ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN TOXIC MASCULINITY AND
EXTREME VIOLENCE THROUGH THE
LENS OF THE INCEL SUBCULTURE

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Gender norms and stereotypes have been continuous driving forces for how individuals

think and behave, over time (Ellemers 2018). These stereotypes have evolved with the

expectations that society has for both men and women, thus causing people to feel pressured to

act in certain ways. As a result, men feel the pressure of acting more masculine and dominant,

something known as hegemonic masculinity. A specific trait that accompanies this type of

masculinity is being physical, rather than emotional, as men are often told to not show

vulnerability. Therefore, violence is used as a way of asserting masculinity and dominance.

When certain masculine norms are difficult to conform to, toxic masculinity can be exhibited.

This can cause certain men to react in a more extreme way, such as with mass violence. Many

men, in Western culture, who have committed mass violent acts have had a history with

masculine identity issues, specifically those who are a part of a subculture known as Incels,

which stands for involuntary celibate. In this research proposal, toxic masculinity and gender

theory is used as a way to explain why mass violence can occur, specifically referencing the

subgroup of Incels. A survey has been created and proposed for men between the ages of 18 to

45 years old who engage on different social media platforms and online forums in order to gather

information that would be necessary if this study were to actually be conducted.

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by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In Western society, traditional masculine norms require that men be stoic, controlled, self-sufficient, independent, and strong. Although the stereotype for conventional masculinity varies across different social and cultural contexts, it is argued that men living within the United States must "come to terms with the dominant culture's notions of masculinity" (Vogel et al. 2011), which can be defined with the term "hegemonic masculinity". Hegemonic masculinity represents the main ideas and practices that legitimizes a man's position in Western society.

Conceptually, hegemonic masculinity proposes to explain how and why men maintain dominant social roles over women, and other gender identities, which are perceived as 'feminine' in a given society (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). As a result, starting at a young age, boys are told to 'Man up!' or 'Don't be a wimp!' or 'Boys don't cry!' from parents, siblings, peers, and the rest of society. Thus, oftentimes when boys do express emotion, vulnerability, and sensitivity, they can be ridiculed, made fun of, and excluded. Therefore, as a response to these negative reactions, boys can become attached to the 'dominant' form of masculine gender roles, in order to gain popularity and status – which tend to be inconsistent with seeking external resources and asking for guidance (Vogel et al. 2011). This can then create conflict within themselves and with others. In turn, this negative internalization can then lead to the idea of toxic masculinity.

As defined by Colleen Clemens, toxic masculinity is "a narrow and repressive description of manhood, designating manhood as defined by violence, sex, status and aggression. It's the normative ideal of manliness, where strength is everything while emotions are a weakness, where sex and brutality are yardsticks by which men are measured, while supposedly 'feminine' traits - which can range from emotional vulnerability to simply not being hypersexual - are the

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means by which your status as 'man' can be taken away" (Teaching Tolerance 2017). These definitions, that put dominant and aggressive traits of masculinity on a pedestal, establish a difference between hegemonic masculinity and toxic masculinity. Thus, men who fall victim to toxic masculinity are convinced they have to protect their own statuses and position of power and when this can't be done in a conventional way, such as with a job or a relationship, it can be exhibited with violence.

One way that men who conform to hegemonic and toxic masculine ideologies is through the threat and use of violence including insults, fist-fighting, threatening with a weapon, and even using a weapon in both lethal and non-lethal ways (American Psychological Association 2018). For example, a typical, non-threatening conversation or interaction can escalate to violence when a man feels threatened or disrespected and has no other coping strategies and/or tools to alleviate his anger about the situation. Therefore, a situation can escalate into violence when it could have been solved in other ways. Consequently, when stereotypical masculine traits are difficult to conform to, an amplification of violence could occur through: a stronger risk of violence, more extreme forms of violence, and/or a greater frequency of involvement in violent behavior towards other individuals, as well as oneself. Men that exhibit these behaviors believe they're supposed to compete with other men and dominate women and other feminine groups by being aggressive, dominant, sexually experienced, insensitive, physically imposing, and demanding (American Psychological Association 2018). This is problematic because these exaggerated masculine stereotypes can not only make relationships with other people difficult but can also cause men to be more emotionally and physically abusive towards the people around them. Therefore, this is both a social and safety issue, as the pressure of abiding by gendered stereotypes can lead to harmful outcomes.

This study advances the understanding on the relationship between masculinity and violent behavior by focusing on an extreme form of masculinity - toxic masculinity, and extreme forms of violence - violent extremism. In the next section, I review the literature on masculine norms, General Strain Theory and gender role conflict theories applied to masculinity, men and their relationship with violent crime, toxic masculinity, violent extremism, Incel[1] behavior, and Incel violence. This research proposal asks: is there a relationship between the character traits of toxic masculinity and violent extremism, such as mass violence.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Arguments

Masculine Norms in American Society

From a social constructionist perspective, the way that men and women think and behave is not because of their role identities or psychological traits, but because of the feminine and masculine norms that they adopt from their various cultures (Courtenay 2000). Gender is "a set of socially constructed relationships which are produced and reproduced through people's actions" (Courtenay 2000:1387). The way that gender is constructed is through active relationships that are constantly changing, over time. Gender is "something that one does, and *does* recurrently, in interaction with others" (Courtenay 2000:1387). More specifically, gender does not live in the person, but rather in social transactions defined as 'gendered' (Courtenay 2000). Therefore, conforming to masculine norms is a result of meeting a societal expectation for what accounts for 'masculinity' in both an individual's public and private life (Amato 2012).

