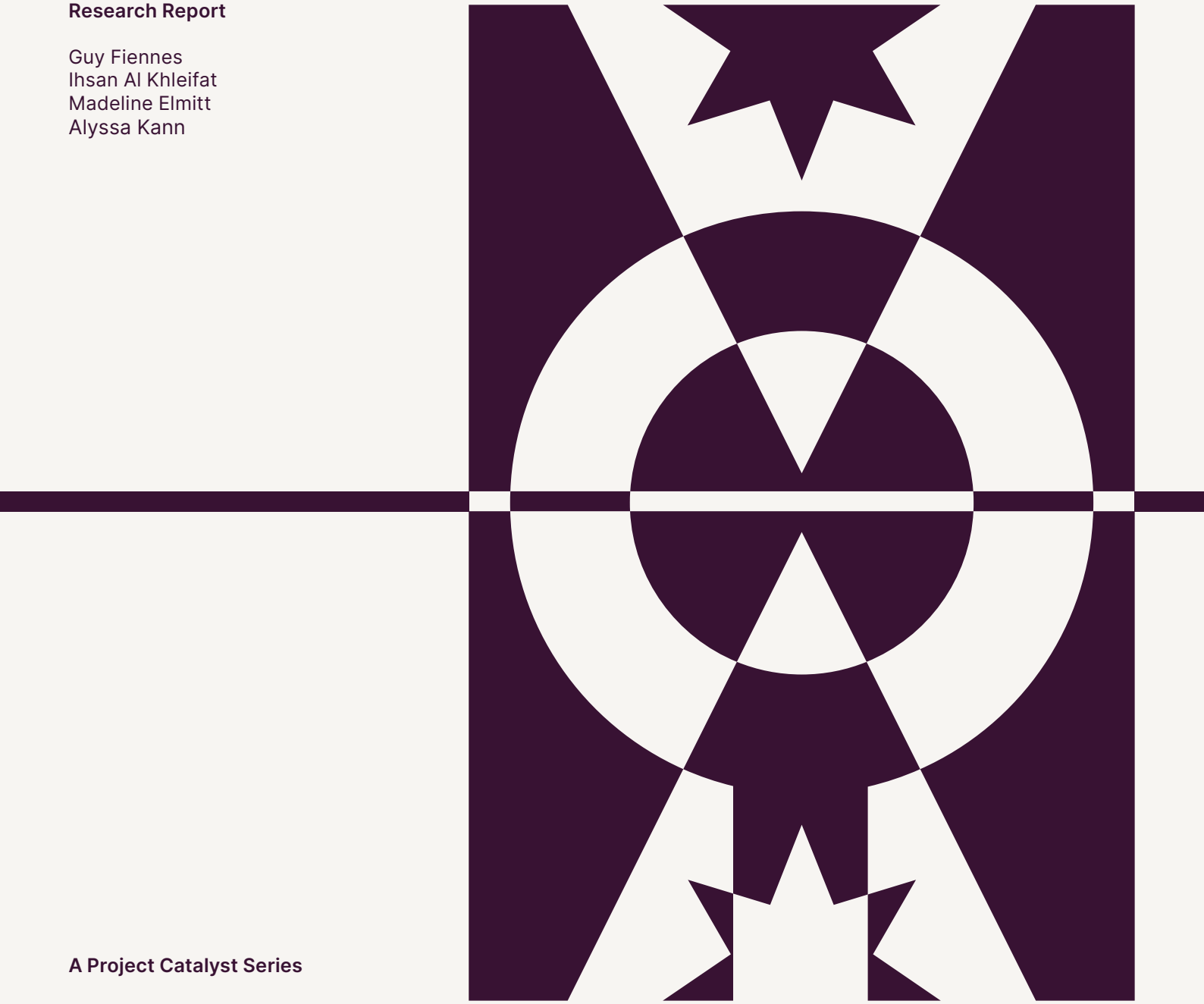
03

Between Religion and the Red Pill: Misogyny, Targeted Hate and Violent Extremism in Jordan

October 2026

Research Report

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A Project Catalyst Series

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A Project Catalyst Series

This report is part of Project Catalyst[1], a series by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) examining the links between misogyny, targeted hate and violent extremism online. The series includes ISD's practical toolkit for addressing these intersections, companion reports mapping online ecosystems in Canada and Jordan, and a report on how platforms address this intersection in their policies.

Content Warning

This report contains descriptions and examples of misogynistic and gender-based abuse, including sexist and derogatory language, sexualized and appearance-based harassment, threats, and technology-facilitated gender-based violence. Some examples may be distressing or offensive. Reader discretion is advised.

To protect individuals who have experienced harassment or abuse, victims referenced in the case studies have been anonymized. Other select individuals and online users have also been anonymized in order to avoid generating undue publicity.

1 Project Catalyst is a scalable 18-month consortium project tackling online misogyny and gender-based violence as pathways to radicalization and violent extremism. Led by the Christchurch Call Foundation with implementing partners including ISD, Meedan, Search for Common Ground, PERIL at American University, and the Blavatnik School of Government at Oxford, Catalyst delivers prevention programs across Canada, Jordan, Kenya, and transnational gaming communities. See more here.

Executive Summary

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This report examines how misogyny, technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV), and targeted hate and extremism intersect across online ecosystems in Jordan. The research finds that Jordanian and wider Arabic-language misogynistic ecosystems are transnational, drawing on conservative interpretations of religion alongside concepts associated with the 'Red Pill' to promote male supremacy. Misogyny commonly manifested through opposition to women's autonomy, efforts to undermine feminism and deterministic narratives about women's 'nature.'

The research also found that misogynistic actors used international events to reinforce narratives of Western hypocrisy and promote idealized models of male supremacy, while online harassment and rhetoric endorsing coercion and violence contributed to a broader spectrum of gender-based harm. Actors could also mobilize hostile audiences to target identifiable women without using explicitly misogynistic language themselves, with some harassment escalating to intimate image abuse (IIA) and calls for violence. Together, these findings demonstrate how misogynistic narratives and tactics can cut across distinct online actor groups and overlap with wider forms of targeted hate and extremism.

Key Findings

Finding 1

The Jordanian and wider Arabic-language misogynistic online ecosystem is transnational and draws on conservative interpretations of religion alongside Western concepts associated with the 'Red Pill.'

Jordanian actors often distorted or selectively cited Islamic sources, or drew on pseudoscientific claims about biology and psychology, to advocate for male supremacy. The cross-border nature of the ecosystem meant that actors, audiences and narratives often extended beyond Jordan to other Arabic-speaking countries across the Middle East and North Africa.

Finding 2

Misogyny in the Jordanian ecosystem often materialized as opposition to women's autonomy and attempts to portray women as inherently suited to particular roles or behaviors.

Semantic mapping revealed that generalized misogyny was the most prevalent category of misogynistic content, followed by efforts to undermine or delegitimize feminism and promote deterministic narratives about female 'nature.'

Finding 3

Misogynistic actors invoked international events to contrast what they portrayed as Western hypocrisy and immorality with an idealized model of male supremacy.

The Jeffrey Epstein scandal, along with US and Israeli war crimes in Gaza and Iran, was cited as evidence that Western societies and feminists were hypocritical or complicit in women's suffering, including sexual exploitation and violence in the post-October 7 wars in the Middle East. By contrast, the Taliban's model of male supremacy—including women's exclusion from public life and other hardline policies—was portrayed positively as a system that protects women and children and produces a healthy and prosperous society.

Finding 4

TFGBV in Jordanian online spaces ranged from harassment to rhetoric endorsing coercion and violence against women.

Misogynistic actors often engaged in victim-blaming when women experienced violence, including murder, and many issued direct calls for violence against women. High-reach online actors were also observed singling out specific women who allegedly violated religious or social expectations, prompting audiences to engage in vicious pile-ons through replies and comments.

Finding 5

Misogynist actors could facilitate harassment without explicitly using misogynist language, by directing hostile audiences towards identifiable women

Posts that singled out women and provided little or no context could function as prompts for followers to post abuse based on the target's appearance and perceived morality. In some cases, comment sections included more severe forms of harm, including IIA and calls for violence.

Introduction

The relationship between misogyny and extremist violence is deeply rooted and complex. Misogyny can function as an ideological worldview, act as a warning sign for harmful behavior, contribute to attitudes that increase the risk of violence, or serve as a core driver underpinning broader hate-based and extremist belief systems. This report, part of Project Catalyst, examines these dynamics across online ecosystems in Jordan, focusing on how misogynistic narratives and TFGBV are expressed by different types of actors, and the varied ways that gendered hostility can feed into or overlap with targeted hate, extremism and different forms of violence.

This research is grounded in ISD's practical toolkit for addressing the intersection of misogyny, targeted hate and violent extremism. The toolkit's taxonomy provides an approach to understanding misogyny as a potential form of extremism in itself, a fundamental component of other extremist ideologies, a risk factor for violence or a warning sign for violent behavior more broadly. It also informs how this report frames the relationship between TFGBV, targeted hate and violent extremism, including articulating how these categories often overlap. Consistent with this framework, in addition to analyzing the harmful impacts of these dynamics on women and girls, the report also captures anti-LGBTQ+ animosity (which can also be understood as a form of targeted hate) when it serves to entrench traditional gender hierarchies or to punish those who are perceived to be challenging them.

To analyze these dynamics, ISD expert analysts developed seed lists of actors spanning misogynistic and TFGBV-related communities, targeted hate actors and violent extremists in Jordan. Actors were classified according to the nature and intent of their activity and the definitions established in the toolkit. However, these categories are intended to help organize the analysis, and they should not be treated as discrete ecosystems. Importantly, a key purpose of this research is to examine how misogynistic narratives and tactics cut across these actor groups.

The report integrates quantitative analysis of publicly available online content from across a range of social media platforms and online communities with qualitative case studies. This mixed-methods approach explains how misogyny and its relationship to extremism takes a unique shape in Jordan while also illuminating narratives, tactics and ideological linkages. In total, ISD collected 195,091 posts published across 11 social media platforms and forums between 1 April 2025 and 31 March 2026. These posts came from 100 accounts coded for relevance to misogyny in Jordan—plus relevant communities and forums—and generated a total of 16,448,109 engagements (combined likes, comments and shares).

Glossary

This report uses the Project Catalyst definitions for Technology-facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV), Targeted Hate & Violence (TH&V) and Violent Extremism (VE), which differ from ISD's definitions.

Anti-feminism · The countermovement opposing emancipatory or feminist ideals that uses misogynist strategies and tactics. Anti-feminists oppose gender equality efforts and the democratic negotiation of gender relations.

Dehumanization · The denial of the full humanity of others. This is often achieved by comparisons to vermin, animals, property or the suggestion that targets are subhuman. Dehumanization justifies the mistreatment of dehumanized groups and can be implicated in mass atrocity as well as targeted violence against these groups.

Feminism · ISD draws upon bell hooks' definition of feminism, which establishes it as a "movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression."

Hate Speech · ISD classifies hate speech as any activity or content that seeks to dehumanize, demonize, harass, threaten or incite violence against an individual or community on the basis of their race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, sex, disability, migrant status or religion.

Intimate Image Abuse · Use of images to coerce, threaten, harass, objectify or abuse. Deepfakes and non-consensual intimate imagery (NCII) created using AI tools are forms of image-based abuse.

Male Supremacy · A "hateful ideology rooted in the belief of the innate superiority of cisgender men and their right to subjugate women [and trans and gender-diverse people]." It is linked to hegemonic masculinity, which structures patriarchy and describes the "legitimation of unequal gender relations."

