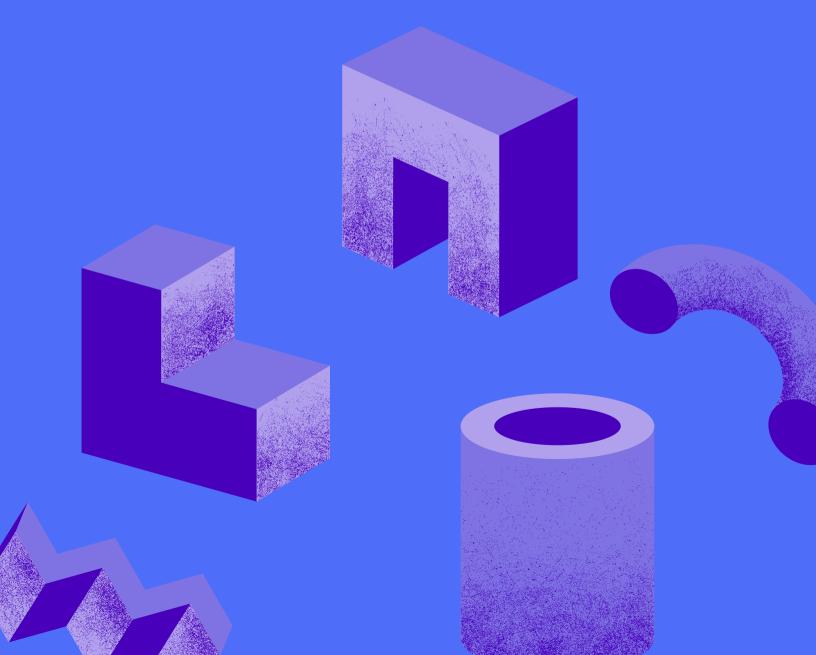
QUILT.AI aware

A study of online misogyny in Singapore



I. Background, aims and objectives

In the past several years, there have been rising concerns about disproportionate levels of online abuse experienced by women. A 2017 study finds that women around the world are 27 times more likely to be harassed online than men. A 2014 European Union study found that 1 in 10 women in the EU had experienced cyber-harassment since the age of 15. In Singapore, between 2013 and 2017, the number of voyeurism cases reported to the police that involved the use of a hidden camera increased from 150 to 230. The majority of victims were women. AWARE's Sexual Assault Care Centre (SACC) saw 191 cases of technology-facilitated sexual violence (TFSV) in 2020, which represented a 36% increase over 2019 cases, and the highest number yet since tracking begain in 2016.

The increasing incidents of voyeurism and other forms of TFSV have, in part, instigated a country-wide gender equality review in Singapore. Announced in October 2020, the government has held 160 community discussions so far with more than 5,700 participants.

Separately, the Singapore Ministry of Communications and Information has also launched the "Singapore Together Alliance for Action to tackle online harms, especially those targeted at women and girls"⁴ to co-develop community and policy initiatives to address online harassment and abuse. Apart from these national initiatives, global developments, such as the Global Coalition to Tackle Online Harm,⁵ have also put abusive and harassing online content on the agenda for tech platforms and governments alike.

A note on different online harm-related terminologies

A range of different terminologies are routinely used to describe the phenomenon of online abuse, including technology-facilitated sexual violence, cyber abuse, cyber-harassment, online violence against women, online misogyny, hate speech online and more. We have chosen to

¹ European Women's Lobby, *Mapping the state of online violence against women and girls in Europe* (Belgium: European Women's Lobby, 2017).

https://www.womenlobby.org/IMG/pdf/hernetherrights_report_2017_for_web.pdf

² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Violence against women: an EU-wide survey* (Italy: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014),

https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14_en.pdf ³ "AWARE saw 36% increase in cases of technology-facilitated sexual violence in 2020; announces launch of Solid Ground website", AWARE, AWARE, 14 July 2021,

https://www.aware.org.sg/2021/07/technology-facilitated-sexual-violence-2020-launchsolid-ground-websit e-survivors

⁴ "Ministry of Communications and Information Launches Singapore Together Alliance for Action to Tackle Online Harms, Especially those Targeted at Women and Girls", Ministry of Communications and Information, Government of Singapore, 21 July 2021,

https://www.mci.gov.sg/pressroom/news-and-stories/pressroom/2021/7/mci-launches-singapore-together-alliance-for-action-to-tackle-online-harms-especially-those-targeted-at-women-and-girls?page=16_6
⁵ "World Economic Forum Launches Coalition to Tackle Harmful Online Content", World Economic Forum, World Economic Forum, 29 June 2021.

https://www.weforum.org/press/2021/06/world-economic-forum-launches-coalition-to-tackle-harmful-onlin e-content

use the term "online misogyny", which is broad enough to cover the range of experiences making digital spaces less safe, less equal and less inclusive for women and girls.