According to Courtenay (2000), research suggests that men and young boys experience greater social pressure than women and young girls to abide by society's gender expectations. This includes the expectation that men are supposed to be "independent, self-reliant, strong,

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[1] Short for "involuntary celibate," Incels represent men who are (typically) members of an online subculture, who blame women for their lack of sexual intimacy and for being rejected.

robust and tough" (Courtenay 2000:1387). As a result, male behavior and their beliefs about gender are more stereotypic than females, making them actively construct and reconstruct the dominant norms of masculinity. Furthermore, when the gender identity of a man is threatened, he is more likely to exhibit traditional masculine roles, thus overcompensating to appear even more masculine (Courtenay 2000). Consequently, in addition to these stereotypical masculine traits, extreme forms of masculinity are displayed through "toughness, aggression, lack of empathy, devaluation of women, the need for respect, competitiveness, and homophobia" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:280).

Hegemonic Masculinity

In Connell's (1987) conceptualization of 'Hegemonic Masculinity' she describes a social system of masculinity that separates men into a collection of competing masculine hierarchies (Figure 1) (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). At the top of this hierarchical model is hegemonic masculinity. This describes the ideal man whose identity is made up of all of the characteristics that exude privilege; White, higher socioeconomic status, physical strength, and suppressed emotions. Although these traits may exhibit biological inheritances, they are socially constructed thus, being more achievable, which is why many men strive for these traits. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that, in a statistical sense, hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily the norm, as a majority of men do not enact all of these traits, however, these traits are recognized as the norm in Western society, as it represents the most 'honored' way of being a man. As a result, it demands that all other men should position themselves in relation to it (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

If males are unable to gain the social power and resources necessary for exhibiting hegemonic masculinity, they in turn seek other resources for "constructing gender that validate

their masculinity" (Courtenay 2000:1391). For example, when typical hegemonic masculine practices are unavailable, such as having a paid job, participation in street violence is exhibited instead. As one man explained, "...If somebody picks on you or something, and you don't fight back, they'll call you a chicken. But… if you fight back… you're cool" (Courtenay 2000:1391). This is an example of how men can be depicted as "angry, damaged and vulnerable… seeking to protect their social status and reassert their compromised masculinity" (Pearson 2019:1261).

This form of masculinity is not isolated to White males but emerges in different ways for race and gender groups. Minority groups feel just as much of a need to exhibit these stereotypical traits, as well. One difference, however, is that when these traits are exhibited by minority groups, it can also be for the purpose of safety and survival. Among the African American community, "toughness, violence and disregard of death and danger become the hallmark of survival in a world that does not respond to reasonable efforts to belong and achieve" (Courtenay 2000:1391). These exhibited traits prove to be a means for young, urban African American men to achieve a status of respect in communities where getting a legitimate job or other means of doing so are not as easily available (Courtenay 2000). Additionally, queer males may also strive to portray some of these stereotypical masculine traits, such as taking on physically dominant behaviors in order to avoid a 'lower-status position' (Courtenay 2000). Therefore, the dominant forms of masculinity that are seen among men from marginalized groups differ from those acts exhibited by White, cis-men, in both the act, itself, and its justification. Men from marginalized groups may act dominantly as a means of safety and survival, whereas White males may act out solely to exert power and authority.

Theory applied to Masculinity

Various theories have been aimed at explaining how variation in masculinity emerges and how masculinity is related to behavior. One dominant theory used to explain masculinity and behavior is strain theory and in particular, the extension of strain theory found in gender role conflict theory.

Strain Theory

Broadly speaking, the classic strain theories of Merton (1938), Cohen (1955), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) argue that "the inability to achieve the goals of monetary success, middle-class status, or both" lead to crime (Broidy and Agnew 1997:277). Agnew's (1992) general strain theory (GST) takes a broader view on the classic strain theory and establishes that there are various other sources of strain. In addition to the "failure to achieve positively valued goals like monetary success", Agnew also recognized that cognitive, behavioral, and emotional adaptations can be attributed to a wide range of strains (Broidy and Agnew 1997).

General Strain Theory argues that strain can increase an individual's level of negative affect, thus leading to depressive, angry, and frustrated emotions. These unpleasant feelings then create pressure for a remedial response, thus crime being one possible response (Broidy and Agnew 1997). As Agnew (1992) states, "anger energizes the individual for action, lowers inhibitions, and creates a desire for retaliation/revenge" (Broidy and Agnew 1997:278). When specifically applying GST to gender, it was established that although men and women are subject to similar amounts of strains and stressors, the way that each gender reacts to these strains differ (Broidy and Agnew 1997). In particular, men are more likely to respond to stress and strain through anger which is found to increase their engagement with violence, thus increasing the risk of criminal reactions. Therefore, although men and women experience similar types of strain,

"males are still more likely to respond with crime - especially serious crime" (Broidy and Agnew 1997:279).

Lastly, GST explains that:

> the relationship between strain/anger and crime is conditioned by a
> number of factors, including coping resources, coping skills, social
> support, constraints to delinquent coping, and one's disposition towards
> delinquency - with this disposition being a function of certain
> temperamental variable, criminal beliefs, reinforcement for crime, and
> exposure to criminal models (Broidy and Agnew 1997:281).

Research supports the notion that there are gendered responses to strain and that men are more likely to respond to strain in a physical, aggressive way. In one study conducted by Piquero and Sealock (2004), which examined Broidy and Agnew's theory, it was found that that men reported higher levels of physical responses in comparison to women. It was also found that the availability of social coping resources, such as stress-management, correlated with criminal activity. This meant that with fewer resources, criminal activity was likely to increase and vice versa (Piquero and Sealock 2004). In another study testing GST, Mazerolle (1998) found that in response to negative life events, such as losing a job or experiencing the death of a family member, men were found to more likely be criminogenic than women (Mazerolle 1998). Both of these studies examined the differences between men and women in their responses to stress, strain, and anger and both highlighted that men are more likely to respond in an aggressive, physical way, which can be related to their gender differences. Consequently, males may be more likely to engage in criminal acts in response to their strain and stress because of the gender-related differences within these variables (Broidy and Agnew 1997).

