

12-13-2023

Psycholinguistic Factors of Incel Cognition

Molly R. Johnson
Walden University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection at ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact ScholarWorks@waldenu.edu.

Walden University

College of Psychology and Community Services

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Molly Johnson

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee

Dr. Eric Hickey, Committee Chairperson, Psychology Faculty
Dr. Scott Gfeller, Committee Member, Psychology Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University
2023

Abstract

Psycholinguistic Factors of Incel Cognition

By

Molly Johnson

M.A., Norwich University, 2009

B.S. Bellevue University, 1997

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Forensic Psychology

Walden University

February 2024

Abstract

Involuntary celibates (incels) tend to be males who view themselves as undateable and unable to have sexual relationships with women. Typically, their outlook is hostile toward conventionally attractive women and men. They are known for their expressions of loneliness, inadequacy, and frustration related to what they feel is their lot in life. Although many studies focused on the quantitative variables associated with incels, there was little qualitative focus on emotions expressed by incels in their online posts. Using Bandura's social cognitive theory, this psycholinguistic study explored the language and expressed emotions of incels on the blackpill.club website. This was accomplished by employing the GoEmotions data set to identify the sentiment expressed at the thread topic level and individual post level. The top five emotions expressed were found to be associated with *admiration, approval, confusion, relief, and caring*. From there the corpus of posts was refined to only focus on the top 90th percent of expressed user emotion in posts. Among the top 90th percentile, emotions related to *anger, caring, sadness, disgust, disappointment, joy, and embarrassment* were most prevalent. The final aspect of the analysis was that of post-length analysis. This study found eight individuals shared posts in excess of 10,000 characters. Exceedingly long posts were valuable for better understanding the experiences of an individual as well as providing a greater range of emotional expressions. The results of this study may be used for positive social change for self-harm intervention, tipping and cueing of a person's potential for or intent to conduct attacks, and building on the corpus of knowledge related to marginalized communities, online behavior, and psychological and interventional tools at the disposal of the psychological community and law enforcement personnel.

Psycholinguistic Factors of Incel Cognition

by

Molly Johnson

M.A., Norwich University, 2009

B.S. Bellevue University, 1997

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Forensic Psychology

Walden University

February 2024

Acknowledgments

I thank my committee for their guidance, support, and insight. My family, friends, and coworkers, thank you for your support, patience, and brainstorming. I especially would like to thank Tony P. for taking the time to provide support and assistance; you, sir, are a genius and have the patience of a saint.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background.....	1
Problem Statement	2
Purpose of the Study	3
Research Questions.....	4
Theoretical Foundation	4
Nature of the Study	6
Definitions.....	7
Assumptions.....	9
Scope and Delimitations	9
Limitations	11
Significance of the Study	11
Summary and Transition.....	12
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	14
Literature Review Strategy	15
Theoretical Foundation	15

Literature Review Related to Key Concepts.....	17
Hate online	17
Manosphere.....	18
Men’s Liberation Movement	19
Pick-up Artists	20
Proud Boys.....	21
Men Going Their Own Way	22
Incel.....	23
Online radicalization.....	38
Incel Radicalization	41
Threat Assessment	48
Gaps in Literature	53
Summary and Conclusions	53
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	55
Introduction.....	55
Research Design and Rationale	56
Role of the Researcher	58
Methodology.....	59
Participant Selection Logic.....	59

Instrumentation	60
Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection	61
Data Analysis Plan	63
Issues of Trustworthiness	63
Credibility	64
Transferability	64
Dependability	64
Confirmability	65
Ethical Protection	65
Summary	65
Chapter 4: Results	67
User Demographics	68
Data Collection	68
Data Analysis	69
Topic Thread Analysis	70
Individual Website Participant Analysis	71
Sentiment Analysis	72
Topic Thread Sentiment Analysis	74
Individual Website Participant Sentiment Analysis	76

Post Length Analysis	81
Evidence of Trustworthiness.....	84
Results.....	85
Summary.....	86
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations.....	88
Introduction.....	88
Findings Related to the Study Research Questions	88
Interpretation of the Findings.....	89
Theoretical Explanation.....	91
Limitations of the Study.....	92
Recommendations.....	92
Implications.....	93
Conclusion	93
References.....	94
Appendix: Definitions.....	108

List of Figures

Figure 1: Blackpill.club daily post frequency	70
Figure 2: GoEmotions Sentiments	73
Figure 3: Top five sentiments expressed on the blackpill.club website	75
Figure 4: Top negative sentiments expressed on the blackpill.club website	76
Figure 5: Top users expressing anger on the blackpill.club website	79
Figure 6: Top two users expressing anger on the blackpill.club website	80
Figure 7: Top active users expressing anger.....	81
Figure 8: User Posts Over 10,000 Characters Long	82

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Understanding behavior is no longer confined to face-to-face interactions. Today, to comprehensively understand an individual or community of people, time must be taken to delve into their online persona. In some instances, a different side of themselves is portrayed online than the one presented via their physical, interpersonal interactions (Suler, 2004). The meek may present as bubbly, the calm may present as energetic, and the passive may present as enraged. Only when the physical and online personas are combined can thorough insight into the be obtained. Face-to-face interactions may belie a person's true motives, intentions, or desires. Combining knowledge gleaned from the real world and online behavior enables a more comprehensive understanding of a person (Lieberman & Schroeder, 2020). This study focused on a segment of the internet whose devotees rarely show their true selves live and in person, instead opting to unmask themselves online.

These men, known as involuntary celibate (incel), embrace an extreme brand of misogynistic and sometimes violent ideals. The unique and ever-adapting dialect found within incel posts makes it difficult for someone with a passing interest to join in the dialogue on involuntary celibate forums. However, it is only by studying the behavior of these men within these forums that the involuntary celibate male can be understood.

Background

Although incels' origins can be traced more than 20 years to a woman who coined the term 'involuntary celibate' to describe her dating situation (Bloom, 2022; Zimmerman et al., 2018), the cyber community of incels has morphed from its support

group origins into men espousing hatred for women and resentment toward attractive men online (Beauchamp, 2019; Bloom, 2022; Williams, 2018). Incels promote violence, rape, and murder of women through their brand of sexual cyberbullying (Ehman & Gross, 2019). Some incels have taken their online rants into the physical world by attacking those they feel are the cause of their perceived marginalization (Bael et al., 2019). Although cyber-harassment of females is common, with instances such as GamerGate (Bloom, 2022; Chess & Shaw, 2015) bringing notoriety to the misogyny women face online, the harassment tends to reside only within the virtual domain (Jaki et al., 2019). However, attack perpetrators Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, and Alek Minassian (Jaki et al., 2019; Kanji, 2018; Murray, 2017), among others, brought the incel movement out of the cyber world and into the physical realm.

Problem Statement

Known for their misogynistic perspective and inability to attain a romantic relationship with the opposite sex, incels have achieved a level of notoriety due to the violent lone-wolf attacks perpetrated by some adherents. Aided by attack perpetrators' self-published manifestos and video rants preceding their attacks, many law enforcement and government agencies have been able to perform a post-factum analysis of attack perpetrators. These data are combined with interviews with family members, friends, and coworkers and then combined with the man's life history up to the attack to create a psychological profile. Although much valuable information has been gleaned from these studies, preventing such attacks is essential.

Due in large part to the proliferation of numerous online forums, incels have a multitude of options when trying to find an online support community that resonates with

them. The data within these forums are ripe for analysis because they contain unfiltered dialogue among forum participants. Each post on these forums creates an electronic data trail. A comprehensive scrape of a website accompanied by follow on data analysis was conducted to provide insight into the unique language of incel, linguistic norms within the forum, and normative behavior of forum participants. Once a forum participant's normative behavior is determined, it is possible to identify their abnormal actions. A marked change in behavior may indicate an individual reaching a threshold for potential real-world attacks. Lives may be saved if an attacker can be interdicted before attack execution. The findings from the current study may also help educate law enforcement personnel on what behaviors to look for online that may not meet their previous threshold for people or activities of concern.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the psycholinguistic factors of incels. Using a qualitative approach, I analyzed the language of individuals within the blackpill.club website to establish forum norms and determine which, if any, of the forum participants expressed violent language that exceeded the forum norms and may have indicated future attack planning. I also sought to establish the linguistic norms on the forums. From there, I analyzed the distinct language patterns to discern whether psycholinguistic cues indicated a progression from normative linguistic patterns to language that may have been indicative of preparing to commit violent actions. I provided a more comprehensive understanding of the psychosocial factors of incels.

Research Questions

RQ1: What are the psycholinguistic characteristics of self-affiliated incel men within the blackpill.club website?

Although many researchers grouped incels by referring to them as a community, I used the term to refer to a loose amalgamation of like-minded individuals. Furthermore, referring to incel as a community connotes more cohesion than may exist. I used the term *self-affiliated* to refer to males who ascribe to incel perspectives. Blackpill.club is a forum website focused on openly sharing blackpill perspectives. These perspectives arise from the blackpill nihilistic belief that forum members are doomed to live a life of solitude due to an inability to improve their physical traits, social status, or interpersonal skills (Fowler, 2021).

RQ2: What psycholinguistic patterns are present within blackpill.club forums that may indicate an intent to harm others physically?

Theoretical Foundation

Based on work by Bandura (1989) social cognitive theory holds that how someone gains knowledge is related to their social interactions, experiences, and outside influences, including sources such as the news and social media. Social cognitive theory asserts that actions, perceptions combined with individualistic factors, and external or environmental factors influence a person and that person's impact on their environment (Bandura, 1989). The implied relationship between the individual and their environment is not weighted equally (Bandura, 1989). A person may have a lesser impact on their environment than the environment has on them or vice versa. Furthermore, these influences may not be immediate because it may take time for the influences to permeate

an individual or the environment (Bandura, 1989). Regardless of the impact, this environment-to-person interaction affects how a person thinks, speaks, presents, or acts.

Every external influence does not necessarily impact a person because an individual's unique mental construct decides what to integrate and what to disregard (Bandura, 1989). Maturity, brain development stage, and various social and environmental factors influence these mental processes (Bandura, 1989). Social cognitive theory also notes that humans are influenced by the experiences of another (Bandura, 1989) and not only by their own lived experiences (Bandura, 1989). Learning via viewing, hearing, or reading about the experiences of another can also have a direct impact on a person (Bandura, 1989). Additionally, social exposure to a variety of societal patterns and influences has a direct effect on individuality. These factors guide a person's beliefs, actions, and moral compass.

I used social cognitive theory as a foundational framework for this study to provide enhanced understanding of online interactions of incel. Understanding the pattern of online behavior of incels may enable an increased awareness of the modus operandi used by incels when communicating online with peers or when cyber harassing people. Some of the key motivators that may have spurred some incel members to physical attacks against innocent people were uncovered. Developing an enhanced understanding of the linguistic behaviors and patterns of incels online and critical indicators of physical attacks of incel members may enable treatment development and protect innocent individuals from their attacks.

Nature of the Study

Modern psycholinguistics can be traced to three progenitors: Wundt, Bloomfield, and Chomsky (Ayudhya, 2021). Trained as an experimental psychologist, Wundt focused on the relevance of language to the mind and the overall psychological process (Ayudhya, 2021). Wundt's research has influenced not only the field of psychology but also psycholinguistics and basic linguistic principles (Ayudhya, 2021). Bloomfield focused on language from historical and comparative linguistic perspectives, grounding the work in linguistic analysis (Ayudhya, 2021). Known as one of the fathers of cognitive science, Chomsky posited that language was a central component of a person's mental processes, disposition, and characteristics (Ayudhya, 2021). These foundational theories and perspectives informed the modern field of psycholinguistics. Psycholinguistics is the study of not only the psychology of individuals but also the unique structure, expressions, and syntax of an individual's or group's language.

Mood also impacts linguistic choices. In their study of the impact of mood on word choice Azeez et al. (2023) performed a psycholinguistic study of discourse markers. They highlighted how discourse markers indicate mood as it is the choice of wording and contextual reference that provide psycholinguistic insight to the writer. Depending upon the mood of the writer, a topic can be presented in different manners. In turn, the reader's interpretation and response are informed by the word choices of the writer. Their psychological and emotional state can be discerned by their word choices.

The current study's corpus of research encompassed existing incel studies, academic articles, documentaries, news stories, and police/government reports. Performing an in-depth examination of incels' online forums and chat rooms was

warranted to understand their in-group and out-group linguistic variations. These data sources were vital to understanding incels' origins and how they had morphed into what they are today. Understanding incels' cultural underpinnings was essential to presenting a comprehensive study.

The posts on the blackpill.club website were analyzed for this study. These forums provided rich, insightful data on incels as forum posters felt free to express themselves in an uncensored manner. The website's name *blackpill* refers to a fatalistic belief that a person has no hope of changing their social, physical, or personal status (Fowler, 2021). Although typically ascribed to incel, the blackpill perspective is not unique to incel. Although this perspective is held by many within the manosphere, incels tend to endorse more extreme social and political attitudes that encourage violent language and antipathy towards females and attractive/sexually successful males.

Definitions

Alek Minassian: An incel "saint" responsible for a 2018 van attack in Toronto that resulted in the death of 11 people.

Alpha: A high-status male (a.k.a. a Chad).

Becky: A female second only to Stacys with regard to looks and social status; considered to be more attainable.

Beta: An average male subordinate to Alphas.

Black pill/blackpill: The belief that society will never change and less attractive males have no chance of having a sexual or romantic relationship with a woman.

Cel/-cel: Suffix denoting involuntary celibate; with an added prefix, represents the condition leading to celibacy.

Elliot Rodger: The “supreme gentleman” responsible for a shooting rampage in Isla Vista, CA in 2014 that resulted in the death of 6 and injury to twenty-four others.

Incel: Involuntary celibate men; being unable to have sex despite having the desire to do so.

Inceldom: The state of being involuntarily celibate.

Men going their own way (MGTOW): A group of men who have decided to no longer seek a relationship with women.

Men’s rights activist (MRA): Men who believe men’s issues/interests have become secondary issues due to the rise of feminism.

Pickup artists (PUA): Men who believe women are objects to be tricked into sex.

Pill: A range of beliefs or worldviews derived from the *Matrix* movies and subsumed by the incel and many alt-right communities.

Red pill: Acknowledgment of a sexual hierarchy in which most men are not considered desirable by societal standards.

Saint Alek: Alek Minassian, incel responsible for van attack in Toronto, CA in 2018 that killed 11 pedestrians.

Saint Elliot: Elliot Rodger, self-affiliated incel responsible for shootings in Isla Vista, CA in 2014.

Saint Yogacel: Scott Beirle, the incel-affiliated shooter who opened fire in a yoga class in Tallahassee, FL in 2018.

Stacy/Stacey: Prototypically attractive female, most often white and blonde.

To blackpill: Convert someone to the incel mindset.

For a more comprehensive list of key terms and their definitions, see Appendix.

Assumptions

In selecting the blackpill.club website for this study, several assumptions had to be made. I assumed that the posts, language, and interpersonal dialogue present on the blackpill.club website was representative of other forums and websites visited by incels. I further assumed that the men posting on this website consider themselves, to one degree or another, to be incel or follow incel ideals. Additionally, I assumed all individuals posting on the website were, in fact, men. It is possible that there may be some women who have posted on this website as well. Since identities associated with website posters is anonymized, there is no way to know for certain whether a person has only one user account and associated user name on the website. It is possible that some people posting on this website may have had more than one account. If one were to have a primary user account, they could then use their secondary account to improve the number of thread interactions and to keep threads they view as important more current. It should be noted that although usernames are a form of self-anonymization, usernames were further anonymized in this study to minimize the potential for inadvertent disclosure of individuals.

Scope and Delimitations

A potential limitation of my study was accessing the study group. Due to their desire for anonymity and contempt toward women, dialogue with incels would have been complex at best. Qualitative and quantitative documents, including audiovisual and digital materials are viable sources of data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Online chats, social media posts, and news stories regarding attacks attributed to incel helped complement these traditional data sources and helped formulate potential markers of

incel terminology, interpersonal online interactions with like-minded persons, and potential precursors to incel-perpetrated attacks. This information may also be applied to unattributed incel attacks, to determine whether they have indicators associated with incel. Searching publicly accessible government websites for data and research on incel also provided amplifying information. These data sources helped augment and develop an understanding of incel development, progression, and associated linguistic nuances and identity.

Another potential limitation was that my study focused on forums that are publicly accessible. I did not explore websites requiring a username and password to view the website contents. The information posted on a website that does not require a password has no associated expectation of privacy. Anyone posting on a website or forum that is publicly viewable and searchable knows their post is not private. By restricting my research to public websites, I did not risk misrepresenting myself, but it also limited the number of online forums I could access.

One potential challenge of this study was maintaining the anonymity of the individual. Although participants in online forums tend to self-anonymize by creating a unique identifier for themselves (e.g., 'John123'), these identifiers can also be linked to the individual. I further anonymized these unique identifiers by assigning a new, unique identifier such as *user001*. By taking this step to anonymize forum participants further, I minimized the potential for accidental association with the original poster. Walden University's (2022) research ethics and compliance website noted red flag concerns that would necessitate an institutional review board consult (Walden University, 2022). My

study did not focus on any vulnerable populations or issues that may be considered sensitive (Walden University IRB approval number 05-31-23-0741316).

Limitations

A potential limitation of this study was the potential for misrepresentation or misunderstanding of a post. Because incel forums rely on slang, it was possible that the intent of the post may not have been fully understood. Secondly, there was the potential that I could not discern the meaning of a post without the accompanying meme or image. Due to the possibility of inadvertent viewing or capturing of illegal visual materials, I only performed an html code web scrape of the blackpill.club website to capture only the text of a post and not an image, gif, or video in a post. Another identified limitation was the possibility that all participants on the blackpill.club website were moderate in their beliefs and would not express significant hatred or rage. A final limitation to this study relates to the software selected for performing the sentiment analysis. While the GoEmotions data set was trained on 58,000 English language posts from Reddit expressing emotion (Demszky et al., 2020), the creators of the GoEmotions data set did opt to exclude posts they deemed graphic, belligerent, or profane (Demszky et al., 2020). Although it is understandable why the creators of the software chose to do it, it may limit its ability to accurately identify those statements.