In order to better understand the digital landscape of online harm in the Singapore context, find useful interventions at the community, organisational and policy level to strengthen the safety of women and girls online, and help define foundational research in this area, Quilt.Al and AWARE worked together on a collaborative research project from April - September 2021 to achieve the following:

- 1. Understand online perceptions and concerns on gender-based violence (GBV) and how these were impacted during the COVID-19 pandemic
- 2. Research opposition narratives to gender equality
- 3. Build an Al-powered misogyny model for select online platforms
- 4. Study online sentiments on key gender equality issues

This research is the first of its kind in Singapore. It establishes an evidence base for how certain online misogyny manifests, provides information on popular opposition narratives to gender equality, and paints a comprehensive picture of how online users engage in discourse around gender-based violence. The insights gleaned from this research have the potential to inform follow-up interventions by civil society and policy actors emerging from the Singapore gender equality review.

This report is structured as follows: The first section highlights key findings from an in-depth literature review on online misogyny, qualitative observations on how it occurs in the Singapore context and definitions for the six classifications used to train an artificial intelligence model to detect misogyny on select online platforms. The second section is a deep dive into how misogyny and gender-based violence is discussed across different online platforms (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube) in Singapore. The third section in this paper discusses how misogyny and gender-based violence are deeply linked to gender equality opposition narratives in the country. The final section highlights important policy and organisational interventions in order to effectively prevent and respond to online harm.

II. Understanding misogyny online

In order to better understand a woman's experience online, Quilt.AI and AWARE created an AI-generated misogyny model. The aim was to build a model that gives insight at scale on who gets most targeted with misogynistic behaviour, how online users engage with misogynistic content on social media platforms, and the gender-based violence myths often used to minimise and discredit women's experience of violence.

The first step in building this model was to agree upon the classifications it would detect, then collect training data from across platforms. Some past misogyny models informed the definitions for classifications and the content of the training data. Fersini et al (2018) classified online

misogynistic behavior into five categories: (1) stereotypes and objectification; (2) dominance; (3) derailing; (4) sexual harassment and threats of violence and (5) discrediting (p.215).⁶ Fersini et al. also distinguished whether the tweet is *active* (as in targeted towards an individual) or *passive* (targeted towards a group of persons or many "receivers", such as a group of women). Farrell et al. (2019) used existing online lexicons to classify their own nine "lexicons of misogyny" to study discussions on Reddit for the following groups:

- Men going their own way
- Badwomensanatomy
- Braincels
- IncelsWithoutHate
- Inceltears
- IncelsInAction
- Trufemcels

The six existing lexicons that formed the basis for their newly constructed lexicons are the harassment corpus, violence verbs, hatebase (both female and original), profanity words and incel specific. The nine lexicons of misogyny include belittling, flipping the narrative, homophobia, hostility, patriarchy, physical violence, racism, sexual violence and stoicism.⁷

Other methodologies include using Urban Dictionary as a data set (Ging et al. 2019), including manually tagging 5,000 definitions used to train the algorithm, and conducting a small content analysis to identify both misogynistic and non-misogynistic words and phrases. This included looking at the top 30 trending words between September 2017 and April 2018 to determine whether the extent of misogyny was similar in a smaller data set as well (ibid, p.7).

It is important to note that all the above models were tested in UK, US or Europe contexts. The Quilt.Al-AWARE model is contextualised to the Singapore online landscape and included researchers who have directly worked with GBV survivors and have a deep understanding of the culture and context surrounding both offline and online violence. After researching training data and qualitatively studying misogynistic language on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, YouTube comments and select forums, such as HardwareZone and Sammyboy, the research team decided on the following classifications:

⁶

⁶ The definitions for these classifications are as follows: *Stereotype & Objectification*: a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a woman; description of women's physical appeal and/or comparisons to narrow standards. *Dominance*: to assert the superiority of men over women to highlight gender inequality. *Derailing*: to justify woman abuse, rejecting male responsibility; an attempt to disrupt the conversation in order to redirect women's conversations to something more comfortable for men. *Sexual Harassment & Threats of Violence*: to describe actions as sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, harassment of a sexual nature; intent to physically assert power over women through threats of violence. *Discredit*: slurs with no other larger intention.