Gender Role Conflict Theories

In addition to gender strain, gender role conflict is a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002). This conflict transpires when "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles" lead towards an individual restricting, devaluing, or violating themselves or others. In a longitudinal study, Lewis et al. (1984) "found a relationship between insecure attachment in males and more externalizing problems at ages 4 through 6" (cited in Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002:11). It was also found that "disorganized attachment relationships are correlated with increased aggression during childhood" (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002:11). Farrell (1993) emphasized the inclination in which men risk - and sometimes take - their own lives for the greater social good and that men take on these risks out of a sense of obligation, not freedom (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002). Other theorists explain the extent in which men feel confined by social requirements, making them engage in 'masculine' behaviors, as they are often unable to escape from these gendered expectations (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002).

The 'gender role trauma' approach provides a broad explanation of risk-taking, which is tied to wider personality constructs that arise from inadequate attachments in early childhood (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002). For several reasons, young boys tend to reject their own "vulnerability and dependency needs at a very early age" (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002:16). This is because it is consistent with cultural norms, as well as parents often deterring and rejecting expressions of vulnerability and dependency from their sons during their childhood. This technique, along with other factors, communicates to young boys that manliness and masculinity do not include elements such as vulnerability or dependency. Therefore, young

men tend to view 'feminine' traits as unacceptable (Hayslett-McCall and Bernard 2002), which can further explain why certain men struggle with their identities and thus, act out in response.

Men and Violent Crime

This theme of masculinity expressed through physical dominance underlines the relationship between masculinity and crime. Men account for the majority of violent crime in the United States. In 2019, men made up 78.9% of arrests for people who committed violent crimes (US Department of Justice 2019). "More than half of the men incarcerated in state and federal prisons in 2005 committed violent crimes… and according to the U.S. Department of Justice, violent crimes in the 1990s and into the twenty-first century can, in fact, be attributed to men" (Amato 2012:188). The prevalence of male violence in American society has reached a point where it is "a major health problem, especially when directed towards women and children" (Amato 2012:188).

In response to men and their high crime rates, scholars have researched to see if these high crime rates are related to their gender. In a study done by Mahalik et al. (2003), after observing the relationship between violence exhibited by men, gender role conflict and conformity to masculine norms, it was found that:

> 1. Men who are violent will tend to have higher gender role conflict and when controlling for other variables, violence will remain significant. 2. Men who are violent will tend to have higher conformity to masculine norms and when controlling for other variables, violence will remain significant. 3. Variables found in the literature associated with violence, including race/ethnicity, age, education, religious affiliation, marital status, and family history of crime, will significantly predict detainees'

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and prisoners' self-reported violence. 4. Higher gender role conflict scores

will explain unique variance in detainees' and prisoners' violence. 5.

Greater conformity to traditional masculine gender roles will explain

unique variance in detainees' and prisoners' violence (cited in Amato

2012: 189-190).

As a result, men who display physical dominance and violence see these as accessible resources

for demonstrating and shaping their masculinity (Courtenay 2000). In turn, hegemonic and toxic

masculinity have come to be associated with negative character traits that depict men as

unemotional, aggressive, and dispassionate, which are taken into account when talking about

criminal behavior (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Masculine norms, hegemonic masculinity, and crime among males are topics that have

been studied within criminology, sociology, and other disciplines. The next step is to examine

toxic masculinity, the implications it has, and how it can lead to violent extremism.

Toxic Masculinity

"Toxic masculinity" is a term that has recently garnered attention from feminist groups,

however it did not originate with the women's movement. It was coined during the mythopoetic

men's movement[2] near the end of the 20th century (The Atlantic 2019). Toxic masculinity, as a

concept, is used as a way of understanding how certain masculine tendencies can become

extreme, thus being associated with how men can be of harm towards society and towards

themselves. Toxic masculinity takes hegemonic masculine traits a step further. The result can be

seen when the stereotypical dominant and aggressive traits turn into acts such as, misogyny and

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[2] A combination of self-help activities and therapeutic workshops and retreats for men administered by various
organizations in the U.S. from the early 1980s through the 1990s.

homophobia, thus resulting in masculinity achieving "toxic" levels. A reason that these traits are deemed as toxic is due, in part to their relation to violence, such as sexual assault, domestic violence, and murder. Toxic masculinity is exhibited when men feel that their group, as a whole, is being threatened, and thus, they may respond by putting more emphasis on their status as masculine males (Scaptura and Boyle 2020). This socialization of young boys and men in societies - which are often patriarchal - can act as a platform that normalizes violence, such as in the saying "boys will be boys" when discussing bullying and assertion.

Willer et al. (2013) tested the masculine overcompensation thesis, which explains that the men who believe that the status or hierarchical position of men in society is under threat will react with extreme traits of masculinity. This status threat caused men in the in-group, to 'hyper-conform' to in-group traits, thus questioning their dominant privilege (cited in Scaptura and Boyle 2020:281). These 'hypermasculine' social constructs are typically dangerous and/or self-destructive, which can lead to "sexual conquests, dominance and crime" (Courtenay 2000:1392). Thus, toxic masculinity can take violence and transform it into rage (Haider 2016).

Toxic masculinity represents a specific hierarchy of manhood, which emphasizes dominance and control. Thus, things such as sex and power are viewed as a right, as opposed to a privilege, which enables violence as the way to prove one's self in front of all of society. Masculine tendencies and violent behavior can provide a pathway for men to act out and use aggression as a way of preserving their social status. Therefore, it can be argued that hegemonic masculinity can lead to criminal violent behavior, such as homicide, robbery, assault, rape, and sexual assault (Morgan and Truman 2020). And just as toxic masculinity is a more intense, narrow definition of hegemonic masculinity, violent extremism is a more intense, narrow definition of typical violent behavior.

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Violent Extremism

According to the Department of Homeland Security, since the late 2000s, the global approach against 'terrorism' has been extended and revised to include 'violent extremism' - "the use or support of violence to achieve ideological, religious or political goals" (Tomkinson, Harper, and Attwell 2020:154).

