Language of the Swedish Manosphere with Swedish FrameNet

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Abstract

The manosphere is a loose group of online communities centralised around the themes of anti-feminism, misogyny, racism, and hetero-masculinity. It has gained a reputation for violent extremism, particularly from members of the involuntary celibate (incel) community. Sweden sees one of the highest volumes of online traffic to well-known incel forums in all of Europe. In spite of this, there is little information on manosphere/incel cultre in Swedish. This paper uses posts from Flashback's manosphere subforum automatically annotated with Swedish FrameNet to analyse the language community in a Swedish context. To do so, a lexicon for the Swedish manosphere was created and terms of interest were identified in the Swedish discourse. Analysis of prominent semantic frames linked to these terms of interest presents a detailed look into the language of the Swedish manosphere.

1 Introduction

The 'manosphere' is a collection of online communities, including involuntary celibates (incels), Men's Rights Activists (MRAs), pick-up artists (PUAs), and Men Going their Own Way (MG-TOW) (Ging, 2017; Cottee, 2020; Schmitz et al., 2016). Such communities function as online spaces for men to discuss topics related to feminism, masculinity, and relationships through a lens of misogyny and racism (Gajo et al., 2023). Involuntary celibates or 'incels' are defined as men who experience frustration at their inability to find a romantic/sexual partner despite desiring one and express this frustration by blaming and denigrating others. Despite several acts of mass violence performed by self-identified incels, the community

itself maintains that the link between inceldom and violence is a result of media pigeonholing.[1] Concern over the risk of violence perpetrated by members of the manosphere, particularly by incels, continues to deepen among the public and law enforcement (Matza, 2023; Baele et al., 2024).

According to the Swedish Defence Research Institute (FOI), Sweden ranks among the top countries for traffic to the largest incel forums (Fernquist et al., 2020; European Commission, 2021). It is estimated that Sweden sees 240 visits per million residents compared to the U.S.A.'s 43 per million (Stenavi and Bengston, 2020). In incel discourse, Sweden is described as the most 'cucked'[2] country due to its perceived feminist influence (Wiklund, 2020; Fernquist et al., 2020). The seemingly sudden increase of traffic to incel communities from Sweden has caused both scholars and security agencies to monitor the situation closely.

Although Swedish incels are acknowledged as a substantial demographic in the manosphere, relatively little is known about them. Furthermore, the Swedish manosphere has been overlooked in NLP thus far. This paper aims to bridge the gap between the qualitative research on the Swedish manosphere and NLP by investigating the language of the manosphere through semantic frames automatically annotated with Swedish FrameNet (SweFN). Frame Net is a set of labels developed by Baker et al. (1998) based on the theory of semantic frames by Fillmore (1985) (§ 4.2). The findings of this paper are intended help expand the current SweFN annotations with semantic frames for societal issues related to the manosphere in Sweden. Additionally, it contributes a non-Anglocentric analysis to the body of

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[1] "Are incels violent?" via Incel Wiki FAQ: `https://incels.wiki/w/Inceldom_FAQ`

[2] An insult implying humiliation of men by women. Derived from 'cuckold' - one's partner having consensual sex with other men.

research on discourse in the manosphere. In doing so, it yields the following contributions:

- Creation of a comprehensive lexicon for the Swedish manosphere

- Identification of terms of interest and their prominent frames

- An analysis of language in the Swedish manosphere through semantic frames

2 Background

Psycho-social aspects of the manosphere, inceldom, misogyny, and sexual violence have been the subject of numerous studies. Henley et al. (1995) used semantics of the passive voice to study newspaper articles featuring sexual violence. Results indicated that the passive voice was used to obscure agency in reports of sexual violence against women. Minnema et al. (2022b) proposed a framework for studying responsibility framing in reports of violence against women in Italian news. It was observed that roles corresponding to victims were expressed much more frequently than those corresponding to agents. Schmitz et al. (2016) studied twelve MRA websites from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity. Two distinctive groups, both featuring anti-feminist discourse, were revealed. One group promoted the ideology of men's rights through demonization of feminism and aggression towards women, while the other took a political approach and focused on providing evidence of anti-male institutional prejudice and discrimination.

In a study featuring interviews from former incels, participants reported that feelings of isolation, low self-worth, and romantic frustration led them seeking support online (Maryn et al., 2024). Many of these men indicated that feelings of isolation and low self-worth dependent on appearance and success were caused by masculine norms. Maxwell et al. (2020) studied comments on Reddit's r/Braincels subforum and identified several themes of which the concept of social isolation was present. In Sweden, many men also claim to suffer from loneliness, especially those living in rural communities (Lindström, 2024; Novak et al., 2023).