Manosphere · The 'manosphere' is an umbrella term that refers to a number of interconnected misogynistic communities. It encompasses multiple types and severities of misogyny—from broader male supremacist discourse to men's rights activism (MRA) and 'involuntary celibates' (incels).

Misogyny · ISD draws upon the definition of Kate Manne, who argues misogyny operates to uphold a patriarchal social order, policing gender norms to ensure that women and marginalized gender identities conform. Misogyny works to justify violence when there is deviation from these norms. Misogyny includes what might be considered a type of deeply held prejudice toward women and marginalized gender identities.

Online Harassment · Defined by Humane Intelligence as: "an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of behaviors via technology intended to silence or intimidate a target. It often includes repeated hostile messages, direct threats of violence, and offensive or abusive comments (including expression of sexism, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia or ableist prejudices). It may include coordinated pile-on attacks or sustained harassment campaigns by formal groups or informal groups intended to overwhelm the target."

Patriarchy · Patriarchy refers to a social system in which men hold primary power and authority in various aspects of life, including family, politics, economics and culture. It is characterized by male dominance in decision-making, legal structures and social norms, often reinforced by traditions, religious interpretations and societal expectations.

Targeted Hate and Violence (TH&V) · Following the Project Catalyst definition, targeted hate and violence is any activity that dehumanizes other people by seeking to elevate the position of members in one group while diminishing that of non-members based on a particular protected characteristic of those people; advocates for or uses violence to realize that dehumanization; and tolerates, supports, actively calls for, or directly uses violence against civilians or critical civilian infrastructure.

Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) · Any act that is carried out via information and communication technologies or other digital tools, which results in (or is likely to result in) physical, sexual, psychological, social, political, or economic harm, or other infringements of rights and freedoms.

Violent Extremism · Activity that promotes ideological, political or religious aims while advocating for or using violence to achieve those aims, and that tolerates, supports, actively calls for, or directly uses violence against civilians or critical civilian infrastructure. This definition of violent extremism is layered against ISD's social identity-based definition of extremism, which is understood as the advocacy of political and social change in line with a system of belief that claims the superiority and dominance of one identity-based 'in-group' over an 'out-group.' Extremism advances a dehumanizing 'othering' mindset incompatible with pluralism and universal human rights. It can be pursued through violent or non-violent means.

Methodology

The following analysis is rooted in Project Catalyst's harms taxonomy, which distinguishes between TFGBV, targeted hate and violence, and violent extremism while recognizing that these categories frequently overlap. Further, in line with the taxonomy, this research also considers the nature of the harm being perpetrated, the actor's intent and the intended target when determining where conduct falls across each of these categories.

Seed list development and inclusion criteria

ISD developed bespoke seed lists of online actors and communities relevant to misogyny in Jordan. For the purposes of this research and to root a cross-platform perspective into our methodological approach, an 'actor' is defined as an individual, organization, group or online community that could maintain one or more accounts across different platforms. The seed lists were designed to capture a cross-section of actors associated with TFGBV, targeted hate and violence, and violent extremism, allowing the analysis to examine how misogyny operates across different online ecosystems and ideological spaces.

Accounts were assessed through a three-step inclusion process encompassing geographic relevance, engagement with misogynistic harms or narratives and their relationship to targeted hate or violent extremism. First, an account had to demonstrate a meaningful connection to Jordan. This could include explicitly identifying itself or its membership as being based in the country, expressing affiliation with a locally active group or movement, or maintaining a consistent focus on domestic issues.

Accounts could also qualify if they posted about country-specific issues on at least three occasions during the six months before the seed lists were developed. Actors based outside Jordan were therefore included if they devoted significant attention to domestic issues or had a demonstrable connection to local movements. Whenever possible throughout the analysis, locally relevant activity was distinguished from broader international discourse, reflecting the increasingly transnational character of online misogynistic communities.

Accounts that met the geographic threshold were then assessed for their relevance to misogyny. In line with the harms taxonomy developed for Project Catalyst, this included both identifiable forms of TFGBV and narratives that promote patriarchal dominance and gender inequality. An account was eligible for inclusion if analysts identified at least three relevant examples of gender-based harms or misogynistic narratives within the six-month period preceding the creation of the seed list. Accounts were also included if recent research from reputable governmental, academic, civil society or media sources documented their role in promoting such harms or narratives. The analysis also captured hostility toward LGBTQ+ people in circumstances where it was used to enforce gender hierarchies or devalue people on the basis of gender identity or sexual orientation, consistent with the framework established in the harms taxonomy.

Finally, analysts assessed whether each misogynistic actor also met the threshold for targeted hate and violence or violent extremism. These determinations drew on the nature and intent of the actor, using the definitions established in the Project Catalyst harms taxonomy. Accounts meeting the relevant thresholds were coded as TH&V or violent extremism (VE), while recognizing that violent extremists were likely to have also engaged in targeted hate and violence. Accounts that met the broader misogyny criteria but did not reach either threshold were categorized as

TFGBV actors. Analysts also conducted intercoder reliability checks to ensure that these classifications were analytically sound. Importantly, these categories should not be understood as entirely discrete ecosystems, since the research itself examines how misogynistic narratives and harms cross ideological and organizational boundaries.

TABLE 1

Total number of actors per actor category (Jordan)

Total number of actors	**112**
TFGBV actors	**94**
TH&V actors	**8**
VE actors	**10**

TABLE 2

Total number of accounts per actor category (Jordan)

Total number of accounts	**127**
TFGBV accounts	**109**
TH&V accounts	**8**
VE accounts	**10**

TABLE 3

Total number of accounts found across platforms (Jordan)

Platform	Accounts
X	**57**
Facebook	**21**
Instagram	**8**
YouTube	**13**
Reddit	**0**
TikTok	**11**
Twitch	**0**
Rumble	**0**
Discord	**3**
Telegram	**14**
TOTAL	**127**

Data collection

Data collection covered the period 1 April 2025 to 31 March 2026, with collection methods varying according to platform architecture and data accessibility. X and Facebook data were collected using Brandwatch, while Instagram and TikTok data were gathered through Bright Data. YouTube data was obtained through the YouTube Data API, and Open Measures was used to collect relevant material from 4chan. In addition to content produced directly by accounts in the seed list, comments and replies were collected where technically available, allowing the research to examine how audiences interacted with content published by classified actors.

ISD also collected material independently from the actor seed list from four 4chan boards: /pol/, /sp/, /bant/, and /int/. These boards were chosen because their national flag feature allows anonymous users to indicate an association with a particular country when posting. Accordingly, ISD analyzed material from users who self-identified as Jordanian, while acknowledging that these signals may not always accurately depict a user's real geolocation or identity (for example, due to the use of VPNs). This allowed the analysis to capture misogynistic discussions emerging in a highly active but relatively anonymous online environment where stable actor

identities are difficult to establish. Reddit, Discord and Twitch data could not be collected through automated means and were therefore examined through qualitative digital ethnography.

Collected data was consolidated into AllAtOnce, ISD's proprietary data platform, where the analysis was carried out. Bringing content from every platform into a single environment allowed analysts to apply a consistent set of filters, search terms and large language model (LLM) classifiers across the whole dataset. This enabled analysts to examine volumes, networks of accounts and recurring narratives, patterns and themes across all platforms at once rather than source by source. Importantly, this research is primarily actor-based and focused on publicly accessible spaces. It is therefore better suited to examining observable narratives, networks and harassment than harms that frequently occur in private or more ephemeral online venues. As discussed later in the report, this limitation is particularly relevant to forms of TFGBV such as intimate image abuse, impersonation or sexual extortion, which are often less visible in publicly accessible data and therefore harder to capture systematically.

Classifier development

To analyze misogynistic speech at scale, ISD developed a bespoke LLM-based classifier. Before model development, data from different platforms was standardized into a common structure. Randomized and filtered samples were then provided to analysts for manual assessment of whether they contained misogynistic content.

Nearly 600 posts were manually coded from the dataset. Two analysts coded the samples independently, after which disagreements were reviewed and resolved, with definitions being clarified as necessary. The result was a human-labeled dataset that ISD used to develop and test a classifier built using Anthropic's Claude Sonnet 5 model. The classifier's outputs were compared against the human-labeled data and refined iteratively until its performance was considered sufficiently reliable to apply to previously unlabeled data in the broader dataset.

Performance was assessed using an F1 score—a measurement calculated from two metrics:

Precision Metric 1	**Recall** Metric 2
The proportion of posts labeled as misogynistic by the model that were misogynistic	The proportion of misogynistic posts that the model correctly identified

TABLE 4

Classifier performance

F1 score	Precision	Recall	Labeled rows
0.8349	**0.8626**	**0.8089**	**567**

There were two versions of the classifier prompt, one for the English-language data and one for the Arabic-language data, both fine-tuned to capture wide-ranging variations in misogynistic discourse. For example, the Arabic-language version was built to capture the different Arabic-language dialects that were in the dataset. The resulting classifier was then applied to the wider dataset to identify misogynistic content for further analysis.

Mixed methods analytical approach

ISD combined quantitative analysis with digital ethnography to examine both the scale of misogynistic activity and the context in which it appeared.

Examples of how quantitative analysis was used include identifying changes in the volume of misogynistic content over time, assessing differences in activity and engagement across actor categories, and identifying significant events associated with spikes in discussion. Using the Claude Sonnet 5 model, analysts applied semantic clustering (an approach described in further detail in the Key Narratives sections below) to group large numbers of posts according to their linguistic similarity, allowing them to identify recurring narratives and areas for closer qualitative investigation. This was supplemented by other natural language processing techniques where applicable.

These quantitative approaches were paired with qualitative analysis of individual actors, communities and conversations. Digital ethnography was particularly important on platforms where systematic collection was not possible due to data access limitations but was also used throughout the research to understand how narratives functioned in their respective contexts. It was also used to identify and evaluate image-based material, which could not be systematically analyzed through quantitative methods (which focus on text-based outputs). Examples of how qualitative analysis was used include examining how misogynistic ideas were expressed by different actor types, how audiences responded to them, and how gendered hostility intersected with wider ideological grievances. Case studies were then used to explore particularly relevant actors, harms and narrative flashpoints in greater depth.

①

Key Actors in Jordan's Online Misogyny Ecosystem

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While ISD identified a number of Jordan-relevant VE accounts, these do not appear in the quantitative data below. Some did not include overt examples of TFGBV or misogyny and were therefore excluded; others were added to the seed list and analyzed qualitatively but were removed by platforms before automated data collection took place (e.g. Islamic State, IS, supporter accounts on Facebook engaging in TFGBV harms or misogyny). Findings on VE actors in this section are therefore drawn from qualitative analysis.