According to Turner (2011), extreme violence has a variety of attributes that make it distinct from violent behavior. To begin, this type of violence is provoked by a deep negative emotion against enemies "who are perceived as responsible for deprivations experienced by members of a subpopulation" (2011:503). These types of emotions are generally strong variations of anger such as "loathing, wrath, outrage, rage, fury, and hatred" (2011:503). These emotions can also exhibit traits of fear and/or sadness. For example, emotions like "suspicion, bitterness, dislike, envy, aggrieved, and discontent" (2011:503-504) combine anger with other negative emotions, causing an extreme wave of feelings. Another attribute of extreme violence is that it also appears to be motivated by satisfaction and happiness, which are fused with the emotion of anger, thus producing "emotions that give individuals pleasure in inflicting or thinking about inflicting harm on enemies" (2011:505). Thus, the desire for vengeance is a big component when extreme acts of violence are being acted on towards enemies. Lastly, Turner (2011) argues that the emotions that drive extreme violence can be attributed towards the networks and groups that individuals are a part of. These individuals experience a positive emotional arousal from group unanimity and group symbols through the bonding over grievances, the planning of future acts, and the actual accomplishment of violent acts towards enemies. It also allows individuals to maintain their identities, as well as affirming group

symbols. This can be demonstrated through group communication, as well as the inclination to kill oneself when administering violence towards others.

Specifically, mass shootings and mass murders are types of extreme violence that have been increasing over the last couple of decades, a behavior dominated by men. Specifically, men commit 94.4 percent of mass shootings, while family and romantic partners make up 54% of the targets of these shootings - with an overrepresentation of women and children (Scaptura and Boyle 2020). As stated previously, extremely violent individuals are often influenced by a group of people with specific ideologies. In relation to mass shooters in the United States, several have participated in online communities where these men express frustration with being rejected in sexual and/or romantic sense, as well as expressing sexist attitudes towards women (Scaptura and Boyle 2020). As a result, these particular acts of domestic terrorism raise the question of why these events are occurring and what trends can be seen between the perpetrators that are committing these acts of extreme violence.

Incels

One specific group of men who exhibit toxic masculinity and extreme forms of violent behavior are 'Incels'. 'Incel' stands for a man who is 'involuntary celibate' (Witt 2020). This type of individual claims that they are unable to find a sexual or romantic partner, even though they deeply desire one. Additionally, 'Incel' is also used to describe an extreme group of the Men's Rights Movement (MRM). This community has shared experiences surrounding loneliness and sexlessness, as well as has the reputation online that they are connected to "extreme and violent misogynistic ideologies" (Witt 2020:680). Many individuals within this community feel that the romance and sex that they have not received is owed to them, as well as the idea that women's bodies and sexual practices are for the public to enjoy (Witt 2020).

Aligning with gendered social constructs, Incels believe that women will only engage in sexual acts with the most attractive men, according to societal standards. Thus, Incels believe that attractive, assertive, confident men, referred to as 'Alphas', are able to gain the attraction of a large number of women, in a sexual way (Witt 2020). On the other hand, men who are unable to meet the characteristic traits of 'Alpha' men, known as 'Betas', are consequently deemed submissive, weak, and average looking. As a result, 'Betas' believe that they are not as able to attain women for sexual acts (Witt 2020). In regard to Incels, they believe that they rank even below 'Betas'. They believe that women and society think that they are physically displeasing, socially impotent, thus being a stark contrast to both 'Alphas' and 'Betas', and completely excluded from the sexual community (Witt 2020).

Elliot Rodger, one of the faces of the Incel movement, dedicated a lot of his time towards the discussion of masculinity and sexuality in Western society and culture - despite being non-White himself. Rodger continuously proclaimed hegemonic masculine stereotypes, "emphasizing the value of athleticism, sexual prowess and access, and whiteness" (Witt 2020:679). He also constantly mentioned his own virgin status and physical weakness. Although Rodger discussed and admitted his own perceived inadequacy, he ultimately accredited his own persona to the environment and forces outside of himself (Witt 2020), a tendency which many individuals in extreme group settings display.

Incel Violence

There are various examples of extreme violence and mass murders by males who identify, or identified, with the Incel subculture. These violent events began to be identified in the early 2000s and have continued until present day. The most notorious Incel violent event, however, was executed by Elliot Rodger. In 2014, Rodger - 22 years old at the time - killed six

people and injured fourteen others, by the use of a gun, a knife, and a vehicle, in Isla Vista, California, and then ended it with killing himself. These actions were directly correlated with his views on the Incel community, as he wanted to punish sexually active men and women, as he envied the men and believed that the women owed him sex. Rodger's actions are defined as extreme acts of violence in response to his view on hegemonic masculinity (Witt 2020).

Rodger's outward rejection and repulsion towards sex, sexuality, and women can be seen as a reaction of and view towards toxic masculinity by the Incel community (Witt 2020). Incel shooters, as well as some members of the online community, embrace attitudes that include "hostile sexism, masculinity threat, gender role stress, and toxic masculinity" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:279). In some studies, it has been illustrated that men who feel threatened by the social progress of women and the women in their lives and at workplaces, are more likely to "hyper-conform to masculine identity traits and exhibit anger and aggression toward women" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:279). Other studies ((Dahl et al., 2015; Eisler et al., 2000; Munsch & Willer, 2012; Reidy et al., 2014; Willer et al., 2013) consider that triggering events such as the loss of a job, rejection from a girl, exclusion from peers, etc. can lead to violent behavior among these types of threatened men (cited in Scaptura and Boyle 2020:279). These acute strains - minor events that seem disastrous in nature - in these men's lives can lead to fantasies about mass violence, thus seen as a "masculine solution to regain lost feelings of control" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:282).

Through both internal and externalization of recurring frustration and access to lethal weapons, certain men, such as men among the Incel subculture, demonstrate violent masculinities through acts of mass violence. For example, men who have had relationships with women that have failed can act as incentive to commit mass murder (Scaptura and Boyle 2020).

Additionally, having a superior complex when it comes to women and sex may also influence men to enact mass violence, as seen in the case of Eliot Rodger, among other violent men (see Appendix A).