Discourse analysis has been a popular method for studying language in the manosphere. Ging (2017) used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to highlight ideological tropes in a selection of content from frequently cross-referenced sites with a baseline of anti-feminism. Focus on the concept of evolutionary biology gave rise to a deeply misogynist, heterosexist, and racist lexicon. The community itself was also found to have moved away from activism toward personal attacks on feminists. A study of 700 posts from five of the top incel forums found several topics related to the themes of 'incel-culture' and 'incel-identity' (Axelsson and Lindgren, 2021). Discussion of who an incel is and what inceldom entails were prevalent topics. Along with this came discussions of appearance, self-worth, and race. While language was described as negative, encouragement of violence was uncommon.

The link between inceldom and violent extremism has also featured heavily in the body of research. In a study of incel discourse on the Plymouth shooting incident,[3] Lounela and Murphy (2024) examined several threads on English incel forums and observed competing discourses around incel violence. While some attempted to justify the Plymouth attack, others condemned all violence. Baele et al. (2021) investigated the incel world-view on the now defunct *Incels.me* forum and found that violent events elicited hope that they may lead to society's recognition of the alleged excesses of feminism. Members engaged in fantasising graphic scenarios centred on the suffering of women and encouraged each other to do so as well. In another study of incel subforums on Reddit, Baele et al. (2024) found that online discussion in the Reddit incelosphere presented an increasing proportion of dehumanising labels and words depicting violence.

In a linguistic analysis of the *Incels.me* forum, Jaki et al. (2019) identified common keywords. The top 100 keywords largely referenced gender and physical traits, while the top 1000 also contained references to sexuality, violence, and hate speech. Yoder et al. (2023) used text analysis to investigate identity construction on the forum *Incels.is* by comparing identity mentions with the white supremacist forum Stormfront. For this, an English lexicon was created by combining multiple sources then expanded using nearest neighbours in the word embedding space. The most frequent identity mentions are for women and minor-

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[3]A mass shooting in Plymouth (UK) where the perpetrator held incel views.

ity/racialised identities, including many derogatory neologisms.

While previous research on the manosphere has been viewed largely through an Anglophone context, several studies have investigated the Italian incel community (Gajo et al., 2023; Gemelli and Minnema, 2024; Minnema et al., 2022a). Gemelli and Minnema (2024) established a dataset labelled with semantic frames for the Italian incel community. The highest-ranked and most informative frames were identified for each subcorpus. To detect hate speech in incel communities, Gajo et al. (2023) used masked language modelling (MLM) with BERT and mBERT adapted to the English and Italian incel domain.

Research on the manosphere in Sweden has largely focused on English forums, even when studying Swedish incels (Fernquist et al., 2020; Axelsson and Lindgren, 2021). In the Swedish context, Lindmark and Kindblom (2021) analysed threads from the Swedish forum Flashback containing the word 'incel' or 'incels' with techniques from CDA. Users discussed the topic of immigration in relation to a surplus of men in Sweden and how this negatively impacts the white Swedish man (Lindmark and Kindblom, 2021). Swedish incels also commonly express that they feel less desirable than men of colour (Lindström, 2024). Swedish women are described as privileged and positioned as the opposition in a power struggle with men (Lindmark and Kindblom, 2021; Wiklund, 2020; Fernquist et al., 2020). Through discourse analysis and personal communication with Stefan Krakowski, a media expert and scholar of Swedish incels, Wiklund (2020) analysed discourse surrounding incels on Flashback. Search terms, including 'incel' and 'misogyny', were used to identify threads for analysis. Wiklund (2020) observed that feminism is used to legitimise dehumanisation of women and increased immigration is portrayed as societal problem. The Flashback manosphere was also found to be incredibly sensitive to its portrayal in the media, directing personal attacks at female writers on the Swedish manosphere.

The following sections will outline the methods used to identify terms of interest in the Swedish manosphere and their prominent frames, the means through which they were analysed, and the data used in the analysis.

