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Emma A. Renström

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# Exploring the role of entitlement, Social Dominance Orientation, Right-Wing authoritarianism, and the moderating role of being single on misogynistic attitudes

EMMA A. RENSTRÖM

Correspondence address: Emma A. Renström, Department of Psychology, Kristianstad University, Kristianstad, SE-291 39, Sweden. Email: [Emma.Renstrom@hkr.se](mailto:Emma.Renstrom@hkr.se)

## Abstract

This article aimed to explore individual level factors as predictors of misogynistic attitudes. Given that misogyny and activity on online forums related to so called incel-dom is growing and has been identified as a terrorist threat, it becomes important to better understand the underpinnings of misogynistic attitudes, also in a normal population. Based on previous research and theory, entitlement, Social Dominance Orientation and Right-wing authoritarianism was explored as well as the moderating role of being single among American men ( $N = 302$ ). Results from an online survey showed that all three predictors as well as being single (compared to being in a relationship) significantly predicted misogynistic attitudes. The effect of SDO was moderated by relationship status such that singles who were high SDO expressed most misogyny. The results contribute to a better understanding of who may come to adhere to a more radical view of women.

Keywords: Misogynistic attitudes, entitlement, social dominance orientation, Right-Wing authoritarianism, relationship status

The present study aims to highlight individual level predictors of misogynistic attitudes and how relationship status may be an important moderator. While gender equality is an important goal in most Western societies, a gender backlash effect is observed (Roggeband & Krizsan, 2018) with increasing misogyny as a consequence. One example is the rise of the so-called manosphere—a collection of blogs and forums online, mainly focused on the loss of masculine entitlement, which is argued to be caused by feminist progress (Ging, 2019; Jane, 2018; Jones et al., 2020). Hence, the focus on increasing women's rights during the past decades have also led to a backlash where some men feel that they have been left behind and have lost the status previously afforded to them by virtue of their sex.

Some high-profile terrorist deeds linked to extreme misogyny has put the question of how men come to be so hateful against women into the spotlight among both scholars and the public. This article zooms in on several individual level variables that can be argued

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Department of Psychology, Kristianstad University, Kristianstad, Sweden

to be related to misogyny, but also takes current relationship status into account. Given that involuntary celibacy by default imply the lack of a romantic partner, it is important to take relationship status into account when trying to understand the psychological underpinnings of misogyny.

The article aims to explore the role of status legitimizing ideologies and entitlement on misogynistic attitudes. Further, I aim to explore how relationship status may be an important moderator in this relation. Both Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) are status legitimating ideologies, which have been connected to sexism. Particularly, SDO has been related to hostile sexism (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Lee, 2013; Sibley et al., 2007; Sibley & Becker, 2012), which comes close to misogyny. In trying to understand why men adopt misogynistic ideas and attitudes, the manosphere plays an important role providing support and camaraderie, but also a narrative for why the men active on these online forums feel rejected by women. Because the notion of one being unable to find a romantic partner is at the core of the incel-ideology (Ging, 2019), one important potential moderator is being single. While there are indications that status-legitimizing ideologies should correlate with misogyny, the literature has not yet explored if this relation may be particularly pronounced among single men.

### Individual factors explaining misogyny

Before discussing individual factors that may explain misogyny, a note on misogyny and sexism is needed since much research has used sexism as an outcome variable.

Sexism is defined as a prejudice or discrimination based on sex, not necessarily against women, but that is the context in which sexism is almost exclusively used. While sexism is a prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 1996) it contrasts to many other prejudices such as racism because relations between women and men are more complicated as they also entail some form of attraction between the groups often missing in other (hostile) intergroup contexts. This gave rise to the idea behind ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996), where sexism is seen as two complimentary dimensions of benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism refers to sexism that is positive in tone, presenting women as fragile and in need of male protection (Glick et al., 2004). While it is presented as something positive, benevolent sexism still functions to position women in stereotypical roles, as well as positioning men as dominating (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and should therefore be considered normatively problematic.

Hostile sexism is a prejudice in a traditional meaning of antipathy (Allport, 1958). Hostile sexism reflects hostility against women who challenge male power (Glick et al., 2004). The dimension contains three areas; paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexism. Paternalism refers to the dominant control of women, gender differentiation refers to the superiority of men over women and heterosexism refers to that women are sexual objects who may manipulate men through sex. Hostile sexism is therefore closely linked to misogyny.