FIGURE 1

Total volume of posts over time per actor category

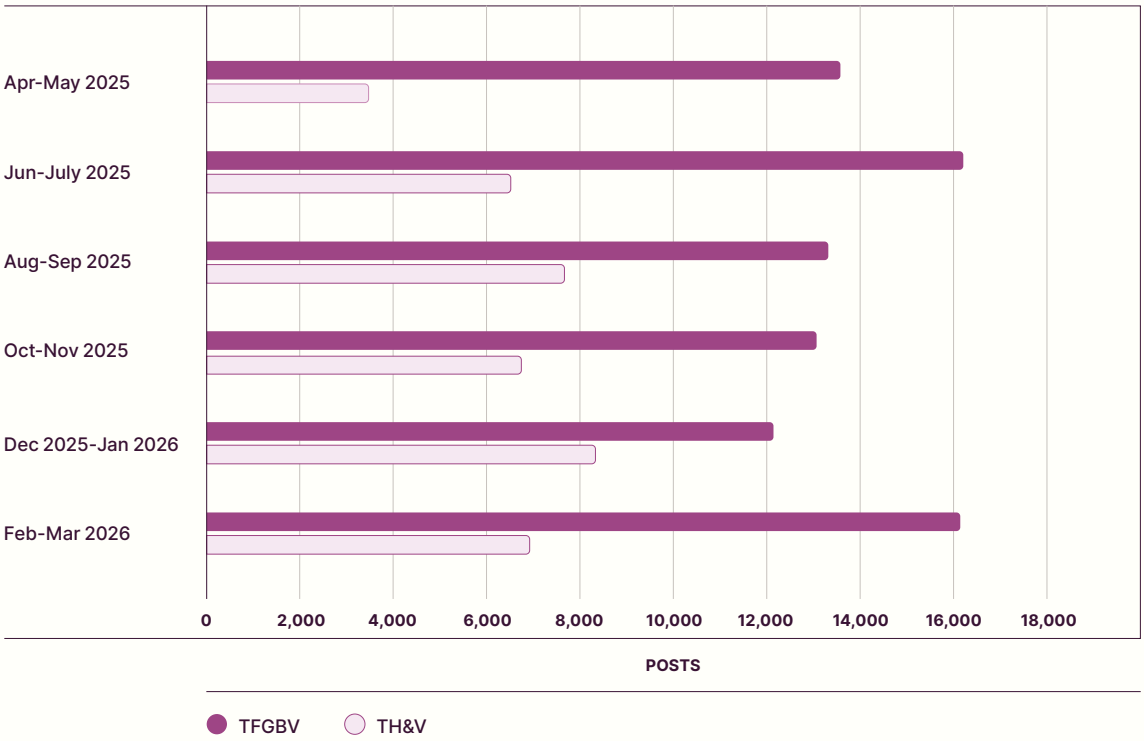
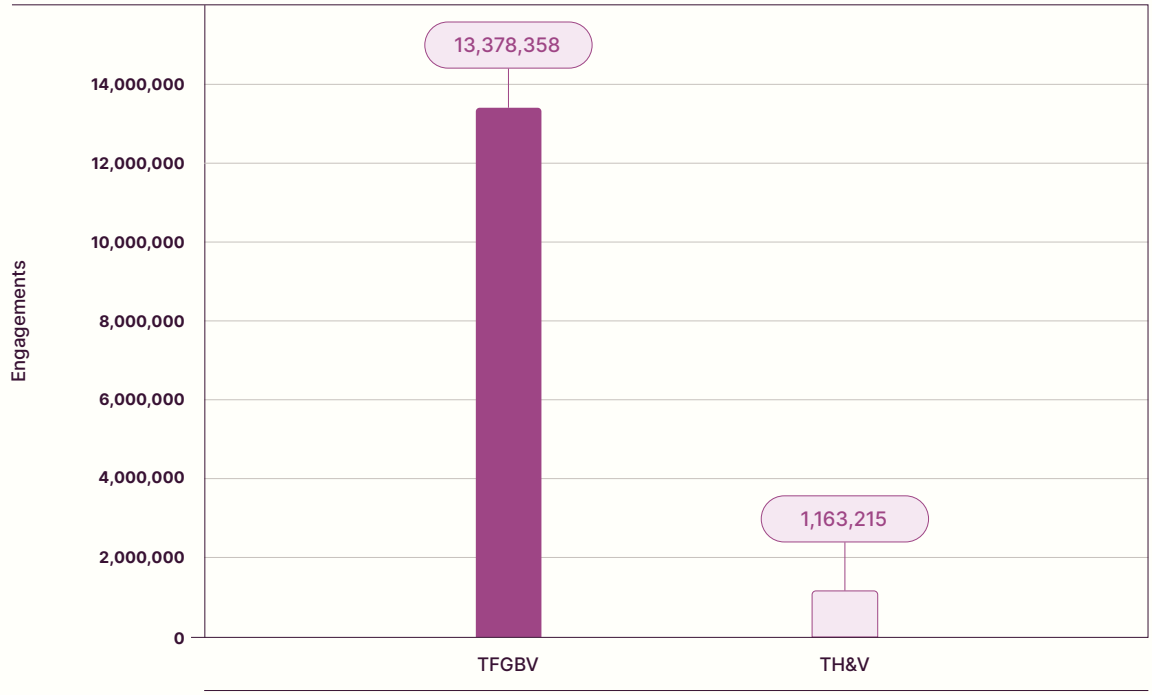


FIGURE 2

Total posts and engagements per actor category



ISD's Jordanian seed list was expanded to include accounts that used Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or Levantine and Gulf dialects. The decision to broaden the scope was taken in part because most online misogynistic actors do not specifically geolocate themselves to a country context, but also because of the interconnected nature of the Arabic-language misogynistic online ecosystem. Misogynistic actors often cultivate followers across multiple Arabic-speaking countries and target women in other countries with TFGBV harms. ISD analysts sought to focus on Jordan-specific content where geolocation was possible, but also included case studies from other Arabic-speaking contexts that were relevant to a Jordanian audience.

All actors broadly fell into two groups, with significant overlap between the two, based on the justifications for their misogynistic worldview. Islamic ultraconservative misogynists, including Salafi-jihadi VE actors, base their justifications for misogyny on warped interpretations of Islamic tradition. So-called 'Red Pillers,' on the other hand, claim to derive intellectual legitimacy from science, particularly evolutionary biology and psychology, often imitating the work of similar actors in the Western context. There are many actors populating the space, who draw from both religion and science as sources of epistemic legitimacy. Even when they do not overlap, the groups are alike in that they consistently cherry-pick content from legitimate bodies of knowledge to support their misogynistic narratives and to enact TFGBV harms, conveniently ignoring contravening sources.

Altogether, misogyny-relevant actors in the seed list produced 195,091 posts, garnering 16,448,109 engagements between 1 April 2025 and 31 March 2026. The majority of these posts were on X, where actors posted 124,606 posts garnering 3,644,008 engagements. Misogynistic actors on Facebook posted 50,685 times, garnering 1,660,273 engagements, meaning that although actors posted significantly less on Facebook, their posts achieved greater reach per post.

Across platforms, Jordan-relevant TFGBV actors (not coded as engaging in violent extremist or targeted hate and violence) produced a total of 90,406 posts that received 14,982,460 engagements. Responses in Facebook comment sections were also included, but their authors were not categorized as any one actor. Accounts coded as engaging in targeted hate and violence produced 41,212 posts garnering 1,200,417 engagements, with the vast majority of these found on X and a small minority on Facebook. Despite the small number of posts, TH&V actors on Facebook garnered significant reach per post, suggesting that the platform plays an important role in the dissemination of TH&V content from misogynistic actors. This may reflect the format of activity favored by monitored TH&V actors on Facebook, which frequently consisted of posts intended to spur discussion in the comment sections. By contrast, actors on other platforms exhibited distinct or more varied patterns of activity.

The main targets of VE actors and TFGBV/TH&V actors were distinct: VE actors primarily targeted minority groups, women in the West or Syrian President Ahmed al-Sharaa, while TFGBV and TH&V actors targeted women more broadly, including hijab-wearing Muslim women, as well as secularists, atheists, feminists and people associated with the West. Often, secular or feminist Muslims or Arabs were portrayed as treacherous agents of an imperialistic West. There was a notable breadth of targeting across most accounts, rather than myopically misogynistic hate, and there were instances of overlap, particularly regarding women from non-Muslim minorities and in Western countries. Qualitative analysis of VE Facebook accounts supportive of IS (which constituted profiles from which data could not be collected) revealed significant abuse targeting Kurdish women soldiers, which incorporated overlapping anti-minority and misogynistic hate.

Although TFGBV and TH&V actors appeared to generate a larger following and reach, it is challenging to draw definitive conclusions because VE actors were frequently removed (although one VE actor on Facebook reappeared under an identical username, garnering a significant following in a short period of time). This speaks to a context in which Arabic-language VE communities have adapted to operate within a fluid and regenerative ecosystem, with key actors and communities habitually migrating between platforms and accounts using shared linguistic codes or mutual-friend searches as violative accounts are systematically removed and re-established.

Some of the actors labeled TH&V constituted forum-format pages on X or Facebook, where only a minority of posts might constitute targeted hate or promotion of violence. Across actors, posts often appeared intended to generate discussion in the comment sections, which frequently featured harmful TFGBV content posted by users outside our seed lists, including IIA and dehumanization. The central role of comment sections (which are often more extreme than the original post) as a platform-within-a-platform for TFGBV harms has implications for effective moderation.

Case Study (TFGBV): Influencer C

The Jordanian misogynist and TFGBV actor referred to in this report as Influencer C has over 100K followers on X, 15K followers on Instagram, 18K followers on Facebook, 5K followers on Telegram and over 2,750 followers on TikTok, despite the platform being banned in Jordan. His content primarily targets women, feminists, secularists and atheists, whom he views as interconnected, while championing an exclusivist and patriarchal interpretation of Islam. His Patreon and X accounts offer paid membership and subscription but have only a handful of subscribers. Notably, while Influencer C is Jordanian and based in Jordan, he frequently posts about events and harasses targets outside Jordan. This feature illustrates the transnational nature of Jordanian and, more broadly, Arabic-language online misogyny.

Like other influencers in ISD's dataset, Influencer C uses different platforms for varied harmful activity. On X, he frequently posts diatribes and engages in arguments which promote misogynistic narratives. This includes employing coded offensive language by inserting a series of full stops '...' to break up abusive words such as 'whore' as well as key terms like 'feminist' or 'secular,' suggesting awareness of potential moderation. However, researchers also considered it likely that Influencer C codes his language to signal to his audience that he is threatened by, but cleverly avoiding, censorship by a supposed feminist-secular-atheist-Western conspiracy. He has also hosted discussions on X Spaces, X's livestreaming discussion platform. Some full-length discussions from YouTube are linked to on his Facebook, attracting further views and engagement within a cross-platform ecosystem.

Influencer C primarily used Instagram to disseminate his X content, screenshotting his more popular X posts. For example, on 27 September 2025, he posted a screenshot of an X post he made on 24 March 2024, in which he mocked the Egyptian writer and member of Parliament Farida al-Choubachy for removing her hijab and used language implying she was ugly. The original X post garnered 1.3K comments, 898 likes and 351K views, while a follow-up post six months later received 841 likes. In the Instagram comment section, abusive responses piled on and compared the victim to a chimpanzee and a man.

However, the earliest iteration of the post appeared to be on Facebook, when Influencer C had posted the same image and caption on 9 January 2022. That post received 178 likes, 51 comments and 4 shares, much fewer than its engagement on X. As on other platforms, the Facebook comment sections hosted dehumanizing abuse, such as "the hijab isn't mandatory on monkeys, so there's no problem" and derogatory allegations that she transgressed gender boundaries: "she looks like my uncle Abdul Qader, *subhan allah*." The posting of a single piece of content across platforms at long intervals means further exposure to wider audiences and gives a single incident of targeted hate an extended lifespan.