3 Data

The analysis in this paper focuses on the *Manosfärer, Maskulinism, och Mansrörelser* "Manospheres, Masculinism, and Men's movements" subforum on Flashback. The hobby subforum was also collected for comparison, as it was the closest in size of the other Lifestyle subforums. Flashback data is collected and annotated in yearly updates which are stored in xml format. The version used in this analysis was collected in March 2024 and contains all threads created between October 2012 and March 2024 (Språkbanken Text, 2024a). Threads have been scrambled to preserve user privacy and copyright. Additionally, usernames have been removed. A total of 12,943 posts were from the manosphere subforum and another 16,565 from the hobby subforum were used in the analysis. Each thread has been automatically annotated with semantic frames from SweFN with the Sparv pipeline (Språkbanken Text, 2024b; Hammarstedt et al., 2022). Only the posts from the manosphere subforum are used in the discussions in §5.

4 Methods

4.1 Lexicon

The Swedish manosphere lexicon was created in two steps. In the first step, a base wordlist of English words from the manosphere was used. As there was no existing lexicon for the Swedish manosphere, a generic lexicon was created following Yoder et al. (2023). A combination of several English sources were utilised for a comprehensive base lexicon (Moonshot, 2020; Klein and Golbeck, 2024; Fernquist et al., 2020). This helped identify words within the Swedish manosphere borrowed directly from English without translation, as well as Swedish-English compounds. Any terms from the base list with zero instances in the data were discarded from the Swedish lexicon.

The second step expanded on the results of the first step by identifying native Swedish or Swedish translations of manosphere terminology. Sentences were lemmatized and stopwords removed to calculate word frequencies. To capture words unique to the Swedish manosphere, the binary log ratio of relative frequencies was calculated for the manosphere and hobby forums. Binary log ratio of relative frequencies, or 'log ratio', is a means of comparing the relatives frequencies of
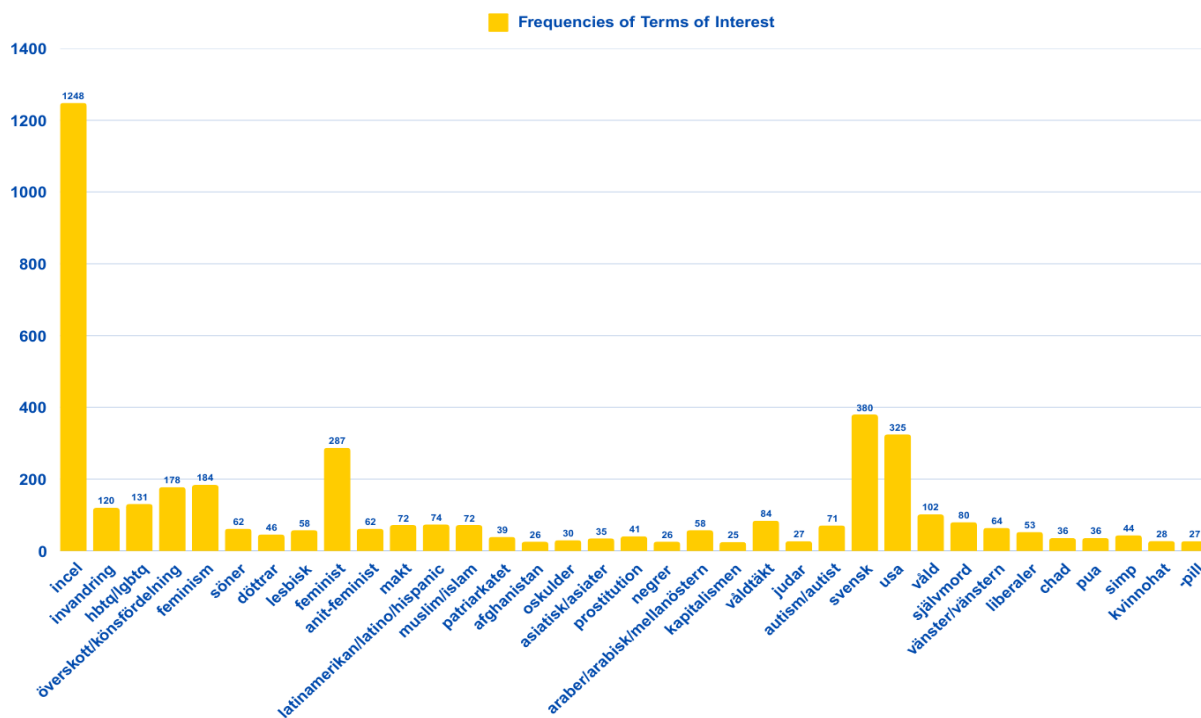
Figure 1: Relative frequencies of the Swedish terms of interest. Words which are direct synonyms or refer to similar concepts have been grouped together in the analysis. Additionally, words with a frequency lower than 25 have been excluded from the graph for space.

words in two corpora (Klein and Golbeck, 2024; Hardie, 2014). It represents how big the difference in frequency is for a keyword between two corpora, where the score is represented as powers of 2 and each point is a doubling in size of the difference between the two corpora. Both the Swedish and combined English wordlists, along with the Swedish lexicon, are available on Github.