Misogyny is defined as hatred of, aversion to, or prejudice against women (Srivastava et al., 2017). As such, it shares some aspects with sexism, but has a stronger focus on the hatred part. The definitional boundary of misogyny remains relatively loose (Rottweiler & Gill, 2020). Misogyny can take different shapes such as male privilege, patriarchy, sexual

harassment of women, violence against women and objectification (Srivastava et al., 2017). Recently, Rottweiler and Gill (2020) tried to create a scale for measuring misogyny and in doing so they also included research on hostile sexism. In the final scale, there are obvious connections to hostile sexism, such as items about women trying to manipulate men by using sex. Because hostile sexism as defined and measured is very similar to misogyny, the literature review will comprise literature on hostile sexism as well as misogyny.

### *Entitlement*

Entitlement is a central theme on the manosphere (Ging, 2019; Hoffman et al., 2020), and is closely connected to ideas about hegemonic masculinity. Although not specifically related to misogyny, the concept “aggrieved entitlement” captures the ideas surrounding the gendered aspect of masculine entitlement (Kalish & Kimmel, 2010). Aggrieved entitlement is a gendered sense of entitlement thwarted by societal, political, or economical forces, such as women’s liberation and feminist progress. Aggrieved entitlement is gendered because it is anchored in the cultural norms and ideas about manhood, masculinity, and what men are entitled to given this identity. These include not just ideas about what a “real man” is (powerful, athletic, non-feminine, heterosexual) but more importantly how masculinity is performed and maintained (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Specifically, it prescribes violent vengeance to maintain and reinforce masculine status when it is perceived to be threatened (Möller-Leimkühler 2018; Kalish & Kimmel, 2010). The manosphere flaunts many different aspects of male entitlement and how it is thwarted in modern society. The Incel culture, for example, is characterized by ideas of men’s entitlement to women and sex, and of how some men are robbed of this mainly based on women’s pickiness (Bates, 2020; European Commission, 2021; Guy, 2021).

### *Ideological predictors*

Both Social dominance orientation (SDO) and Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) are status legitimizing ideologies, meaning that they entail world views where inequalities are seen as legitimate (Major & Kaiser, 2017). They have been shown to predict prejudice including sexism (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Van Assche et al., 2019). Most previous studies explore the effects of these ideological convictions on sexism in samples composed of both women and men (e. g. Van Assche et al., 2019) and find that both ideologies seem to be equally strong predictors of hostile sexism. However, in the present study, the main goal is to explore how this relationship pans out among heterosexual men specifically.

Social Dominance Orientation is an expression of the motivational goal for group-based dominance and superiority (Duckitt, 2001; Pratto et al., 1994). People high in SDO see the world as a competitive jungle, which entails a struggle for resources (Duckitt et al., 2002)—a sort of zero-sum game. In terms of gender relations this means that if women gain status and privileges, men lose out, and thus men should be motivated to combat feminist progress. Because men who score high on SDO should hence be particularly sensitive to competitiveness in gender relations, they should also perceive that women are trying to challenge the male dominance leading to hostile sexism. This is also what research has found (Sibley et al., 2007).

Right-wing authoritarianism is a concept that captures dimensions of authoritarian tendencies (Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001). RWA is related to a preference for traditional values, submission to authorities and endorsement of punitive practices to ensure that these values and submission is upheld (Manzi et al., 2017; Perry et al., 2013). People high in RWA tend to uncritically submit to and respect authorities and oppose deviance from the norms, prescribing a traditional way of life. They also have a strong proclivity for social control, such as restrictive laws and harsh punishment (Duckitt et al., 2010). In relation to sexist attitudes, RWA has been shown to consistently predict sexism (Austin & Jackson, 2019; Christopher & Mull, 2006; Lee, 2013). Specifically, RWA seems to be related to benevolent sexism among men (Sibley et al., 2007).

In sum, both SDO and RWA are strong predictors of sexism. Most studies suggest that SDO is more strongly related to hostile sexism (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Lee, 2013; Sibley et al., 2007; Sibley & Becker, 2012, although see Hannover et al., 2018 for an exception).