⁷ For full definitions of these categories and how many terms were annotated for each, please see Farrell et al. 2019, p.4.

Classification	Definition	Examples
Violence against women (threats and imagery)	These are examples of physical, sexual or psychosocial violence that are expressed as violent and harmful threats and fantasies.	Smack a woman in the face with a turd that'll teach em I will fuck her with a knife, cut out her cheebye and make her eat it.
Rape myths and victim-blaming	These are examples of prevalent rape myths and a series of victim-blaming examples, including but not limited to, false rape claims and "asking for it because of the way she is dressed". just because you're drunk of mean the sex you have is ronsenting adults have dru NOT rape. you can consent being drunk saying you just weird imo	
Flipping the narrative	Reversing conventional understanding of gender dynamics to argue that "men are the oppressed party, not women" and that "feminism/gender equality is harmful and hypocritical".	Gender equality means need to add "NS for girls" in the pledge. Actually good, then won't have that many dinobus around. Does women think that domestic violence doesn't happen to men as well from women Because if they don't? I am sorry but you must have rocks in your head.
Stereotyping	Gender stereotypes (both negative and "positive", e.g. women "are the fairer sex", "deserve protection"). This also includes condescending and derogatory remarks towards women as a group. Women entering the workf spells doom to human civil where the traditional gendare reversed and thus mis	
Belittling and objectification	Belittling (personal attacks, including about appearance) and objectification (sexualised comments about appearance) of individuals. You're not even a woman, you walking cunt Her only assets are her 2 lard. The rest of her is shit. I to hit your asset oggie sty Yes im hungry for ur boobs A dm me	

The misogyny model was trained using a RoBERTa model and further layered with the Google toxicity model and a filter for text mentioning women in third person. The misogyny model indicates if the text was misogynistic, as well as the classification it fell under.

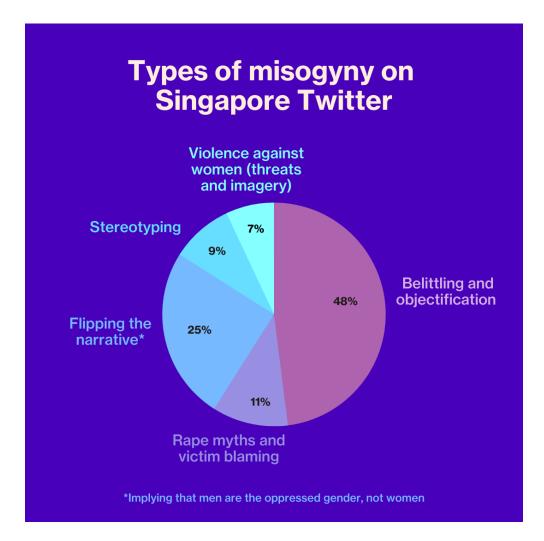
What did the misogyny model find?

The model was tested on 24,500 tweets,⁸ which were pulled from 2016 to present day. In this sample set, the machine model observed the following:

⁸ 8,500 of these posts stem from 100 female accounts. The remainder stem from randomly selected accounts (non-individual and individual accounts. For individual accounts, we included all genders).

1. Belittling and objectification most common

 The classification analysis showed what type of misogynistic posts and comments appear online.



• Belittling and objectification (48%) is the most common, followed by flipping the narrative (25%) and rape myths (11%).

2. Women most targeted

• Female accounts, overall, receive twice as many misogynistic comments as a random sample of all accounts (i.e. male, female and non-gendered/organisations' accounts)

3. Bystanders are complicit

 On Twitter, misogynistic content is twice as likely to be "liked" by the online population and 4.5 times more likely to be retweeted when compared to non-misogynistic comments. Based on qualitative observations of how misogyny manifests online and the development of this model, the research team then conducted a deep-dive to better understand how discourses on gender-based violence emerge across social media platforms in the Singapore context.

III. Perceptions on gender-based violence online

Violence against women remains pervasive. Globally, one in three women have experienced some form of violence in their lifetime. While we don't have prevalence rates of all types of violence against women in Singapore, a national 2020 survey by AWARE and Ipsos found that 2 in 5 of the 1,000 respondents had experienced sexual harassment in the workplace in the last five years. The same survey shows that 7 out of 10 of those who experienced sexual harassment did not file an official report. Under-reporting is detrimental to the pursuit of justice—without filing a report, a victim-survivor is often unable to receive social support and/or legal justice. At the same time, the decision to file a report is not a straightforward one: The victim-survivor may have to face social recriminations in the form of victim-blaming myths and a potentially traumatising reporting process.