Both words from the lexicon and words not specific to the manosphere, but overrepresented in the manosphere forum, were identified as terms of interest. The terms of interest were further narrowed down based on topics presented in the literature from §2 which are considered important to the manosphere in general and in Sweden. These terms of interest were grouped into five themes, discussed further in §4.2 and 5. Figure (1) shows the terms of interest by frequency of mentions.

This is a warning for sections 4.2 to 5.5, as examples contain offensive language and references to violence, sexual abuse, and self-harm.

4.2 Semantic Frames

The analysis in §5 of this paper relies on the concept of semantic frames originally proposed by Fillmore (1985). Semantic frames, indexed in

lexical databases such as FrameNet (Baker et al., 1998), are labels which provide conceptual information grounded in human understanding. Looking at frames allows one to gain insight on how members of a language community understand the world around them. One can determine not only what is said, but how it is understood and what is required for that understanding by interlocutors. Using an example from the data, in the sentence "*women are therefore at high risk of being murdered by their husbands*", the lexical unit *murdered* triggers the KILLING frame and *women* which triggers the PEOPLE frame fills the 'victim' role while *husbands* with the KINSHIP frame would receive the 'killer' role.[4] From repeated instances of sentences expressing KINSHIP in the killer role, it may be inferred that the discourse sees women as victims of domestic homicide.

Similar to Gemelli and Minnema (2024) and Minnema et al. (2022a), the most prominent frames were identified for each term of interest and the context in which they were triggered was analysed. Frames frequently triggered by words which commonly serve a grammatical function,

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[4]Capitalised words represent frames used in FrameNet

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such as EXISTENCE tagged with '*be*' verbs, were discarded as they add little to the analysis. Prominent frames were found by calculating *ff-icf*.[5] This is done with a modification of *tf-idf* to compare a frame's relative frequency in a subcorpus to the larger corpus, giving a score between 0 and 1 (Grootendorst, 2022; Remijnse et al., 2021). The highest ranked frames are considered most representative of the theme.

As only the semantic frame is annotated in the corpus, roles and interactions with other frames in the same sentence were examined manually. 'Interactions' are identified as frames which had a higher frequency of co-occurrence with the prominent frame relative to other frames. Thus, frequencies of words which trigger the prominent frame, other frames which occur in the same context, the words which fill its core roles, and the semantic frames of those roles (if available) were calculated for each prominent frame. As it is not feasible to discuss all 63 terms of interest within the scope of this paper, the discussion will focus on the two or three most important words to the theme.

For each theme, two types of results are presented: (1) an identification of frames most representative of the terms of interest for that theme; (2) an analysis of what words are associated with the common frames and what roles they fill in the discourse.

5 Results and Discussion

The prominent frames identified for each term are used to connect related concepts to FEs. Analysing the posts containing these related frames, the words they are triggered by, and the words around them allows one to gain insight into what entities fill which roles.

Frames were ranked from lowest to highest based on their *ff-icf* score with the highest two (or more, if scores were equal) scores being most typical. In the following sections, numbers in brackets indicate the relative frequency of the entity which either triggered the frame or fills one of the frame's roles in the context of the specific term of interest. As an example, in §5.1, of the instances of RECEIVING for the term 'bluepill', 50% had a theme of sympathy or hope. Similarly, in §5.4, of the instances of the frame ORIGIN, 36% were the word 'Swedish'.

The terms of interest introduced by Figure (1)

can be categorised by five themes: *inceldom and mental health, feminism and LGBTQ+, race and origin, immigration and male surplus, power and violence*. These themes have been chosen based on the close interaction between these words within each category, such as the claimed 'cause and effect' relationship between immigration and 'male surplus' discussed in §5.4. All examples have been translated to English from the original Swedish.

5.1 Inceldom and Mental Health

Incel discourse uses the analogy of *pills* to talk about different world-views. *Pill theory* is coined from the movie *The Matrix*, where the protagonist is given the option to accept reality by swallowing a red pill or return to an illusion with the blue pill. One prominent frame associated with these terms is RECEIVING. Recipients in the context of the RECEIVING frame for the *bluepill* are typically men or *man* 'one', while the entity that is received tends to be sympathy or hope (0.5).