Significance of the Study

This study provided insight into the mindset and tenets of the men who affiliate themselves with inceldom. It also identified whether any forum participant expressed the intent or desire to commit real-world attacks. Typically, incels advocate for the cyber sexual bullying and harassment of women; degrade dateable men and women online; and

advocate for violence, rape, and killing of women in the physical world (Beauchamp, 2019; Murray, 2017; Williams et al., 2021). Applying the enhanced understanding of incel psycholinguistic factors to other unattributed attacks could be beneficial in determining whether pre-attack indicators are present in their online posts. By analyzing previous attacks and potentially associating some of them with incel, it may be possible to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the group and identify exhibited attack precursors based on their own linguistic and emotional expressions. This enhanced understanding could have implications in the field of psychology related to the psychology of marginalized groups and online radicalization. Additionally, the study could be used to assist law enforcement personnel and other government agencies who seek to protect the public from hostile or violent acts perpetrated by men who associate themselves with incel.

Summary and Transition

This study is broken into several parts. Chapter 2 addresses the existing literature surrounding the incel community. First, it will set a common framework by presenting existing studies related to hate online. From there, it will delve into the manosphere and discuss some of its most active communities. Next will be an examination of existing literature on incel. Then, there will be a review of online radicalization followed by a threat assessment and a discussion of the gaps in the existing literature. Chapter 3 addresses this study's research methods. Among other things, it addresses the research design and rationale, methodological approach, study selection criteria, and data analysis plan. Chapter 4 goes into the research performed for this study. This includes a detailed discussion on the study's data collection, data cleaning, data analysis, and overall

findings. Finally, in Chapter 5, study findings, limitations, recommendations for future research, and overall study implications will be presented.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As an online community born out of feelings of isolation, incels have found belonging and camaraderie online among their brethren (Bloom, 2022; Zimmerman et al., 2018). Despite their isolationist beginnings, incels do not constitute a monolithic body uninfluenced by external factors or other groups. On the contrary, incel's origins, influences, and similarities to other organizations within the manosphere are essential components the men who affiliate themselves with incel ideology. Isolation and marginalization are common themes expressed by incel (Daly & Laskovtsov, 2021; Preston et al., 2021; 2021). Misogynistic viewpoints are a cornerstone of incel ideology but are also present in many other communities (Preston et al., 2021). Similarly, incels embrace an extreme idealistic stance accompanied by a passion for greatness in death with radicalized terrorist extremists (Hoffman et al., 2020).

Key among incel research is the need to understand them in their natural environment. Unlike ethnographic studies that required a physical presence in the community of study (Georges & Jones, 1980), incels commune within the virtual sphere of the internet, which requires immersion in the online environment of the group (Han & Yin, 2022; Ritter, 2022). Although frustration, anger, and loneliness are common themes among incel posts, I studied their language to understand the genuine emotion exhibited by incel adherents. Linguistic analysis of the online posts helped establish their in-group linguistic norms. By establishing these normative linguistic patterns, I obtained a deeper understanding of the experiences, emotions, and cybersocial behaviors of incel males.

Literature Review Strategy

Research began with selecting articles relating to incel and involuntary celibate. As my research progressed, my keywords developed to include *misogyn* (a truncation of misogyny, misogynistic, misogynous, etc.), *4Chan*, *Reddit*, *Minassian*, *Rodger*, *Breivik*, *red pill*, *redpill*, *blackpill*, *black pill*, *Chad*, *Stacy*, *Tyrone*, and *Becky*. The initial set of search terms developed as the research progressed. Additionally, my search necessitated the inclusion of elimination criteria because I discovered an author with the last name Incel.

Keywords alone did not ensure locating relevant articles. I used numerous databases as well. Database searches included Thoreau, ERIC, SAGE Journals, Psychology Databases Combined Search, ProQuest Central, Academic Search Ultimate, LexisNexis, Global Newsstream, CIAO, American Psychological Association, and the Global Terrorism Database. Additional open and paid access research included Google Scholar and Scribd. Searching these databases yielded some duplicative results, but it helped ensure the execution of a comprehensive search. Additionally, current news reporting from 2001 to the present related to incel provided dynamic incel information.

Theoretical Foundation

Based on work by Bandura (1989), social cognitive theory holds that how someone processes knowledge is related to their social interactions, experiences, and outside influences such as the news and social media. In an article on cyber extremism, Awan (2017) used social cognitive theory to understand the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) members. As Bandura (1989) noted, the confluence of expectations, personal beliefs, self-image, aspirations, and objectives combine to influence one's behavior.

Awan noted that utilizing the lens of social cognitive theory, ISIS publishes attacks against them as justification for their fight against everyone who is not ISIS. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby the more they isolate themselves, show how repressed they are, and show how they are innocent in any attack against them, the more it justifies their attacks against others. Similarly, incel members find like-minded individuals online who feel repressed and marginalized. Their frustration is fed through online forums of other incel members, who represent the nexus of their frustration and rage.

Awan (2017) correlated social cognitive theory to social media's influence on extremism. A key aspect of an interconnected society is social media's impact on individuals. Whereas prior generations' social interactions were limited to the physical domain, today, people can socialize via the cyber domain. These online interactions are part of the social environment and are key influencers in Bandura's (1989) bidirectional perspective of the environment and internal factors influencing a person. Although the nightly news has been a medium for relaying world events, the cyber domain has become a medium for presenting event details or concepts in a manner that can influence others. One example of a group that has experienced tremendous success in influencing others online is ISIS. This group leverages events in the physical world to influence people in the virtual world. ISIS presents events and concepts in a manner that is meant to trigger an emotional response and strengthen the resolve of ISIS followers, by creating a narrative of events that facilitates their continued influence over their adherents.

I used social cognitive theory as a foundational framework to understand the online interactions of incels. Understanding the pattern of behavior of incels online

enables an increased awareness of the modus operandi used by incels with their in-group or out-group communications. Key motivators that spur some incel members to physical attacks, while most appear resigned to only expressing their emotions online, may be better understood through this study. Additionally, through an enhanced understanding of the linguistic behaviors and patterns of incel online, accompanied by identification of critical indicators preceding physical attacks perpetrated by incel, a possible way forward concerning the psychological treatment of emotionally vulnerable men can be formulated, potentially protecting innocent individuals from potential attacks.

Literature Review Related to Key Concepts

Before delving into the depths of incel, I first look at other cyber communities, groups, and efforts. Understanding related communities online provided a deeper understanding of the incel community. There is no shortage of cyber communities seeking to change the narrative, expose wrong, or express frustration at current societal norms. The following section lays the groundwork by discussing examples of online hate. From there, the manosphere and its overlapping communities are discussed before examining the literature on incel.

Hate online

Powell et al. (2018) referenced increasing research on the growth of hate online. Expressions/threats of violence and abuse are rising as debate continues about the danger posed by cyber versus real-world threats of violence. At what point online speech meets the level of a real threat against a person or persons is not clear. Through better understanding of the totality of online threats, their effect may be measured.

Networked hate is a modern application of the traditional hate networks or hate groups concept. The phenomenon of hate groups does not distinguish between online and offline activity (Powell et al., 2018). Technology is ahead of the law in this regard, because the reporting and tracking of online hate are spotty at best. For example, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC, 2021) tracks instances of hate, but its collection of digital threats is not included in its statistical reporting. Likewise, many states lack legal standing for the prosecution of hate crimes, and those with these laws on the books have little to no ability to pursue cases of digital hate. The fact that laws do not exist related to such crimes presents an image that such crimes are not illegal and, therefore, the perpetrator is not acting outside the law.

Manosphere

The manosphere includes the men's rights movement (MRM), men's rights advocates (MRAs), pickup artists (PUAs), the father's rights movement, and men going their own way (MGTOW) (Leidig, 2021; Tastenhoye et al., 2022). These movements assert varying degrees of male victimhood, generally due to the rise of feminism (Leidig, 2021). Not all misogyny stems from incel, but by understanding the relationship each subgroup within the manosphere has to misogyny, it is more likely that a better understanding of nascent motivations, ideals, and perspectives can be discerned.

Overlapping with the manosphere, the alt-right community is synonymous with overt misogynous ideals (Sunderland, 2022). This theme is prevalent in online communities, from white nationalism to the gaming community. Sunderland (2022) analyzed the oldest white nationalist website, Stormfront.org, because of its direct relation to white nationalism. A consistent theme noted in posts on the site is misogynist

ideals. These ideals are often a manifestation of frustration with dating prospects. Alt-right manipulates the commonalities between white nationalists, gamers, MRAs, PUAs, and incels by presenting them as a cohesive community.

A tenant ascribed to by white nationalists, hegemonic masculinity theorizes that aggression, violent behavior, and ambitiousness are traits men should possess (Glance et al., 2021). Any man lacking these traits will face a life of subjugation and emasculation. Ascribing to hegemonic masculinity has been shown to have a more significant association with violence toward women (Glance et al., 2021).

The incel-affiliated males are not alone in expressing their frustration with the apparent upper hand of the female sex. Incel falls under the umbrella of men's rights groups within the manosphere. Men's rights groups encompass numerous male-centric online communities. Although the contents of their web pages may lead a person to think otherwise, most men's rights groups communities claim not to be misogynistic.

Men's Liberation Movement

The men's liberation movement (MLM) advocates for a more contemporary, if not compassionate, take on traditional gender roles (LaViolette & Hogan, 2019). The MLM does not promote the rage and hatred synonymous with incel. Instead, MLM appears to seek to negate the negative associations of men expressing traditional female emotions, such as crying, while promoting equanimity between the sexes.

While the MLM seeks balance, the Men's Rights Movement (MRM) attests that men's rights, such as the equal right of male parents to have custody of their children (Jane, 2018), are disregarded in favor of the mother's rights. Despite their purported desire for equality, MRM sites typically express misogyny and derision towards females

regularly. Donovan (2011) described the decline of men in the face of the growing acceptance of feminist culture. This brand of masculinity harkened back to pre-industrialized men who performed physical labor while the women were content to maintain the household (Donovan, 2011).

Pick-up Artists

PUAs are a community of men who have honed their mating and peacocking skills to a level that enables their seduction of innumerable women (Sharkey, 2022). Whereas incels are the walking antithesis of PUA mastery because they view themselves as incapable of bedding a woman due to their inferior physical presence and non-existent social skills.

PUAs lauded a reductive version of opposite-sex relations as merely sexual transactions, with the only unknown being what the PUAs have to do to get the attention of their desired female conquest (Cosma & Gurevich, 2020). Men are perceived as virile and masculine, while women are seen as foolish sexual objects capable of being seduced by a man's appearance or persona. Feminism and women's equality are justifications for PUA's methods of leveling the playing field to obtain sex.

Although PUAs inadvertently laid the foundation for many communities in the manosphere (Hoffman et al., 2020), PUAs have become more of a memory of a bygone era as incel, MGTOW, the Proud Boys, and other MRAs have garnered their own audiences. These groups share an understanding of "red pilling," which they believe to be an accurate understanding of women and society. For PUAs, women were superficial beings; therefore, PUAs' successful peacocking and sexual conquests were merely a reflection of women being too shallow to see the truth in the PUAs' actions.

Proud Boys

Originating from the group of men formerly known as PUAs, the Proud Boys emerged as a community of male extremists rallying against political correctness and anti-Christian perspectives, for white nationalism, and advocating misogynist ideals (Powell et al., 2018; SLPC, 2021). Males affiliated with the Proud Boys have been associated with events of violence, hate, and public instability in the United States and Canada (Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], 2021). While incels feel they are due relationships and sex, the Proud Boys affirm that women prefer a domestic existence of being a wife and rearing children (SPLC, 2021).

Identified as one of many examples of networked hate (Powell et al., 2018), the Proud Boys have given a voice to the opponents of sexual equality. Formed initially as a men's rights activist group in 2016 (SPLC, 2021), the Proud Boys began as a brotherhood standing against political correctness and the concept of white privilege. The Proud Boys have evolved into a far-right organization based on Western chauvinism and deny accusations of connections to the alt-right and white nationalism despite publicly expressing values that also align with white nationalism (Leidig, 2021; SPLC, 2021). Labeled chauvinistic, sexist, misogynistic, and Islamophobic, the Proud Boys arose from the remnants of the PUAs on the early 2000s (Hoffman et al., 2020; SPLC, 2021). Both incels and the Proud Boys view feminism as hindering rather than helping society. Similarly, racial inequalities are also prevalent within these communities (Hoffman et al., 2020).

Men Going Their Own Way

A separatist movement that prefers focusing on self-empowerment and solitary pursuits, MGTOW differentiates itself from other men's rights groups because they have ceased to pursue relationships with women (Jones et al., 2020). This is because they prefer to improve themselves and preserve their male identity/values. Despite the presentation of a less hostile, more isolationist mindset, Jones et al. (2020) noted that this belies their passive harassment of women and continued ability to spread their toxic masculinity beliefs. Whereas PUAs schemed to have sexual liaisons with women, MGTOW have given up the pursuit of finding a mate and have resolved themselves to a sexless, relationship-free life (Hoffman et al., 2020). While MGTOW have given up on a relationship, incel desire one but feel they will never have one. Instead of finding peace with this realization, incel resent others and foment rage toward their persecutors.

Not dissimilar to Donovan's derision of feminist theory and frustration at what he perceives as state-controlled masculinity may be the group MGTOW. However, MGTOW proposes separating from the female sex and forgoing romantic relationships rather than trying to meet the expectations of an overtly feminist society that hampers truly masculine men (Johanssen, 2022; Wright & Elam, 2014). If an MGTOW does choose to be with a female, it is with her understanding that he will not change who he is or how he behaves; if the female does not like it, then she can leave (Sabourin, 2019). MGTOW and incel distinctions should also be noted. While males under the MGTOW umbrella are choosing not to engage in relationships with women, males who align themselves with the incel philosophy feel that they are owed a relationship but have been forced out of the running for one due to their appearance, financial means, etc.

(Johanssen, 2022). Furthermore, a blue-pill male (one who has not seen things as they actually are) is considered a male feminist if he seeks female equality (Sabourin, 2019). In contrast, a male who has taken the red pill (a male who sees things for what they are) is enlightened and no longer constrained by societal norms (Sabourin, 2019).

In their study of over 10,000 tweets containing the hashtag #MGTOW, Jones et al. (2020) identified 141 frequent hashtag users. Of those key users' tweets, 29% were coded as harassing, while the majority were also noted as sexist. Instead of merely supporting a male-affirming agenda, Jones et al. relate MGTOWs overtly benign ideals minimize MGTOWs actual agenda of denigration and harassment of anyone who presents concepts of masculinity, heterosexuality, women, and relationships that differ from their own (Jones et al., 2020).

Incel

In line with their original precepts of compassion and acceptance, the initial incel communities were supportive, kind, and open to all genders, sexual orientations, and walks of life (Glance et al., 2021). Their commonality was their shared inability to obtain a romantic relationship. As the manosphere gained traction, the welcoming nature of the incel community changed. Expressions of hybrid masculinities are also commonplace in incel forums. Perceived injustices are often presented against ever-present expressions of misogyny. Despite viewing themselves as relationship failures, they readily denigrate women and men who experience romantic success. While bemoaning their own physical inadequacies, incels appear to think nothing of deriding a female who presents with similar attributes. The cognitive dissonance amongst incels is deafening.

It is important to note that today there remain two distinct incel communities. The first still holds the original values of the involuntary celibate community, comprising individuals seeking support and a sense of community with others who are unable to obtain a romantic relationship (Hoffman, Ware, & Shapiro, 2020). The other subset of incel is the one most commonly referred to in reporting. These individuals co-opted the original values of the group by adding hate and misogyny, promoting sexual violence, and derisively expressing frustration with the genetic lottery handed to conventionally attractive men (Hoffman, Ware, & Shapiro, 2020). Since the first known incel attack in 2014, almost 50 innocent victims have fallen prey to incel in several separate attacks. In their 2019 report on extremism, the Organization for the Prevention of Violence (OPV) classified incel as a single-issue extremist group (McCoy, Jones, & Hastings, 2019). According to the OPV's classification criteria, incel is an ardent misogynistic movement.

While the origins of the incel community are known, it isn't as if those disenfranchised individuals appeared out of thin air upon the coining of the phrase 'involuntary celibate' or the follow-on term 'incel.' People who did not feel as those they fit societal norms have always existed. Brooks (2021) notes that in generations past, males lacking financial means or a betrothal opted for an adventurous albeit solitary existence. These males joined the military or became seafarers. By removing themselves from the societal pressures of marriage and children and the expectation of continuing the family trade, these men could carve out an existence that allowed them to thrive. Moreover, they fulfilled an ever-present manning requirement within those trades.

As subcultures of the men's rights groups express their stance on masculinity, femininity, and social expectations, incel has risen to the forefront as a community of

men with members willing to attack and kill those individuals that they feel are the reason for their suppression. Their rage and frustration are palpable in their online musings. Most posts center on their physical shortcomings, inability to have sex with women, and anger towards men who are considered conventionally attractive and physically fit. Their palpable rage has landed them a designation as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (Crimando, 2019). The self-professed community of omega males (Ging, 2019) has stepped into the forefront.

While sex is not an uncommon topic online, the subject of sex within the manosphere can take different forms. For example, while MGTOW have opted to pursue a happy life without sex, a common theme in the incel community is resentment for not being given sex (Sugiura, 2021). Even within the incel community, sexual success varies. Some males may never have kissed a female, let alone had sex with one, some may have kissed a female but never had sex, some incel have had sex with a woman at some point, and some may have only had sex when they paid a woman to sleep with them (Sugiura, 2021). Another subset of incel had opted to abstain from pornography and masturbation, known as NoFap (Smith et al., 2022). While Fap is slang for masturbation, NoFap refers to choosing not to engage in such solitary sexual release pursuits (Smith et al., 2022)

These men desire what most men attain: a prototypical heterosexual relationship (Sugiura, 2021). Incels typically blame the sexual revolution for their inability to possess this type of relationship. A prominent belief amongst incel is that before the sexual revolution, men had the upper hand in relationships; men were the primary breadwinners, so women were reliant upon men. From another perspective, it can be viewed that while

men afforded women the necessities as per Maslov's hierarchy of needs, women were, in turn, required to fulfill a man's otherwise unmet need via obedient sex.