### *Relationship status*

Misogyny may be dependent upon an individual's relationship status and history. Considering that the central theme for the incel movement is the difficulty these men have in finding a romantic partner, or in having sex (Ging, 2019) it can be assumed that most users on these forums are single. Indeed, the term involuntary celibacy implies that these men do not have a partner.

As women have come to put higher standards on the men they are dating, it has become increasingly difficult for men to find a partner. While being single may in fact be beneficial for women, single and divorced men experience poorer mental health compared to married men (Grundström et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2010). Poor mental health among men has in turn been associated with misogynistic attitudes (Fleming et al., 2018). Thus, it seems logical to include relationship status as a variable when explaining misogyny. While it is not assumed that single men by default are more misogynistic, the argument here is that individuals being single will moderate the effect of entitlement and SDO on misogynistic attitudes such that their effect will be stronger for single men compared to men who are in a relationship. The following hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Entitlement and SDO predict misogynistic attitudes independently, controlling for RWA.

H2: Relationship status moderates the effects of entitlement and SDO on misogynistic attitudes, such that the effects will be stronger for single men compared to men in a relationship.

For exploratory purposes, the interaction between relationship status and RWA is also included.

## Method

### Overview

The present study was an online survey performed with American, heterosexual men as participants. Data collection was performed via the platform Prolific, which is an online platform connecting researchers and participants. Invitations to participate was sent to the

subject pool that met the criteria of inclusion, which were being an American citizen, being a man and being heterosexual. All selection criteria are self-reported. Eligible participants were invited to a survey on social issues. The survey was available to all potential participants based on the selection criteria until the quota of 300 was filled<sup>1</sup>. Data was collected in February 2022.

Participants were invited to the survey and informed that it was about societal issues. They were further informed that some questions might feel extreme, but that these questions still reflect opinions in our society and hence are important to include. This was to safeguard against some people reacting to the questions about misogyny, where some items can be perceived as offensive. Then the participants were informed about ethics, such as voluntary participation, anonymity and data handling. They were required to provide informed consent by ticking a box stating that they had understood the information and agreed to participate. Following this, the survey started. Participants were first asked some background variables. Then followed the SDO and RWA scales, and finally the misogyny scale.

### Participants

In total, 302 participants who were US citizens took part in the survey. Age ranged from 18–76 ( $M=38$ ,  $SD=12$ ). Highest completed education was as follows: 2 (0.7%) elementary school, 76 (25.2%) high school, 142 (47.0%) college, 69 (22.8) graduate school, 11 (3.6%) trade/technical/vocational training, and 2 (0.7%) did not answer.

### Measures

The dependent variable misogyny was assessed using the misogyny scale by Rottweiler and Gill (2020). The scale contains 10 items indicating that women seek to control men by sex, that women are deceitful, and items related to the devaluation of women. Some sample items are:

“Women seek to gain power by getting control over men”, “I think that most women would lie just to get ahead” and “I feel uncomfortable when a woman dominates the conversation”. Responses were made on 7-point scales from 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree. Inter-item correlations ranged from .39–.84. Cronbach’s alpha was high, 0.95. This measure is relatively newly developed and has shown good convergent and discriminant validity by Rottweiler and Gill (2020). While it can be used for both women and men, Rottweiler and Gill (2020) show that the effects are significantly higher among men compared to women.

The focal independent variables were entitlement and Social dominance orientation (SDO). Entitlement was measured using a measure of psychological entitlement, by Campbell et al. (2004), which is defined as “...a stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others” (p. 31). A benefit with this measure is that it a general sense of entitlement not only restricted to the sexual or relationship arena, which fits nicely with the aim of this article to provide general predictors of misogyny. Some sample items are: “I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others”, “Things should go my way” and “I deserve more things in my life”. The scale has shown to be both reliable and valid, not associated with social desirability, according to Campbell et al. (2004).

Nine items were used, and answers ranged from 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree. Inter-item correlations ranged from .39 – .71. Cronbach's alpha was high, 0.92.