Victim-blaming myths serve to deny, downplay or justify gender-based violence. They help people ignore the complexity of GBV in its full context—for example, understanding that abusive relationships can feature genuine love alongside manipulation and victimisation. Victim-blaming myths often have the power to determine which incidents of GBV are taken seriously and considered more "real" than others.

In order to better understand online perceptions on GBV in Singapore, including victim-blaming myths and public reactions to them, the research team studied 1,200 public social media posts across Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Reddit and Hardware Zone. On YouTube, 1,620 comments relating to gender-based violence were also reviewed. Finally, Quilt.Al used its proprietary machine-learning models to analyse the following information at scale:

- Sentence semiotics to detect emerging topics for all the Twitter posts and YouTube comments
- Rake and entities text analysis for Twitter and YouTube comments

⁹ United Nations Inter-Agency Working Group on Violence Against Women Estimation and Data (UNICEF, UNFPA, UNODC, UNSD, UNWomen), Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018. Global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2021),

https://cdn.who.int/media/docs/default-source/documents/violence-prevention/vaw_report_web_09032021 oleksandr.pdf

¹⁰ "AWARE-Ipsos survey reveals high prevalence of workplace sexual harassment in Singapore, low rates of reporting over past five years", AWARE, AWARE, 14 January 2021, https://www.aware.org.sg/2021/01/aware-ipsos-survey-reveals-high-prevalence-of-workplace-sexual-hara ssment-in-singapore-low-rates-of-reporting-over-past-five-years

Key Insights from the digital landscape

1. Myths center on confusion around consent and downplaying GBV

Myth	Myth Description	Percentage of overall discourse (n=700)	Demographic	Social Platform
#1	Confusion around consent: "Consent is implied when"	40%	Males and females, aged 18-30	Twitter, forums ¹¹ , YouTube
#2	Diminishing or dismissing GBV: "It's just bad sex"	35%	Males, aged 18-40	Twitter, forums
#3	Other forms of victim-blaming: "Violence is justified when"	25%	Males and females, aged 18-50	Twitter, Facebook, Instagram

In terms of frequency, the two biggest GBV-related myths the research team found are confusion around the definition of consent and tendencies to downplay the seriousness of GBV.

The first myth shows that there is widespread confusion on what sexual consent actually entails. Some Singaporeans assume that consent can still occur despite the absence of an enthusiastic "yes", e.g. that gestures such as kissing and touching imply consent for further sexual activity. Furthermore, certain people consider consent to be a non-issue in certain contexts, such as within marriage, despite the recent criminalisation of marital rape.



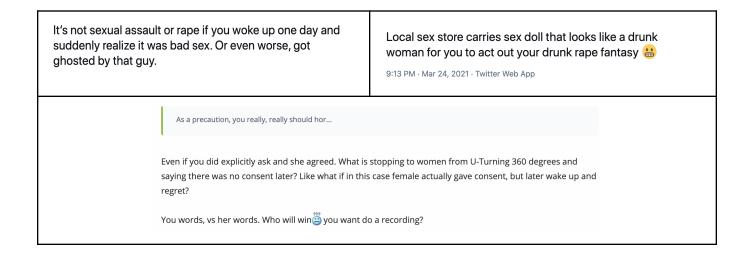
The second major myth downplays or dismisses different types of GBV, including referring to groping as "harmless" and sexual assault as just "bad sex". Jokes and other flippant references to rape also fell into this category as they serve to normalise and make light of assault.

Select social media posts indicate a belief that there are various degrees of rape, some "softer" than others. Others either display little understanding of the differences between different terms (e.g. "molestation", sexual assault" and "rape"), thus lumping them together interchangeably; or they fixate on the differences between them, arguing that molestation for example is "not a big deal".

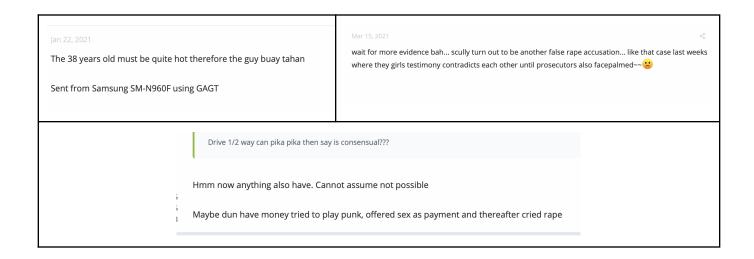
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¹¹ Forums consist of discussion threads on Reddit and HardwareZone.