With members online promoting violence against women and derision for attractive men (Beauchamp, 2019; Williams et al., 2021) incel has become synonymous with the misplaced anger associated with feelings of social and societal inadequacy while seeking to blame others for their plight. These individuals have also become known for their unique brand of sexual cyberbullying and harassment (Chess & Shaw, 2015; Ehman & Gross, 2019). Not willing to contain their emotions to cyber rants, Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, and Alek Minassian (Kanji, 2018; Murray, 2017) brought incel into the mainstream news by carrying out physical attacks against those they felt were the cause of their pain and isolation.

Zimmerman et al. (2018) provided information on two incel-affiliated shooters, Minassian and Rodger. Their paper provides a baseline of information on incel, discussing how incel's political ideology revolves around misogyny and white supremacy, even going so far as to categorize them as violent extremists. Their analysis provides core foundational information essential to the understanding and analysis of incel by correlating incel's advocating of violence and the violent ideology associated with other extremist groups. While fully acknowledging the core ideological differences, establishing that some of the values of incel – that of female misogyny and how female equality is the downfall of civilization – are akin to those of other communities within the manosphere and ideologically radicalized groups, such as ISIS, are essential to understanding the potential danger lurking within incel writ large. Militant anti-feminist ideology permeates such groups as incel, men's rights groups, ISIS, and white

supremacist groups, which all pose potential threats. Previous analysis of the attacks by Minassian and Rodger began to pull back the veil surrounding incel.

Beauchamp (2019) provided much-needed contextual information on the history of incel, including unique terminology used by incel. Having morphed from its humble beginnings as a supportive web community of women and men who felt awkward and unable to get a date, incel is now synonymous with men possessing animosity and vitriol towards women. Not unlike other groups and subcultures/communities, incel has developed terminology to represent key topics they discuss. Understanding the history, motivations, triggers, language, and mindset of incel is essential to establishing a baseline of understanding to undertake further research on these individuals.

Jaki et al. (2018) performed a quantitative and machine learning analysis on incel forums, identifying unique linguistic patterns and terms. They propose that a comprehensive understanding of incel requires qualitative and quantitative evaluation as it is not just the number of posts/attacks/etc. That is pertinent, but it is also the tone, timing, and cyber location of posts that can provide the most value. Leveraging qualitative and quantitative analysis was crucial for identifying key terms and language usage of incel online. Knowing what to look for in a virtual sea of millions of posts can be vital to preventing future attacks or identifying influential incel members. With groups that have the potential to aggregate online nearly instantaneously, time is essential. Most groups have their own subculture and associated shorthand or terminology. Identification

of unique language and combining that with machine learning automates the process of identifying posts by incel members as well as determining the nature of the post itself.

How incel radicalize can be understood by analyzing ISIS recruitment, indoctrination, and radicalization tactics (al-Rawi, 2018; Awan, 2017; Kanji, 2018; Shamieh & Szenes, 2015). In his article on terrorism and ISIS, al-Rawi (2018) addresses ISIS media strategies and how they create video games and YouTube videos that target young people. Awan (2017) discusses the cyber advances of ISIS, which have garnered thousands of online supporters who help spread their ideology, support the cause, and provide financial support. Kanji (2018) presented a comparative analysis of incel attacks against the pattern of attacks by other terrorist and ideological groups, noting online radicalization technique similarities between ISIS and other online groups, such as incel. Previous to that, Shamieh and Szenes (2015) focused on how groups such as ISIS leverage their technological savvy to spread their ideology and quickly adapt to the constantly changing cyber landscape. It may be easier to understand and analyze the themes propagated by incel by taking the time to look at them through an enhanced understanding of ISIS online recruitment and messaging techniques. Although the focus of rage differs between ISIS and incel, some of their radicalization methods are similar.

Williams (2018) provided an in-depth understanding of the violent nature of the incel movement. A self-proclaimed incel member, Elliot Rodger has the distinction of being identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center as their first “alt-right” terrorist and an incel member. Williams discusses how incel feel there is a gender war afoot, with women being the aggressors. At the same time, the self-anointed “undatable” men are undesirable, having become the marginalized individuals in the war. While most incel

members appear willing to confine their rage to online rants, some feel compelled to physically attack the women they perceive as their aggressors. These men advocate the rape, torture, maiming, assault, and killing of women. According to Williams, incel is a modern terrorist group that, instead of having a religious foundation, has roots in a common rage against women.

Baker (2019) presented a theory of “left behind” men that may enable a better understanding of the motivations of incel members. These men feel their societal, cultural, or financial positions are weakened or destroyed by others. According to Baker, the incongruous dynamics of today’s more culturally, ethnically, and gendered equitable environment can be too much for some to accept. As a result, these men rebel against the new world order, acting violently towards those they feel are suppressing them or those they think they can dominate. Similarly, incel feel marginalized, disenfranchised, and resentful of today's social landscape. They seek like-minded individuals and either advocate violence against women or actively seek out violent acts. An analysis of incels based on the characteristics of “left behind” men could provide valuable insight into incel members.

Studies focused on women’s experiences online provide insight into the misogyny and sexual harassment women face online. Many online forums do not welcome females and have instead held fast to masculine culture (Chess & Shaw, 2015). By reviewing documents and social media posts/discussions, Chess and Shaw (2015) utilized a fishbowl format within the Digital Games Research Association (DiGRA) to pose questions about sex and gaming diversity. Still, the conversation quickly devolved into

attacks on feminism and statements about women not being welcome in the gaming world.

Cole (2015) focused on the normative online culture that seeks to quash the voice of women while asserting a subjugative female position, with some advocating rape of a woman because her view is contrary to a man's. Ehman and Gross (2019) sought to understand better current research on sexual cyberbullying and the psychological and social effects of sexual cyberbullying for victims and offenders. Incel forums online are magnets for men who have experienced frustration, marginalization, feelings of inadequacy, or rejection. Posts on these sites are known to advocate violence and rape of women. These women are guilty of merely for existing. Treatment of women is worse if their forum or public stance on a subject is contrary to their own. Incel forums are not conducive to positive, non-vitriolic discourse as their hatred towards women and their tendency to gang up on people online makes coherent dialogue impossible.

Davidson et al. (2019) discussed incel in their analysis of online ideological communities. Their focus was on the roles of participants in the online communities. By utilizing a reader-to-leader framework, they identified behaviors and traits of leaders in online forums. This reader-to-leader framework has the potential to bin incel members in discussions based on their role on that site. Someone deemed a contributor or collaborator on one site might be a leader on another. Knowing the overlap of users between different forums would also be beneficial in enhancing the understanding of incel.

Murray (2017) provided insight into the relationship between sexual, sadistic, and misogynistic fantasies to mass and serial killings. Psychosexual issues have been shown to be critical influencers for mass killers. The fantasy build-up became a fixation for

these violent criminals. Their expected fantasy fulfillment became a sexual stimulus for them to enact their violent acts. In particular, the fantasy of incel member Elliot Rodger was his blaming women for not finding him sexually appealing. Rodger also blamed other men for occupying the attention of the women he craved. Understanding what motivates an individual to kill others, let alone random individuals, is essential to understanding incel members. Applying the understanding of misogynistic fantasies, sexual deviancy, and boiling rage to an analysis of incel members and other, as yet unaffiliated, mass shooters may further develop this understanding and potentially help prevent future victims.

In their study of incel and pornography, Tranchese and Sugiura (2021) present linguistic commonalities in pornography and among incel. Leveraging posts on the subreddit r/incels, they created a baseline of normative language and linguistic characteristics of incel. According to Tranchese and Sugiura, despite a pervasive theme of anti-masturbation among incel, linguistic similarities between incel and mainstream pornography may point to excessive viewing of pornography. Pornography seeks to normalize the abuse, belittlement, and objectification of women as merely sexual objects. Comparably, r/incels posts reflect a similar (dis)regard for women. Another similarity between pornography viewers and incel relates to sexual prowess. Men who watch pornography develop a skewed self-perception, typically forming insecurities pertaining to personal appearance, (in)ability to score with women, and their overall lack of conversational skills that would engage a female. Over time, these traits build into feelings of shame and present as anger towards women and more sexually successful men. Interestingly, these are also the viewpoint expressed by men that consider

themselves incel. This study by Tranchese and Sugiura underlines the concept that misogyny does not exist in solely one aspect of society but instead permeates multiple genres in innumerable forms. Just as pornography can skew the perspective of sexual intercourse, the misogynist beliefs shared by incel minimize and degrade a woman's role in society.

Sharkey (2022) posits that incel are mentally arrested males akin to boys who have not grown into men. Lacking the mental faculties of an adult male, they address concepts of women's liberation, personal and romantic failure, and crisis in a manner that is commensurate with their psychological, rather than their actual, age. This proposition aligns with incel's perspective that the state of society limits them from becoming the fully formed man as per destiny. A linchpin in ascending to manhood is sexual relations with a woman. Incel are instead faced with a society that frowns upon traditional masculinity, empowers women's advancement and autonomy, and eliminates their chances of having a normal relationship with the opposite sex. This marginalization naturally leads incel to become resentful of their inability to live life as they feel they should. These feelings of marginalization build into hatred towards women and the men who have relationships with women.

Furthering the concept of us-vs-them, subculture analysis of the Incel Wikipedia, according to Anderson (2022), contains encyclopedic data on inceldom. Mirroring the Wikipedia format, the Incel Wiki has becoming a knowledge-sharing sites for incel. Of note, the Incel Wiki vehemently denies any association to unreasonable, risky, or brutal behavior. Instead, the Incel Wiki has opted to reframe their beliefs and behaviors as reasonable, measured, and academic. Anderson studied the social constructs presented

with the Incel Wiki to include a delineation between what incels perceive as actual versus false believers. By addressing the research in this manner, Anderson was able to note subtleties in subculture creation and maintenance. Alternative values of the incel subculture are merely typical values and beliefs of incel. The natural delineation between a subculture and mainstream values is an attempt to retaliate against society and societal norms that incel feel limit them. This clash of ideals between the mainstream and any subculture inculcates incel beliefs even more for its believers. Incel expressions of distrust, grief, and frustration with various aspects of the mainstream are reflected in their posts, practices, and creative manifestations (e.g., GIFs, stories, memes, games, videos, and linguistic idiosyncrasies). While some expressions and beliefs may be unique to incel, the practice of subcultures morphing concepts, beliefs, and visual media to better align with the subcultures mores is commonplace.

Referencing 59 previous studies, Stijelja and Mishara (2022) parsed out the psychosocial characteristics of incel then compared them with adult virgins and individuals who experienced sex later in life. This novel study, revealed shared feelings of body dysmorphia, generalized anxiety, timidity, isolation, despair, suicidal thoughts/ideation, sexual inexperience, torment, and varying degrees of developmental disorders such as autism. What distinguishes the two groups seems to be incel's anti-female rhetoric. Whether this is due to an absence of healthy coping mechanisms, some form of mental illness, developmental disorders, or some other mechanism or influence is not fully known as there remains an absence of a corpus of empirical first-person studies conducted on incel. However, the identification of these shared experiences can help expand our overall understanding of incel and may help identify methods for

intervention. In lieu of face-to-face interactions, it is crucial to develop an online methodology for curtailing or reforming incel's violent beliefs, as online interaction is the primary means to access these individuals. Understanding the experiences and feelings of incel is a vital aspect of this.

Incels are not alone in utilizing violence to express their sexual frustration. As Lankford and Silva (2022) note, sexual frustration is a key component in public mass shootings. They conducted an analysis of mass shootings from 1966-2021 via The Violence Project database. These shooters were viewed through the lens of sexual frustration theory. This theory posits that unexpected experiences of financial problems, job or educational issues, adverse social connections, and/or sudden loss of a loved one or friend can increase a person's likelihood of responding to these stressors in an antisocial or violent manner. Sexual frustration can lead to a higher propensity towards aggression, violence, and criminal behavior. Peeling back the onion a bit more, unmet sexual desire, the absence of a sexual partner, or possessing a desire to have sex but lacking a sexual partner are identified as the primary sources of sexual frustration. Gendered pressure and social norms influence one's views on sex. Men appear to be more vulnerable to sexual frustration than women, with more men expressing a greater desire to have sex more often and being more willing to engage in casual sex than women. While sexual frustration theory and gender can increase the probability of an individual attacking others, many of the shooters in this study also possessed some degree of mental health problems. Lankford and Silva's study results were quite enlightening. Of the 178 shooters in this study, almost 1/3 were found to have sexual frustration problems. A history of domestic violence was found in approximately half of the shooters. Furthermore, sexually

frustrated shooters had a higher kill count than other perpetrators, with the predominance of their victims being female. While the media tends to attribute shootings to incels today, the actual relationship between mass shootings appears to weigh heavier on sexual frustration overall and not solely on the shoulders of incels.

One of the primary complaints asserted by incel is that technology, and more specifically, online dating apps and social media sites, have enabled women to date men that would otherwise be out of their league (Preston et al., 2021). These dating apps provide women with a greater variety of dating options than they would traditionally be afforded. Hypergamy is but one of the opinions espoused by incels. The authors contend that this focus on technology-enabled hypergamy is merely a bolster for their pre-existing male-dominant, female-reductive misogynistic viewpoint. Reviewing approximately 9,000 comments on an incel website were extracted due to their topical popularity as determined by the number of forum responses. Their qualitative analysis uncovered three main themes among the forum comments. Each theme is also aligned with specific online platforms. The first theme relates to dating apps specifically as it is through those sites that incel feel hypergamy is amplified. Second, dating applications enable the more attractive and dominant males to occupy the attention of multiple women at once, leaving a small pool of options remaining for the rest of the males on those sites. While the third identified theme highlights how beta males and other more submissive males successfully navigate social media, distorting women's perception of themselves by giving them an inordinate amount of attention and praise. Rather than placing any blame on the behavior of the males in these online communities, incel instead focus on the behavior of the women, placing the blame for sexual inequity solely upon females as a whole. This

distorted perspective is also erroneously linked by incel to social science research.

Cherry-picking data to fit one's beliefs or opinions is a common practice among incel. In lieu of a willingness to see the entirety of an issue, let alone one's own role in it, placing the blame on others is a much easier pill to swallow.

Identification of incel in-group/out-group language was the focus of a study by Scotto di Carlo (2022). They focused on the language directed at or related to women versus discussions of men in an incel forum. Almost 2000 unique posts from 351 different people were identified and analyzed related to the topic of women. While only approximately 230 posts by 152 people were extracted related to male self-representation. For the subtopic of depictions of women, Scotto di Carlo found labeling to be a key component for discussion of anyone other than an incel (e.g., Chad, beta, Stacy, foid, etc.). It is via this labeling that incels describe and deride the out-group. By separating women from their sentience, incels appear able to objectify and denigrate women unabashedly. In effect, women are reduced to things rather than human beings. Labeling of non-incel men has a similar, dehumanizing effect. When given the opportunity to provide biographical or personal information, most of the males in the forum blamed others, their economic or social status, their appearance, or a mental/developmental disorder – whether medically or self-diagnosed – for their plight. In effect, their bios and posts are a form of one-upmanship as to who has it worst. Throughout the posts is a common thread of exclusion and loneliness that, while not unique to incel, enables bond formation among forum members. In-group/out-group identification and isolation are themes prominent in many incel and radicalization forums. It is through understanding

these perspectives and linguistics that one can better understand groups and subcultures, let alone incels.

Male inability to form satisfactory relations with women is not limited to North America and Europe. Asia also experiences the repercussions of these suppressed men. Hikikomori (South China Morning Post [SCMP], 2021), kakuhidou, and himote (Klee, 2019), are but a few of the terms that signify Japanese men who feel they are undatable or undesirable. Most Japanese men in this group appear content to confine their discontent to peaceful protests (SCMP, 2021). Despite their peaceful agenda, some violence in Japan has transpired. Recently, the term kireru has become associated with Japanese men prone to sudden outbursts of anger and loss of self-control (SCMP, 2021). Women are the primary focus of kireru knife attacks while on mass transit (Kyodo News, 2021). At least one of these attackers is known to have committed suicide (SCMP, 2021).

In South Korea, the moniker for these men, semen terrorists, is more graphic, but so too is their method of attack (SCMP, 2021). Instead of physical violence, semen terrorists of South Korea opt to violate a woman's dignity or health. These semen terrorists place ejaculate-filled condoms in a woman's bag, surreptitiously ejaculate on a woman, or emplace their ejaculate in a woman's coffee mug. The victims may be strangers to their assailant, whereas those who acknowledge knowing their assailant also note their unwillingness to concede to the prior advances of their assailant. These incidents have become so common that there has been a lobby to amend criminal law in South Korea to include acts of semen terrorism.

Online radicalization

There remains limited self-attribution regarding incel-affiliated individuals attacking people. However, other unattributed attacks may fit the incel ideology. Their online radicalization is similar to that of converts who join the Islamic State (ISIS). Likewise, their attacks against specific targets and individuals are terroristic in that they are focused on a population segment while the perpetrators aim to cause death and fear. While they have yet to pen a succinct definition of it, the United Nations (n.d.) affirms terrorism consists of action(s) that create bodily severe harm or death to a population segment intended to coerce those people to do or not do something.

One study focused on understanding the intentions of terrorists based on the public statements of the terrorists themselves (Bridgelall, 2022). This study leveraged natural language processing to classify the words expressed in the published comments and communications of terrorists. The focus of the study was the intended outcome or agenda associated with a terrorist attack. Instead of assuming the cause-effect relationship of a terrorist attack, Bridgelall instead studied the statements of what the terrorists stated they desired. Some key findings include the motivations of terrorists, despising the other, an act of protest or retaliation against those they feel have aggrieved them, a desire to weaken their opponent, a sheer show of force, or an attempt to intimidate others. As in neutralizing any opponent, better understanding the motivations behind violent acts enables one to become more capable of neutralizing or mitigating those actions.