Social dominance orientation was measured using a short version with 4 items, by Pratto et al. (2013). The scale has been tested in several cultural contexts and proved to be both reliable and valid. The items read: "In setting priorities, we must consider all groups" (R); "We should not push for group equality"; "Group equality should be our ideal" (R); "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups". and Answers ranged from 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree. Inter-item correlations ranged from .52 – .83, and Cronbach's alpha was high, 0.87. This short measure has been tested for internal reliability and predictive validity across 15 languages, by Pratto and colleagues (2013).

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) was included as a control variable. It was measured using the short version of the RWA scale by Bizumic and Duckitt (2018). It contains 6 items and has shown to be both reliable and valid. Some sample items are: "The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going to preserve law and order" and "It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority" (R). Answers ranged from 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree. Inter-item correlations ranged from .32 – .62. Cronbach's alpha was high, 0.80.

Relationship status was assessed with the question "What is your current relationship status?" Response options were single, dating, married, other, prefer not to say.

### Statistical analyses

All 302 participants were included in the data set. Because all participants had answered most of the questions, no observations were removed. There were however internal missing values since all items were voluntary. When a participant had a missing value on an item included in an index, the whole index was coded as missing for that person.

The relationship status measure was dichotomized into "single" and "in a relationship" (comprised of both dating and married). The options for "other" and "prefer not to say" were coded as missing values (total 9 persons). The final variable had a distribution of 167 (57%) in a relationship and 126 (43%) single.

The education variable was recoded into the following order: 1 = Elementary school, 2 = high school, 3 = trade/technical/vocational education, 4 = college, 5 = graduate school and used as a continuous variable in the analyses.

Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS and Stata.

## Results

First, some descriptive results are presented. Table 1 shows means, standard deviations, skewness and kurtosis for the main variables. As can be seen in Table 1, the means were fairly low considering the scale ranged to 7, which is to be expected in a normal population when assessing these variables. Skewness was also within acceptable ranges and should not pose a major problem to the statistical analyses (George & Mallery, 2010).

Table 2 shows the correlations between all variables in the study. The main dependent variable, misogyny was correlated with all other variables except education. Age was negatively associated with misogyny, such that younger men were generally more misogynistic than older. Relationship status was associated with misogyny such that single men displayed more

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, skewness and kurtosis for the main variables.

	M (SD)	Skewness	Kurtosis
Misogyny	2.55 (1.35)	0.72	-.39
Entitlement	2.97 (1.27)	0.41	-.07
SDO	2.40 (1.44)	1.00	.16
RWA	3.01 (1.27)	0.54	-.25

Note.

SDO = Social dominance orientation.

RWA = Right-wing authoritarianism.

Table 2. Correlations between all variables in the study.

	Misogyny	Age	Educ.	Rel. status <sup>1</sup>	Entitlement	SDO
Age	-.012*					
Educ.	0.01	0.18**				
Rel. status <sup>1</sup>	0.16**	-.021***	-.027***			
Entitlement	0.46***	-.020***	0.00	0.04		
SDO	0.40***	0.15*	0.15**	0.03	0.20**	
RWA	0.37***	0.13*	-.003	-.005	0.26***	0.34***

Note.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ,

\*\*  $p < .01$ ,

\*  $p < .05$ .

<sup>1</sup>Relationship status is coded as 0 if in a relationship and 1 if single.

SDO = Social dominance orientation.

RWA = Right-wing authoritarianism.

misogynistic attitudes, compared to men who were in a relationship. Entitlement, SDO and RWA were all positively correlated with misogyny. Single men were younger compared to men in a relationship, and they were less educated. While younger men generally displayed higher entitlement, they were lower in both SDO and RWA compared to older men. All the focal predictors of the study, entitlement, SDO and RWA were positively correlated.

Next, t-tests were run to test for potential differences between men in a relationship and men who were currently single on the main outcome variable misogyny, as well as the independent variables entitlement, SDO and RWA. The results are presented in Table 3. As can be seen, only misogynistic attitudes differed significantly between men in a relationship and men who were single.

To test the hypotheses that entitlement and SDO would predict misogynistic attitudes independently and while controlling for RWA (H1), and that relationship status would moderate the effects (H2) a hierarchical regression analysis was run. In model 1, the control variables age and education level were included. In model 2 the focal predictors entitlement and SDO were added as well as the control variable RWA. In Model 3, relationship status was added and in Model 4, the interactions between relationship status and entitlement, SDO and RWA were added. The results are presented in Table 4.