Influencer C's content on TikTok and YouTube features podcast-style interviews and short clips from livestreamed TikTok debates featuring Influencer C and unidentified women. The edited clips portrayed the women and their arguments as intellectually inferior, while presenting Influencer C's ideological position as intelligent and reasoned. One clip, for example, showed a woman making a factual historical error; in another, Influencer C claimed that he would have more followers if he had breasts. These short excerpts are deliberately edited as 'gotcha' moments purporting to illustrate a lack of intelligence by the women interviewed. One YouTube Short available on Influencer C's YouTube advocated throwing LGBTQ+ people from the Burj Khalifa, recalling IS' notorious execution of men accused of homosexual activity by throwing them from tall buildings during their territorial rule in Syria and Iraq. Some responses objected that such decisions were for judges, while others praised Influencer C as well as, in one case, "the young guys here in Syria [who] did it, God reward them," alluding to Islamic State atrocities.

Influencer C's posts were commented on and shared by accounts identified as based outside Jordan or using a range of Arabic dialects, illustrating the transnational nature of the Arabic-language misogynist ecosystem. The targets of Influencer C's content were similarly not limited by national borders, with his posts frequently provoking dogpiling in the comment sections. This case study demonstrates how Jordanian Arabic-language misogynists operate across platforms, which they use for effecting various harms, and mobilizing against targets and enemies internationally.

Influencer C uses gendered abuse to attack women and reinforce patriarchal domination, but also to abuse other perceived enemies including non-Muslims and 'the West.' This broader targeting is not incidental to his gender-based hate; rather, it reflects Influencer C's exclusivist, misogynistic worldview in which women and non-Muslim groups are portrayed as inherently deficient and dangerous, while also reinforcing grievances against these groups. In this framework, feminism, secularism, atheism and the West are presented as constituting a single, interconnected threat.

In this context, anti-Christian narratives are prominent, with Christians portrayed as immoral and harmful toward women and children. These narratives draw on purportedly pro-violence excerpts from Christian holy texts and emphasize the Christian (Coptic) identity of a schoolteacher in Egypt who was alleged to have raped a Muslim child. Influencer C notably portrays Christianity as harmful to women, claiming that "Egyptian women went from being queens before the Christian conquest to being slaves after the Christian conquest." Within this ecosystem, Influencer C's followers used comment sections to claim that Christianity promoted pedophilia and violence against women. In one example, a response captioned a medieval image of a naked woman being punished for witchcraft: "this is what Christians did to women who knew how to read: they accused them of witchcraft, because according to their logic, a woman is an animal."

On other occasions Influencer C portrayed Christianity positively but with reservations, as in one post which praised the record of historical Christian theocracy compared to the atheist Soviet Union and the secular contemporary West. Influencer C's worldview thus entails a hierarchy where Christianity and Christians are often targets of abuse, but nonetheless preferable to secularism, atheism and feminism, with gender repeatedly featuring as a theme in Influencer C's anti-Christian narratives. This shows the potential for additional amplification of misogynistic abuse when leveraged against a wide range of ideological narratives.

Case Study (Violent Extremism): VE and TFGBV Actors Diverge Over Red Pill Ideology

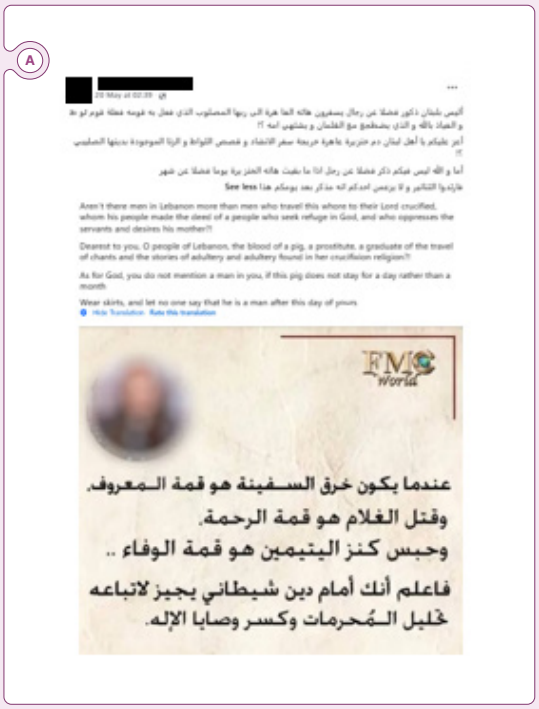
ISD analysts identified distinct attitudes toward Western-imported 'Red Pill' ideology between VE and TFGBV actors. VE actors in ISD's dataset were exclusively affiliated with IS; they avoided using 'Red Pill' language or narratives and showed antipathy to the growth of this perspective among Muslim youth. While these accounts could not be geolocated with the available data, they used Levantine or MSA Arabic in their content and primarily addressed issues within the Levantine region surrounding Jordan.

TFGBV actors, on the other hand, split into two broad groups: 1) those who appropriated Western manosphere figures to advance their narrative of Muslim persecution by liberal democracies, LGBTQ+ ideology and feminism, and 2) those who borrowed directly from the Western manosphere's ideology, tactics and language.

One VE actor affiliated with IS used Facebook to call for the assassination of prominent female Lebanese Christian influencer Maggie Khuzam for her anti-Islam activism. The post in which the account called for assassination directed gendered abuse at the victim and sought to provoke Lebanese men into killing her. Misogynistic abuse here intersected with anti-Christian hate, including accusations of sexual immorality against Jesus Christ: *"Are there any males let alone men who will send this whore to her crucified Lord who practiced gay sex and lay with adolescent boys and desired his mother?"*

FIGURE 3

IS supporter account posts



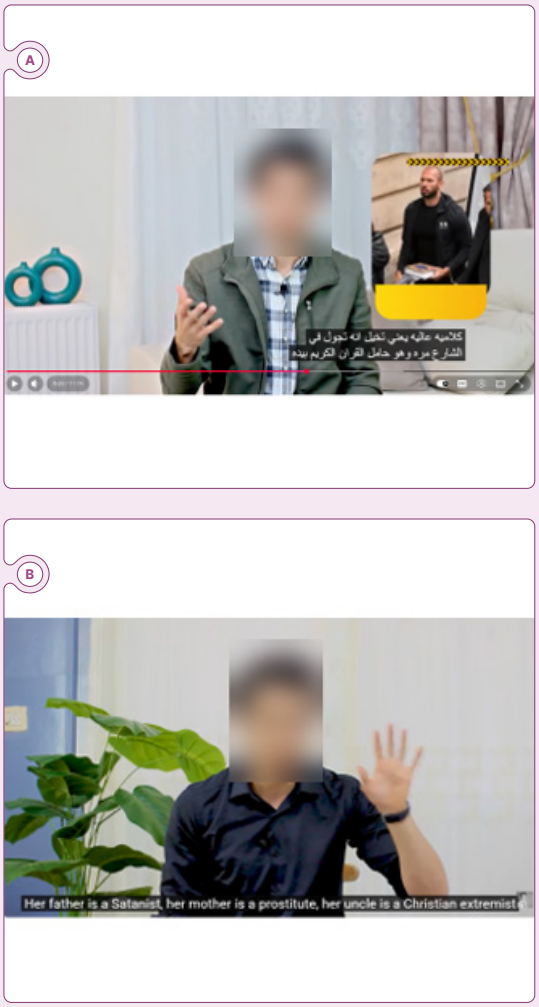
Caption A: "Aren't there any males let alone men in Lebanon who will send this cat whore to her crucified Lord? Who practiced gay sex and lay with adolescent boys and desired his own mother? Has the blood of this pig whore graduate of the Song of Songs (erotic poetry book in the Christian Bible) present in her Christian religion of homosexuality and adultery become so precious to you, oh people of Lebanon? If this pig lives a day much less a month, then wear skirts and let none of you claim to be a man."

Caption B: "Beware the nusrani Red Pill ideology!"

The post calls Lebanese men's manhood into question over the actions of the woman: "*If this pig lives a day much less a month, then wear skirts and let none of you claim to be a man*." By framing women's actions as emasculating the men close to them, misogynists seek to shame men who have greater social or geographical proximity to targeted women into 'punishing' them. In this case, the author seeks to silence Khuzam by shaming Lebanese men into killing her. Both mechanisms ultimately seek to promote male supremacy and silence women. However, degrading comments that target men with shaming function to mobilize them to oppression or violence, rather than to silence them, which is the function of misogynistic comments directly targeting women. In this case, misogyny acted as an accelerant for targeted hate, intensifying the abuse and increasing its potential to mobilize offline violence. Less than two weeks after this post, Khuzam said that three men had attempted to assassinate her while she visited the United States.

The same VE actor published a long-form post in which they warned against so-called 'Red Pill' ideology, which they said was "harming the body of the Islamic nation, especially the youth." The post captioned an image of Andrew Tate with overlaid text: "*Beware the nusrani Red Pill ideology*." The term used for Christian, *nusrani*, is a classical Arabic term that can carry pejorative connotations in some contexts. This contrasts with *masihiya*, the Arabic term used by Christians to refer to their own religious identity. The VE actor described 'Red Pill' as a "vile ideology" that was "exclusively *nusrani*" in origin (while describing feminism as 'Masonic,' in reference to conspiracy theories about Freemasons). The post went on to attack Tate himself with both religious and (indirect) gender-based abuse, labeling him a disbeliever pretending to be Muslim (*al-zindeeq al-kaafir*) and claimed that his mother was a prostitute. Discomfort with 'Red Pill' ideology and its growth among contemporary Muslim youth was a recurring

FIGURE 4
Content attacking feminism



Conservative Muslim influencer glorifies Andrew Tate in content attacking feminism.

Caption A: "He's outspoken, I mean, imagine, he (Andrew Tate) walks through the streets holding the holy Quran in his hand..."

Caption B: "Her father is a Satanist, her mother is a prostitute, her uncle is a Christian extremist".'

theme across the dataset, with this Islamist extremist VE actor casting it as the spread of Western cultural ideologies in Muslim countries, which they viewed as a threat to Islamic purity and hegemony.

By contrast, many conservative Muslim accounts praise the self-described misogynistic influencer Andrew Tate. Influencer D is a Turkey-based Palestinian influencer with 1.6M followers on Facebook. Although Influencer D is not based in Jordan, a review of his followers revealed a distinctly international Arabic-language audience, including Jordanian followers. Palestinian identity is a core part of Jordanian social and online life: estimates suggest that around 55 – 70 percent of Jordan's population is of Palestinian origin, although the exact demographic breakdown is contested and not officially published. This reflects successive waves of displacement, as well as the close linguistic and geographical ties between the two populations. However, Influencer D makes a point of speaking in MSA rather than the local dialect, which may broaden the appeal of his content beyond the Levantine dialect spoken by Jordanians and Palestinians.

Influencer D posted a video on YouTube in which he praised Tate and argued that authorities were persecuting him because of his conversion to Islam and his activism against feminism and LGBTQ+ ideology. One response garnering 2.1K likes praised Influencer D as the Arab world's Andrew Tate, saying: "You're like Andrew Tate in the Arab world in terms of the influence you have on us, and you help us to see the truth well." This counterexample shows how TFGBV/TH&V misogynist actors who use Islamic frameworks rather than 'Red Pill' pseudoscience nonetheless appropriate Tate as a symbol of Muslim victimization by Western authorities, feminism and LGBTQ+ ideology, while disregarding the concerns voiced by our case study VE actor.

