step outside of traditionalist gender norms. Infractions worthy of discipline included, but are certainly not limited to, disagreeing with men, affiliating with liberalism, or refusing to fulfill a “women’s purpose”; while degrees of punishment varied from embarrassment to sexual assault.
12. *Expanded pool of conspirators.* The sample of posts in the interim period saw a substantial expansion of individuals perceived to be conspiring for the downfall of Western civilization and American ideals. For example, Democratic politicians were described as part of a “cult” with increased frequency, while immigrant communities were further described as communists.
13. *Attacks on mothers.* Counterintuitively to traditionalist tropes, the interim sample posts displayed pointed attacks against mothers and grandmothers, specifically for having failed to raise successful children—such as male children who identify with the incel community. Also included in attacks against maternal women was the allegation that they are particularly promiscuous.
14. *(Relatively) stable exposure to male supremacy within platforms.* Analysis of the base-rate of male supremacist/misogynist content reveals that with few exceptions, the proportion of posts and terms on key platforms remained relatively stable throughout the period of analysis. There was, however, evidence of a spike on Gab at the end of October 2024, coinciding with the “Your Vote is Secret” political advertisement.
15. *Anti-trans content tracks general anti-LGBTQ+ language.* Despite salient policy shifts at the federal level prominently featuring messages targeting the trans community, there was no systematic increase in content explicitly targeting the trans community according to this study’s quantitative sample. Indeed, content using slurs specifically targeting trans people closely tracked the patterns of more general anti-LGBTQ+ content.

Key Post-Inauguration Findings

1. *General evolution of tropes.* Consistent with past key findings, many of the tropes that were highlighted in the pre-election and interim periods changed subtly, or in some cases drastically, as they moved into the post-Inauguration era. Other tropes remained very consistent. These changes are noted with more depth in the full codebook.
2. *Reorganizing of personal and societal sexist critiques.* In this wave of codebooking, it became increasingly obvious that there was a divide between “personal feminine critiques” and “societal critiques” that would both fall under the “Sexism” category. As such, those two subcategories were created, with tropes like antisemitism, race, etc. moving into the societal critiques subcategory.
3. *Targeted content surrounding key events.* Prior to the post-Inauguration codebook, most of the time when posts in the qualitative sample referred to a “key event” it was usually the election or something very related to it. Now, in the post-Inauguration era, such election related content has understandably died down. What has replaced it are a more diverse spread of current events, including heinous comments about the Florida State shooting, the deportation of Kilmar Ábrego García, and even *The Minecraft Movie*.
4. *Celebrating violence against women.* While prior codebook phases had posters who generally gestured toward support of violence against women, this iteration saw explicit praise of deadly violence against women in the Florida State shooting. This ranged from suggestions that nothing of value was lost, praise for targeting a supposedly highly Greek life institution, or even frustration that the shooter didn’t end up killing any women.
5. *Some tropes are fading in this sample.* Of course, given the limited sample size of the qualitative portion of this study, it’s hard to definitively say that these tropes faded/left the manosphere discourse. That being said, there were some tropes that were present in the past two phases of codebooking that did not present themselves in the post-Inauguration era. Examples include *Cat Lady*, *Karen*, and *Crazy Eyes*, along with others. In addition, there are some common anti-LGBTQ+ tropes that were just not all that common throughout the whole codebooking process, including references to AIDS and drug use. There are plenty of reasons why these declines could be the case, all of which are interesting to consider.
6. *Expanding mainstream versions of tropes.* Mainstream examples of the tropes analyzed here highlight the ways these tropes remain constant or change as they move from more fringe spaces to more social media mainstays. In some ways, these mainstream posts are more overt than some of the fringe samples. One hypothesis is that this could be because mainstream accounts have to explain their sexist ideas to uninitiated followers, while fringe site posters assume everyone is on the same page (for example, there were no references to the #MeToo movement in the fringe space coding, but this showed up in the mainstream, where the movement and even the idea of consent were attacked).
7. *DEI/Feminism/Wokeness seen as the root cause of gender grievances.* For some posters, women are just inherently awful and should be avoided. For others, however, there is an assertion that women have been “brainwashed” by DEI, feminism, or wokeness, and that explains the perceived grievances these manosphere communities express. This was a highly transportable trope from fringe to the mainstream, likely in part due to these terms picking up mainstream political cache in recent years.

8. *Women using men.* In the post-Inauguration period's qualitative sample, there were a wider range of posts that blame and criticize women for using men for material gain. Women were depicted as using men for free food, for money, for drugs, for sex, or for access to power; all of which perpetuate the notion that women are both unable to achieve these of their own volition and deceptively use men for personal benefit.
9. *Double binds abound for women's virginity.* While misogynistic posters frequently pedestalized virgin women who remained chaste, women who identified as "femcels" were disregarded as incompetent or unworthy. Femcels, it seems, remove the agency that allows virginal women to seem intentionally pure. Similarly, some posters weaponized the use of "femcels," using it as an insult against perceived opponents. For instance, mainstream examples of this trope presented the notion that women must just have "bad vaginas" if they are unable to have sex.
10. *Consistent narratives in incel communities.* Tropes that were commonly seen on incel forums (such as *Chad*, *Incel*, *Ascension*, *Virgins*) were consistent through the post-Inauguration period, indicating that this niche, misogynistic rhetoric is fairly stable within incel communities. Although posts on Incels recognized events that occurred during the post-Inauguration period such as the shooting at Florida State, descriptions of this incident on Incels continued to use these same tropes.
11. *Lack of certain mainstream tropes.* Surprisingly, some mainstream misogynistic and anti-LGBTQ+ tropes such as *Nice Guys*, *Drug Use*, and *Deadnaming* were scarce, not only in the post-Inauguration period but from a majority of the sample. This could indicate that these tropes are more specific to mainstream platforms rather than the alternative platforms featured in the sample.
12. *Consternation about mothers with different political views.* In the post-Inauguration qualitative sample, there were multiple examples of users who either a) were frustrated that their mothers were not "redpilled" enough on certain issues or b) that someone a poster disagreed with must be the way they are because of a mother who believes in supposedly bad things/was incompetent. This spilled over into Ohio-specific geographic posts, as some users suggested Vice President JD Vance's mom's "hillbilly" drug use was an example of such maternal harm.