Unto itself, violent rhetoric is not a determinant of physical violence. Similarly, holding the values and views of a group does not mean the adherent will conduct violent attacks. As Araque and Iglesias note (2020), the differentiating aspect is that of

radicalization. In its simplest form, there are three steps to radicalization (van Stekelenburg, 2017): rage-based perception of injustice, contemptuous moral superiority, and over-riding revulsion driving someone to eliminate the focus of their rage and disgust. Expectedly, the language of radicalized individuals changes as well. The tone and word usage change once radicalized (Araque & Iglesias, 2020). The question then becomes whether incels who conduct physical attacks are radicalized.

In another linguistic study of terrorism, Cohen et al. (2018) analyzed speeches by Al Qaeda leaders of different regions to identify variances between the regional subgroups. The ideological and messaging nuances in their addresses highlight terrorist subgroup disagreements and emphasize the rift between the two terrorist subgroups. Obtaining this depth of linguistic analysis is critical to understanding groups and subgroups of any community. Potential applications include more effective counter-messaging as well as potential therapeutic applications via enhanced understanding of groups and communities of individuals with violent ideological beliefs.

An extrapolation of traditional terrorism, historical references to white supremacist behavior can also be viewed through a terrorism lens, providing a contemporary application of domestic terrorism events (Erlenbusch-Anderson, 2022). Instead of constraining the concept of terrorism to only a religious perspective, Erlenbusch-Anderson notes that terroristic behavior can apply to threats and attacks against individuals or groups due to their race and not just one's religious beliefs. White supremacist rhetoric's hostility and coercive intent highlight the terroristic nature inherent within white supremacy. Similarly, woven within the language and imagery of incel are pejorative references to persons of color and associated influence over women. The

elements of terrorism, specifically that of the language of terrorism, are crucial to understanding incel.

Habib et al. (2022) performed a comparative analysis of participants of feminist discourse and the manosphere on Reddit to understand radicalized development better. Online radicalization is more prevalent today as more communities are popping up online. Despite this growth of online social exchanges, related analysis on their effect on radicalization remains limited. Understanding how these virtual interactions can influence and radicalize individuals is essential to informing pathways to circumvent or deprogram radicalized persons. Fixation, grievance, power, anger, negative outlook, toxicity, and in-and-out-group identification are warning behaviors that are measurable and have a direct relation to radicalization. They found that simply joining the manosphere influences users' language and behavior. More experienced commentators in the manosphere were highly skilled at manipulating users to take on radical ideals. Unsurprisingly, Habib et al. also found that forum assessment of a topic can strongly impact a participant. Even one instance of perceived acceptance within the manosphere reflected a marked increase in that person's warning behaviors.

As Salojärvi et al. (2020) write, the internet forever changed social relationships. Whereas shared group identity was once afforded by religion, race, ethnicity, etc., the internet has enabled otherwise disparate individuals to amass and assume a unique group identity. A key component of these online communities is finally being able to identify as part of a group. Group inclusion has been crucial to man's survival for millennia. Newcomers to a community typically mimic community norms and exhibit requisite behaviors to remain in the fold. The dominant viewpoints expressed by the community

become part of the individual's identity. Once surrounded by people who affirm your nascent ideas, those supporters become an echo chamber, parroting and building community concepts that can lead to polarizing views, radicalization, and sometimes even acts of violence. Not unlike the analogy of unringing a bell, once a group opts for violence, it is unlikely the potential for future violence will ever be off the table. While not all incel possess a desire or intent to commit violent acts, incel ideology ascribes violence as the ultimate expression of inceldom.

Incel Radicalization

Parallels exist between incel's online behavior and that of individuals who join an extremist organization such as the Islamic State (ISIS) (Organization for the Prevention of Violence [OPV], 2019). Likewise, incel attacks against specific targets and individuals are terroristic in that they are focused on a population segment while the perpetrators aim to inflict death and fear (Zimmerman et al., 2018). Although they have yet to pen a succinct definition, the United Nations (n.d.) affirms terrorism consists of action(s) that create bodily harm or death to a population segment intended to coerce those people to do or not do something.

Today, the term extremism typically conjures an image of terrorism or similar violent events. However, extremism is not only applied to groups such as ISIS and al Qaeda. Extremism has also become synonymous with incel. As Sugiura notes (2021), desiring fundamental societal/political changes, challenging normative ideals, and delineating via them/us mindset are all characteristics of extremism. The only way to identify a community as extremist is by solidifying the invisible them/us line. The mere notion of calling any group or subset of society extremist is, by default, further feeding

their perception of being outside the whole of society. This type of categorization facilitates group self-victimization.

In their study of self-identified involuntary celibates, Speckhard et al. (2021) found that most of the men in their study group, despite identifying as incel, consider themselves to be non-violent and abhor violence. Those who indicated a desire to commit violence were also decidedly more misogynistic. Speckhard et al. focused on parsing out the relatively few individuals who engaged in sexual violence in hopes of better understanding the risks the men posed. Findings revealed that most incel dealt with varying levels of depression and loneliness and were generally non-violent. Among forum participants with more violent attitudes, Speckhard et al. also noted a higher incidence of depression, suicidal ideation, and increased frequency of misogynist views.

Leidig (2021) notes that only a modest percentage of incel have the potential for violence and that incel is merely a subset of the greater community known as the manosphere. The overall umbrella of the manosphere includes but is not limited to incel, the men's rights movement (MRM), pickup artists (PUAs), the father's rights movement, and men going their own way (MGTOW) (Johanssen, 2022; Leidig, 2021). Each of these subcommunities promotes its perspective of the rights and entitlements of the sexes. Leidig (2021) further posits that incel must be viewed from several perspectives: terrorism, violent misogyny, and male supremacism. It is by combining these analytical lenses with an enhanced understanding of incel's desired gender normative behavior and unique ideology that a more thorough interpretation of incel can begin.

Johanssen (2022) further correlates MGTOW and incel as possessing obsessional characteristics. Individuals like this are most comfortable in a controlled, structured

environment. One of the critical components of obsessional individuals is their tendency to fixate on things. By delving deeply into projects – or, in this case, ideology – obsessionals leverage their unyielding, detailed, compulsive personality characteristics into their misogynist beliefs. These traits can fuel their almost fanatical perspective on how society has neglected them. Another component of obsessionals is their inability to acknowledge their role in their isolation or perceived societal neglect. It is through their ascribing to common beliefs expressed by their chosen misogynist community that they find solace and a sense of belonging. In this regard, stripping an incel of that identity would isolate them further from society, as the only community that welcomed them would no longer be there to support or affirm their identity.

Focusing on what they term toxic language, Pelzer et al. (2021) elected to study known incel websites incels.co, lookism.net, and looksmax.me. In total, approximately 8.5 million posts were reviewed. Leveraging machine learning classifiers, they could classify the toxic language present on these sites. The classification was accomplished by training the BERT (Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers) language transformer on approximately 20,000 hate speech and toxic language data samples. Next, they performed a human review of the posts identified by the automated classifier as toxic. During this human review, the target of the posts was also noted. The number one focus for toxic language on all three websites was women. Additionally, toxic language was geared towards other forum users, ethnicities other than white, self-hatred, society as a whole, incel, and remaining toxic language that did not fit within the preceding categories was termed as ‘other.’ Not surprisingly, the study found that toxic language is more prevalent on these websites than on mainstream websites. Although created as

forums for incels to find solace with others like them, this study found that the incel culture is detrimental to other members. Forum users experience increased insecurities, depression, and fury. Pelzer et al. also correlated incel with political extremist groups in their Us-vs.-Them perspective of the world. While Pelzer et al. correlate incel and political extremists due to their Us vs Them outlook, it would also follow that other extremist groups, such as groups with fringe religious ideology or terrorist networks, could also share space with incel as they also share a radical Us vs. Them world perspective.

Palma (2019) takes a unique approach to understanding incel. Drawing upon fairy tale foundations, Palma calls upon the time-honored tradition of the attractive prince winning the heart of his beloved. Even the evildoers win, at least temporarily, in fairy tales, as they possess the money and power to get what they want. This corollary is known as fairy-tale logic (Palma, 2019). In her paper, Palma states that incel express a reverse fairy-tale logic in their belief that they are destined to a life of mediocrity and abstinence due to their physical presentation. Instead of seeking to change their self-perception, social inadequacies, or physical manifestation, incel latch onto the belief that they cannot change their fate.

In addition to blogs and forums, the incel community has also created a presence for itself on YouTube (Papadamou et al., 2020). Papadamou et al. (2020) searched specific incel subreddit content from June 2005 through May 2019 to identify YouTube videos within those threads. From there, the researchers watched and categorized the content of the YouTube videos. After topic identification, the researchers next studied the comments associated with each video. At the end of their research, they discovered that

within five clicks or less, a viewer of content on YouTube could reach an incel-related video. The relative ease with which an average person on the internet can stumble upon an incel-related video is reflective of attempts by incel to draw new adherents.

Helm et al. (2022) studied the r/incels subreddit to examine comments. Findings included an increased understanding of the incel community, how incel radicalize, and an enhanced awareness of online communities. Even within an incel community, opinions varied, as did the degree to which a poster was blackpilled (acceptance of inceldom and acknowledgment of the reality of things). Consistent with prior studies, the r/incels subreddit contained comments of racist, sexist, and discriminatory nature. While not necessarily representative of all incel forums, this study did identify themes consistent with previous research. Since the r/incels subreddit was publicly accessible, comments varied and included musings by incel and non-incel (a.k.a. lurkers) alike. The divergent opinions of incel and lurkers may have limited the prevalence of ideological postings that may be present on incel-only sites.

Hoffman et al. (2020) performed a comparison threat analysis of terrorist groups and incel ideology. They found several similarities between the two groups. Online aggregation, age, sex, feeling aggrieved, feelings of isolation, desire for infamy were identified as commonalities between the two groups. Despite those similarities, Hoffman et al. noted two distinctive characteristics as compared to terrorist groups. The first is one's physical appearance as that is what sets the stage for one's placement in society. It is believed that incel are the only ones who see the unequal dispersion of women amongst only the most attractive men. Second, is a reductive concept that women are primarily attracted to men based only on the male's physical traits; therefore, women are to blame

for the lonely, isolated existence experienced by incels. Both concepts ignore the sexual success experienced by musicians, entertainers, and wealthy men. Incels acknowledge their destiny of living a lonely existence via the concept of “blackpilling” Shacked and oppressed, incel has grown from a murmur to a roar in expressing their rage at their solitary plight. At the farthest edges of incel, those who have committed violent attacks also have the distinction of being incel and committing terrorist acts. Not unlike ISIS, incel laud the violent action of attack perpetrations, even going so far as to classify them as saints and connoting their actions as something aspirational. By dying in support of their belief, these attack perpetrators become a martyr for the incel cause. A correlation can also be drawn regarding their sexual suppression. At the same time, ISIS suicide attackers seek to gain entry to Paradise and await sexual satiation by 72 virgins; incel are motivated to kill due to their inability to engage in sexual intercourse.

Ribeiro et al. (2020) performed a wholistic study of hate speech and toxicity within the Manosphere. They noted that the Manosphere consists of a dispersed corpus of individuals who share extreme perspectives on females and communicate via online mediums. Communities related to Men’s Rights Activists (MRAs), Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW), Pick Up Artists (PUAs), and Involuntary Celibates (incels) were selected to focus their research. Forum posts and subreddits were the data sources for this study. The study utilized custom web crawlers to extract data on publicly available websites. In all, over 35 million posts from incels.is forums and subreddits were extracted, with some posts going as far back as late 2005. It is important to note that the individual posts were not disambiguated across the different forums and subreddits. Hence, it is possible that the same post may have been made in more than one online

location, which may slightly skew the overall number of posts. Upon analyzing the corpus of data, the researchers found more extreme views within the incel and MGTOW communities. Post toxicity was most prevalent among those related to MGTOW, The Red Pill (TRP), and incel. Across these communities, a shared user base was noted. This is attributed to communities such as MRA and PUA having fallen out of fashion in favor of communities such as TRP, MGTOW, and incel. Within the Manosphere, MGTOW, and incel are flourishing. Not only does this study support to the efficacy of web crawler utilization, it also highlights the growing noxious theme of posts by incel.

Brzuszkiewicz (2020) studied online exchanges within European incel forums and social media platforms. One of the initial themes relates to incel's feelings of marginalization within society overall. Comprehensively seeking to understand the unique linguistic characteristics the incel community was noted by Brzuszkiewicz as an essential component to understanding inceldom at any more than a surface level. Additionally, Brzuszkiewicz identified three preeminent tenants of incel. The first tenant relates to how an incel views himself and who he is. The second, is focused on male-female relations and over-arching misogynistic perspectives. While the third tenant speaks to the utility of women overall. These three components give rise to incel's radical perspective and informs their violent ideology, and for some, their violent actions. However, as Brzuszkiewicz notes, among incel there is a perception that an external locus of control overrides their own. In other words, with regard to their physical looks, financial status, relationship status, and sexual experience, none of that is within the control of an incel to change. From this perspective, men and women that incel feel have better standing than them will always have the advantage.

Focusing on criminogenesis and criminodynamics, Caruso et al. (2021) viewed incel rebellion as more than theoretical. In fact, they present incel as a community of individuals with a shared identity. In their discussions of incel-affiliated attacks, Caruso et al. emphasize the recurrent aspects of incel shooters – being male; a seeming lack of concern for their capture or death; a degree of narcissism that presents via their pre-attack videos, manifestos, or online posts; and expressing a lack of responsibility for their actions by placing the blame on the women who eluded them or the men who prevented their romantic success. Caruso et al. (2021) refer to Alfred Bandura’s premise of “moral justification” as the manner in which incel most commonly deflect ownership for their actions. The inexorable fact for incel is that their sad existence is beyond their control. Compounding this, instead of receiving reinforcement that they have the ability to improve their lives, online incel face an echo chamber that seems to intensify their deterministic fate. Caruso et al. (2021) do provide a viable option for indicting violent actors before they are radicalized. They posit interrupting their online indoctrination prior to formation of a radicalized outlook.

Threat Assessment

Grover and Mark (2019) opted for a quantitative approach in their study on alt-right online radicalization within Reddit. They looked for radicalization and violence indicators that might be warnings of ideological violence. Their intent in performing this research was to find a proactive model for identifying indicators of radicalization that permeate an online community of interest (COI) within any of the alt-right genres. HateSonar, a speech detection model, was used to parse the language of the posts and identify instances of fixation and group identification within the subreddit r/alt-right

subreddit posts. Their research identified trending terms/phrases and perceptions or attitudes towards those topics. Concepts such as group alignment and subject preoccupation significantly influenced whether a group was emitting radicalization indications. Their findings include increases in fixation, the harshness of belief, and anger. Feelings of group identification also increased over the study period. Increased fixation and group identification were noted as warning indicators. As part of their study recommended, they acknowledged that a similar undertaking of the r/incel subreddit would be beneficial for a better understanding of the radicalization of the community and warning of potential attacks.

Shrestha et al. (2020) also sought to better understand single-actor attacks, a.k.a. lone wolf, by qualitatively analyzing their online behavior. To perform this analysis, they leveraged Digital 7, a threat dictionary created to study lone wolf attacks. Their research identified seven aspects of an individual's online behavior that can be leveraged for threat assessment: anger, grievance, othering, leakage (violence), military terminology, and influence. This threat assessment tool was founded by leveraging the combined efforts of psychological, linguistic, and computer science. Seeking to overcome previous psycholinguistic dictionary concerns of context-dependent meanings and not taking into account the unique term usage/meaning within a specific blog/forum, Shrestha et al. built their dictionary using extractions from forums/blogs/websites related to Islam, incel, counter-jihad, white supremacy, racism, and wide-ranging topical forums such as Reddit. While their research leveraged the online postings of individuals who had already perpetrated attacks, it may also be a tool for predicting individuals at a higher risk of harming others.

In their research on decoding al-Qaeda's communications, Cohen et al. (2018) also leveraged a quantitative approach. Their study focused on video and text messages to parse out the ideological and tyrannical beliefs of al-Qaeda. Not only were they able to compare and contrast the beliefs and messages of key al-Qaeda, but they were also able to identify factors that can influence how other governments or groups can interact with or counter-act the messaging of al-Qaeda.

As Florea et al. (2019) note, the landscape of terrorism and radicalization is dynamic; therefore, it is incumbent upon those culling the data to adapt continuously. These changes can be so frequent that manual review of the information is ineffective, and implementation of processes to automatically adapt along with the data sources has become essential. Thus, the RED-Alert project was born. This project focuses on social media and specifically on the channeling used by terrorist groups to share content. Utilized by Europol and some European law enforcement agencies, the RED-Alert combines natural language processing (NLP), semantic multimedia analysis (SMA), social network analysis (SNA), complex event processing (CEP), data anonymization, data visualization, and machine learning (ML) to create a robust, dynamic tool capable of ingesting an ever-evolving corpus of data from social media, blogs, and forums. Psycholinguistic principles of language usage, context, and slang are vital aspects of the program, as are the ML component that enables the program to continue learning and adapting to its virtual environment. This program was envisioned as a tool to aid in alerting law enforcement to potential threats and attack prevention. The potential for NLP and ML applications in analyzing large volumes of data should not be underestimated. These processes have the potential to expedite the review of forum posts while

maintaining the integrity of the data and ensuring accurate representation of the online communities.

Lankford (2014) performed an in-depth analysis of suicide killers. This analysis included suicide bombers, rampage shooters, and what he classified as other self-destructive killers. These self-destructive killers encompass substance abusers, those engaging in deviant sexual behavior, dangerous drivers, and those engaging in self-mutilation. Despite previous studies ascribing suicide bombers to various levels of bravery, Lankford posits that their option to kill themselves may be driven by a desire to end their pain. He affirms three primary requirements for suicide attacks: a desire to die, the ability to obtain weapons/firearms, and access to their desired targets. While men such as Alek Minassian or Elliot Rodger have been exalted by other incels as reaching the pinnacle of success via their homicidal actions, Lankford's position of mass murder may merely be a precursor to their demise. Perhaps these men were not warriors so much as seeking to end their suffering.