It is important to note that although not all men who experience these strains fantasize about violence and not all men who fantasize about violence end up acting on it, there is still a relationship between aggressive fantasies and extreme violence (Scaptura and Boyle 2020). Individuals who have a more aggressive nature are more likely to impose harm on themselves or others. More specifically, in most cases mass shooters think about their acts before actively going through with them (Scaptura and Boyle 2020). The violence that is exhibited by these shooters often is used to demonstrate that they view themselves as "powerful and superior for committing an act of dominance against others who they view as inferior" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:282). As a result, these types of males "hyper-conformed to violent masculinities through acts of mass violence" (Scaptura and Boyle 2020:283). Although a minority of Incels have actually carried out public violent acts, these violent attacks have been on rise (Tomkinson et al. 2020). Incels use violence to strive for ideological and political goals, therefore, the violence of Incel's falls under the 'ideological violence' genre of violent extremism (Tomkinson et al. 2020).

Current Study

The current study aims to research how hyper masculine ideology, gender role stress, and Incel character traits are associated with extreme violence. Research on threats towards masculinity helps offer an explanation for how challenges to a male's masculine position may result in hyper-conformity and can then lead to mass violence. This research proposes a quantitative study to examine how masculine norms, in Western society, and gender theories can

lead to the idea of toxic masculinity which can result in the execution of extreme violence, such as mass murder, as seen within the Incel community.

Chapter 3: Proposed Data and Methods

Recently published data finds that extremist violence is concentrated among men ages 18 to 45. Specifically, The Washington Post (2021) found that all but five of the perpetrators of mass shootings between 1966 and 2021 were male between the ages of 20 and 49. Additionally, in 2017, The United States Secret Service collected information concerning 28 mass attacks in public spaces. From this, a report was published which focused on "acts of intentional violence in public or semi-public places during which significant harm was caused to three or more people" (National Council for Behavioral Health 2019:9). It was found that the attackers were all male and ranged between the ages of 15 to 66 years old with the average age being 37 years old. (National Council for Behavioral Health 2019).

In 2016, YouGov, a global public opinion and data company, sent out a survey to 1,000 Americans over the age of 18 and among the results: 30% of men between the ages of 18 to 29 and 28% of men between the ages of 30 to 44 said that they would describe themselves as "completely masculine" (Figure 2) (YouGov 2016). In 2019, GQ administered a survey to 1,005 Americans who identify as male which found that for the percentage of men between the ages of 16 and 64 who have heard the term "toxic masculinity", 8% admitted to exhibiting it (GQ 2019).

Sample

Drawing on these findings, the sample for this study targets men in the United States who are 18 years and older. Estimating that roughly 10% of men identify with toxic masculinity, then a large sample is required in order to obtain a significant amount of statistical data to research views on toxic masculinity. As a result, the recruitment of a minimum of 2,000 men, ages 18 to

45, has been proposed. One way to reach a group this big would be to post on various social media platforms including: Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, Instagram, and Tik Tok. Additionally, posting in certain chats within these platforms would maximize the opportunity to reach the specific group that is being targeted. The survey created is expected to take 15 minutes or less, which is meant to be short enough for people to not be driven away from it.

Measures

Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS). Created by O'Neil and colleagues (1986), the GRCS contains 37 questions, each using a Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' (Amato 2012). This scale contains four concepts - with the themes of success, power, and competition - for gender role conflict experienced by men. Specifically, the various concepts captured in the survey include:

> **Success** is defined as having persistent worries about personal achievement, competence, failure, status, upward mobility and wealth, and career success. **Power** is described as obtaining authority, dominance, influence, or ascendancy over others. **Competition** is described as striving against others to gain something or comparing oneself with others to establish one's superiority in a given situation. **Restrictive emotionality** is defined as having difficulty in and fears about expressing one's feelings and difficulty in finding words to express basic emotions. **Restrictive affectionate** behavior between men is defined as having limited ways to express one's feelings and thoughts with other men and difficulty touching other men. **Conflict between work and family relationships** is defined as experiencing difficulty balancing work-school and family relationships,

health problems, overwork, stress, and a lack of leisure and relaxation

(Amato 2012:181).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is made up of three subcomponents that are believed to capture hostile and benevolent sexism: Paternalism, Differentiation, and Heterosexuality. The construct was based on two inclusion criteria: "(a) it must assess both hostile and benevolent sexism and (b) for pragmatic reasons, the final measure should be easily administered, able to be completed quickly, and simple to score" (Glick and Fiske 1996:495). The scale was narrowed down to 22 items - half on hostile sexism and half on benevolent sexism.

By combining individual questions from the GRCS-I, GRCS-II, Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, and questions concerning violent behavior, a proposed survey to collect data has been composed (see Appendix B).

Chapter 4: Proposed Analytical Strategy

This study uses a 3-Point Likert scale to get a mean distribution for the average scores of each participant. More specifically, there are three answer options for each question: either 'agree', 'disagree', and 'neutral' or 'yes', 'no', and 'neutral'. For this scale, the 'agree' and 'yes' answers will have a score of 1. The 'disagree' and 'no' answers will have a score of -1. The 'neutral' answers equal a score of 0. Therefore, if a participant answers a majority of the questions with 'agree' and 'yes', then his average score will be between 0 and 1. Alternatively, if a participant answers a majority of the questions with 'disagree and 'no', then his average score will be between -1 and 0. If a participant answers mostly with 'neutral', then his average score will hover around 0.