For the *blackpill*, a fatalistic philosophy focused on external solutions and physical appearance, the frames CAUSATION, EMPLOYED, and COMING TO BELIEVE were most prominent. With CAUSATION, the most common word was 'therefore' (0.5) with the effect being blackpill believers 'losing hope' or 'giving up'. The EMPLOYED frame was always triggered by *jobba för* "work for" when users discuss 'working toward' something or having 'nothing to work for' (0.6). For COMING TO BELIEVE, the content role tends to be realising blackpill theory (0.75). It also commonly appeared with the EMPLOYED frame, where the content of the realisation is filled by 'nothing to work for' (0.4).

For *Chads*,[6] the prominent frames were PEOPLE and REQUIRED EVENT. The PEOPLE frame was triggered by 'women' or 'girls' (0.51), often with POSSESSION or PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP frame to state having 'women', 'partners', or 'friends' (0.35). The REQUIRED EVENT frame was always triggered by *behöva* "need", such as when contrasting what incels and Chads do or do not need to do within the required situation role (0.71). In the example below, 'an incel' and 'become friends...' fill the required situation role of the first instance of 'need to', while

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[5]frame frequency - inverse corpus frequency

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[6]A 'Chad' is defined as the archetypal white male who contrasts with incels in both physicality and access to sex.

'a Chad/Normie' and 'do any of this' fill the same role for the second. As noted by Maxwell et al. (2020), incels believe there are different rules for Chads.

(1) "Why should an incel need to become friends with everything and everyone, or go to the gym or go to dance classes when a Chad/Normie doesn't need to do any of this?"

Autism is a common theme in manosphere discourse, especially among incels given that autism is significantly more common in the incelosphere compared to the rest of the population (Lindström, 2024; Whittaker et al., 2024; Moskalenko et al., 2022). The frames of RECEIVING, LOCATING, PEOPLE BY DISEASE, and KILLING were prominent in relation to this term. *autist/autister* "autistic people" always triggered the PEOPLE BY DISEASE frame. When RECEIVING is triggered, the entity that is received is typically sex, women, or personal relationships where the recipient is 'an autist' or 'incels' (0.5). The LOCATING frame is triggered in similar contexts, where the perceiver role is autistic men or incels and the sought entity is women or a personal relationship (0.43). KILLING is often triggered by 'suicide' (0.43), with the victim role filled by men (0.67). When triggered by verbs like 'murder', women are the victims and men killers (0.57).

As *incels* are the most frequently discussed topic, many prominent frames emerged. Of these, COLOR, PEOPLE BY ORIGIN, KILLING, VIOLENCE, and CAUSE MOTION were the most notable. COLOR is often triggered as a descriptor of the PEOPLE frame to describe race, such as 'black men' (0.33), 'black women' (0.32) and 'white men' (0.16). When frames related to violence are triggered, such as *mörda* "murder" or *slå* "beat", the perpetrator role is filled by 'incels' or 'black men' with the COLOR frame (0.31). The COLOR and PEOPLE BY ORIGIN frames often appear when debating which race is most incel (0.83). The ORIGIN frame was often triggered by *Svensk* "Swedish", *Kinesisk* "Chinese", or *Amerikansk* "American" as a descriptor of 'men' or 'women' when comparing incels of different demographics and discussing which group is preferred by Swedish women (0.54). This observation is consistent with Lindström (2024). As noted by Axelsson and Lindgren (2021), debate over who or what

an incel is constitutes a large part of the dialogue in the manosphere. In Ex.(2), "black" and "white" triggered the COLOR frame, while "Asian" triggered PEOPLE BY ORIGIN in Ex.(3).

(2) "Black men are more incel than white."

(3) "Asian men are the most incel."

CAUSE MOTION was often triggered by *dra* "draw" when bringing up arguments and "drawing conclusions" (0.43).

5.2 Feminism and LGBTQ+

Feminism and *feminists* on Flashback are often discussed along with *anti-feminsim*. The TEXT and TEXT CREATION frames were triggered often by *bok* "book" or *böcker* "books" (0.3), typically in reference to reading and writing feminist and anti-feminist literature. The POINT OF DISPUTE frame is usually attached to 'problem', where the context is problems related to feminism and feminist countries/society (0.59). The dispute frame also appears with the MORALITY EVALUATION frame triggered by 'evil' and 'virtue', where feminists are the ones evaluated in the evaluee role (0.54). Again, the ORIGIN frame is often triggered as a descriptor for women or feminists in the form of *Svenska* "Swedish" or *västerlandska* "western" (0.52). POSTURE was triggered by *stå* "stand" in discussions on what feminists "stand for" along with ARCHITECTURAL PART frames in the location role (0.33), as in Ex.(4). These appeared comments attributed to anti-feminists on stereotypical gender roles that 'women belong in the kitchen', an observation also noted by Ging (2017); Wiklund (2020).