②

Misogynistic Hate Speech and Key Narratives in Jordan

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FIGURE 5

Jordanian misogynistic posts over time

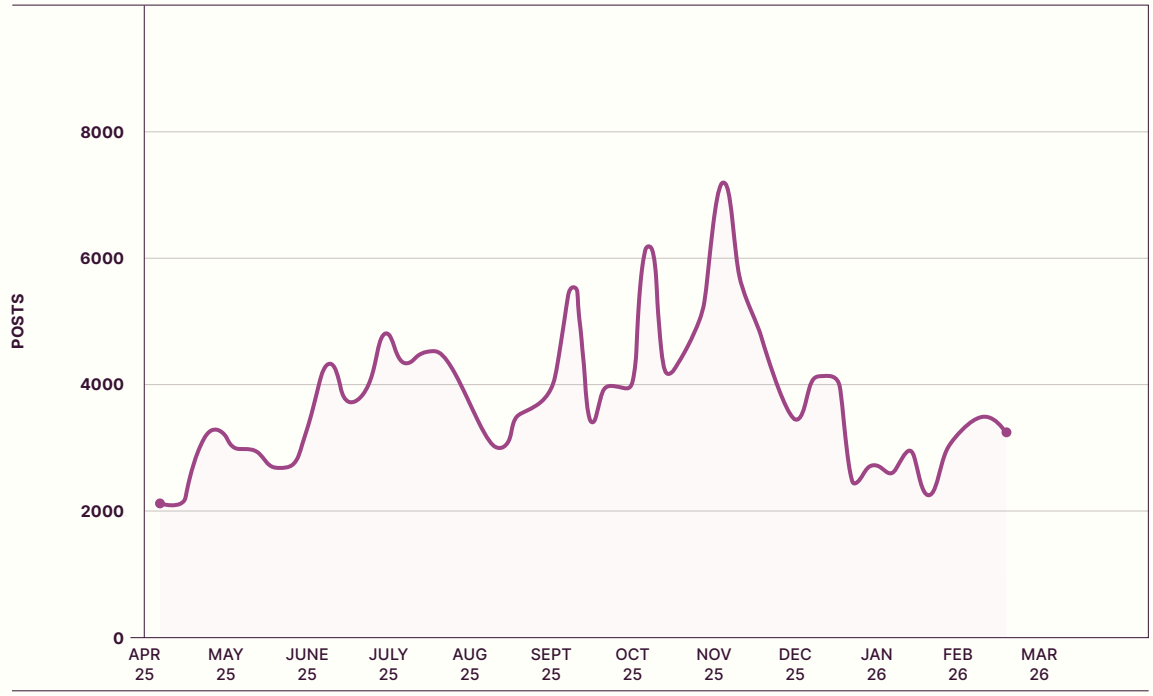
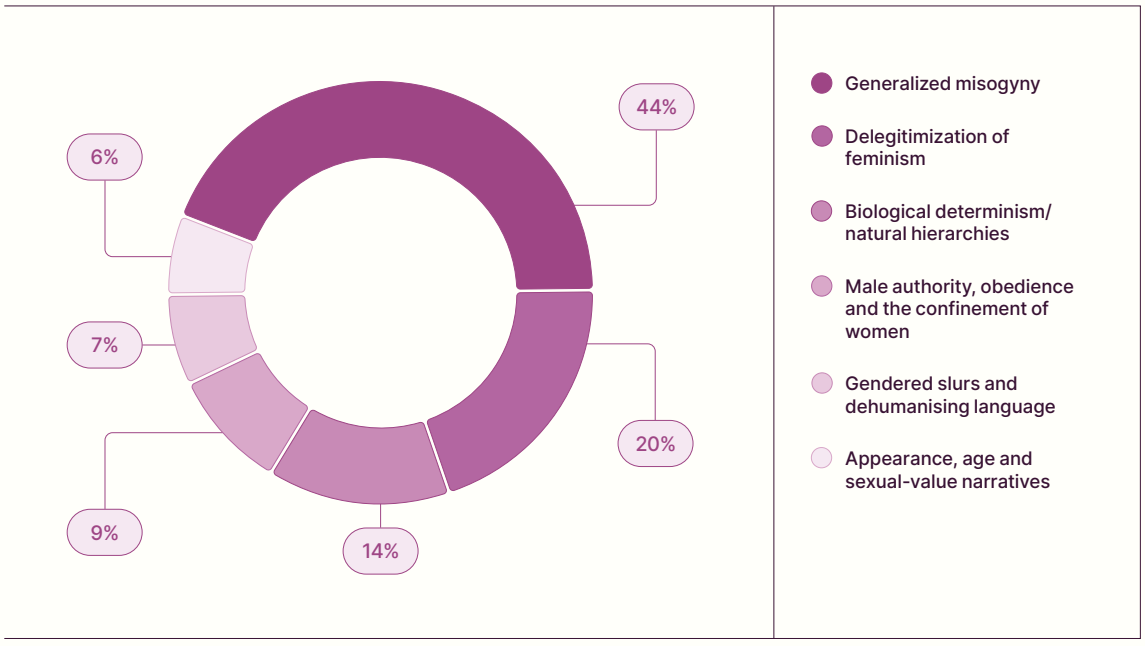


FIGURE 6

Percentage of posts per narrative category



ISD mapped the dominant misogynistic narratives in Jordan by using AI-assisted tooling to conduct a semantic mapping of the raw data, applying narrative categories to each of the 28,537 posts flagged by the bespoke classifier as misogynistic. Analysts provided a prompt containing a starter set of narrative categories and their definitions and instructed the model to sort each post into one of them, or generate additional categories where required. To check the reliability of the output, ISD analysts manually reviewed 50 posts from every narrative category and confirmed the assigned labels were correct. As the dataset was predominantly in Arabic, the coding process also had to contend with disguised spellings (letters spaced out or swapped to slip past platform moderation) to ensure that masked slurs were not missed.

This methodology led to the discovery of 25 narrative categories, which were consolidated into 13 overarching themes. This section addresses the top six themes, ordered by the volume of posts they accounted for. Generalized misogyny was by far the most common theme, appearing in 10,277 posts (36 percent), followed by the delegitimization of feminism, which featured in 4,818 posts (17 percent), and biological determinism and 'female nature' narratives, which appeared in 3,701 posts (13 percent). Together, these three themes accounted for roughly two-thirds of all misogynistic content in the dataset, with the remaining themes distributed across a long tail ranging from 1,890 posts down to fewer than 10.

Notably, the frequency of these narratives, measured by the volume of posts they accounted for, did not always directly correlate with the level of engagement they drove. Generalized misogyny received the highest level of reach, with more than 371,000 engagements, but averaged only 36 interactions per post. By contrast, toxic masculinity and honor-based policing of men accounted for just 4 percent of posts while generating nearly 78,000 engagements at an average of 70 interactions per post. Appearance, age and sexual-value narratives generated nearly 85,000 interactions despite accounting for only 5 percent of posts. At the opposite extreme, male victimhood narratives averaged 21 interactions per post and marriage-market grievances 26, despite appearing in more than 800 and 1,100 posts, respectively. This suggests that the most prevalent narratives in the online ecosystem examined in this study did not necessarily generate the greatest audience response.

The distribution of these narratives across platforms also varied substantially. X accounted for 23,824 of the 28,537 posts and Facebook for 4,215, with smaller volumes on Telegram, TikTok, YouTube and Instagram. However, Facebook content generated considerably higher engagement per post. Some themes were heavily concentrated on X; sexual entitlement, for example, appeared almost exclusively there, while others, such as toxic masculinity and honor-based policing, were disproportionately represented on Facebook relative to their share of the corpus overall. This distribution is noteworthy because the narratives generating the highest levels of audience engagement were not those dominating the high-volume conversational space on X.

Generalized misogyny

The most common misogynistic narrative identified by ISD in the Jordanian dataset was generalized misogyny: routine contempt for women as a class, without a single dominant narrative framing. Such posts used dehumanizing language and stereotypes to target women in general, rather than necessarily targeting specific individuals, and frequently took the form of short conversational insults and thread replies lacking a standalone argument. Within this theme, women were also repeatedly framed as stupid, irrational, hysterical, childish or unfit to lead, judge or hold positions of authority, with religious references to women's supposed deficiency in reason invoked to justify these claims. At 10,277 posts and more than 371,000 engagements, this was the highest-volume theme in the dataset, though its comparatively

low engagement rate indicates it functioned largely as ambient, low-visibility abuse rather than as content that mobilized audiences.

Delegitimization of feminism

The second most prominent theme consisted of attacks on feminism itself, appearing in 4,818 posts and generating nearly 245,000 engagements. These posts portrayed feminism as extremist, corrupt or destructive, with the Arabic term for feminists used mockingly and gender equality framed as a fraud. A significant strand within this theme cast feminism as a foreign imposition, variously described as a Western-, Masonic- or UN-driven plot against Muslim society, thereby positioning opposition to women's rights as an act of cultural and religious self-defense. A further strand framed woman's emancipation as a direct cause of family breakdown and civilizational collapse; although small in volume at 113 posts, this material drew notably high engagement, averaging 183 interactions per post, the highest rate of any category in the dataset. Content in this theme spiked around news events concerning prominent women accused of wrongdoing, which were used as 'evidence' that feminism had failed to protect women.

Biological determinism and 'female nature'

Narratives grounding gender inequality in biology accounted for 3,701 posts and more than 123,000 engagements. These posts framed hierarchy between men and women as natural, evolutionary and therefore absolute, drawing heavily on imported 'Red Pill' vocabulary around hypergamy, sexual selection and alpha/beta framings, often rendered in Arabic. Closely bound up with this was the portrayal of women as essentially cunning, deceitful or exploitative, with posts describing 'female tactics,' 'dark psychology' and home-wrecking, and presenting men's sacrifices as structurally unreciprocated. The theme is notable for how it recasts misogyny as dispassionate observation: claims about women's conduct are presented as scientific description rather than moral judgment, which lends them an appearance of neutrality and makes them portable across otherwise unrelated conversations about dating, marriage and workplace behavior.

Male authority, obedience and the confinement of women

Another prominent theme, accounting for 1,890 posts and nearly 86,000 engagements, consisted of scripturally framed arguments for male authority over women. Posts invoked *qiwamah* (male guardianship and wifely obedience) to argue that marriage is a hierarchy rather than a partnership, that a husband's decisions require compliance rather than negotiation, and that a wife requires permission to leave the home or to interact with unrelated men. A closely related strand attacked women's education and employment as illegitimate or harmful, with posts warning men against marrying working women, mocking women's degrees and arguing that a woman's earnings destabilize the household.

Gendered slurs and dehumanizing language

A total of 1,414 posts in the dataset consisted primarily of misogynistic slurs and insults directed at specific individuals. Sexualized insults were especially frequent, alongside animal and object comparisons used to deny women's personhood. A substantial share of this content was deliberately disguised, with letters spaced or substituted to evade platform moderation, a pattern that indicates awareness on the part of users that the language would otherwise be subject to moderation. Such posts show how misogyny is employed to silence women's speech and participation in public life, with gendered slurs appearing consistently across both X and Facebook.

Appearance, age and sexual-value narratives

Appearance, age and sexual-value narratives—which largely reduced women's worth to physical attractiveness, sexual history and reproductive capacity—accounted for 1,375 posts while generating nearly 85,000 engagements, a relatively high level of audience interaction at 62 interactions per post. Such posts ridiculed women's body size and shape, treated veiled women as hypocrites and criticized women's past sexual experiences, with those deemed to have a high 'body count' presented as unsuitable for marriage. A second strand framed women's value as expiring with age, describing women as spinsters by their mid-twenties, mocking fertility treatment and depicting a period of 'party years' followed by inevitable decline. This reveals the tendency among misogynistic communities to police women's bodily autonomy and shows how misogyny is often channeled through baseless arguments about a woman's supposed value.