Dismissal of GBV often manifests as the belief that many assault claims are false.



The third most frequent myth includes a range of statements falling under the umbrella term of "victim-blaming": ranging from objectification (the person must have been attractive to get sexually assaulted), to undue focus on the victim's own actions (e.g. it must have happened because of the way she dressed).

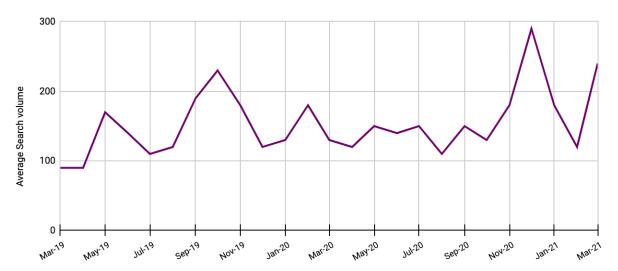


How are people searching for keywords related to GBV?

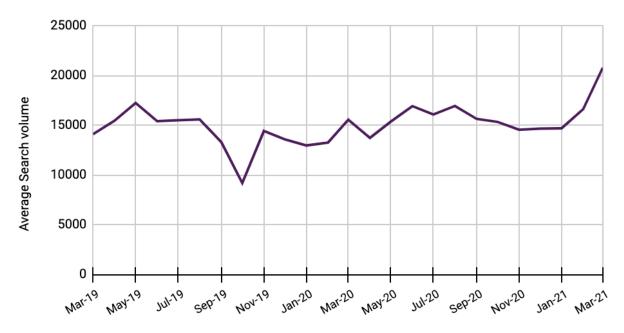
In addition to looking at social media discourses on GBV myths, the research team also studied **819,190 unique searches (between March 2019 and March 2021)** of keywords relating to gender-based violence in Singapore. These keywords were further categorised according to the

different types of gender-based violence, such as physical, sexual and psychological. Some of the key insights emerging from the information people are searching for include:

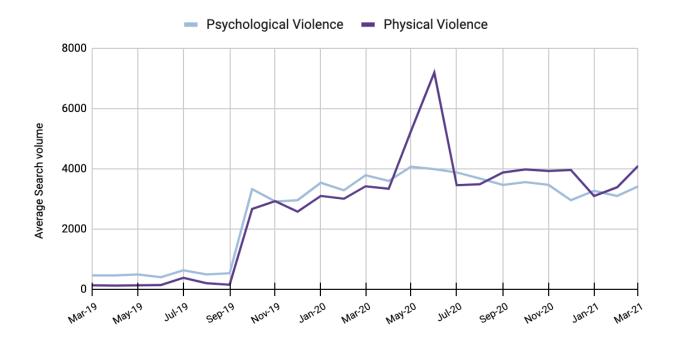
Searches for the meaning of consent are steadily rising



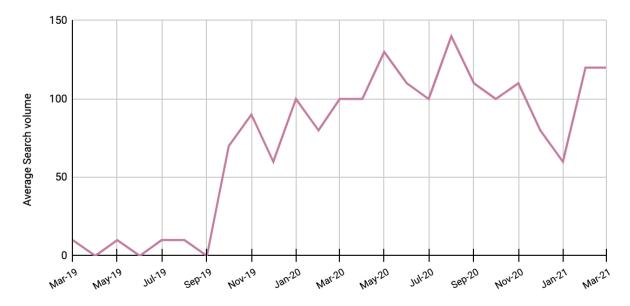
 Keywords related to rape and sexual assault are showing an upward trendline in the past year



 Searches relating to physical violence (specifically intimate partner violence) peaked during Singapore's first lockdown around March 2020, as did help-seeking related searches in April and May 2020. This demonstrates the rising risk of GBV during crises like the COVID-19 pandemic.