Although this dataset provides detailed questions pertaining to masculine ideologies and violence, it was not designed to make any causal conclusions. The participants' answers to these questions can correlate with specific ideologies and behaviors, but nothing can be proven based strictly off of the questions. That being said, if a participant's score is between 0 and 1, then it can be inferred that there is a stronger correlation between that individual and hegemonic and toxic masculine ideals. If a participant's score is between -1 and 0, then it can be inferred that there is a weaker correlation between that individual and hegemonic and toxic masculine ideals. Although these average distributed scores can correlate with ideologies, neither of these relationships necessarily cause any specific behavior. Therefore, if an individual's score falls closer to 1, his toxic masculine ideals do not automatically lend their way to toxic behavior. This individual may be more prone to exhibit violent and toxic behavior, but no definitive conclusions can be made simply from the survey. Additionally, this study uses the method of convenience sampling, as men on different social media platforms can choose whether to respond to the survey or not. Therefore, the responses and score averages may be skewed towards one end or the other, depending on the type of men that interact with the survey.

Chapter 5: Implications and Future Directions

The proposed study's results are intended to fill the gap concerning toxic masculinity and extreme violence and whether certain men are more prone to exhibit this type of violence. The results of this study could allude to various possible outcomes, including but not limited to, legislation, funding, and education.

If toxic masculinity does correlate with an increase in mass violence, then more funding and legislation should be enacted towards mass violence and mental health services. For example, the Mass Violence Prevention Act was introduced by Former Rep. Doug Collins (R-

GA) in 2019. This Act is designed to "prevent firearm violence by improving response to threats and reducing illegal firearm street sales" (Homeland Preparedness News 2019). An issue that the United States has been facing with these acts of mass violence is being proactive when many of these incidents had some type of warning before occurring. The proposed legislation is meant to "organize a fusion center at the Department of Justice (DOJ) to help local, state and federal law enforcement share and process intelligence so they can swiftly and appropriately respond to potential instances of mass violence" (Homeland Preparedness News 2019). If this proactive approach were to be implemented, mass shootings and other acts of mass violence could potentially be stopped before they even begin.

Regarding mental health services, if toxic masculinity and mass violence do correlate, it could be beneficial to put more of an emphasis on therapy, specialized counseling programs, and social coping skills. Men are less likely to seek professional help because of the stigma that accompanies it (Gateway Counseling Center 2017). Therefore, if these resources are made to be more accessible, it could increase the amount of people who utilize them. Although therapy and counseling won't eliminate misogyny and harmful ideologies, it could be the first step in addressing them.

Lastly, if toxic masculinity is associated with mass violence, education in professional and educational settings can help play a big role. Unlearning certain ideologies, stereotypes, and beliefs can prove to be quite difficult, but it has to start somewhere. When discussing toxic masculinity and hyper-masculine stereotypes, changing one's language or tone can have a great influence on peers, family, and the greater community (Baker et al. 2014). Furthermore, this ongoing conversation can possibly decrease shooting drills that both children and adults have needed to increasingly practice within schools and other public places. Although it is not easy to

unlearn one's culture and stereotypes that have been perpetuated for decades, if toxic masculinity and mass violence do indeed have a positive correlation, then the implications and possible solutions addressed can offer a good start.

On the other hand, if there is no correlation between toxic masculinity and the increase of mass and extreme violence, the fact that this form of violence is on the rise warrants greater attention to understanding its sources and responses. For instance, the rise may be attributed to the fact that technology and certain online forums have evolved and advanced immensely over the past couple of decades. This advancement in technology has led to the formation of different subcultures that are able to communicate and influence each other over social media, through anonymity, and in turn, can become toxic (Newsweek 2018). In the United States, data privacy deals with how individuals store and collect data, as well as how information gets shared with third parties (Truyo n.d.). In some instances, data privacy policies may require disclosure about how someone might use the information (Truyo n.d.). However, although the Trade Commission regulates privacy laws, the Federal Government leaves the details up to each state, which in turn, can be deemed problematic. In contrast, the United Kingdom for example, has its data privacy be regulated by the Information Commissioner's Office (Truyo n.d.). This law requires transparency about why individuals are collecting personal data and how they plan to use it. More specifically, if browser cookies are being used, then a clear explanation is needed concerning *how* they will be used. The United States is an advanced, technology driven country and if this technology has advanced over time, then data privacy legislation should be advancing with it.

Although many other connections can be made when it comes to this increase of mass violence that has been observed and experienced over the last couple of decades, toxic masculinity and the Incel subculture have certainly not helped this. In just March and April of

2021, there had already been five mass shootings in the United States – all committed by men between 19 and 44 years old (The Washington Post 2021). Although the motives and reasonings had not yet been determined, and may never be completely brought to light, the similarities between these men and other perpetrators who exhibit toxic masculinity and identify with the Incel subculture are hard to ignore. Carrying out this proposed study in the future may have the ability to highlight specific gaps within the criminal and social justice system in American society, as well as pave the way to a safer and more educated future.

Appendices

Appendix A:

Mass Murders and Violent Crimes Committed by Incels

George Sodini - In 2009, George Sodini - 48 years old at the time - committed what is known as the Collier Township shooting, or the LA Fitness shooting. Sodini committed a mass shooting and murder-suicide that took place in at a LA Fitness health club in Collier Township, a suburb of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The attack resulted in four deaths, including Sodini's. In addition, nine other people were injured (Pittsburgh Tribune-Review 2009).

Online, Sodini discussed his rejections by women and his severe sexual frustration, over a nine-month period. He expressed confusion as to why women didn't seem to have interest in him and how he had been celibate since 1990 (CNN 2009).

Chris Harper-Mercer - In 2015, Chris Harper-Mercer - 26 years old at the time - was the perpetrator of the Umpqua Community College shooting at the UCC campus near Roseburg, Oregon. Harper-Mercer, who was enrolled at the school, fatally shot an assistant professor and eight students in a classroom. Eight others were injured. Roseburg police detectives responded to the incident and engaged Harper-Mercer in a brief shootout. After being wounded, he killed himself by shooting himself in the head. To this day, this is the deadliest mass shooting in Oregon's modern history (The Boston Globe 2015).

Harper-Mercer maintained several Internet accounts. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, unnamed law enforcement sources described him as a "hate-filled" man with antireligious and White supremacist leanings, and with long-term mental-health issues. Harper-Mercer and his mother moved to Winchester, Oregon in 2013 after she received a job there. The two often spent

time together at shooting ranges, but Harper-Mercer was otherwise extremely isolated (ABC News 2015).