Narrative Case Study: Misogynistic Framings of the Jeffrey Epstein Scandal

Online discussions of the Jeffrey Epstein scandal by Jordanian influencers show how cases of violence and sexual exploitation against women and girls can themselves be repurposed to advance misogynistic narratives. Following the release of additional documents related to the case by the US Department of Justice in early 2026, prominent misogynistic actors in Jordan presented the scandal as evidence of a supposed failure of feminism and secularism. Rather than focusing either on Epstein, his associates or the systems that enabled the abuse, these narratives instead suggested that women's growing independence and participation in public life had helped foster the circumstances that led to their exploitation.

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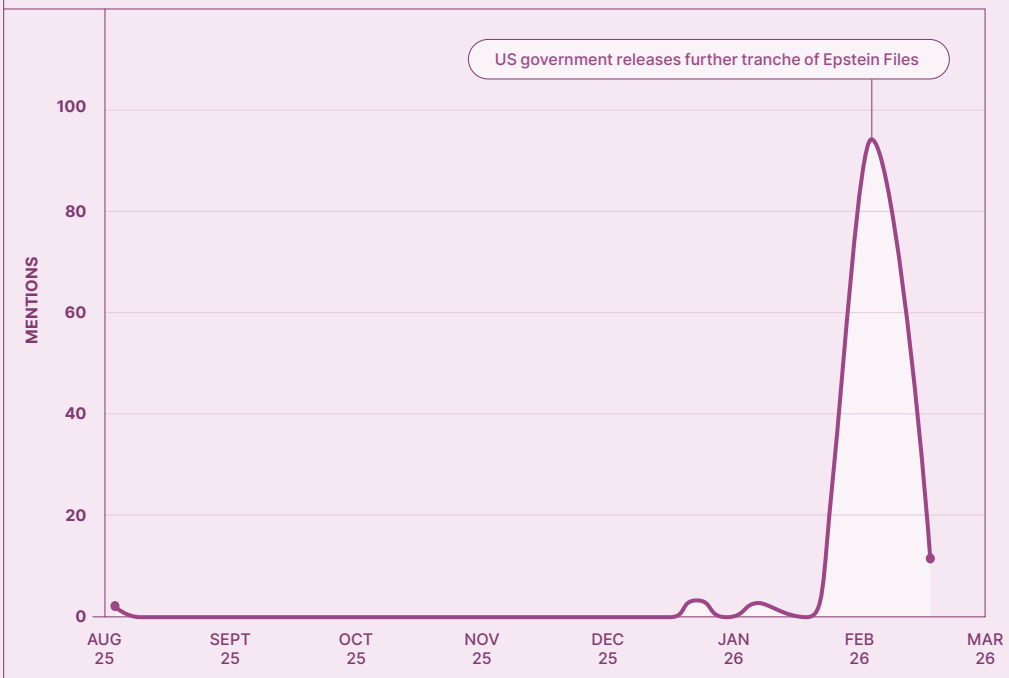
These themes were especially prevalent on X. Between 29 January and 16 February 2026—a period which accounted for 72 percent of all Epstein-related mentions in the dataset—two prominent actors in the Jordanian manosphere produced 27 of the 50 Epstein-related X posts with the highest engagement. This concentration suggests that a relatively small number of influential accounts played an outsized role in shaping how the scandal was discussed within the ecosystem.

The highest-engagement example came from Influencer C. On 1 February, he argued that "feminism failed to protect women" and was a "primary cause" of the Epstein scandal. The post received more than 3M views, 7K likes and 1,800 reposts. Notably, however, the high level of engagement on this post did not necessarily reflect widespread support for its message. Of the 25 most-engaged comments examined by ISD, 16 rejected the claim, while only one explicitly supported the argument that feminism had helped create the conditions for Epstein's abuse. This provides an important qualification when analyzing engagement figures, as it shows how provocative misogynistic narratives can achieve substantial reach while also generating significant opposition.

Similar arguments appeared on Telegram, where 'Red Pill' and anti-feminist channels exploited the scandal to criticize women's independence and broader feminist gains. Some posts, in particular, used online support for

FIGURE 7

Epstein mentions within dataset from 1 April 2025 to 31 March 2026



Hind Al Owais—a senior Emirati diplomat and human rights official known for her work on women's empowerment and gender equality, whose correspondence with Jeffrey Epstein was highlighted in recently released documents—as an example in broader arguments about feminism. Other channels portrayed feminism as a capitalist project designed to bring women into employment and public life. Women's financial independence and ambitions in fields such as modeling and acting were then framed as factors that made them vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

A defining feature of these narratives is the way they reverse responsibility for sexual violence. Instead of blaming the perpetrators and the systems that enabled them, they use the victimization of women and girls to argue that women are safer when their autonomy is limited. Employment, financial independence and participation in public life are presented not as rights, but as sources of danger that need to be limited in order to protect women. In this narrative, women's rights and feminism are cast as harms which threaten the safety and well-being of women and girls, while male supremacy and ultraconservative Islamic patriarchy become the response to protect them.

The Epstein scandal is therefore a significant case study because it shows how concern about violence against women can be incorporated into an anti-feminist worldview. Within parts of the Jordanian manosphere, this highly visible case of sexual exploitation was twisted to advance a paternalistic argument that restricting women's independence is protective rather than a limitation on their rights. In this way, the scandal was used not simply to attack feminism, but to reinforce broader arguments about women's proper role in society and the perceived dangers generated by changing gender norms.

Narrative Case Study: Misogynistic Framings of Afghan Society and Politics

Discussions of Afghanistan within the dataset provide a case study of how international political and social developments can be incorporated into local online debates about the role of gender, religion and sexuality in Jordanian society. Across the Jordanian dataset, Afghanistan frequently served as a reference point for anti-feminist and anti-LGBTQ+ narratives, with actors using Taliban rule as an illustrative case of an idealized misogynistic worldview, which they sometimes contrasted with a caricature of Western liberalism. In these discussions, Afghanistan was often used less to examine events in the country itself and more to support broader arguments about Jordanian cultural values.

Several posts by Influencer C which generated high levels of engagement illustrate this pattern. In one post, which received 33,800 views and 466 likes, he claimed that Afghanistan had begun to "manufacture, innovate, invent and develop" only after women were excluded from higher education. By linking restrictions on women's education with national progress, the post reframed the removal of women from public life as beneficial rather than harmful.

Other posts used religious and anti-Western arguments to defend or minimize restrictions imposed under Taliban rule. One post, which received more than 70,000 views, justified the Taliban's ban on books by female authors as consistent with Islamic law. Another post dismissed international criticism of the Taliban's treatment of women as an example of Western interference and hypocrisy, asking why Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy had time to advocate "liberating women's thighs" while Ukraine remained occupied, and further alleging that Europe and Israel targeted Ukrainian refugee women for work in prostitution. That post received more than 280,000 views and 4,200 likes. Across these examples, restrictions on Afghan women were frequently portrayed as religiously justified, socially beneficial or less important than perceived Western moral inconsistency.

These narratives are significant because they move beyond support for individual Taliban policies. Instead, Afghanistan was used as evidence for a broader argument that societies do not require greater gender equality in order to prosper and may even benefit when women's participation in society is restricted. At the same time, criticism of those restrictions is reframed as an attempt to enforce Western or liberal values. This allows anti-feminist actors to defend limitations on women while framing their arguments as resistance to external interference, rather than as opposition to women's rights.

A different but related pattern appeared on 4chan, where conversations about Afghanistan showed how misogynistic and anti-LGBTQ+ attitudes could overlap with rigid expectations around gender and sexuality. Of the 68 Afghanistan-related posts on 4chan made by users who self-identified as being located in Jordan, 12 (18 percent) referenced boys, pedophilia or used homophobic slurs, often in discussions

about *bacha bazi* (a practice in Afghanistan involving the sexual exploitation and abuse of boys by adult men). Rather than focusing on the experiences of victims, these discussions frequently used the abuse to reinforce broader ideological grievances. Some messages blamed the United States by claiming that its forces had tolerated or enabled the practice, while others conflated the sexual abuse of boys with homosexuality and used it to portray gay men as sexually deviant. In this way, discussions about *bacha bazi* became another means of enforcing rigid ideas regarding gender and sexuality, linking the same broader worldview that devalues women and restricts their social roles with hostility toward people who fall outside traditional heterosexual gender norms.

Across both strands of discussion, the experiences of victims were therefore frequently used to serve wider ideological arguments. The treatment of Afghan women became a way to challenge feminism and liberal values, while the sexual abuse of boys became material for anti-Western or homophobic narratives.

Discussions about Afghanistan are accordingly a useful case study for understanding how misogynistic narratives within the Jordanian ecosystem extend beyond explicitly local issues. Actors can selectively interpret events elsewhere and use them to support existing positions on feminism, religion, sexuality and gender roles. In this way, Afghanistan became a useful reference point for actors seeking to defend restrictions on women, dismiss feminist critiques and strengthen anti-LGBTQ+ narratives.

③

Key TFGBV Harms and Tactics in Jordan

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Across the Jordanian dataset, online harassment was the most consistently visible form of TFGBV. Much of this activity revolved around the targeting of identifiable women through gendered or sexualized hostility, including body-shaming, slut-shaming and efforts to humiliate women based on their perceived morality. In many cases, the harassment drew on other aspects of the target's identity, including their religion, ethnicity and nationality. This was particularly evident in discussions related to regional conflict post-October 7, where gendered attacks frequently overlapped with targeting of Israelis and Jews, Shia Muslims, Iranian women, or other regional identities or minorities in the Middle East. These examples illustrate how misogynistic harassment can be intersectional and exacerbated by other forms of prejudice.

Of note, across ISD's data, harassment frequently targeted women in public life. Many posts spread images of female politicians alongside allegations of corruption and misconduct, while others shared photographs of women that generated abusive responses in comment sections (even in cases where the original posts had little to no substantive commentary about the women depicted). For example, one TFGBV actor on Facebook posted images of Iraqi female politicians who were allegedly corrupt, suggesting that corruption was a widespread issue among female politicians in general. The same user also posted photographs of Algerian female politicians on four separate occasions, leading to substantial abuse in the comments section by followers. Importantly, this was a recurring phenomenon across both TFGBV and targeted hate and violence actors—in many cases, the originating users did not necessarily need to employ misogynistic language to facilitate harassment. Instead, by simply placing an identifiable woman before an already hostile audience without context, posts could function as prompts for followers to scrutinize their appearance, sexuality and perceived morality.

More severe forms of harassment across the dataset included direct threats and calls for violence, as well as content glorifying or justifying violence against women. The latter included footage depicting domestic violence, violence within intimate relationships, police violence against women and, in some cases, murder. Across this content, the framing of the violent footage was often just as significant as the videos themselves, as captions and comments were repeatedly used to state that the violence was deserved.

FIGURE 8

TFGBV actor posts on X regarding 'nawashiz'



TFGBV actor posts on X regarding 'nawashiz', which refers to women alleged to have transgressed their marital duties: "Before we are shocked by the hitting, why aren't we shocked that he was forced to hit her? No sane man wakes up in the morning and decides, 'Today I'm going to hit my wife,' unless she provoked him and pushed him to his limit. Raise your daughters to respect men and not become crude *nawashiz*, and we promise you no one will lay a hand on them."