Thorburn (2023) focused his research on the subreddits *r/IncelExit* and *r/ExRedPill*. Both of these have thousands of subscribers, over 12,000 and over 17,500, respectively. Instead of being a springboard for men to become radicalized into inceldom, *r/IncelExit* and *r/ExRedPill* provide opportunities for incel to deplatform themselves from incel ideology and find support within a community consisting of more mainstream ideals. User input as to their manosphere and incel radicalization processes are discussed. One user in particular noted how the incel community not only proved to be a means of avoiding any emotional expression but actually taught him to castigate himself for having any emotions. Some former incel shared how their radical incel indoctrination caused

them to emotionally abuse others and harm themselves. Despite their self-deplatforming, many of these former incel have not shed all of their learned behaviors and thoughts as many retained their belief that they are owed sex with women. An overarching finding was that the brand of extreme masculinity presented within in the manosphere is actually harmful. Subreddits such as these serve to highlight the spurious nature of many who subscribe to such movements and remind the former adherents that misogyny, chauvinism, and strident ideals are not the panacea for what ails them.

In the wake of the global COVID-19 pandemic, Davies et al. (2021) focused their research on the progression from radicalized to violent extremist perspectives as a result of increased time spent online during the associated COVID-19 lockdown. While affording credence to the mental health risks and pervasive, deceptive information permeating the information space, Davies et al. note people had plenty of time to research on topics of interest. Sadly, not all of the information presented online was accurate. Mis- and disinformation was rampant and served to fuel right-wing extremist views, social injustice movements, and jihadist movements. The isolation experienced by many, became a search for a community in the online domain. For men previously unaffiliated with incel, loneliness and isolation became motivators for joining incel communities online. Under the guise of conservatist ideals, these communities provided information that indoctrinated men to their radical misogynistic worldview.

It is also relevant to note that while generally thought to be motivated by a combination of religious fervor and desire for revenge, the promise of sex has also woven itself into jihadist beliefs (El-Ali, 2022). However, as El-Ali notes, the promise of 72 virgins is not actually in the Quran. If this is true, the jihadist expectation of being met in

Paradise by a multitude of virgins may fall short of the reality. Jihadists and incels share a sexual component to their actions. While jihadists expect to be greeted in death with sex, some incel opt for death due to their inability to have sex.

Gaps in Literature

While research continues regarding online behavior, especially those of alt-right, radicalized, and terrorist communities, most research tends to be quantitative. While establishing a comprehensive understanding of those quantitative aspect essential for pulling back the veil of incelism, it lacks in its ability to provide more nuanced analysis, to include that of the lived experience of incel. In contrast, this study focused on the qualitative aspects that may be discernable and directly related to the emotion inherent in the posts of incels in their cyber communities as well as identifying which, if any, forum participants expressed a level of anger that may indicate their potential for physical attacks. If identified soon enough, these indicators may be leveraged to stop attacks before they even occur.

Summary and Conclusions

Originating as a cyber support group of women and men who felt they could not find suitable romantic partners, incel has mutated into a community of men advocating hatred of women and resentment towards attractive men (Ging, 2019). Incel promote violence, rape, and murder of women through their brand of sexual cyberbullying (Ging, 2019). Incel adherents Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, and Alek Minassian brought the incel movement out of the cyber world and into the physical realm by attacking those they resent and feel are the cause of their perceived marginalization (Wood et al., 2022).

Despite all of this, relatively little academic research has focused on establishing a comprehensive baseline understanding of incel.

The foci of this chapter began by addressing the theoretical foundation underpinning this study. From there attention was paid to the existing literature related to online hate and the manosphere and its subsets. Next was a review of literature related to the incel community, to include online radicalization, incel radicalization, and the associated threat assessment. Then the gaps in literature that serve to scope this study were discussed.

This study aimed to improve the understanding of the incel community and identify psycholinguistic indicators that may be indicative of extreme emotion or attack planning. Furthermore, this study sought to analyze the language, attitudes, and behaviors of incel devotees and compare those characteristics to other cyber groups to determine whether commonalities are present and whether incel is a distinct group with a shared identity or merely an amalgamation of disparate individuals seeking to belong. By analyzing the unique language and original online forum posts of incel, a more comprehensive understanding of incel emerged. This enhanced understanding has implications in the field of psychology related to the psychology of marginalized groups and online radicalization. The results of this study may also assist law enforcement and other government agencies seeking to protect the public from incel members.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

Although the origins of incel can be traced back twenty years to a woman who coined the term involuntary celibate to describe her dating situation, the cyber community of incel has morphed into cyber communities of men espousing hatred for women and resentment toward attractive men (Beauchamp, 2019; Williams, 2018). Incel members promote violence, rape, and the killing of women through their brand of sexual cyberbullying (Ehman & Gross, 2019). Some incel members have taken their online rants into the physical world by attacking those they resent and feel are the cause of their perceived marginalization. While cyber harassment of females is standard, with instances such as GamerGate (Chess & Shaw, 2015) bringing notoriety to the misogyny women face online, the harassment is generally limited to the virtual domain. Attack perpetrators Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, and Alek Minassian (Kanji, 2018; Murray, 2017) brought the incel movement out of the cyber world and into the physical realm.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the psycholinguistic factors of incels. I analyzed the language of individuals within the blackpill.club website to establish forum norms and determine which, if any, of the forum participants expressed violent language that exceeded the forum norms and may have been indicative of future attacks. I established the linguistic norms on the blackpill.club forums. From there, I analyzed the distinct language patterns to discern psycholinguistic cues that indicated a progression from normative linguistic patterns to language that rose above that norm and may have been indicative of preparing to commit violent actions. By analyzing the

unique language and original online forum posts of incel, a more comprehensive understanding of the psychosocial factors of incel emerged.

The methodological approach for this study is discussed in this chapter. First, there is a review of the purpose of this study. Next, the research design and rationale will be addressed. Next will be a discussion of the role of the researcher. The study methodology is then presented, including participant selection logic, instrumentation, and data collection. Then, the data analysis plan is reviewed. From there, a section is dedicated to discussing trustworthiness, concluding with ethical considerations.

Research Design and Rationale

Qualitative research affords an enhanced understanding of the phenomenon of the lived experience (Patton, 2015; Yin, 2015). Capturing the elements of the lived experience enables richer, more comprehensive data. Whereas quantitative research would have focused on the number, demographics, race, education, etc., of participants in an online forum, qualitative research focused on the nuances of emotion that may not have been captured in a quantitative study. Unlike the rigidity of quantitative surveys, qualitative methodology allowed me to pursue data that had not been considered in previous research. Adapting to the fluidity of the qualitative research process allowed for data richness. I sought to answer two primary questions:

RQ1: What are the psycholinguistic characteristics of self-affiliated incel men within the blackpill.club website?

RQ2: What psycholinguistic patterns are present within blackpill.club forums that may indicate an intent to harm others physically?

I explored the psycholinguist dynamics of the community of men known as incel, specifically within the blackpill.club website. Using a digital ethnographic approach, I analyzed the language, attitudes, emotions, and behaviors of individuals within the website's forums to establish the psycholinguistic norms present on blackpill.club. By analyzing the unique language contained within the blackpill.club forum posts, I provided a more comprehensive understanding of the online interactions and linguistic factors associated with incel.

Scant research had been done on psycholinguistic dynamics of incel. Compounding the issue, recent research described how addicted society has become to digital media (Alcott et al., 2022; Meng et al., 2022). The inescapable nature of digital media has led to the reformation of sociocultural observational research. Ethnographic research finds itself at this digital-corporal convergence that demands adapting traditional study mechanisms to this hybrid environment (Ritter, 2022).

People's daily lives are permeated with digital interactions. Just as one is rarely able to leave work at work due to digital connectedness, so too can one find themselves unable to disengage from social or digital media in their personal time. Digital ethnography refers to the study of cultures and communities developed via the virtual domain (*The International Association for Computer Information Systems*, 2022). This term typically encompasses digital anthropologic, cyber ethnographic, or netnographic study (*The International Association for Computer Information Systems*, 2022). Regardless of its subsets, digital ethnography provides insights into previously elusive human behavior in the cyber domain (*The International Association for Computer Information Systems*, 2022).

Nascimento et al. (2021), found a more diverse presentation of ethnographic research in the cyber domain. Nascimento et al. (2021) assert at least four ethnographic subsets: virtual ethnography, digital ethnography, netnography, and post-application program interface (API) ethnography. Each is predicated on well-known ethnographic principles yet distinct from the others. I used a post-API ethnographic approach. This approach differentiates itself from the others in that it does not include in-person or online interviews with the study group (Nascimento et al., 2021). Instead, the data collection relies on the native digital activity of the study participants, the platform/website data, the API, and the requisite software (Nascimento et al., 2021). By performing the study in this manner, social network analysis within the identified digital platform can be performed (Nascimento et al., 2021). Additionally, post-API ethnography lends itself to a qualitative study of concept analysis, hashtag analysis, group dynamics, and/or analysis of an individual actor on a given platform (Nascimento et al., 2021). This process focuses on the actions of participants individually as well as their interactions with each other.

Role of the Researcher

My role throughout this study was to accurately represent, synthesize, and interpret the data. Incel forums are known for containing misogynistic perspectives. Additionally, their language and discussion topics are typically blunt, debasing of others, and reflecting fringe or paraphilic interests. Regardless of my viewpoints, I needed to look beyond any personal opinions and analyze the data inherent in the blackpill.club incel forum posts.

The fact that I was a woman seeking to understand a male cyber subculture that hates women was an inherent research bias I identified early on. The willingness of incel to interact with women in their online forums would have been challenging at best. As I undertook this research, I sought to divorce myself from my emotions and strove to represent the information I discovered accurately. As a researcher, I knew I must be open to the information I uncovered, regardless of my opinion or how the posts/comments affected me. In my role as a researcher, I knew I needed to focus on the data and not behave as a non-academic individual or layperson.

Keeping a journal throughout my research proved valuable. This action allowed me to get out my thoughts, express my emotions, and regain my research focus. Journaling also became a tool for capturing key research pieces I sought to pursue further. The journaling process also helped me maintain professionalism throughout the data collection and analysis process.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

The population for this study was an online community of men known as incel who had posted on the website blackpill.club. Incel communication via online forums such as Reddit had been banned due to it being flagged for hate speech and misogyny (Vanian, 2017), which led many incel to more focused websites ascribing to incel ideals and perspectives. Today, there are numerous online platforms where incel coalesce. Chat rooms, forums, websites, social media, and, to a lesser degree, the dark web are also readily used by these individuals. The name of the website, blackpill.club, refers to the ideology associated with incel. For the purposes of the current study, I assumed that

anyone posting on blackpill.club followed incel ideology. Each person posting on the blackpill.club website was treated as a study participant. This enabled the study of their individual posts, posts across time, and their interaction with others posting on the blackpill.club website.

Instrumentation

I sought to understand the psycholinguistic patterns and behaviors of incels. Findings associated with this study may help the continued development of the understanding of incel-affiliated men. It may also provide insight into other men's rights groups. This study hinged on using an incel website known as blackpill.club to collect textual data to answer the research questions. Additionally, videos, publicly posted journals and manifestos, interviews, documentaries, and other websites proved to be rich data sources to help me develop a better understanding of the group's unique linguistic practices and their associated meaning.

Despite the lack of interpersonal interaction with individuals on the forum, I treated the posts of each forum participant on blackpill.club as data from a study participant. The comments and interactions provided perspective on the topics discussed throughout the forum. The amalgamation of a participant's posts enabled me to create a loose biographical sketch of the participants. Key aspects of an individual, such as personal history, employment, education, dating and relationship history, hobbies, and unique incel identity, were gleaned from some posts. The Appendix is a repository of some unique terms and phrases discovered throughout the research process.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Web scraping is a process of extracting the contents of a web page without retaining the html coding, which determines the visual display of the information on the web page (Saurkar et al., 2018). This process focuses on data extraction, not data visualization. By extracting the data in such an uncomplicated manner, researchers can import the data into software that will enable data organization, analysis, and processing. Web scraping also limits the potential for human error (Saurkar et al., 2018) because it automates the data retrieval process. This scraping process does not require purchasing software; it only requires basic familiarity with computer languages, such as Python and Excel (Corey, n.d.).

Although the utility of lab research cannot be discounted, it can fall short of being able to address real-world, or applied, ramifications of the research (Speckmann, 2021). Fieldwork still occurs, but less frequently (Speckmann, 2021). Online data are a vital resource for filling the gap between lab research and real-world application (Speckmann, 2021). The internet is rife with digital footprints of online behavior (Speckmann, 2021). Web scraping is but one tool in a researcher's arsenal for bridging the data gap (Speckmann, 2021). Online data affords researchers a depth and breadth of data that may have been otherwise unattainable (Speckmann, 2021). Accompanying that depth and breadth of data is the potential for data overload, but this should not deter the researcher as tools and tutorials for performing web scraping readily exist online (Speckmann, 2021). Similarly, online repositories for leveraging machine learning, a tool that can greatly reduce the hours required to sift through and organize data, are readily available (Speckmann, 2021). By first identifying the hypothesis and then selecting a website for

scraping, a researcher can remove the potential for formulating a theory to fit the data (Speckmann, 2021). Even if the chosen website that is later deleted, the web scrape enables retention of the contents of the website (Speckmann, 2021).

When studying groups that are either distrustful of outsiders or difficult to access, researchers seek data via alternative means (Larsen, 2020). Gathering data without the active input of the particular community of interest is sometimes necessary and often applied to abusers of women and children, drug traffickers, and anyone who would be reticent to share their network's inner workings out of fear of reprisal from fellow practitioners (Larsen, 2020). I web-scraped posts on the blackpill.club website. This site consists of several forums nested within a primary website. Many of these forums were robust, with the number of posts ranging from a handful to hundreds. By performing a web scrape of this website, the complete contents of the textual dialogue within the forums were retained. Therefore, even if the webpage was later deleted or edited, the web scrape preserved the website's content as of the date of the information capture (Speckmann, 2021). Due to potential legal and ethical concerns, I could not save the website contents as a PDF. Although visual images and videos would have provided additional data, I had concerns about retaining those images because some topics were related to topics that could have been illegal to possess.

Once the web scrape of the blackpill.club webpage was complete, I analyzed the data as a corpus and as parsed out by contributors. Each contributor's comments reflected their individual opinions on the topics discussed in each forum within the website. Since there was no interaction with me, there was no chance of detracting from or influencing the organic conversations within those forums.

Data Analysis Plan

The data analysis plan was qualitative content analysis via data coding. As applied to this research, Bandura's (1989) theory of social cognitive analysis provided an enhanced understanding of the patterns of behavior and online interactions within those incel forums. Data coding enabled sentiment analysis of the forums and individual posts. Linguistic changes over time of an individual forum poster and of the overall forum were discovered. The linguistic expressions and attributions of the more virulent posters could be used for further analysis to identify the potential for violence among forum affiliates.

After completing the web scrape, I reviewed the web scraping line by line (see Bridgelall, 2022). This process was two-fold: first to normalize the data and address any data collection issues and second, it served to identify the individual forum participants/posters(see Bridgelall, 2022). It was important to not only understand the compendium of posts within each forum but also to understand the posts at an individual level.

As noted by Saldaña (2016), as data is analyzed, themes began to reveal themselves. Understanding the themes and their relation to the over-arching research questions is an essential step in the analysis process (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Throughout, it is imperative to represent the meaning and intent of the data accurately. Straying from that would have skewed the coding process and potentially invalidate the analysis.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Trusting in the veracity of research has always been a keystone to academic research. Due to its interpretative nature, qualitative research does reference hard

numbers like quantitative research. Qualitative research tends to focus on the lived experience of study participants rather than solely quantifiable numbers. As such, qualitative research relies heavily on the trustworthiness of the data (Cope, 2014). The hallmarks of trustworthiness in research are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility

Credibility addresses whether the interviewer relays the study's experiences in a manner recognizable by people with similar experiences (Cope, 2014). It can also be achieved by validating study findings with study participants or by including the researcher's personal experience concerning the study (Cope, 2014). In my study of incel, credibility was achieved by providing a personal inclusion referring to my experience and how the study may have affected me in Chapter 5.

Transferability

The ability to apply findings to other environments or other groups of individuals would address transferability (Cope, 2014). An example of transferability is if people not in the study group read the study and identify with the participants or make correlations to their own lives and experiences (Cope, 2014). If another individual reads this study and is able to correlate the opinions or experiences of study participants to their own lives, that would be transferability.

Dependability

Dependability is a measure of the repeatability of the study methods and procedures with other, similar participant groups (Cope, 2014). This study's methodology may be pertinent to studying other men's rights groups, such as the community of men

known as MGTOW (Daubney, 2015). MGTOW is a group of men who have given up on dating and women in general (Daubney, 2015). The methodology associated with this study could be leveraged to increase understanding of the linguistic nuances and associated emotions of other cyber communities.

Confirmability

The final criterion, confirmability, is the ability of the researcher to show how study findings reflect the input provided by study data/participants and not the perspective and prejudice of the researcher (Cope, 2014). For example, if I were to make assumptions about incel without having the associated data, that would not meet the test of confirmability.

Ethical Protection

In the performance of my study, I abided by the ethical principles prescribed by the American Psychological Association and Walden. Prior to conducting the study, I sought and received approval from the Walden University IRB (approval number 05-31-23-0741316). I sought to ensure the anonymity of those individuals who had posted on the blackpill.club website by replacing usernames with anonymized usernames that had no obvious association with the original username. While the posts and threads on the blackpill.club website can be accessed and viewed by anyone, I have not shared the data with anyone. Additionally, I refrained from data collection and analysis until I received IRB approval for my study.