As can be seen in Table 4, when adding more relevant predictors, the weak effect of age found in Model 1 disappear. Model 2 shows that entitlement, SDO and RWA have uniquely



Table 3. Means and standard deviations for men in a relationship and single, and *t*-tests between the groups on misogyny, entitlement, Social dominance orientation and Right-wing authoritarianism.

	Relationship	Single		
	M (SD)		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
Misogyny	2.36 (1.24)	2.79 (1.48)	2.67**	.32
Entitlement	2.91 (1.29)	3.00 (1.23)	0.60	.07
SDO	2.35 (1.40)	2.44 (1.46)	0.52	.06
RWA	3.06 (1.36)	2.92 (1.29)	0.95	.11

Note.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ,

\*\*  $p < .01$ ,

\*  $p < .05$ .

SDO = Social dominance orientation.

RWA = Right-wing authoritarianism.

Table 4. Hierarchical regression analyses predicting misogyny, unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors are presented.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	-0.01 (0.01)*	-0.01 (0.01)*	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.07 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Entitlement		0.36 (0.06)***	0.36 (0.06)***	0.33 (0.07)***
SDO		0.24 (0.06)***	0.23 (0.05)***	0.13 (0.07)
RWA		0.22 (0.06)***	0.24 (0.06)***	0.29 (0.07)***
Relationship <sup>1</sup>			0.36 (0.14)**	0.01 (0.44)
Relationship <sup>1</sup> × Entitlement				0.10 (0.11)
Relationship <sup>1</sup> × SDO				0.22 (0.10)*
Relationship <sup>1</sup> × RWA				-0.16 (0.12)
Adj.R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.34	0.35	0.36

Note.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ,

\*\*  $p < .01$ ,

\*  $p < .05$ .

<sup>1</sup>Relationship status is coded as 0 if in a relationship and 1 if single.

SDO = Social dominance orientation.

RWA = Right-wing authoritarianism.

separate effects on misogynistic attitudes. Explained variance significantly increased from Model 1 to Model 2 when adding these predictors. These results support H1 stating that entitlement and SDO should have unique separate effects while controlling for RWA. That RWA also had a unique effect was somewhat unexpected as RWA previously has mainly been associated with benevolent sexism (Sibley et al., 2007), but some research show that RWA have an equally strong effect on hostile sexism (Van Assche et al., 2019).

In Model 3, relationship status was added and had a unique effect of its own on misogynistic attitudes while controlling for entitlement, SDO and RWA. Single men showed more misogynistic attitudes compared to those in a relationship. This effect, although relatively

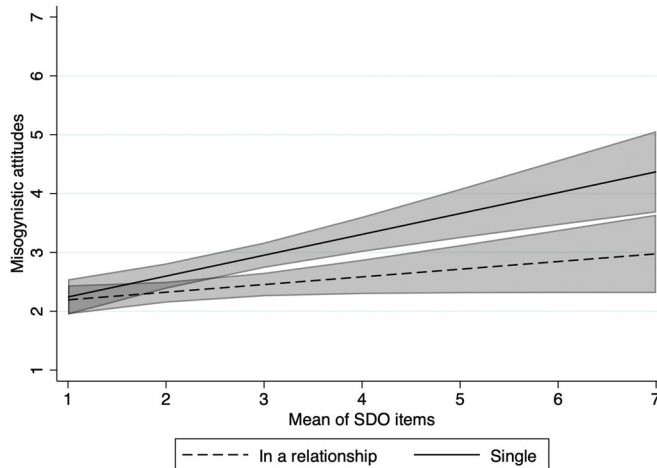


Figure 1. Interaction between Social dominance orientation and relationship status on misogynistic attitudes. Confidence bands represent 95% confidence intervals.

weak (explained variance increased only 1% from Model 2 to Model 3) is noteworthy and is further reflected on in the Discussion.

Finally, Model 4 included the interactions between relationship status and the focal predictors of entitlement and SDO, and exploratively also with RWA. Only the interaction between relationship status and SDO was significant, and the effect was weak (explained variance increased only 1% from Model 3 to Model 4).<sup>2</sup> The interaction is decomposed in Figure 1.