One example came from a self-described 'Red Pill' page on Facebook. This page shared footage of a Cambodian man shooting his wife to death before taking his own life. The post stated that marital infidelity was the cause of the violence, and presented the murder as something open to debate, inviting viewers to discuss whether the woman's alleged behavior could justify the killing. In the comments section some users condemned the murder, while others celebrated the perpetrator or claimed that his actions were a justifiable response to infidelity. Such examples show how misogynistic ideas can be used to justify and rationalize real-world violence, especially when women are accused of having provoked it through infidelity or supposed violations of gender expectations.

Other discussions in the dataset illustrate how misogynistic concepts could be translated into concrete justifications for coercion and violence. For example, one prominent Egyptian influencer and TFGBV actor (who commands an identifiably international audience including Jordanians) published a video discussing marital rape in which he argued that a husband should leave his wife if she refused sex without a valid reason because she must regard him only as a '*mummawil*' (source of financial support). While the influencer did not advocate for violence in the video, numerous commenters expressed significantly more extreme opinions. One described such refusals as '*nushuz*'—a term referring to marital disobedience—and claimed that Islamic law provided clear rulings on the issue while denying that marital rape exists at all. Another user called for disobedient women to be hit so that they would 'repent.' In such cases, the distinction between the original content and the audiences' reactions is significant—while the original posts do not always advocate for violence, the comment sections often create a space in which followers can translate discussions about women's marital obligations into explicit justifications for violence.

FIGURE 9

A TFGBV influencer posts on X to defend violence against women



"There is no young man who killed/gave a beating to a girl just because she rejected him, violence comes after a long time, from exploitation and then from rejection. If you say "No" to a boy, he's going to go see another girl, simple as that. But if you give him false hope and you exploit him and his resources, then he will see you as an investment, and he will reprimand you if you reject him after all of that investment. Not exploiting young men = women's safety."

These examples also show how platform features can be leveraged to escalate harassment. In particular, comment sections and replies allow users to move beyond the framings presented by the original posters, produce more extreme interpretations and even issue overt calls for violence. Comments and replies also frequently integrate different misogynistic vocabularies. For example, across the dataset, Western 'Red Pill' concepts often appeared alongside religious arguments about marital obedience, sometimes within the same comment. In such cases, manosphere-related concepts are fused together with religious framings to justify violent and coercive behavior, showing how platform functionalities can bring different ideological frameworks into contact and allow different rationales for TFGBV to circulate among the same audiences.

FIGURE 10

Facebook comment section features a post advocating for marital violence



Facebook comment section features posts advocating for marital violence: "Hit more... let the nawashiz repent." "Sir, this is called nushuz, and it has clear rulings in Sharia. There's no such thing called marital rape at all"

ISD identified three instances of IIA on Facebook, in the same comment section, one of which was made using generative AI. The IIA images targeted a female secretary and a male oil company manager based in Iraq, even though the account that perpetrated the activity was not Iraqi. ISD's harms taxonomy describes IIA as content that "humiliates those perceived as transgressing gender norms... [and which] aims to silence or diminish them based on their identity." An analysis of the content and responses made evident that the victim was targeted because she was a woman working in an

office (with men), which transgressed gender norms in the worldview of the perpetrators.

Two of the IIA posts were responses from the author of a post in its comment section; one was a cartoon-style (i.e. non-realistic) AI-generated image of the female secretary performing a sexual act on a man identified as a manager at a Kirkuk oil company. The second was a realistic, CCTV-style image of the man sexually touching the woman. Both types of images constitute IIA. The original post, which made the accusation and featured a non-sexual image of the victims, garnered 619 likes and 58 reshares, while the IIA still images alone garnered 118 likes. A third manifestation of IIA was the alleged 4-minute, 42-second video of the incident posted in the comment section, which received 19 likes. Reporting and comments indicated that the victim and others had denied the authenticity of the video.

Importantly, the relatively small number of IIA examples identified across the dataset should not be understood as evidence that such harms are uncommon in Jordan. Instead, it reflects an inherent limitation in an actor-based methodology, as well as a focus on publicly accessible online spaces. Harassment, threats, violent imagery and audience pile-ons are relatively visible because they are often performed publicly, amplified through platform engagement features and instigated by relatively prominent individuals who are more likely to fall within the orbit of actors examined in this research. By contrast, harms such as IIA, sexual extortion, impersonation and account access abuse may disproportionately affect less prominent individuals or unfold through private messages or closed spaces. These forms of abuse are therefore less likely to be captured through an analytic approach focused on publicly active misogynistic actors and the audiences surrounding them.

Case Study of Online Harassment: Nawal El Saadawi (Activist)

ISD selected the targeting of Egyptian feminist writer and activist Nawal El Saadawi (1931–2021) as a case study because it illustrates how TFGBV can be used not only to attack individual women, but also to discredit the ideas and movements they represent. Despite having died in 2021, Saadawi remained a prominent target of abuse within the dataset, particularly among influential anti-feminist accounts on X and Telegram. Rather than engaging with her writing or political views in good faith, these actors frequently attacked her through sexualized insults, abuse targeting her physical appearance and claims that she had contributed to moral and societal decline. Saadawi therefore became a stand-in for broader attacks on feminism and on women who challenge traditional gender norms.

Several high-engagement posts demonstrate the scale and nature of this targeting. On the anniversary of Saadawi's death this year, a Jordanian TFGBV actor, referred to here as Influencer C, posted that her greatest contribution to history was that "she died." The post received 5.1M views and 20K likes. The same account later published a poll asking users to choose between wearing shorts, sex or advocacy as Saadawi's greatest achievement. It generated more than 142K views and 7K responses. The use of a poll is notable because it made the targeting of Saadawi a participatory activity, enabling audiences to directly engage with the content rather than simply viewing it.

Other posts relied more explicitly on gendered and sexualized abuse. Saadawi was described as a 'slut' and a 'masochistic whore,' while other posts accused her of promoting lesbianism and moral corruption. One post claimed that women only emphasize their intelligence and achievements "when they are ugly", using Saadawi as its primary example. These attacks demonstrate how criticism of feminist women can move quickly from disagreement with their ideas to attempts to discredit them through their appearance, sexuality and perceived morality.

The abuse also extended beyond Saadawi as an individual. Posts claimed that her books contradicted Islamic law or accused her of corrupting an entire generation of women through feminism, supposedly leaving them with "misandry, psychological illness and family failure." Similar themes appeared on Telegram, where one channel described Saadawi and other feminist writers as "filthy" influences on Muslim women. Across these examples, Saadawi was presented not simply as a disliked public figure, but as evidence of the supposed dangers of feminism itself. Collectively, sexual insults, anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric and claims of religious or moral corruption worked together to portray feminist women as socially deviant and harmful to families and wider society.

This makes Saadawi a particularly relevant case for understanding the wider role of TFGBV within the Jordanian dataset. The harassment directed at her is primarily categorized as online harassment, but its significance extends beyond the individual

abusive posts. Because Saadawi is deceased, these attacks cannot directly intimidate her into silence. Instead, they work symbolically by degrading her legacy and portraying women who publicly challenge established gender norms as deserving of ridicule and sexual humiliation. The targeting therefore sends a wider message about the potential ramifications of engaging in feminist advocacy, particularly for women participating publicly in debates around gender equality.

Saadawi's case ultimately shows how online harassment can become a means of attacking not only a prominent woman, but the broader ideas associated with her.

By repeatedly reducing a well-known feminist intellectual to her appearance, sexual identity and alleged moral failings, actors were able to shift attention away from her arguments and toward whether women like her should be regarded as legitimate voices in public life at all.

Case Study of Online Harassment: Gendered and Religious Policing of an Unidentified Muslim Woman

The harassment of an anonymous Muslim woman attending a music concert illustrates how ordinary activities can become targets of TFGBV and opportunities for public shaming, especially when religious expectations are invoked to justify gendered abuse. In this case, a woman who was not a public figure filmed herself dancing at a concert and shared footage of it online. The video was subsequently taken from its original context and shared by a TFGBV account with approximately 60,000 followers, including identifiably Jordanian accounts, exposing her to a much larger and more hostile audience. The account described her as a '*mutadaththira*'—a derogatory term for a woman who presents herself as modest, such as by wearing a hijab, while allegedly behaving otherwise—and described this type of woman as dangerous. Although the woman was not named, she remained visibly identifiable, and the post garnered more than 71K views, 740 likes and 300 comments, many of which subjected her to gendered and sexualized abuse.

Notably, the harassment was shaped by the fact that the woman was visibly Muslim and wearing a hijab. The *mutadaththira* insult was repeatedly invoked to portray her as deceitful, suggesting that women like her use visible signs of religious modesty to conceal supposedly immoral behavior, thereby misleading and victimizing men. This framing was used to justify the pile-on in the comments section of the video, in which users often scrutinized the woman's sexuality and questioned her religious commitment. Several responses exacerbated this dynamic by asking whether the woman could legitimately be considered Muslim at all. For example, some users used the term '*muta'aslima*'—meaning a woman who pretends to be Muslim—showing how in this case, gender and religion were combined to justify hostility and intensify the harassment. This highlights how misogynistic harassment can take culturally specific forms, with women being subjected to different kinds of abuse depending on religious expectations.

Comments about the woman's clothing revealed how women could be criticized regardless of how they choose to dress. Several users argued that her hijab was insufficient because it left her face uncovered, while others suggested that women like her are worse than women who dress more revealingly because the latter are at least supposedly honest about their morality. The woman was therefore placed in a double bind—some condemned her for not covering enough, while the fact that she did dress somewhat modestly was itself framed as evidence of deception.

The public dimension of the post also created risks beyond the visible harassment that occurred in the comments. Notably, one user claimed to have recognized the woman from his local area, describing her as a 'whore' and warning others about women like her who allegedly use 'deceptive appearances,' showing how circulating identifiable footage to a large audience can enable identification and potentially expose victims to offline harassment.

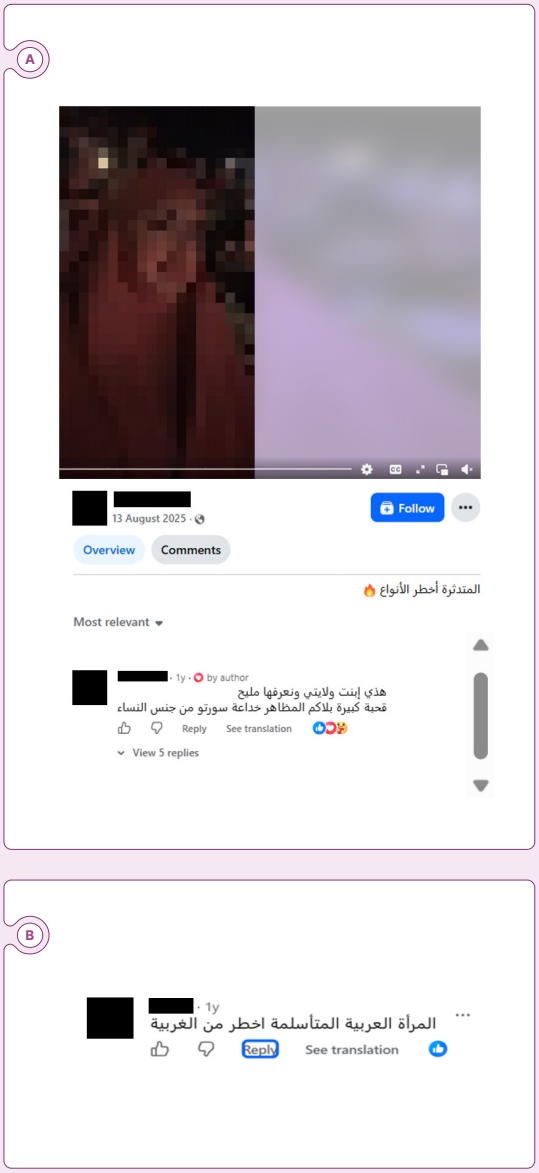
The significance of this case lies not only in the abuse directed at this woman, but in the wider process of dogpiling and public shaming that the post enabled. The sharing of the video transformed an otherwise ordinary act of dancing at a concert into material through which a large audience could police a woman's sexuality and religious identity. Importantly, this can create a chilling effect whereby women may conclude that attending concerts, dancing publicly or sharing images of themselves online will create a risk of mass humiliation and harassment. In this sense, TFGBV does more than harm the individual woman who is being targeted; it can also be used to police the behavior of women writ large by highlighting the kinds of conduct that may expose them to similar abuse.