On the day of the shooting, Harper-Mercer gave a survivor numerous writings showing he had studied mass killings, including the 2014 killing spree at Isla Vista, California. These expressed his sexual frustration as a virgin, animosity toward black men, and a lack of fulfillment in his isolated life (CNN 2015).

Sheldon Bentley - Bentley was a 38-year-old former security guard at the time of his crime. In Edmonton, Alberta, while on shift, Bentley stomped on the torso of a homeless man who had been sitting in a back alley. He also robbed the man. Bentley said that being "involuntarily celibate" contributed to him killing a man while on the job. As a result, Bentley was sentenced to four years in prison for manslaughter and a six-month sentence for the robbery (Edmonton Journal 2018).

William Atchison - on December 7, 2017, William Atchison - 21 years old at the time - killed two people and then himself in a shooting at Aztec High School, where he had previously been a student, in Aztec, New Mexico. Atchison praised Elliot Rodger and used Rodger's name as a pen name on several online forums. Atchison had also posted far-right content online (Los Angeles Times 2018).

Nikolas Cruz - On February 14, 2018, Nikolas Cruz - 19 years old at the time - was accused of killing seventeen people and injured seventeen others in a shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida - the deadliest high school shooting in US history (The Guardian 2018). Cruz was also motivated by other extremist views and had posted online that "Elliot Rodger will not be forgotten" (NBC News 2018). Unlike other mass shooting perpetrators, Cruz is still alive.

Alek Minassian - On April 23, 2018 Alek Minassian - 26 years old at the time - committed what is known as the Toronto Van Attack. This vehicle-ramming occurred when a rented van was driven along Yonge Street through the North York City Centre business district in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The driver targeted pedestrians, killing 10 and injuring 16. Minassian was taken into custody after leaving the van and reportedly attempted to commit suicide by cop - a suicide method in which a suicidal individual deliberately behaves in a threatening manner, with intent to provoke a lethal response from a public safety or law enforcement officer (The New York Times 2018).

The attack is characterized as revenge for perceived sexual and social rejection, as eight of the 10 victims were women. This incident is the deadliest vehicle-ramming attack in Canadian history. Following the attack, a Facebook post made by Minassian was uncovered in which he identified himself as an Incel (The New York Times, Chokshi 2018).

Scott Beierle - On November 2, 2018, Scott Beierle - 40 years old at the time - committed a mass shooting at the Tallahassee, Florida, yoga studio Tallahassee Hot Yoga. Beierle shot six women, two fatally, and pistol-whipped a man before killing himself (Tallahassee Democrat 2018).

YouTube videos posted by Beierle in 2014 showed that he identified with the involuntary celibate community while often complaining about his sexual rejections from women. He also sympathized with Elliot Rodger, as he too felt lonely and unloved as well as posting misogynistic songs on SoundCloud. Other videos depicted him ranting about African-Americans, illegal immigration and interracial relationships. The FBI and the Tallahassee Police Department attested to Beierle's hatred of women, saying he was "disturbed" during the shooting. They further noted he had planned the attack months in advance (Hoffman, Ware and Shapiro 2020).

Christopher Cleary - Cleary stated to have never had a girlfriend and claimed to be a virgin. In January 2019, Cleary was arrested for posting on Facebook that he was planning on being the next mass shooter and shooting up a public place soon, as well as killing as many girls as he saw. Consequently, Cleary was sentenced to up to five years in prison for an attempted threat of terrorism in May 2019. Additionally, he has been described as an Incel in the media (The Washington Post 2019).

Bryan Isaack Clyde - On June 17, 2019, Bryan Clyde - 22 years old at the time - committed a shooting at the Earle Cabell Federal Building and Courthouse in Dallas, Texas, United States. No law enforcement officers or civilians were injured in the shooting, though one person sustained a superficial injury when she was taking cover. Clyde, was then shot and killed by one or more federal officers (The Associated Press n.d). Clyde shared Incel memes on social media, along with posts referencing right-wing beliefs and conspiracy theories (Los Angeles Times 2019).

Armando Hernandez Jr. - On May 20, 2020, Armando Hernandez Jr. - 20 years old at the time - started shooting at a development in Glendale, Arizona, before being arrested by police. 3 people were injured. Hernandez identified himself as an Incel and said that he wanted to "target couples and shoot at least ten people". He also allegedly sent a video of the attack to a woman he wanted to impress (CNN 2020).

Additional Crimes: On February 24, 2020, a 17-year-old male allegedly committed stabbings at an erotic message parlor in Toronto. One female spa worker was stabbed to death and another was severely injured. On May 19, the Toronto Police Service claimed that this attack was being treated as a terrorist incident after the stabbings were said to be motivated by Incel ideology. This incident was the first-time violence that was said to be motivated by Incel ideologies was prosecuted as an act of terrorism (Global News 2020). In 2020, five self-identified Incels were

arrested in the United States for planning to kill women. Cole Carini was one of the offenders, who the police claimed that he was injured while attempting to make a bomb, and that he had written a threatening note about committing violence against women and referencing Elliot Rodger (The Associated Press 2020).

Appendix B:

Proposed Data Survey

Age:
- ❏ 18 - 30
- ❏ 31 - 40
- ❏ 41+

Sexuality:
- ❏ Heterosexual or straight
- ❏ Bisexual
- ❏ Gay or homosexual
- ❏ Other sexual orientation
- ❏ Prefer not to say

Race:
- ❏ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ❏ Asian
- ❏ Black or African American
- ❏ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- ❏ White

Ethnicity:
- ❏ Hispanic or Latino
- ❏ Not Hispanic or Latino

Success, Power, Competition

1. Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

2. I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

3. I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

4. I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

5. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

6. I strive to be more successful than others.

   ☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

7. I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

8. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

9. I like to feel superior to other people.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Restrictive Emotionality

10. I have difficulty telling others I care about them.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

11. Expressing feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

12. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men

13. Affection with other men makes me tense.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

14. Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

15. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

16. Hugging other men is difficult for me.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

17. I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

18. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

19. Men who are overly friendly to me, make me wonder about their sexual preference.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Conflicts between Work and Family Relations

20. My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

21. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

22. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, health, leisure).