(4) "Anti-feminist men, with their rumination, want to achieve that women should stay home, stand in the kitchen and take care of the children."

HBTQ "LGBTQ", particularly *lesbians*, are frequently featured in Swedish manosphere discourse. LGBTQ often appears with the INTOXICANTS frame. LGBTQ persons are often users in sentences where INTOXICANTS is triggered by *droger* "drugs" (0.5). The KILLING and DEATH frames also came up frequently in association with queer people, but the protagonist role of

the DEATH frame is typically men and the cause of KILLING is drugs or suicide (0.6). A common claim was that the 'increase' in queer people has contributed to male drug related deaths. For *lesbisk* "lesbian", the KINSHIP frame was often evoked with PEOPLE BY AGE (0.39), triggered by *pojkar* "boys" (0.15), *flickor* "girls" (0.13), or *döttrar* "daughters" (0.11). Lesbians typically fill the parental role within the KINSHIP frame. These two frames usually appear with GETTING and REQUIRED EVENT as users discuss the children of LGBTQ parents. In Ex.(5), 'daughters' triggered the KINSHIP frame with "lesbians' in the parental role, along with GETTING triggered by 'get'.

(5) "I think lesbians should get daughters, mainly because one can assume boys will not see much purpose in life in a lesbian family."

5.3 Race and Origin

Immigration from Africa and the Middle East makes up a significant portion of newcomers to Sweden in recent years (Eurostat Statistics, 2016), so it is unsurprising that *Araber* "Arabs" and *Muslimer* "Muslims" appear in a large part of the Swedish manosphere's discourse on race and origin. ORIGIN, PEOPLE BY ORIGIN, and PEOPLE BY RELIGION often appear together as descriptors, typically triggered by *svensk* "Swedish" (0.57) and "Muslim" (0.97) in discussions on the effect of Islam on Western countries and Sweden. Many comments express a fear that Swedish/European people and culture is being replaced by Muslims and Islam (0.57), often with the BECOMING frame in claims that Muslims will 'become the majority' or Sweden will 'become Muslim'. In the following example, PEOPLE BY ORIGIN was triggered by "Swedes", "Arabs", and "Afghans", PEOPLE BY RELIGION was triggered by "Muslims", and ORIGIN was triggered by "Swedish". These frames appear with BECOMING triggered by "become", where Swedes (we) fill the entity role which becomes the final category filled by Muslims (them).

(6) "When Swedes are good Muslims, we will also avoid getting harassed by Arabs and Afghans as we become one of "them" and with Swedish Sharia law we can be tough on crime in society."

COLOR, ORIGIN, and PEOPLE BY RELIGION sometimes appear with POSSESSION, typically in posts where 'Arab', 'Muslim' and 'black men' are in the owner role in posts comparing what Muslim/Arab men have in Swedish society versus Islamic society (0.46). When ORIGIN or COLOR are a descriptor for women, they often denote 'white' or 'Swedish' women (0.54) who are experiencers of the DESIRING frame with Arab and black men as the objects of desire. 'Swedish women' also commonly appears with the SEX frame, where the other participant is 'black' or 'Arab' expressed with a racial epithet (0.5). As observed by Lindström (2024), the discourse claims that Arab and black men 'take' Swedish women because these men are more masculine and sexually promiscuous. When COLOR is used to describe women of colour, as mentioned in §5.1, they are the victims of religious society or violence (0.45).

Hispanics, *Latinos*, and *Latinamerikaner* "Latin Americans", specifically in the U.S.A., are another frequently mentioned demographic marked by PEOPLE BY ORIGIN (0.77). The frames COLOR and DEATH were the most prominent in relation to this group. COLOR is always used as a descriptor of the PEOPLE frame with *vit* "white" (0.65) and *svart* "black" (0.35) to denote race. COLOR and PEOPLE BY ORIGIN often appear with DEATH and DEAD OR ALIVE frames as users compare life expectancy and living conditions between Latinos and other demographics (0.75). In Ex.(7), 'whites' and 'blacks' triggered the COLOR frame with DEAD OR ALIVE triggered by 'live'.

(7) "Hispanics in the US live longer than Whites and Blacks."