Help-seeking searches:



2. Public reactions signal anger towards victim-blaming and support for survivors

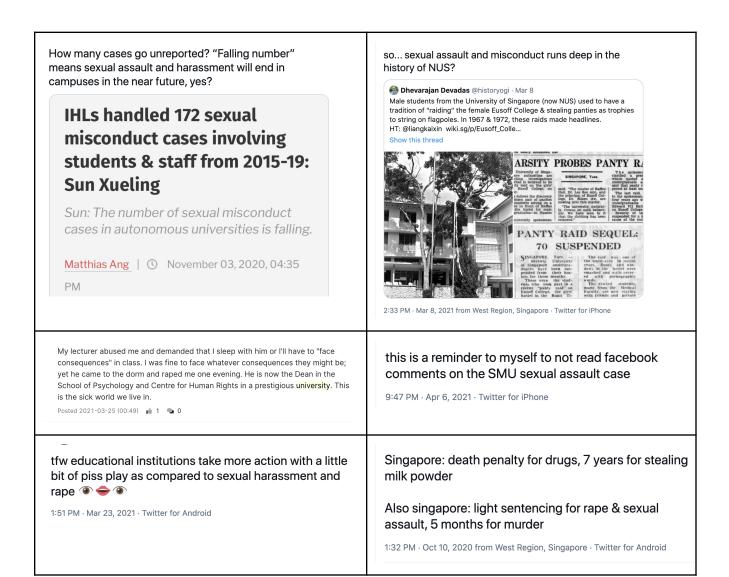
In studying the online discourse on GBV perceptions, besides direct victim-blaming, confusion around definitions and types of consent, and downplaying the seriousness of abuse, we saw an opposing effort: direct anger and outrage over individuals who perpetuate such victim-blaming,

frustration towards institutions for not having better prevention and response systems, and discussion on types of violence that are overlooked.

The frustration and outrage comes in many forms, ranging from anger towards victim-blamers and "rape apologists", alarm at the frequency of sexual assault in Singapore and the "normalisation" of violence in popular media, to downright apathy because "nothing ever changes".

People who made light / fun of rape victims, do not deserve to walk on earth as human beings. And they, sure as hell, don't deserve to have their opinions out on Twitter. I wonder if they'll share this fucked up humour / attitude towards rape if they experienced it firsthand.	Everyone should NOW be realising that ALL WOMEN go through some form of sexual assault, abuse, predation in their lives. It is not enough just to be a "good person". You need to start stopping bad behaviour publicly and actively work to educate friends who are joking about this. 10:49 AM · Jun 25, 2020 from West Region, Singapore · Twitter for Android
STOP VICTIM BLAMING. Men need to STOP raping and drugging women. Your response once again puts the onus on women to stop this. All it does is perpetuate the myth that it is the woman's fault that she is raped and drugged. Maybe men should stop their friends doing this shit. 7:49 AM · Mar 25, 2021 · Twitter for Android	Just like any other assault, bullying and rape are NEVER the victims fault. Stop being a rape/bullying enabler. 12:38 AM · Jun 11, 2020 from West Region, Singapore · Twitter for Android
i'm so so sick of people downplaying the act of non-consensual touching as sexual assault. "it was just a touch/smack/grope" consent still wasn't given right?? they still said they were UNCOMFORTABLE right???? no still means no right? what's not clicking?? huh 1:55 AM · Jun 6, 2020 from East Region, Singapore · Twitter for iPhone	I've had a loved one who was groped at one of the most prestigious schools of the country whilst participating at a debate. These idiots dont realise the trauma and lack of confidence that women go through when this happens. Gosh. Am so so disappointed with the reaction u got. 10:20 PM · Mar 28, 2021 · Twitter for Android
we've had this conversation so many times, unless the accused has been proved innocent, we ALWAYS believe the victims. fuck rape apologists i hope you trip and fall into dog shit 8:30 AM · Mar 26, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone	A feature of Singapore is probably victim blaming (\$\frac{1}{2}\$) 6:23 PM · Dec 21, 2020 from West Region, Singapore · Twitter for iPhone
and something I recently realised was how frequently ch8 writers liked incorporating sexual violence into the plot. I honestly wouldn't be surprised at all if this had something to do with how normalised and desensitised our generation seems to be when I comes to sexual assault. 9:41 PM · Aug 7, 2020 from North-East Region, Singapore · Twitter for iPhone	The amount of sexual assault and abuse cases coming to light in Singapore is fucking alarm. I've always known that people keep it on the down low because of family face and all that bs but holy shit. 4:59 PM · Mar 26, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone

The frustration towards institutions is mostly targeted towards institutes of higher learning and GBV-related legislations that have failed victims in the recent past. The weakness of prevention and response systems are mentioned, as well as specific cases of campus sexual harassment involving students and professors that were inadequately addressed. Regarding legislation, some express a desire for rape and sexual assault to receive "harsher punishments".