The significant interaction between SDO and relationship status is shown in Figure 1, where slopes are plotted with 95% Confidence intervals. As can be seen in the figure the confidence intervals do not overlap from about 3 on the SDO scale, even though they are close. A simple slope analysis showed that the slope for single men (coded as 1) was significantly different from 0,  $B = 0.36$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ,  $t = 4.74$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , indicating that among single men, social dominance orientation had a positive relation with misogynistic attitudes which was absent among men in a relationship,  $B = .13$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $p = .06$ . Admittedly, the slope for the men in a relationship was close to significant indicating that also in this group does it seem that SDO increase misogyny, but the effect is stronger among single men. This supports H2 stating that relationship status would moderate the effect of SDO on misogynistic attitudes. However, there was no significant interaction with entitlement, which was expected. RWA did not interact with relationship status.

## Discussion

This article aimed to provide a better understanding of how individual level variables can explain misogyny. As most Western societies have taken steps towards gender egalitarianism, a gender backlash has occurred where some men become increasingly misogynistic. A central theme that flourishes on misogynistic online forums is masculine entitlement—men should have the right to women and sex. This is for instance seen in discussions about legalizing rape as a means to control and dominate women (DeCook & Kelly, 2021). Further, ideological orientations such as social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994) and right-

wing authoritarianism have both previously been connected to sexism, where SDO has been specifically connected to hostile sexism (Sibley et al., 2007). Hostile sexism comes very close to misogyny in that it entails a view of men as superior, and women are seen as a group that should be dominated. The results from the present study also included relationship status, arguing that being single should exacerbate the effects of entitlement and SDO on misogyny. In a survey with American men, it was found that entitlement, SDO and RWA predicted misogynistic attitudes uniquely. Only the effect of SDO was stronger for single men compared to those in a relationship. Interestingly, being single had a unique, albeit weak, effect on misogyny indicating that single men are in general more misogynistic than men in a relationship. While the present study does not allow for causal conclusions, one could speculate about why these men are single. Given that the last decades' equality work has led to that women are less reliant on men and freer to choose who they want to engage with and if they want it at all, it seems reasonable that misogynistic men are left to their own. This is also what the incel ideology prescribes—that feminist progress has enabled women to reject men, and these men wish to revert to a time when women were dependent upon men. However, given that the present study utilized a normal population sample it is noteworthy that being single had such a unique effect on misogyny.

The present study sheds additional light to the ideological variables predicting misogyny. The results are in line with previous research that has shown a relation between SDO and hostile sexism among men (Sibley et al., 2007). These relations are highly relevant given that SDO has also been connected to being positive to abusing women (Kiral Ucar & Özdemir, 2021)—a relation that was mediated by hostile sexism—men that desire dominance over women support sexist practices by accepting legitimizing myths that justify the inequality and hierarchy (Kiral Ucar & Özdemir, 2021).

In contrast to previous research, RWA predicted misogyny with about equal magnitude as SDO did (Sibley et al., 2007). In a recent study, similar effects were found in a mixed gender-sample (Van Assche et al., 2019) and Hannover et al. (2018) found that among Muslim men, RWA, but not SDO predicted hostile sexism. In line with the results of the present article, Hellmer et al. (2018) showed that both SDO and RWA predicted hostile sexism in a sample of men. According to Glick and Fiske (1996; Fiske et al., 1999), hostile sexism results when men feel that their male dominance is threatened, while benevolent sexism is rather the result of men's dependence on women for intimacy. Thus, it may be that only some facets of RWA are related to benevolent sexism and some related to hostile sexism, which was also found in a mixed gender sample (Austin & Jackson, 2019). Specifically, conservatism, which entails the submission to authorities and obedience was related to hostile sexism, which was argued to be due to that women were seen as defying traditional gender roles. Hence, the results for RWA seem somewhat mixed and future research may explore the different sub-dimensions of RWA to better understand its effects on misogyny.