As the focus is on Latin Americans in the U.S., the REGARD, READING, CAUSE TO PERCEIVE frames usually appear with TEXT triggered by 'article' or 'newspaper' when users claim to have gained some information about Latin Americans through a source (0.6).

The DEGREE and MEASURABLE ATTRIBUTES frames also appear with COLOR and PEOPLE BY ORIGIN, often triggered by 'Latin Americans' (0.77) or 'Asians' (0.2). When PEOPLE BY ORIGIN is triggered by *asiatisk/asiater* "Asian/Asians", they are being compared to other demographics in terms of desirability and incel

status (0.67). In this context, DEGREE and MEASURABLE ATTRIBUTES are triggered by *högre* "higher" and *mest* "most". Many posts mentioning Asians argue that they are either the 'most incel' group or have 'higher' popularity (0.27), particularly among black women.

5.4 Immigration and the Male Surplus

Invandring "immigration" is a significant topic in the Swedish manosphere. ORIGIN and COLOR are triggered by 'Swedish' (0.36) or 'white' (0.28) and act as descriptors for the PEOPLE frame (0.64). These commonly appear in discussion on how 'Swedish/white' men and women are affected by immigration (0.5), typically debating whether Swedish women benefit from and support immigration. This observation is consistent with previous research by Lindmark and Kindblom (2021). When ORIGIN is *slaviskt* "Slavic", it is always a descriptor of 'women'.

The MEASURABLE ATTRIBUTES and CHANGE POSITION SCALE INCREASE triggered by frames were often evoked in the context of immigration as the item/entity that 'increases' or is 'high' in statements about the state of immigration in Sweden (0.41). These frames are also used in several posts discussing an increase in criminals and incels as a consequence of immigration (0.32). LAW triggered by *invandringpolitik* "immigration policy" and CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP with TEMPORAL SUBREGION are frequently evoked together in discussions about Swedish politics (0.87). In Ex.(8), 'last election' triggered the TEMPORAL SUBREGION and CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP frames, while 'immigration policy' triggered the LAW frame in the result role for the election.

(8) "A minority of voting women in Sweden voted for continued generous/irresponsible immigration policies in the last election.."

As observed by Wiklund (2020), the concepts of immigration and male surplus are linked. *Överskott* "surplus", more specifically *mansöverskott* "surplus of men", is another significant topic unique to the Swedish manosphere. The CHANGE POSITION SCALE INCREASE frame is triggered by *öka* "increase" where the attribute being increased is 'surplus' or 'surplus of men' (0.47). The COLOR frame appears most often when discussing black men (0.47) and women

(0.35). COLOR appears with 'surplus' and PEOPLE BY ORIGIN triggered by *amerikaner* "Americans' as users discuss a supposed surplus of men among black Americans (0.23). It also appears as a descriptor for 'black women', commonly with frames related to violence such as ABUSING (0.23).

One prevalent narrative is that both Sweden and the U.S.A. are experiencing an increasing surplus of men, a point which also came up in Lindström (2024); Lindmark and Kindblom (2021). Male surplus is also linked to the KILLING and DEATH frames (0.67). KILLING is typically triggered by *självmord* "suicide" with men in the protagonist role (0.67). With DEATH, men are the protagonists and the cause is usually *droger* "drugs" tagged with INTOXICANT (0.67). Swedish manosphere discourse claims that male suicide and drug overdose are a consequence of male surplus. In Ex.(9), 'suicide' triggered the KILLING frame with 'drugs' tagged as INTOXICANT in the killer role and 'men in the U.S.' being the protagonists.

(9) "The percentage of men in the U.S. who become mentally destroyed has increased by the same amount, they take their life with drugs or suicide. And all this with the world's highest surplus of men."

5.5 Power and Violence

Makt "power" and its ownership is a central issue in Sweden's manosphere (Lindmark and Kindblom, 2021; Wiklund, 2020; Fernquist et al., 2020). By investigating the combination of the PEOPLE and POSSESSION frames, it is observed that 'women' are typically in the owner role with 'power' being the possession (0.41). When men are in the owner role (0.29), 'power' is usually mentioned along with 'money' and 'women'. In this narrative, power is seen as something women have over others and society, but a requirement for men to 'get' women. In the following example, 'women' are the owners with POSSESSION triggered by 'have' and 'power to decide ...' is the possession.

(10) "I don't understand why flashbackers think women have the power to decide that we should have more crime and more trans people."