What should be done?

Seven hundred and forty-three YouTube comments on GBV were studied. These showed that "sex education" was one of the words that appeared most frequently (33% of the time).

Confusion on sexual consent can be prevented with strengthened sex education in schools. One of the comments online states:

"Absolutely sucks that my only memory of sex education in sg was about periods and pregnancy. it really made me deny my sexual assault for a long, long time solely because i didnt know what to label it as. my heart goes out to all survivors, especially these four people in the video. thank you for bringing up awareness and for teaching more than schools ever did in regards to a taboo topic."

Finally, public online discourse on GBV also reveals a perception that some types of violence are being overlooked. These include male sexual assault and violence against LGBTQI+ individuals.

Even now, when I talk to my community of gay friends, sexual abuse and harassment are shockingly common. It doesn't have to be rape, although rape does happen. It could be coercion or pic sharing without permission or stealthing or revenge porn or unsolicited rough sex.

1:57 PM \cdot Aug 18, 2020 from East Region, Singapore \cdot Twitter for iPhone

Beyond discourse around gender-based violence, and statements of misogynistic abuse that are themselves violent and oppressive, the team sought to identify the cultural narratives that frequently accompany the above in online spaces. What are the core ideas in the Singapore context that—while relatively benign on the surface—fundamentally serve to uphold sexism? In the final section, we examine these opposition narratives in Singapore's online space.

III. Gender equality opposition narratives

For all the progress we have made on gender equality, online spaces are still unsafe for women and girls. In fact, any mention of gender equality or feminism evokes a flurry of comments ranging from mild irritation to grandiose statements about feminism heralding the end of time.

Based on a sample of 500 social media posts from Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Reddit and HardwareZone, five gender opposition narratives were identified. The research team used two

parameters—frequency of posts, and degrading misogynistic language aimed at women and girls—to describe whether these narratives could be considered "extreme", "moderate" or "weak". 12 The table below gives a breakdown of these narratives, the main messages appearing in these discussions and how often they occur on social media platforms.

Table 1: Summary of Gender Equality Opposition Narratives¹³

Title	Description	Frequency	Who is participating Which platforms do we see this on	Examples
Resentment over National Service (NS)	EXTREME This category has both high post frequency and also a high level of misogynistic language in comparison to the other categories	35%	Men 18-50 yrs. Facebook, Twitter and HardwareZone.	If things need to be equal let them start by doing NS first before anything else That's before adult/work life comes in to play isn't it Like Reply 16 h Come do NS and kena shouted in face, both physical and mental torture Treated like slave labour Kena tekan Like hell whether rain or shine Then come and talk Like Reply 20 h This girl triggered cause our pay is higher cause we completed NS HAHAHAHAHAHA gender equality sis 1:13 AM · Jan 17, 2021 from East Region, Singapore · Twitter for Android
"Men are unprotected by the law"	MODERATE Despite the low frequency of posts, it should be noted that this discourse falls under the "moderate" category due to its extreme misogynistic language, especially in the form of belittling	10%	Men across various ages, who feel like they have been sidelined in the fight for gender equality. Seen across all platforms (Facebook, Twitter and HardwareZone).	Friday at 10:41 AM I'm outraged! Where's the men's charter?? Oh wait

¹² The definition for this intensity scale are as follows:

EXTREME: A high volume (30% and above) of frequency on these posts; reflects a deeply entrenched cultural norm that would be challenging to shift with policy change; Cursing and misogynistic language is used in a derogatory manner towards women and girls. MODERATE: A medium volume of posts on this subject (frequency could be between high and medium); reflects a cultural norm that could easily be adopted into mainstream educational interventions (e.g. schools and universities); The level of misogynistic language towards women and girls is mixed, depending on the subject.

WEAK: A low volume of posts on this subject or it emerged as a fringe narrative that was observed; reflects a cultural norm that can be more easily addressed with a communications campaign; The level of misogynistic language towards women and girls is low.