The fact that both SDO and RWA had unique and relatively strong effects on misogynistic attitudes is theoretically relevant as it highlights that misogynistic attitudes are driven by different motivations. SDO is concerned with the legitimization of group inequalities in society, including women as an inferior group. SDO has also been connected to lower empathic concern (Bäckström & Björklund, 2007; Hellmer et al., 2018) which is in line with a misogynistic and dehumanizing view of women. RWA is rather concerned with submission to authorities, a strong preference for the traditional and value of conformity, and

authoritarian aggression against transgressors of the traditional values. RWA has been connected to racist attitudes and that line of literature often argue that RWA entails a heightened sense of threat against the own group, and that other ethnic groups compose that threat (Peresman et al., 2021). Hence, it seems logical that men high in RWA may also see women as a potential threat to the ingroup of men, which could lead to more misogynistic attitudes. For instance, RWA has been shown to predict hostility against immigrants that do not assimilate with the majority culture (Thomsen et al., 2008). Thus, RWA may have a more complicated relation to misogynistic attitudes, where RWA mainly predicts misogyny when men high in RWA think about women that do not conform to traditional gender roles.

Only SDO was significantly moderated by relationship status. This means that single men who are high in SDO are those that express most misogynistic attitudes. Considering the misogynistic ideas flourishing the incel community, such a relation is not surprising. The main message of the incel ideology is group differentiation and dominance (Ging, 2019).

Further, misogyny has been connected to the alt-right movement and white supremacy, even labelled white male supremacy (Cottee, 2020). For instance, themes that masculinity or racial pureness is under threat, is sometimes collectively labelled aggrieved entitlement, a term that signifies the loss of certain privileges which have been reserved for identities in the intersection of race and gender, namely white men (Kalish & Kimmel, 2010). While these movements lack organization, being mainly composed of blogs, forums, and influencers (Forshcer & Kteily, 2019; Jones et al., 2020; Ranstorp & Ahlin, 2020), they do have a clear ideological goal, where they share the idea that some groups (essentially all minority groups, but particularly women and immigrants) are to be dominated over by others (white men) (Kaati et al. 2019). Their violence is designed to have far-reaching societal effects on the hierarchies and structure of social groups. Thus, incel and alt-right violence conforms to an emergent trend in terrorism with a more salient hate crime dimension that necessitates greater scrutiny and analysis (Hoffman et al., 2020). Given these interconnections it becomes a highly prioritized issue to better our understanding of who may be predisposed to such ideas.

### Limitations and future directions

Some limitations are worth to note. First, the present study is correlational, so even if it is assumed that ideological positions underlie misogyny, the causal path could also be the other way around—that is, misogyny as driving ideology. However, in an attempt to remedy this problem, Sibley et al. (2007) conducted a longitudinal study where SDO measured at Time 1 predicted hostile sexism measured at Time 2 (5 months later). Hence, it can be assumed that the same direction is applicable in the present study as well.

The conceptualization of misogyny is still not clear in the literature (Rottweiler & Gill, 2020). In the present study, a scale of misogyny was used (Rottweiler & Gill, 2020). However, upon inspection of the items, they do not differ greatly from hostile sexism as measured and conceptualized in the ambivalent sexism literature (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Both scales encompass items regarding women as sexual objects, that men are superior and should dominate women, and that women are deceitful (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rottweiler & Gill, 2020). In other research, other items have been used (Fleming et al., 2018). These items were more strongly associated with misogyny as often presented on incel forums, such as

women are only good for having sex, that physically hurting a woman would not be problematic and that women have mistreated them in the past. One problem with measuring misogynistic tendencies in a normal population is that the variables become very skewed if the items are too radical. An important challenge for future research is to reach a common conceptualization of misogyny that can be measured in a normal population. In relation, while it should be seen as a strength that the present study used a normal population sample of men, it would have been desirable to have some measure of activity on the manosphere or incel-forums included. It would help to further understand the individual factors associated with men seeking out the manosphere.

The effects in the present study were relatively small, except for the main effects of the individual predictors. This is not surprising as it comprised a normal population sample. As variables measuring relatively extreme opinions tend to be skewed in such samples, standard errors increase and explained variance decrease. Therefore, it should be seen as highly important that significant effects were indeed found, and they do point to that these relations carry some real-life validity.