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The final term of interest is *våld* "violence". The most prominent frames for this term are VIOLENCE triggered by *våld* "violence" and RAPE triggered by *våldtäkt* "rape". Looking at PEOPLE combined with the aforementioned frames, 'men' tend to fill the role of perpetrators of violence and rape (0.27) while 'women' are in the victim role (0.36). VIOLENCE and RAPE also commonly appear with 'immigration' or 'surplus' (0.20) as users link these issues to violence and rapes ins society. The VIOLENCE and RAPE frames are also evoked in discussions on violence in Sweden (0.14). In Ex.(11), 'immigration' appears with 'rape', where 'women' and 'children' are in the victim role. Although 'robbery' and 'social unrest' are not tagged with a prominent frame, they also represent violent vocabulary typical of discussions including the term 'immigration'.

(11)   "Welfare society does not work with mass immigration like this for long - plus social unrest, insecurity for women and children who are raped and robbed."

Many users draw a connection between an imbalance of men and women to increased violence and rape in society, especially in Sweden. The narrative is that a gender imbalance leads to men feeling devalued and leads to more incels and violence because men are unable to secure a partner, an observation consistent with Maryn et al. (2024) and Lindström (2024).

5.6 Discussion

Overall, the results of this analysis are consistent with previous literature using CDA techniques to study both the English and Swedish manosphere. The topic of incel identity remains a strong feature of manosphere discourse, within which the concepts of race and origin play a significant part (Yoder et al., 2023; Ging, 2017). The Swedish manosphere is also characterised by an opposition to feminist philosophy (Ging, 2017; Schmitz et al., 2016). Users often express their frustration of feminism and feminists through insults (Wiklund, 2020; Ging, 2017). Violence is portrayed largely as something perpetrated by men upon women, or men upon themselves (Jaki et al., 2019; Baele et al., 2021; Minnema et al., 2022b). However, while violence against women is a common topic in the manosphere community on Flashback, there

is little evidence that users actually promote acts of violence.

Other salient issues in the Swedish manosphere include immigration and a surplus of men. Immigration, especially people of African and Middle Eastern origin, is seen as a big contributor to Sweden's sex imbalance (Lindström, 2024; Lindmark and Kindblom, 2021). While Swedish women are seen as benefitting from immigration, white Swedish men in the manosphere feel their social value is negatively impacted. As Sweden is often described in the English incelosphere as 'cucked', it is of no surprise that ownership of power is attributed to women in the Swedish manosphere (Fernquist et al., 2020; Wiklund, 2020).

Some unexpected findings also arose in this analysis. The narrative that queer people, particularly lesbians, are drug users and that an increase of LBTQ+ people contributes to male suicide has not been mentioned in previous research. The argument that lesbian women should have daughters, for which different justifications are given, is also one that seems unique to Flashback's manosphere discourse. Furthermore, users also appear to discuss and compare how immigration and racial demographics influence men's value in society in the U.S.A. and Sweden.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, the language of the Swedish manosphere was investigated through the lens of semantic frames. As there was no list of terms specific to Swedish, relative frequencies were used with log ratio to develop a lexicon for the Swedish manosphere. Words with high frequency and/or high log ratio were used to identify terms of interest, which were further narrowed down based on topics observed in previous research. These terms were separated into five general categories with interrelated and overlapping contexts.

By analysing the terms of interest and their prominent frames, it was possible to determine which narratives are shared by the Swedish and English manospheres and which are unique to Sweden. Additionally, it links Swedish incel terms with frames and roles which enables the expansion of existing frame annotation with SweFen. Mapping words from the manosphere which currently lack FrameNet annotations to frames and roles can be used to build upon the current semantic frame schema for Swedish frames for societal issues.

7 Limitations and Future Work

The main limitation of this study was the incomplete annotations of the data. This meant that some frames which appeared frequently were often not directly adjacent to or situated close to the term under investigation. This was largely overcome by manually review frames in context.

Another limitation of this research is that data is limited to one forum. As a consequence, the results of this analysis may be biased toward the language of Flashback users in regards to the manosphere. Unfortunately, there is currently no other source of discourse on the manosphere in Swedish. As Swedish speakers are typically also competent English speakers, it is likely that many serious participants of the manosphere in Sweden gravitate toward established online communities operating in English. Thus, a need to create a dedicated space to discuss the manosphere in Sweden outside of established manosphere communities is low.

In the future, it will be helpful to apply dependency parsing to automatically associate frames with their roles. In addition, it will be necessary to create a semantic frame annotation schema based on the results of this paper that covers discourse in the Swedish manosphere.

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