13 These categories are not mutually exclusive and may have discourse topics that overlap with each other.

				Invisi Bear Uhhhh tbh the data ain't enough to come to a conclusion about which gender faces more discrimination as it's only 400, and got other factors at play. However, it is sufficient to conclude that discrimination exists and something should be done about it. Also i'm sad that this only surface due to "comprehensive review of issues affecting women". WHAT ABOUT MEN. ② ② Can't they just have a comprehensive review for both genders? Like Reply 18 h · Edited
"Feminists are too sensitive"	MODERATE Despite the low frequency of posts, it should be noted that this discourse falls under the "moderate" category due to its extreme misogynistic language, especially in the form of belittling	5%	Both males and females between 18-40 feel that those with "woke" gender equality ideologies are making a big deal over nothing. Seen on Facebook, Twitter and HardwareZone.	sg girls like to complaint lah.
"Feminism is about female dominance over men rather than equality"	MODERATE This discourse has a higher frequency of posts, but the level of misogynistic language is lower than the extreme category. Therefore, it is labeled as moderate	25%	Men between 18-30 who oppose gender equality for the sake of it. We see both contrarians, as well as people who may have experiences in which they genuinely believe themselves to be a victim of gender equality. Seen on Twitter and HardwareZone.	Sure. Gender equality. Selection of the support of
"I don't want to be a gentleman"	WEAK This category has high post frequency, but the level of misogynistic language is not as high as the other categories	25%	Men between 18-30, who are actively looking to date or get into relationships (but these ideas may linger even as these men get older). This narrative might even come across as "benevolent" on the surface, in the sense that men seem to be arguing for "chivalry", not realising	Gender equality: make HER pay for the meal on the first date 3.27 PM · Mar 17, 2021 from East Region, Singapore · Twitter for iPhone

	that the concept is sexist. Seen on Twitter, Facebook and HardwareZone.
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The most frequently mentioned and discussed opposition narrative is resentment over national service. Men often mention their lived experiences in NS as a rebuttal to any suggestion that men in the country have it better than women. The compulsory conscription of men in their formative years entrenches the idea that men and women are treated differently, and men are at the disadvantage. Some men feel that the burden of national service has been unfairly placed on men, and this resentment resurfaces when any mention of gender inequality comes up.

The second most notable opposition narrative centres on misconceptions and stereotypes surrounding the aims of feminism. The idea of gender equality is often misrepresented—some people believe that feminism calls for women to dominate over men, instead of calling for the playing field to be levelled for all genders. By misrepresenting feminist arguments, the opposing narrative sets up a strawman argument that positions feminism as dangerous and harmful to society. Related to this specific narrative are the following linked topics that provide nuances of the same misconceptions: men expressing that women play the "gender equality card" when it is convenient to them, but yet expect them to pay for dates or hold the door for them; and men expressing their lack of legal protections with regards to the existing Women's Charter in Singapore.

How can these narratives be addressed in discussions and other communications?

- Recognise and acknowledge that National Service can be an unpleasant experience
 rooted in gender stereotypes. Turn this resentment over National Service into an
 empathetic communication hook to get men to engage in gender equality. This
 applies to the negative narrative on feminism as well.
- Provide clear statistical evidence and historical perspectives on why the
 Women's Charter was enacted and recommend renaming it as the "Family Charter",
 since the Charter has more to do with family law than women's rights.
- Show that everyone—not just women—appreciates a free meal/having the door held for them sometimes. Consideration shouldn't be a gendered value.
- More conversation around personal relationships: engaging men to have conversations about their partners' expectations rather than relying on gender roles.

IV. Limitations

As with any study that relies on big data, we were constrained by demographic information of users that was publicly available. As a result, we were not able to analyse the specific experiences of minority women, women with disabilities, LBTQ women and other women who are disadvantaged in multiple, intersecting ways.

We were also unable to analyse misogyny that manifested primarily via images (as opposed to text) on the various platforms.

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

Misogyny can appear to be "hidden" online, hard to clearly and easily detect. However, our findings show that women are likely to experience such harm, either directly (when targeted at them) or indirectly (when engaged with or shared by other users). And even if people do not actively post misogynistic comments, passive engagement is fanning the flames of these sentiments online.

It is therefore important to target everyone—not just "active perpetrators", but also bystanders—in efforts to combat misogyny online. The public should be given greater education on misogyny, especially in the area of objectifying women, flipping the narrative and rape myths.

We also recommend:

- Creating an education programme for all citizens around online behavior.
- Ensuring that tech companies have a duty of care to moderate user-generated content to minimise abuse and harassment of women.
- Making it easier for victims of online abuse and harassment to file official reports with tech companies.
- Launching widespread bystander intervention programmes so that social media users feel empowered to intervene (in a safe manner) when they witness abuse and harassment online.
- Working with tech companies, the government and civil society to advocate for data transparency, especially in the area of online harm, with a focus on misogyny.
- Funding further studies that can index misogyny through images.