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to improve the understanding of incel and to identify linguistic patterns in incel posts within the blackpill.club website. Chapter 3

described this study process. It began with a description of the research tradition and rationale, followed by the role of the researcher in the data collection process. Next, it identified potential biases and how to address them throughout the research process. From there, the chapter reviewed the study methodology and associated foundational concepts essential to the research plan. Finally, issues of trustworthiness and ethical concerns were discussed.

Chapter 4: Results

Incels are known for their expressions of loneliness, isolation, inadequacy, and frustration related to what they feel is their lot in life. Although analyzing the linguistic characteristics of these men compared to the mainstream populace is informative, it falls short in its ability to capture the unique linguistic characteristics and associated emotions among those men. To the casual observer, the language of incel within their online forums may range from nihilistic to toxic. Most analysis tends to compare incel forum posts to mainstream, non-incel-affiliated language. This type of comparison infuses some level of bias, as incels are not known for their moderate language. That is where tools such as sentiment and linguistic analysis have the ability to provide further context. By analyzing the naturally occurring conversations within the forums on the blackpill.club website, I provided a richer insight into the breadth of emotions expressed by incels. The purpose of this study was to improve the understanding of incel and to identify linguistic patterns in incel posts within the blackpill.club website to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the psycholinguistic characteristics of self-affiliated incel men within the blackpill.club website?

RQ2: What psycholinguistic patterns are present within blackpill.club forums that may indicate an intent to harm others physically?

I sought to identify the linguistic norms on the blackpill.club website, discern the emotion associated with the posts and threads, identify individuals whose language fell outside of the normative language on the website, and determine whether the language of outliers represented expressions of increased rage over time that may be associated with

the potential to commit physical violence. This chapter provides a review of the data collection process, the initial discoveries associated with posts on the blackpill.club website, how the data were cleaned and processed, and how the data were parsed and segmented based on the emotion expressed in forum posts. The chapter concludes with a summary of the study findings.

User Demographics

There are no specific demographics for each of the users on the blackpill.club forum. The anonymity for the users could be one of the factors that allows them to feel safe enough to post their feelings and thoughts. A careful look at the posts on the site suggest that each of the users is an adult male, considering the topic of the forum. Also, as an internet site, it is presumed that the users are from areas all around the world, though the posts included for analysis were all in English.

Data Collection

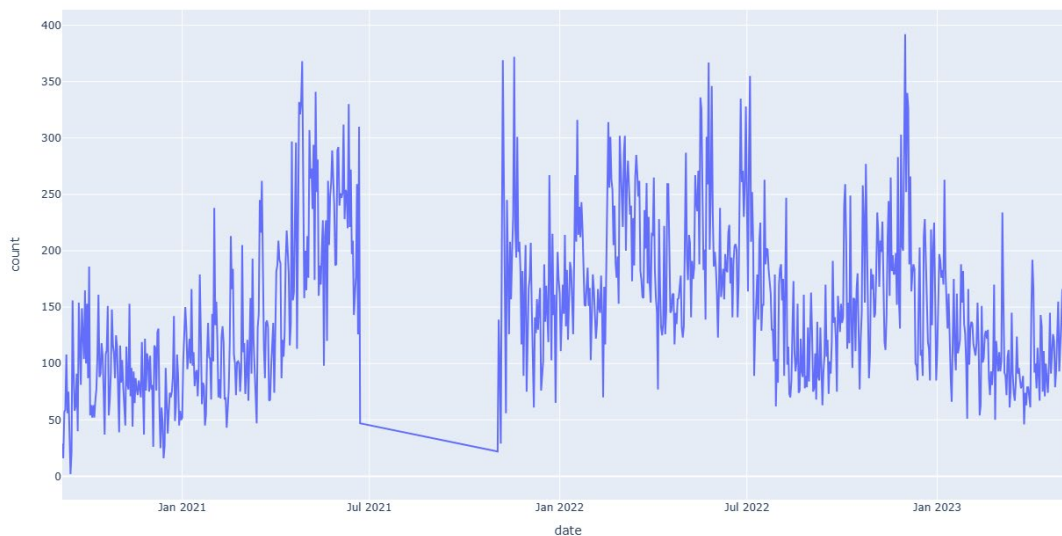
The blackpill.club website (2023) is an openly accessible, no-password-required-to-view website that can be found on the open web. Due to the website being readily accessible, a comprehensive scrape of all of the website's forums and their associated posts was possible. The web scrape performed was an html capture of the text within the website. This data capture included forum topics and the subset of associated thread posts and responses (i.e., textual posts); however, the html scrape did not include gifs, embedded videos, or images posted by forum users. By scraping the blackpill.club website in this manner, I was able to perform linguistic analysis at the topic and user levels. The former provided insight into the topics of interest on this website. The latter

provided insight into the emotions expressed by a forum user at any point in time as well as the forum user's emotions over time.

Data Analysis

Initial analysis of the website indicated the blackpill.club website was stood up on Sep 7, 2020 (Figure 1). The html data scrape encompassed all forums and posts from the website's inception through the date of the website scrape, which was May 12, 2023 (Figure 1). Additionally, I discovered that there was an absence of data between June 23, 2021 and November 1, 2021; this gap in data was assumed to be associated with either a website crash or temporary loss of web hosting. Despite the gap in data, the web scrape yielded 15,238 topic threads, 772 unique user IDs. and 163,967 total user posts. The posts were cleaned to remove any blank values, which are typically representative of either a data capture anomaly or that of a post consisting solely of a gif, image, or video. After the initial data cleanup was completed, 127,858 user posts remained. I discovered that the most posts on any single day occurred on December 1, 2022, with 392 different posts.

Figure 1: *Blackpill.club* daily post frequency



Because this study was focused on linguistic and sentiment analysis, the volume of posts and longer post length were most beneficial for analysis. The number of overall posts and length of posts were most useful for linguistic and sentiment analysis of individual users on the website. Initially, the topic and individual website participant analysis leaned heavily on quantitative values; however, this was necessary for establishing the basis for the study, which was a qualitative review of the sentiment analysis.

Topic Thread Analysis

Despite there being over 15,000 thread topics posted by users on the website, not all of those threads garnered traction among website contributors. Only five or fewer posts were found to be associated with over 6,400 thread topics. This may reflect a few different factors. In some cases, the original thread may have been of little interest to other users. It is also possible that the original thread post accumulated responses after

the website was scraped. Additionally, this cursory review of discussion threads did not address the length of the posts associated with the thread, so it was possible there would be greater value in looking at the content and length of each post rather than the number of posts associated with a particular thread.

Conversely, the most active discussion topic threads were also reviewed. These discussion topics had 100 or more posts associated with them. Some of the thread prompts for these discussion threads included psychological disorders, racial and ethnic concerns, financial concerns, physical assault, and violence, Elliot Rodger, incel identity exposure, sexuality and sexual orientation, gold diggers, just be white theory, viewing of nude images, and living a productive but solitary life. These topics also reflected the breadth of the issues discussed throughout the blackpill.club website.

Individual Website Participant Analysis

A total of 772 unique user IDs were discovered via the web scrape with 127,858 associated posts. Since not all posts proved valuable for analysis, they needed to be further refined. This step was performed because the brevity of some user posts provided little contextual, emotional, or linguistic value by themselves. Brief posts such as “bump” (an attempt by the original poster to obtain greater interactions or increase post views), provided no semantic or linguistic value. Therefore, posts of 100 or fewer characters were excluded from further analysis. This allowed for the refinement and refocusing on posts most likely to provide semantic or linguistic insight. After that process was complete, 106,493 posts remained.

Some terms and phrases had been adapted by incels to express various concepts. For example, “go[ing] ER” was a reference to Elliot Rodger. Since the attack in Isla Vista

in 2014, Elliot Rodger and associated attacks had been heralded by incel as aspirational or the ultimate revenge against society. As such, the term “go[ing] ER” referred to feelings of frustration and an aspirational expression of payback. Not surprisingly, this phrase was found scattered throughout posts on the blackpill.club website.

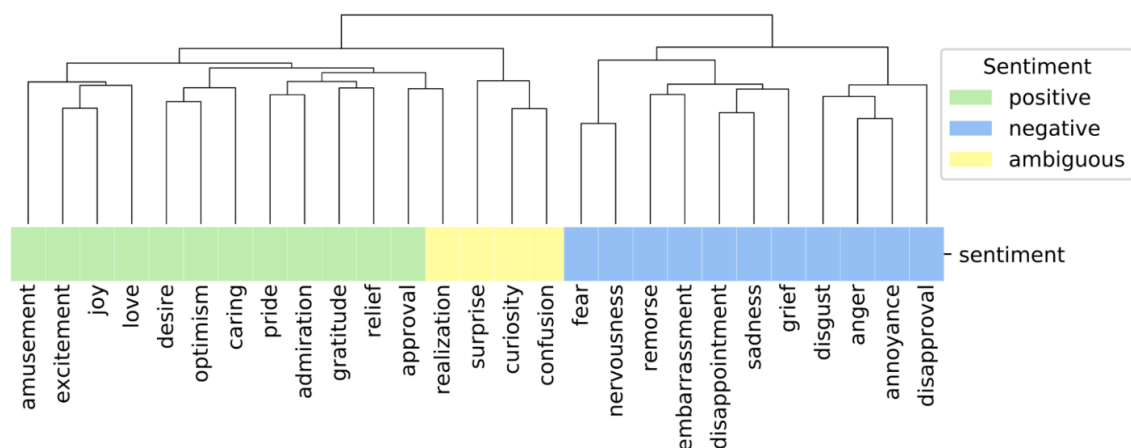
However, incels acknowledge that the use of the “go[ing] ER” may alert law enforcement to a person’s consideration of violent acts. An apparent workaround for this has been to add phrases such as “in GTA” to obfuscate any allusion or intent to hurting anyone (Scotto di Carlo, 2022). GTA is a reference to the video game Grand Theft Auto. Similarly, “in Minecraft,” a reference to another video game, is also used to minimize an expression of violence (see Scotto di Carlo, 2022). Both of these phrases were found in some blackpill.club posts that also reflected expressions of rage, rape, or other violent acts.

Sentiment Analysis

For the sentiment analysis, the GoEmotions data set was used. GoEmotions was created by gathering 58,000 English language posts from Reddit expressing emotion (Demszky et al., 2020). Another benefit of using GoEmotions is that Reddit is known for its young, male-dominated posts (Demszky et al., 2020), which is not dissimilar from the posts on the blackpill.club website. I assumed there were commonalities between the GoEmotions data set and natural linguistic patterns among users of the blackpill.club website. However, unlike some of the posts and discussion threads on blackpill.club, GoEmotions removed subReddits and posts that were graphic, belligerent, or profane (Demszky et al., 2020).

This process of curating and analyzing Reddit posts resulted in the identification of 27 emotions (see Figure 2). Twelve words were identified as being associated with positive sentiment (*amusement, excitement, joy, love, desire, optimism, caring, pride, admiration, gratitude, and approval*), four were associated with an expression of ambiguous sentiment (*realization, surprise, curiosity, and confusion*), and 11 emotions were associated with negative sentiment (*fear, nervousness, remorse, embarrassment, disappointment, sadness, grief, disgust, anger, annoyance, and disapproval*) (Demszky et al., 2020). Additionally, emojis associated with each emotion were also identified (Demszky et al., 2020). By including emojis, Demszky et al. (2020) enabled another layer of emotion identification and analysis that is prevalent across numerous social media, blogs, and forums.

Figure 2: *GoEmotions Sentiments*



Note. Adapted from Demszky et al. (2020).

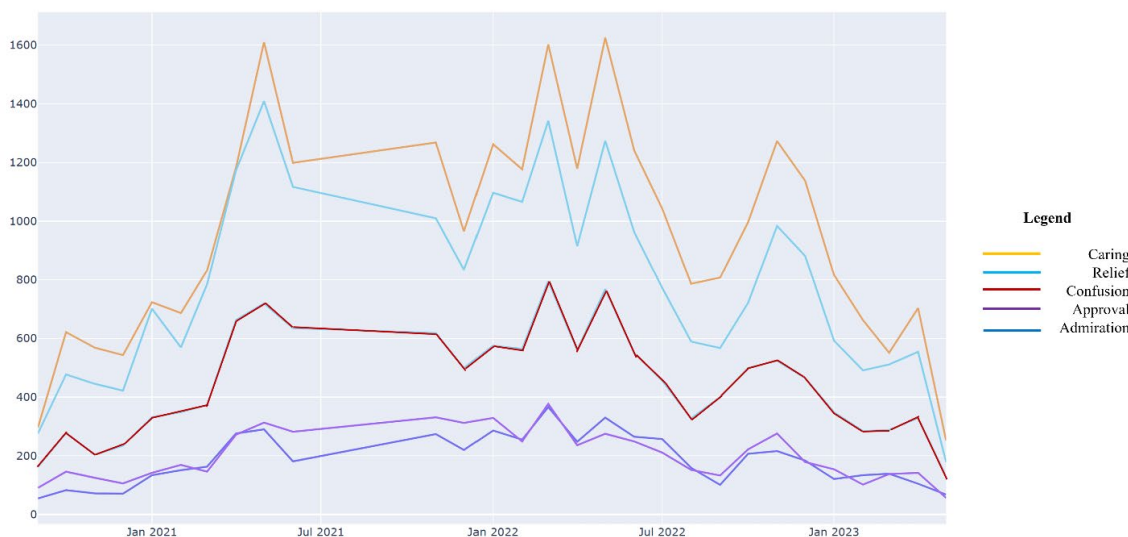
Applying the GoEmotions data set to the data obtained from the blackpill.club web scrape highlighted nuances in the emotions expressed by the forum posters. Once the data were cleaned and posts of 100 characters were excluded, 106,493 user posts were

ready for sentiment analysis. These posts were studied first by topic thread and then by individual user. The GoEmotions data set identifies emotion based on the normative language within the corpus of data it is analyzing. Therefore, even an emotion such as *joy* is seeking joyous comments compared to the surrounding data; in this case, that was the blackpill.club website. Although those comments may not have been associated with *joy* if they were posted on a mainstream social media or discussion website, they were identified by the GoEmotions data set as joyous in relation to the other posts analyzed.

Topic Thread Sentiment Analysis

The parent threads, also known as prompting threads or topic threads, on the blackpill.club website were reviewed to identify the emotions expressed. Figure 3 displays the top five emotions expressed from the stand-up of the website to the date of the web scrape. The top five emotions expressed were *admiration*, *approval*, *confusion*, *relief*, and *caring*. These emotions were identified based on the posts from the blackpill.club website, so the average person may not consider some of these posts as expressing the identified emotion. However, within the context of the blackpill.club website, those posts were contextually associated with those emotions.

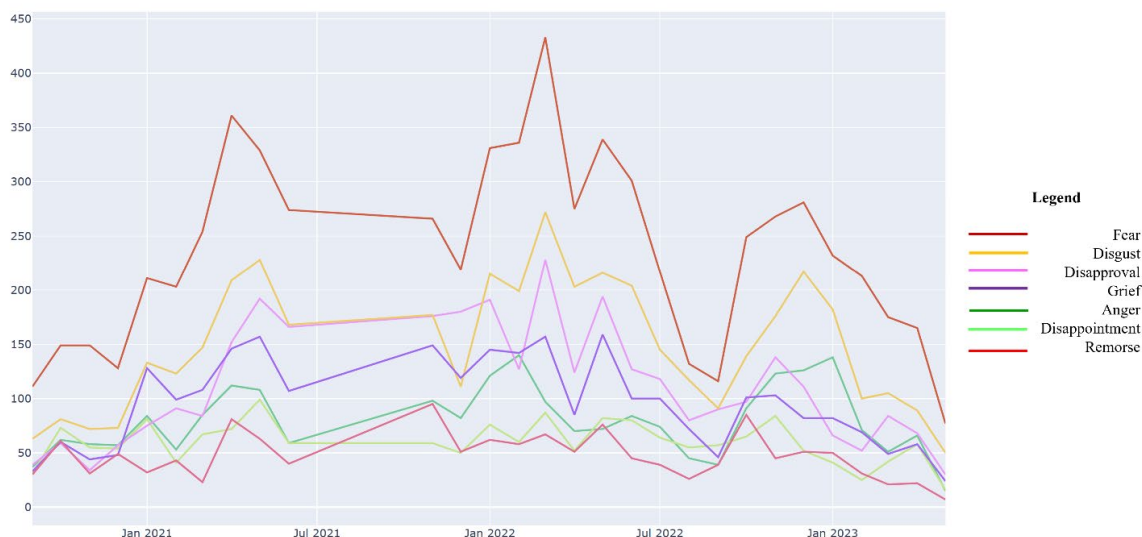
Figure 3: *Top five sentiments expressed on the blackpill.club website*



Despite prevailing opinion by mainstream media, incels do not express only anger and rage. The sentiment analysis of the blackpill.club website indicated the presence of all the positive emotions that GoEmotions identified. *Caring* (primarily toward forum peers), *relief*, *confusion*, *approval* (of others and their posts), and *admiration* were found most often. Prompting posts expressing *love* was least prevalent.

The most common negative sentiments expressed in blackpill.club were *fear*, *disgust*, *disapproval*, *grief*, *anger*, *disappointment*, and *remorse*. These emotions support the concepts of incels' frustration and aggravation toward mainstream society. Although not as commonly expressed, expressions of *remorse* and *disappointment* were also found within threads. Expressions of remorse or disappointment tend to be indicative of some level of self-reflection, feelings of loss, or feelings of inadequacy (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: *Top negative sentiments expressed on the blackpill.club website*



Neutral emotions, as identified by GoEmotions, were not as commonly identified and leaned primarily toward *confusion* and *realization*. All four neutral sentiments were found to be present in threads such as dating, physical features and ethnic distinctions, and politics.