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Homophobia

23. At the bar you notice that an unknown man is staring at you and then he comes over to introduce himself. Would you feel comfortable talking to this man?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

24. Would you feel conflicted going out with a man thought to be gay?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

Lack of Emotional Response

25. Do you feel comfortable responding to sadness, emotions, and/or tears?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

26. Do you feel comfortable responding to your friends' intense emotions and/or fears about employment?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

Public Embarrassment from Gender-role Deviance

27. Do you feel comfortable with public displays of affection?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

28. Would you feel comfortable carrying a woman's purse in front of people in the restaurant?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

29. I feel an emotional struggle in trying to meet the socially constructed expectations of hegemonic masculinity (i.e. dominant, successful, strong, etc.)?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

Violent Behavior

30. Have you ever been violent towards a person who is close to you?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

31. Has a person who is close to you ever been violent towards you?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

32. Was physical abuse present during your childhood?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

33. Would you be violent with someone if you are provoked?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

34. Have you ever provoked someone and received a violent answer?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

35. Do you think violence is more common in…

    a. Home

    b. Work

    c. School

    d. Street/public transportation

    e. Entertainment centers

36. Do you know violent people?

☐Yes ☐ Neutral ☐No

37. Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

38. If somebody hits me, I hit back.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

39. I have threatened people I know.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

40. I sometimes imagine or daydream about using powerful weapons against my enemies.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Hostile and Aggressive Behavior

41. I often find myself disagreeing with people.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

42. When frustrated, I let my irritation show.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

43. I have trouble controlling my temper.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Women and Relationships

44. I haven't had the best luck with relationships.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

45. I often feel rejected by women.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

46. I sometimes daydream or imagine rape scenes or forcing someone to have sex.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Hostile Sexism

47. Women are too easily offended.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

48. Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

49. When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

50. Women seek special favors under guise of equality.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

51. Feminists are making reasonable demands.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

52. Feminists are not seeking more power than men.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

53. Women seek power by gaining control over men.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

54. Few women tease men sexually.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

55. Women fail to appreciate all men do for them.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Benevolent Sexism Protective Paternalism

56. A good woman should be set on a pedestal.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

57. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

58. Men should sacrifice to provide for women.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

Heterosexual Intimacy

59. Every man ought to have a woman he adores.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

60. Men are complete without women.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

61. Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

62. People are often happy without heterosexual romance.

☐Agree ☐ Neutral ☐Disagree

List of Figures

Figure 1 – A list of the hierarchy of different masculinities created by scholar, RW Connell (2005)
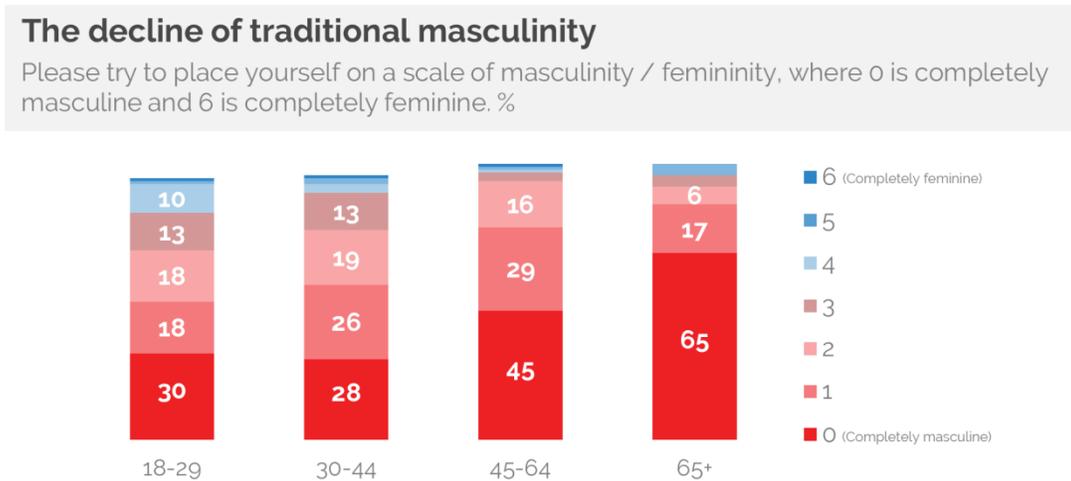

Connell: Hierarchy of Masculinities

Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity that is expected in our society. While it may not be the most prevalent kind of masculinity, it is culturally valued the most. Qualities include heterosexuality, whiteness, physical strength and suppression of emotions such as sadness.

Complicit masculinity: where a man may not fit into all the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge it either. Since they are not challenging the systems of gender that are present in our societies they do receive some benefits from being male

Marginalized masculinity: where a man does not have access to the hegemonic masculinity because of certain characteristics he has such as his race.. However, these men subscribe to norms that are emphasized in hegemonic masculinity including aggression, suppressing emotions such as sadness and physical strength. Men of colour and disabled men are examples of men that experience marginalized masculinity.

Subordinate masculinity: where men exhibit qualities that are opposite to those that are valued in hegemonic masculinity such as physical weakness and exhibition of emotions like sadness. Effeminate and gay men are examples of men who exhibit a subordinate masculinity identity.

Figure 2 – Results from the YouGov Survey distributed in 2016

The decline of traditional masculinity

Please try to place yourself on a scale of masculinity / femininity, where 0 is completely masculine and 6 is completely feminine. %

	18-29	30-44	45-64	65+
6 (Completely feminine)				
5	10	13	16	6
4	13	19	29	17
3	18	26	45	65
2	18	28		
1	30			
0 (Completely masculine)				

YouGov | yougov.com   May 10-11, 2016

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