In 2023, the terms *mutadaththira* and *muta'aslima* were also used to criticize Hala Ahed, a Jordanian lawyer who wears a hijab, because of her involvement in a series of planned trainings hosted by an NGO on feminist issues. The international campaign escalated into accusations of apostasy (which can carry a death penalty in Islamic law) and of being a foreign agent (linked to feminism being framed as a Western interest), as well as death threats and calls to revoke her Jordanian citizenship. Analysis of that case argued that *takfir*, which refers to the controversial act of accusing Muslims of apostasy or of falsely claiming to be Muslim, was being used to undermine and discredit feminism in the region.

While there was no specific evidence that the abuse in this case study escalated to the same degree, Hala Ahed's case is significant because it shows how the tactics of misogynistic abuse outlined in our case study can be, and historically have been, directed at public figures. Equally, it highlights how the insidious implications inherent in these mechanisms of TFGBV targeting hijab-wearing women escalate toward more severe harms.

FIGURE 11

Misogynistic post targeting a hijab-wearing Muslim woman



Misogynistic post targeting a hijab-wearing Muslim woman, with comments mocking men who would date her and decrying supposed muta'aslima or mutadaththira women.

Caption A: "She's a girl from my province and I know her well. A big whore, watch out appearances are deceiving especially with women."

Caption B: "The Arab muta'aslima woman is more dangerous than the Western (woman)."

Conclusion

The nature of the Jordanian Arabic-language online ecosystem complicates efforts to assemble actor-based seed lists, owing to the transnational dynamics of many figures who appeal to audiences in diverse Arabic-language countries. Some actors produced content in MSA, meaning that their content could more easily appeal to a broader Arabic-language audience than that of actors who operated solely in Levantine dialect. This diversity in audience is reflected by the content produced by actors, which often highlighted issues or targeted victims in a range of Arabic-language countries. This finding underscores the challenge of country-specific research in the Arabic-language context, but also the potential challenge for law enforcement and victims of targeted hate and harassment when the perpetrators are active beyond national borders. More broadly, it reflects the transnational nature of the internet and of contemporary targeted hate networks.

Analysis of content in our dataset identified two broad legitimizing frameworks: ultraconservative religious misogyny, including VE actors, and Arabic-language 'Red Pill' or 'manosphere' narratives. It is important to note that, while there is significant tension between these two groups, which primarily manifests as criticism by ultraconservative religious actors against 'Red Pill' or 'manosphere' adherents and ideology, many TFGBV and TH&V actors exist somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. These actors selectively invoke and sometimes entirely distort both evolutionary science and Islamic tradition to legitimize misogynistic narratives and TFGBV harms.

TFGBV and TH&V actors in our dataset exploited international events, with overall volumes of misogynistic posts reacting to specific political events. The most prominent of these and the overall peak in post volume was in response to the 30 January 2026 release of the Epstein files, demonstrating the appeal of Epstein as a narrative vehicle for Arabic-language misogynists. The actors in our dataset used the Epstein case to blame feminism for Western women's sexual exploitation, and sometimes to cast the entire West as sexually immoral. By contrast, the actors raised Afghanistan as an aspirational model for their own countries predicated on the exclusion of women from public life; and touted the practice of *bacha bazi* as further evidence of the degeneracy of sexual minorities and the West. In these cases, the sexual exploitation of women and children is blamed on the out-group of feminism, the West and to a lesser extent LGBTQ+ rights, while the in-group of ultraconservative Islam and patriarchal systems are posited as the solution.

Similarly, feminism's alleged failure to object to alleged US and Israeli war crimes in the context of the post-October 7 wars is brandished as evidence of the moral hypocrisy of feminism and liberal democratic ideology writ large. In this narrative, feminists are hypocrites or paid agents of Western power, complicit in atrocities in Gaza, Lebanon, the West Bank and Iran, and culpable for systematic harms against women and children.

A prominent recurring tactic was to place a woman before a hostile audience through the posting of an image, video or story, with the intention to prompt engagement. The original post did not need to be explicitly abusive (although it often was); harms would more often occur in the comment sections. Examples identified by ISD included female politicians, ordinary women like the hijab-wearing woman at a concert, women in the workplace or university and late feminist icon Nawal El Saadawi. A running thread through many of these posts was the shaming of women for public visibility. TH&V and TFGBV actors and post respondents most often attacked targets with slut-shaming, as well as allegations that their activities constituted or were proof of harms against men. Notably, misogynistic actors often engaged in other forms of targeted hate, and integrated misogyny and anti-minority hate in their expressions of online hate and as part of a unifying supremacist worldview.

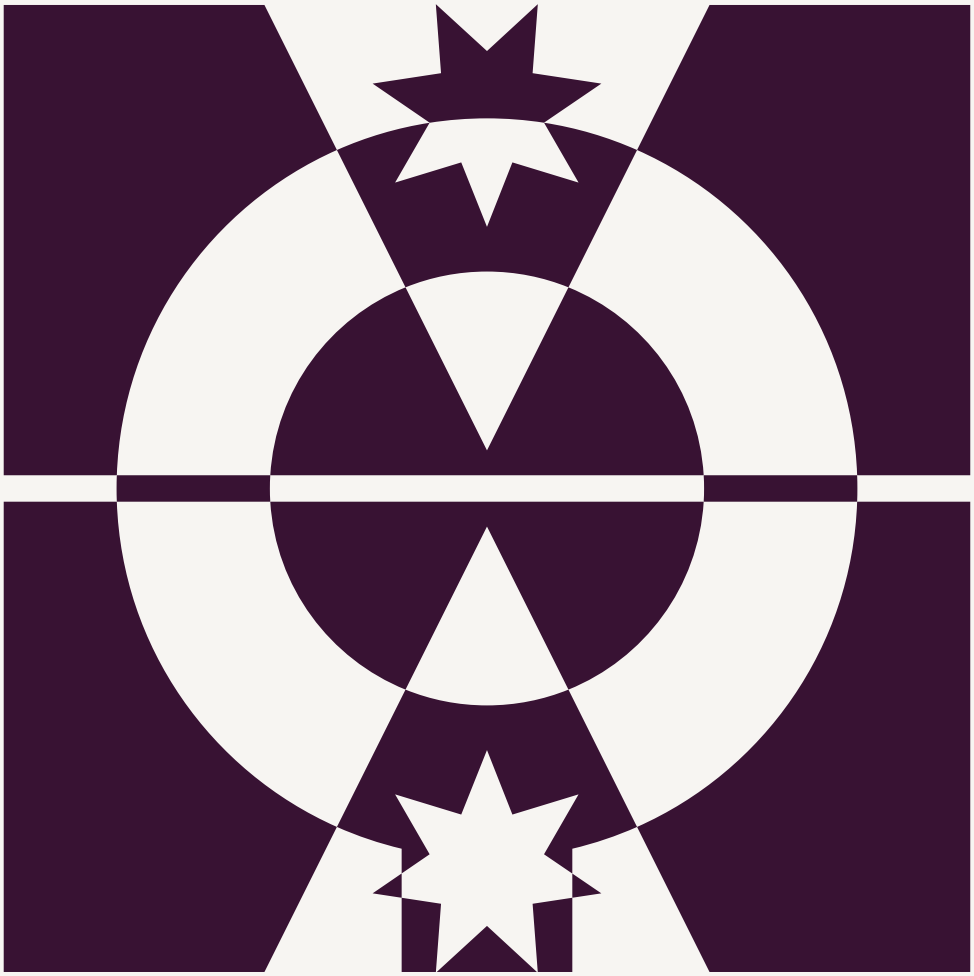
Similarly, TH&V and TFGBV actors and respondents to their posts exploited depictions of violence as an opportunity to victim-blame, arguing that male perpetrators were in fact the victims of women and a gynocentric system, and occasionally glorifying violence against women. Some comment sections served to further audience interaction with the actor; this could take the form of requesting content that had been previously moderated, or by asking for ideological clarification for specific contexts (as when a user asked if non-IS members were also allowed to take sexual slaves from religious minorities). Crucially, comment sections act as deliberate vectors for more severe TFGBV harms by both the original post author and their community, including IIA.

The widespread shaming of men through rhetoric that integrates misogynistic themes and gendered stereotypes is a notable tactic across TFGBV, TH&V and VE actors, who employ it for multiple purposes. VE actors, for example, used it to attack the Islamic moral legitimacy of the Syrian Presidency, as well as to allegedly incite the assassination of an anti-Islam Lebanese activist. Arabic-language slurs employed to shame men do not have direct English-language or Western manosphere equivalents and connote culture-specific narratives. Their frequent occurrence in our dataset shows that misogynistic abuse was not only directed at women who transgressed purported gender norms, but also their male relations and partners who failed to coerce them. In other words, misogynistic abuse serves not only to attack women, but also as a recruitment mechanism which mobilizes men to violence and discrimination.

ISD's research highlights a distinct range of harms across platforms and actor types in the Arabic-language and Jordanian online ecosystem. In addition, we identify a spectrum of misogynistic ideological perspectives across different actor types, some of which imitate or adopt ideas from Western manosphere spaces and icons (TH&V and TFGBV), while others eschew or explicitly condemn them (VE). In the Arabic-language and Jordanian ecosystem, misogyny functions not only as hostility toward women, including through TFGBV, but also as a tool for recruiting individuals into violence and violent extremism, remodeling society along anti-Western, ultraconservative or Islamist lines, and intensifying attacks against minority groups.

Collectively, the findings suggest the need for a multilayered analytical approach that encompasses a broad spectrum of actors, ranging from mainstream influencers to violent extremists and those who occupy a middle ground between these spaces. This has implications for interventions, which need to span from efforts aimed at identifying and addressing the risk of imminent online harm to the more pervasive spread of misogyny by

high-profile actors who may not rise to the level of targeted hate or violent extremism, but who nevertheless generate substantial online engagement and contribute to the normalization of misogyny. Prevention approaches also need to be informed by local contexts. In Jordan, misogyny often overlaps with religious and pseudoscientific frameworks. Finally, policymakers and practitioners should consider how major events may create opportunities to spread misogynistic narratives and engage in TFGBV, while recognizing that high-profile women experience heightened levels of misogynistic hate, which often manifests as networked harassment.



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