Individual Website Participant Sentiment Analysis

For the sentiment analysis of individual website posters, users whose expressed emotion in their respective posts were identified using the GoEmotions data set. Due to the volume of data, only the 90th percentile of all unique posts was extracted. This process whittled down unique usernames significantly to posts associated with only 163 users. Those associated emotions were those related to *anger*, *caring*, *sadness*, *disgust*, *disappointment*, *joy*, and *embarrassment*. None of these posts were found to be associated with any of the neutral emotions (*realization*, *surprise*, *curiosity*, and *confusion*). Positive sentiments, specifically those related to *caring* and *joy*, were found less frequently than the negative emotions (*anger*, *sadness*, *disgust*, *disappointment*, and *embarrassment*).

Focusing further on those individuals whose posts ranked highest among the 90th percentile and were also the most prolific revealed a handful of website posters. Table 1 shows the anonymized usernames whose individual posts ranked closest to the sentiment noted at the top of each column. Forum poster *user772* shared posts on blackpill.club that expressed greater *disappointment*, *sadness*, and *caring* than most of the other website posters. He was also one of the website's most frequent and verbose posters. *User710* ranked high in his expressions of *sadness*, *disappointment*, and *joy*. The sentiment of *sadness* was most expressed by these posts. *User713* ranked high in his expressions of *sadness*, *disappointment*, and *embarrassment*. In comparison, *user719* expressed the most varied emotions. His posts were reflective of varying degrees of *sadness*, *disappointment*, *disgust*, *anger*, *joy*, and *caring*. It is also interesting to note that *User719* also posted one of the longest individual posts. *User720* had posts that aligned with *sadness*, *embarrassment*, and *disappointment*. Meanwhile, *user684* was not one of the most frequent forum posters; some of his posts did rank highest in expressions of *sadness*. He also was found to have had one of the longest single website posts.

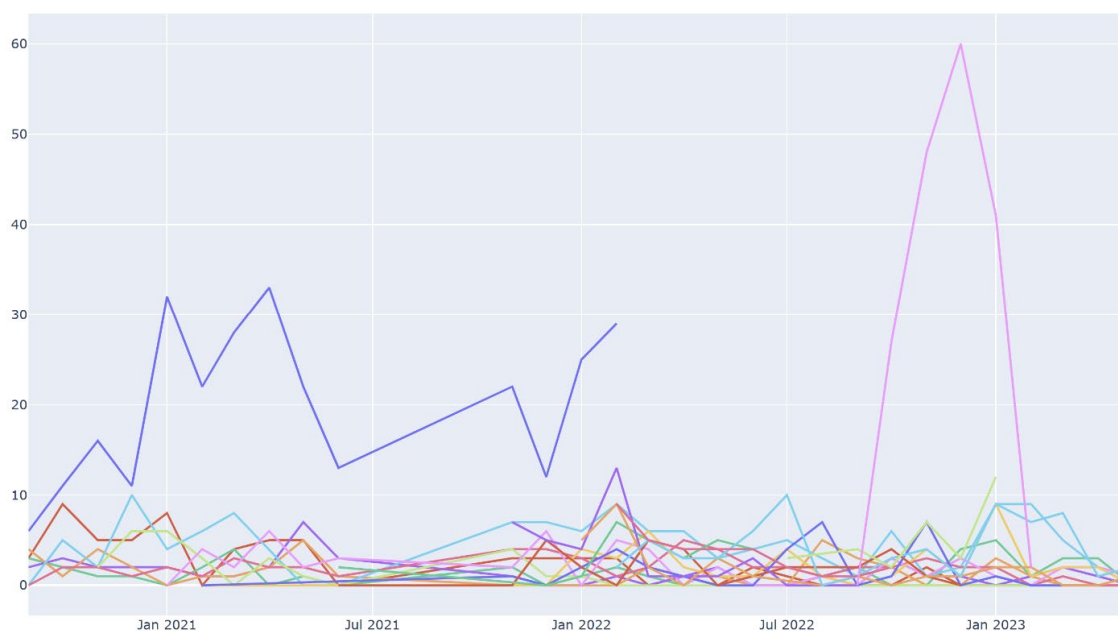
Table 1

Top 90th percentile of users expressed emotions on the blackpill.club website

Caring	Joy	Sadness	Disappointment	Embarrassment	Disgust	Anger
user719	user710	user684	user710	user713	user710	user719
user772	user719	user710	user713	user720	user719	
		user713	user719			
		user719	user720			
		user720	user772			
		user772				

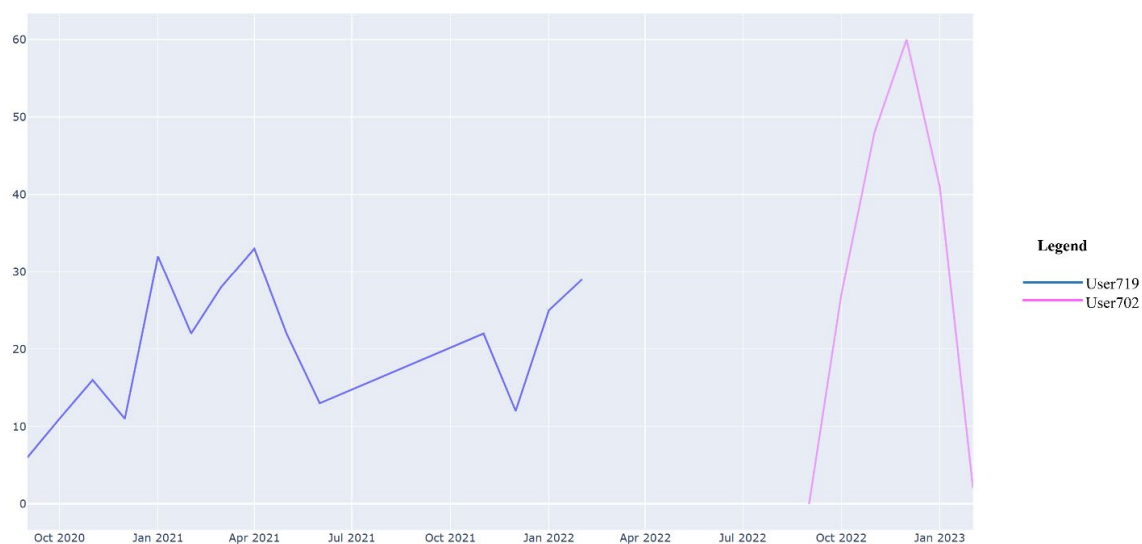
When looking to identify those individuals posting at least 25 times and viewing their posts over time, a slightly different picture emerges. Eighteen individuals were identified with posts related to *anger* (Figure 5).

Figure 5: *Top users expressing anger on the blackpill.club website*



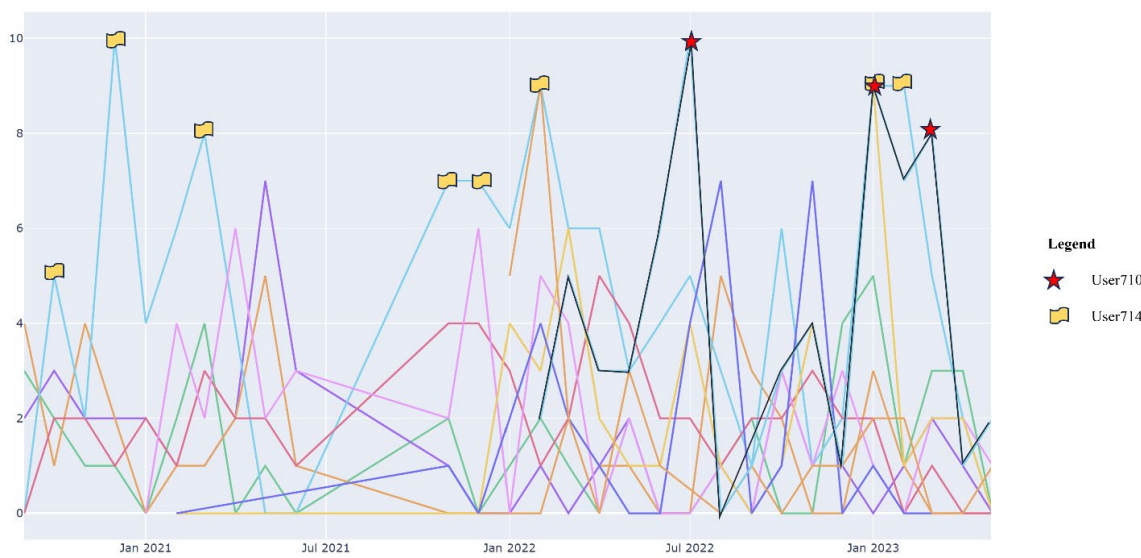
Of those ranking the highest in *anger*, one user (*user719*) was found to post frequently, with his posts also ranking high in *anger*; however, he has not posted since early 2022 (Figure 6). Another poster, *user702*, had the most posts related to *anger* on a single day, peaking at 60 posts in December 2022 (Figure 6). But his expressions of *anger* dropped thereafter.

Figure 6: *Top two users expressing anger on the blackpill.club website*



The remaining individuals most associated with *anger* were then reviewed to see who remained active users. In this context, active users were those individuals with posts ranging from their respective first post on the blackpill.club website through the date of the web scrape in May 2023 (Figure 7). Even amongst these individuals, *anger* was not continually expressed. For example, *user710* consistently posted to the blackpill.club website; despite this, his posts only peaked regarding *anger* on three occasions. Whereas the individual with the most instances of heightened anger, as compared to fellow participants, was *user714*. This individual has also been a consistent poster on the website and chalked up eight instances of expressing the most *anger* relative to the other posts.

Figure 7: *Top active users expressing anger*



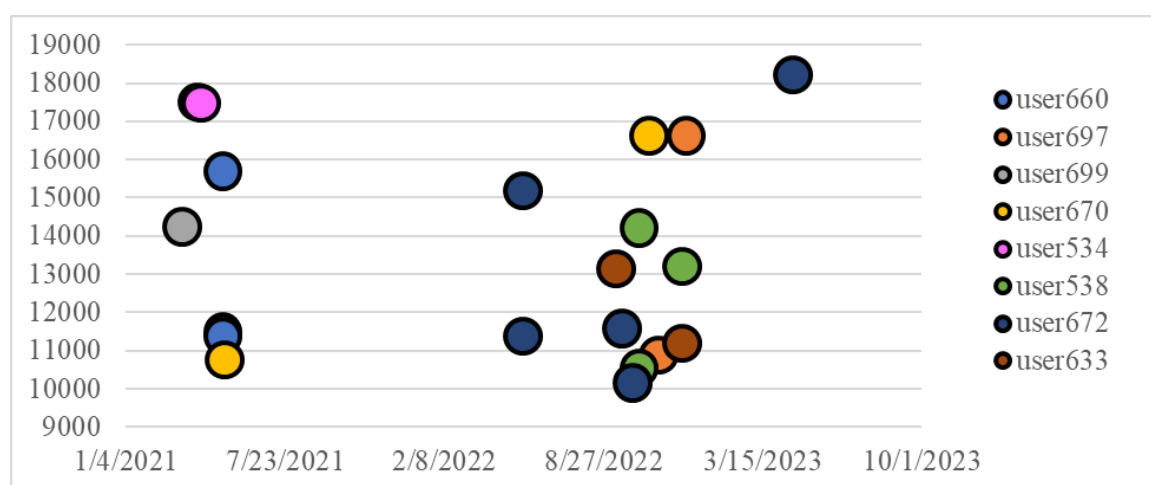
Post Length Analysis

Post length is another review consideration. Long posts may be viewed akin to a manifesto-like sharing of beliefs. Alternately, these lengthy posts may simply be an individual displaying overwhelming feelings. In either instance, such long posts may indicate a cry for help. Individual post length ranged throughout the threads on blackpill.club. As indicated earlier, in order to focus on post value as related to sentiment, all posts less than 100 characters long were excluded. Even with this data refinement, thousands of user posts remained for analysis. On average, there are approximately 1,800 characters on a page of double-spaced text. Within the blackpill.club website, there were over 200 individual posts in excess of 4,000 characters. This equates to almost 2 ½ pages of double-spaced text.

Among the most prolific of these were individual posts by eight users exceeding 10,000 characters (Figure 8), which accounted for 20 total posts. One individual, *user699*, only had one post to make this list; that single post was over 14,000 characters

long. Four users (*user534*, *user633*, *user670*, and *user697*) each posted two separate occasions over 10,000 characters. While two others, *user538* and *user660*, shared posts exceeding 10,000 characters on three separate occasions. There was one additional user, *user672*, whose lengthy posts garnered him as the most frequent wordy poster with five instances of posts exceeding 10,000 characters.

Figure 8: *User Posts Over 10,000 Characters Long*



Delving deeper into these lengthy posts revealed an additional dimension to this analysis, that of content analysis. It was discovered that *user697* and *user534* each shared posts, 10,878 and 17,473 characters, respectively, that ranked high in character count but only consisted of one, drawn-out word with extra characters or repeated without any spaces. Another post by *user534* was similarly constructed but did include a few spaces so it equated 6 words with a total of 17,503 characters. However, it was noted through this manual review process that these posters were expressing annoyance or derision. Similarly, another post by *user697*, consisting of 16,631 characters and 2,641 words, merely repeated a single phrase. Although the phrase itself could have represented humor or sarcastic antagonism, it did not appear to signal other strong sentiments.

The remaining high character count posts were similarly reviewed. Two posts by *user672* appeared to be reposts of online articles, one related to understanding incel narratives and the other regarding Chinese immigration to Africa. Likewise, two posts by *user538* were excerpts from past news reporting on high school shootings. A post by *user672* regarded a reporter's detailing of an alleged incel's trips to Thailand to have sex as well as whether that man was truly an incel.

One post by *user672* discussed the evils associated with women and their alleged natural inclination towards various sexual depravities. *User660* shared two posts framed around female masochism, including accusations regarding Joan of Arc's alleged sexual abuse while being burned at the stake, female interest in experience bestiality, anal sex, and sexual knife play to support his assertion that women experience pain as a pleasurable experience. . Whereas the third post by *user538* to make the list of lengthiest posts offered information supporting his premise that society is going to implode.

User660 shared a lengthy post containing purported scientific data regarding the natural experience of male arousal towards females and adolescent girls, even going so far as to suggest men should not be forced to fight their urges towards adolescents. *User699* wrote about his life, experiences being bullying, dating, misadventures, gymmaxxing, ultimate incel blackpilling, and suicidal ideation. A post by *user672* discussed his un-pilling, or de-radicalization from inceldom, and advocated for others to do likewise. *User633* shared a lengthy post that was entirely anti-Semitic. While another post by *user633* contains lengthy excerpts from a book about the history of cannibalism in China. *User670* provided two separate posts that ranks high in character and word

count. One post detailed a near-death experience. While the other discussed the history of science and scientific subjectivism.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Qualitative research enables academic focus on the lived experience of study participants. This type of study provided an opportunity to present the emotions expressed by incels in their own words and without external prompting by myself or other researchers. Throughout the research process, it has been essential to represent the words and meaning of posts as authentically as possible. The hallmarks of trustworthiness in research are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility is focused on the researcher's ability to relay the study group's experiences in a manner recognizable by people with similar experiences (Cope, 2014). It can also be achieved by validating study findings with study participants or by including the researcher's personal experience concerning the study (Cope, 2014). In my study of incel, credibility was achieved by providing a personal inclusion referring to my experience and how the study may have affected me in Chapter 5.

The ability to apply findings to other environments or other groups of individuals would address transferability (Cope, 2014). The steps taken in this study to analyze incel posts are transferable to studies of other forums and online communities. Also, if someone uninvolved in this study is able to correlate the findings of this study to their own lives, that would be transferability.

Dependability is a measure of the repeatability of the study methods and procedures with other, similar participant groups (Cope, 2014). This study's methodology

may be pertinent to studying other online communities and marginalized groups.

Dependability was assured by adhering to strict data collection methods and analysis as well as through committee review.

Confirmability is the ability of the researcher to show how study findings reflect the input provided by study data/participants, void of the researcher's personal perspective and prejudice (Cope, 2014). Throughout this research process, I have striven to accurately reflect the intent associated with each topic and thread. Had I made assumptions during the data capture and analysis process, I would not meet the threshold for confirmability.

Results

This study looked at three separate aspects of data within the blackpill.club website: topic thread sentiment analysis, individual post sentiment analysis, and post length analysis. Topic threads reflected emotion that most often indicated varying degrees of *caring, relief, confusion, approval, and admiration*. Topic thread prompts are akin to subject headings, with the subsequent posts in the thread related to the prompting thread. While some topics posited on the blackpill.club website could be considered more mainstream, covering issues as sexuality, sexual conquests, physical appearance, mental health, racial and ethnic concerns, and financial concerns. In many ways, these generalized topics are not unlike those that could be found on other online communities and social media. The departure from mainstream conversation is apparent in other discussion threads related to issues such as psychological disorders, physical assault, violence, personal inadequacy, loneliness, Elliot Rodger, incel identity exposure, gold

diggers, just be white theory, viewing of nude images, and living a productive but solitary life.

At the individual post level, a slightly different picture emerges. Individual topic analysis of the top 90th percentile of posts expressing emotion revealed posts were most closely related to *caring, joy, sadness, disappointment, embarrassment, disgust, and anger*. Refining the individual post analysis further by focusing on forum participants who posted at least 25 times, *anger* becomes an even more prominent emotion with 18 separate users ranking in the 90th percentile of emotions. Two of those users however, have not posted on the website since 2022. The remaining 16 individual blackpill.club users remained active but their emotion varied and was not solely limited to *anger*.

Post length analysis provided the final analytic perspective. Twenty posts authored by eight users exceeded 10,000 characters. Not all these posts proved relevant. Four posts were repetitive or non-sensical. Five other posts proved to be excerpts from previously published news stories. While those five posts did not seem to contain user commentary, they do reflect topics du jour. The remaining posts were free-text perspectives on topics. The benefits of lengthy posts include learning a poster's writing style and having more data points for sentiment analysis. The GoEmotions data set most frequently identified *anger, curiosity, embarrassment, fear, gratitude, and surprise* as the emotion expressed in those posts.