## Conclusions

The present study should be seen as a first important step in assessing correlates of misogyny, especially in a normal population. We need a better understanding of who is likely to come to endorse misogynistic attitudes and potentially violence against women. It is worrisome that we find effects on misogynistic attitudes of being single and SDO in a normal population of men, which indicate that these ideas are not limited to incel-forums, but seem both wide-spread and accepted among the male part of the population.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Notes

1. The final sample contained 302 participants. Two extra participants were collected to account for potential missings.
2. More detailed analyses of the separate sub-dimensions of RWA and SDO are presented in the appendix.

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## Appendix

Table A.1. Regression analyses with sub-dimensions of Right-wing authoritarianism and Social Dominance orientation, separately.

	Model 1	Model 2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Age	-.01 (.00)	-.01 (.01)
Education	.06 (.06)	.05 (.06)
Entitlement	.42 (.05)***	.42 (.05)***
Relationship status	.39 (.14)**	.51 (.39)
RWA Submission	-.09 (.06)	-.02 (.08)
RWA Traditionalism	.16 (.05)**	.18 (.06)**
RWA Aggression	.15 (.06)*	.12 (.07)
SDO Anti-egalitarianism	.08 (.06)	-.01 (.07)
SDO Dominance	.14 (.07)	.18 (.10)
RWA Submission × Relationship		-.19 (.12)
RWA Traditionalism × Relationship		-.06 (.10)
RWA Aggression × Relationship		.05 (.12)
SDO Anti-egalitarianism × Relationship		.23 (.11)*
SDO Dominance × Relationship		-.08 (.15)

Note.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

\*  $p < .05$ .

<sup>1</sup>Relationship status is coded as 0 if in a relationship and 1 if single.

SDO = Social dominance orientation.

RWA = Right-wing authoritarianism.

Simple slopes and interaction plots for non-significant interactions.

RWA – single:  $B = .13$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $p = .17$ ; Relationship:  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Entitlement – Single:  $.42$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p < .001$ ; Relationship:  $B = .32$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $p < .001$ .

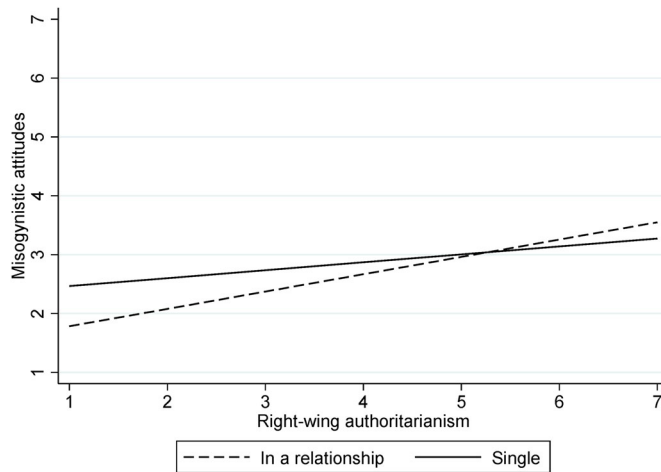


Figure A.1. Interaction between relationship status and right-wing authoritarianism on misogynistic attitudes. Confidence bands represent 95% confidence intervals.

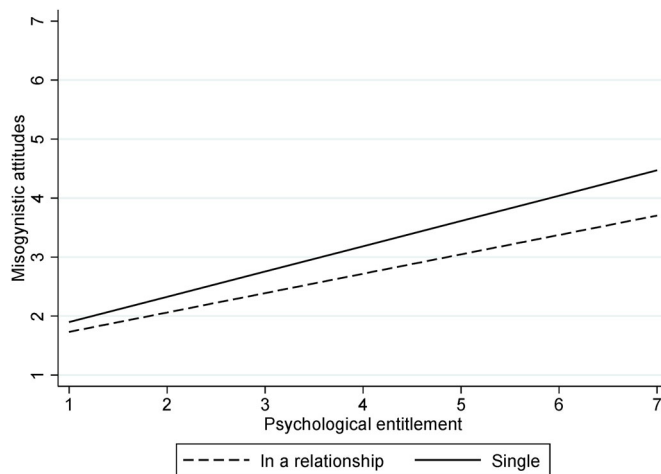


Figure A.2. Interaction between relationship status and psychological entitlement on misogynistic attitudes. Confidence bands represent 95% confidence intervals.