Summary

This chapter has looked at several aspects of the posts on the blackpill.club website. First presented was an initial overview of the website posts, focusing on the overall number of posts and key website dates. This included data cleaning and

refinement logic and the initial findings pertaining to the topic threads and individual participants. Next, this chapter focused on sentiment analysis by identifying the primary emotions expressed on the blackpill.club website. This was followed by sentiment analysis of the parent threads and individual respondent posts, paying particular attention to those users who ranked highest in particular emotional expressions. The final section looked at post length as a variable for emotional expression.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

Discerning meaning and emotion from online posts is both art and science. While quantitative variables can provide foundational data, it is the qualitative analysis that can add color and meaning to the story. Previous research into incel and other online communities has gone a long way towards establishing an understanding of how these communities operate, identifying unique language, establishing common beliefs, and overlapping values.

I sought to identify the linguistic norms on the blackpill.club website, discern the emotion associated with the posts and threads, identify individuals whose language fell outside of the normative language, and determine whether the language of any of those outliers represented expressions of increased rage over time and may be associated with the potential to commit physical violence.

Findings Related to the Study Research Questions

This study focused on two primary elements:

RQ1: What are the psycholinguistic characteristics of self-affiliated incel men within the blackpill.club website?

This RQ1 was addressed via thread sentiment and individual user sentiment analysis. These two categories of analysis of the blackpill.club posts served to highlight the range of emotion expressed by users. At the thread analysis level, the primary emotions identified were *admiration, approval, confusion, relief, and caring*. This was surprising as prior to this study, most research classified incel emotions as being loosely associated with negative emotions of anger, loneliness, fear, insecurity, and regret. At the

individual thread analysis level, this study found emotions related to *anger, caring, sadness, disgust, disappointment, joy, and embarrassment* were found to be most prevalent among the 90th percentile of expressed user emotions. Deeper analysis on posts specifically related to *anger* uncovered several individuals who had posts hitting high on the *anger* scale. In many cases these individuals had high associations to *anger* on several occasions. Despite these user peaks, their posts related to strong expressions of anger fell off in 2023.

RQ2: What psycholinguistic patterns are present within blackpill.club forums that may indicate an intent to harm others physically?

Individual users posts exceeding 10,000 characters or more were analyzed to identify the primary emotions associated with these posts. The emotion associated with these posts highlighted their frustration, sadness, and rage. None of the more verbose posters shared personal information and emotion that may be indicative of future attack planning.

Interpretation of the Findings

Each variable analyzed (thread sentiment, individual user sentiment, and post length) combined to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the posts on the blackpill.club website. Analysis of the thread sentiment found the presence of both positive and negative sentiment. Negative emotions associated with *fear, disgust, disapproval, grief, anger, disappointment, and remorse* were frequently found in posts. However, the interpretation of positive sentiment needs to be emphasized. Posts ranking high in positive sentiment may not have been conventionally positive but scattered throughout a website of predominantly negative sentiment. Positive posts became less

negative to the point of reading as positive sentiment. GoEmotions' identification of threads as positive should be viewed under the auspices of those posts being less negative but not necessarily positive.

Through data refinement, power users (those individuals who posted at least 25 times and were ranked in the 90th percentile of expressed emotion) on the blackpill.club website were identified. After eliminating users who had not posted in 2023, only a few users remained. Of those, two users were identified as having multiple instances of high expressions of *anger*. User714 used expressions of *anger* on three occasions, whereas user710 did so on eight separate occasions.

The final item of analysis, length of post, also provided valuable data. Several users were identified as being exceptionally effusive. One individual was found to have shared a post exceeding 14,000 characters. Although the length of the post was not a factor for heightened alert, it was reflective of extreme emotion.

The findings of this study highlight several things. First, when viewed as a community of incels, the posts on blackpill.club were found to run the gamut of emotions. This website is rich in data. Although the number of individuals posting on this site reflects its popularity and provides a significant depth of data from which to analyze, the breadth of topics discussed and variability of emotions expressed serve to enhance the data. Second, although this website may serve as a virtual community for incels, the sentiment associated with the individual posts is solely reflective of the emotion expressed by that user. In particular, two users more recently expressed a higher degree of *anger* than their peers. Although expressions of *anger* alone are not sufficient to warrant concern, the instances of *anger* expression in relation to peers on the

blackpill.club website may warrant further investigation. Finally, analyzing post length served to indicate the variability of user posts. Although some posts consist of words providing little to no emotion, such as “bump”, many posts contained sufficient wording to perform data analysis and identify associated emotion. This was most prevalent in some of the wordier posts. Among the more verbose users, a variety of sentiments was expressed in their posts. However, the length of the posts may be indicative of an emotional crisis.

Theoretical Explanation

The theoretical framework for this study is social cognitive theory, which posits one’s actions are a result of moral standards and self-regulation (Bandura, 1999). Bandura (1999) further notes that radicalization is a slow process of detaching from one’s original grounding moral principles and slowly adopting the ideals and identifying with the plight of the surrounding community. As applied to incel, this process begins when an individual progresses from a casual observer in their online communities to someone who increases their immersion into the incel ideology, or blackpill, and accepts their new reality wherein female hypergamy, physical attributes, and sexual virility trump all. The more a blackpiller immerses themselves in this environment, the greater the echo chamber effect.

While this study’s findings did not identify blackpill.club forum posters that may be likely to commit physical acts of violence, it did further the understanding of the emotions expressed by these individuals. An aspect of social cognitive theory is the belief that a person has some level of control over their life. However, this study found that the most emotive posts on the blackpill.club website reflected *anger, caring, sadness,*

disgust, disappointment, joy, and embarrassment. Upon reading the posts related to those emotions, it was discovered that the emotional references related to *caring* and *joy* were contextually caring and joyous and would not typically be considered so in mainstream social media posts. The remaining sentiment posts, those related to *anger, sadness, disappointment, and embarrassment*, tend to be reflective of feelings of a lack of agency in their position in life. A deeper dive into the sentiments in conjunction with manual post-level review of all the posts on the blackpill.club website could serve to highlight the morphoses from lonely and disaffected to angry and self-deprecating.

Limitations of the Study

A few factors limited this study. First was the assumption that all individuals posting on the blackpill.club website identified themselves as incels. Some individuals posting on the website may have been curious and not affiliated with inceldom. There may also have been some women or incognito law enforcement personnel who posted on the website; either of those would have skewed the sentiment analysis. The study was also limited by assumptions during the data collection and analysis process. It is possible that some posts may have been taken out of context, or some of the cutlines created to refine and scope the analysis may have influenced the results in some way.

Recommendations

Because the data was collected in May 2023, it could be insightful to update the web scrape and associated analysis. This would be valuable to determine whether previous threads that had received few responses gained traction or whether current global and political affairs may have spurred new threads on such topics. It would also prove insightful to analyze the corpus of posts against all of the sentiments available via

the GoEmotions data set rather than only posts associated with the 90th percentile of emotional expressions. GoEmotions would be a valuable tool for many other analyses as well. It could be applied to the study of other incel websites and online communities and be a tool for historical analysis of mass attack manifestos.

Implications

The results of this research could have many applications. They could be used for tipping and cueing a person's potential for or intent to conduct attacks. Preventing individuals from self-harm could be yet another application. Furthermore, this study could be used to build the corpus of knowledge related to marginalized communities, online behavior, and psychological and interventional tools at the disposal of the psychological community and law enforcement personnel.

Conclusion

Earlier researchers focused on topics such as the quantitative aspects of incel (Jaki et al., 2019) or a comparative linguistic analysis between incel and pornography (Tranchese & Suguira, 2021). This was the first study to examine the blackpill.club website. Using the GoEmotions data set, I was able to discern expressed and contextual emotions. . It was also able to highlight website users who may be cause for potential concern due to their degree of expressed anger or rambling diatribes.

This study added to the understanding of online posting behavior of marginalized communities. Additionally, this study added to the existing research in the areas of qualitative sentiment analysis of incel. Web scraping combined with sentiment analysis of user posts on the blackpill.club website provided a novel approach. Not only was it important to not describe the incel community as possessing a hive mind, it was equally

important to discern the emotions associated with each individual user. I found that the synthesis of factors was most significant in understanding user posts on the blackpill.club website. By revealing the posting behaviors, discerning the emotional expressions, and topics of interest within the incel community, this study helped add additional dimension to research on incels. This study provided a foundation for additional research on incel, other marginalized communities, and sentiment analysis.

References

- al-Rawi, A. (2018). Video games, terrorism, and ISIS's jihad 3.0. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, 30(4), 740–760. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1207633>
- Alcott, H., Gentzkow, M., & Song, L. (2022). Digital addiction. *American Economic Review*, 112(7), 2424–63. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20210867>
- Andersen, J. C. (2022). The symbolic boundary work of incels: Subcultural negotiation of meaning and identity online. *Deviant Behavior*, 43(11).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2022.2142864>
- Araque, O., & Iglesias, C. A. (2020). An approach for radicalization detection based on emotion signals and semantic similarity. *IEEE Access*, 8, 17877–17891.
<https://doi.org/10.1109/ACCESS.2020.2967219>
- Awan, I. (2017). Cyber-extremism: Isis and the power of social media. *Society*, 54(2), 138–149. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-017-0114-0>

- Ayudhya, P. (2021). Establishment and movement of psycholinguistics. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 15(1), 139–148.
- Azeez, A., Mahmoud, A. H., & Nouri, A. A. (2023). The impact of positive and negative on mood language choice: A psycholinguistic study of discourse markers. *Nasaq Journal*, 37(1).
- Bael, S. J., Brace, L., & Coan, T. G. (2019, August 2). From “incel” to “saint”: Analyzing the violent worldview behind the 2018 Toronto attack. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1638256>
- Baker, P. L. (2019). Paranoids, factoids, and opioids: The social consequences of the destruction of cultural scripts for left-behind men. *Sociological Quarterly*, 60(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2018.1559668>
- Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development: Six theories of child development* (Vol. 6, pp. 1–60). JAI Press.
- Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3(3), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_3
- Beauchamp, Z. (2019). *Our incel problem: How a support group for the dateless became one of the internet’s most dangerous subcultures*. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/4/16/18287446/incel-definition-reddit>
- Black, M. (2016). Cyber ethnography: A critical tool for the Department of Defense? *Comparative Strategy*, 35(2), 103–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1176456>
- blackpill.club. (2023). Retrieved May 13, 2023, from <https://blackpill.world>

- Bloom, M. (2022). The first incel? The legacy of Mac Lépine. *The Journal of Intelligence, Conflict, and Warfare*, 5(1), 374.
- Bridgelall, R. (2022). An application of natural language processing to classify what terrorists say they want. *Social Sciences*, 11(23).
<https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11010023>
- Brooks, R. (2021). *Artificial intimacy: Virtual friends, digital lovers and algorithmic matchmakers*. Columbia University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/broo20094>
- Brzuszkiewicz, S. (2020). Incel radical milieu and external locus of control. *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague (ICCT) Evolutions in Counter-Terrorism*, 2, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2020.5.21>
- Caruso, P., Merzagora, I., & Travaini, G. (2021). Incels: Between mass murderers and terrorism? *Rassegna Italiana di Criminologia*, XV(2), 156–161.
<https://doi.org/10.7347/RIC-022021>
- Chess, S., & Shaw, A. (2015). A conspiracy of fishes, or, how we learned to stop worrying about #GamerGate and embrace hegemonic masculinity. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 59(1), 208–220.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2014.999917>
- Cohen, S. J., Kruglanski, A., Gelfand, M. J., Webber, D., & Gunaratna, R. (2018). Al-Qaeda's propaganda decoded: A psycholinguistic system for detecting variations in terrorism ideology. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(1), 142–171.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1165214>

- Cole, K. K. (2015). "It's like she's eager to be verbally abused": Twitter, trolls, and (en)gendering disciplinary rhetoric. *Feminist Media Studies*, 15(2), 356–358.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008750>
- Cope, D. G. (2014, January 1). Methods and meanings: Credibility and trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, 41(1), 89–91.
<https://doi.org/10.1188/14.ONF.89-91>
- Corey. (n.d.). *Web scraping in 5 minutes with Python & Excel*. <https://gallon.me/web-scraping-in-5-mins-python-excel/>
- Cosma, S., & Gurevich, M. (2020). Securing sex: Embattled masculinity and the pressured pursuit of women's bodies in men's online sex advice. *Feminism & Psychology*, 30(1), 42–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353519857754>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Crimando, S. (2019). *Alone together and angry: An incel revolution*.
https://www.asisonline.org/security-management-magazine/articles/2019/03/alone-together-and-angry-an-incel-revolution/?_t_id=8yEa3b8FuoYiSDO%E2%80%A6
- Daly, S. E., & Laskovtsov, A. (2021). "Goodbye my friendcels": An analysis of incel suicide posts. *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice and Criminology*, 11(1).
<https://doi.org/10.21428/cb6ab371.a9564fcd>
- Daubney, M. (2015, November 15). Meet the men giving up on women. *The Times*.
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/meet-the-men-giving-up-on-women-zqmmthbvjrr>

- Davidson, B. I., Jones, S. L., Joinson, A. N., & Hinds, J. (2019). The evolution of online ideological communities. *PLoS ONE*, *14*(5), 1–25.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0216932>
- Davies, G., Wu, E., & Frank, R. (2021). A witch's brew of grievances: The potential effects of COVID-19 on radicalization to violent extremism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *46*(11), 2327–3350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2021.1923188>
- Demszky, D., Movshovitz-Attias, D., Ko, J., Cowen, A., Nemade, G., & Ravi, S. (2020, July). *GoEmotions: A dataset of fine-grained emotions* [Paper presentation]. 58th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, Online.
<https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/2020.acl-main.372>
- Donovan, J. (2011). *No man's land: Masculinity maligned, reimaged and misrepresented*. www.jack-donovan.com
- Ehman, A. C., & Gross, A. M. (2019). Sexual cyberbullying: Review, critique, & future directions. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *44*, 80–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.11.001>
- El-Ali, L. (2022). Virgins: There are no 72 virgins waiting for anyone in Paradise. In *No truth without beauty: God, the Qur'an, and women's rights* (pp. 273–282). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83582-8_21
- Erlenbusch-Anderson, V. (2022). Historicizing white supremacist terrorism with Ida B. Wells. *Political Theory*, *50*(2), 275–304.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00905917211021381>
- Fernandez, E. M., Cairns, H. S., & Wiley, J. (Eds.). (2018). *The handbook of psycholinguistics*. John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118829516>

Florea, M., Pollner, P., Abel, D., Garcia, O., Bar, S., Naqvi, S., & Asif, W. (2019).

Complex project to develop real tools for identifying and countering terrorism: Real-time early detection and alert system for online terrorist content based on natural language processing, social network analysis, artificial intelligence and complex event processing. In C. Potlog (Ed.), *Challenges in cybersecurity and privacy - the European research landscape* (pp. 181–206). River Publishers.

<https://doi.org/10.13052/rp-9788770220873>

Fowler, K. (2021). From Chads to Blackpills, a discursive analysis of the Incel's gendered spectrum of political agency. *Deviant Behavior*.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0639625.2021.1985387>

Georges, R. A., & Jones, M. O. (1980). *People studying people: The human element in fieldwork*. Univ of California Press.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppmmw>

Ging, D. (2019). Alphas, betas, and incels: Theorizing the masculinities of the manosphere. *Men and Masculinities*, 22(4), 638–657.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17706401>

Glance, A., Dover, T., & Zatzkin, J. (2021). Taking the black pill: An empirical analysis of the "incel". *Psychology of men & masculinities*, 22(2), 288–297.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000328>

Google. (n.d.). *How Search organizes information*.

<https://www.google.com/search/howsearchworks/crawling-indexing/>

Grover, T., & Mark, G. (2019, June 11). *Detecting potential warning behaviors of ideological radicalization in an alt-right subreddit* [Paper presentation]. the

International Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence (AAAI)
Conference on Web and Social Media, Munich, Germany.

<https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v13i01.3221>

Habib, H., Srinivasan, P., & Nithyanand, R. (2022). Making a radical misogynist: How online social engagement with the manosphere influences traits of radicalization.

<https://doi.org/arXiv:2202.08805>

Han, X., & Yin, C. (2022). Mapping the manosphere: Categorization of reactionary masculinity discourses in digital environment. *Feminist Media Studies*.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1998185>

Helm, B., Scrivens, R., Holt, T., Chermak, S., & Frank, R. (2022). Examining incel subculture on reddit. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 1–19.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2022.2074867>

Hoffman, B., Ware, J., & Shapiro, E. (2020). Assessing the threat of incel violence. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43(7), 565–587.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1751459>

Huberman, B. A. (2005, October). *Social dynamics in cyberspace* [Paper presentation].
Third Latin American Web Congress, United States.

<https://doi.org/10.1109/LAWEB.2005.33>

Jaki, S., DeSmedt, T., Gwózdź, M., Panchal, R., Rossa, A., & De Pauw, G. (2019).

Online hatred of women in the Incels.me forum: Linguistic analysis and automatic detection [Manuscript submitted for publication]. [10.1075/jlac.00026.jak](https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00026.jak)

- Jane, E. (2018). Systemic misogyny exposed: Translating Rapeglish from the Manosphere with a random rape threat generator. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21(6), 661– 680. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877917734042>
- Johanssen, J. (2022). *Fantasy, online misogyny and the manosphere: Male bodies of dis/inhibition*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003031581>
- Jones, C., Trott, V., & Wright, S. (2020). Sluts and soyboys: MGTOW and the production of misogynistic online harassment. *New media & society*, 22(10), 1903–1921. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819887141>
- Kanji, A. (2018). Framing Muslims in the “war on terror”: Representations of ideological violence by Muslim versus non-Muslim perpetrators in Canadian national news media. *Religions*, 9(274). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9090274>
- Klee, M. (2019, February 13). *Japanese incels are fighting for a marxist revolution*. MEL Magazine. <https://melmagazine.com/en-us/story/japanese-incels-marxist-revolution-kakumeiteki-himote>
- Kyodo News. (2021, August 8). *Man in train stabbings resented women, blames others for own misery*. Kyodo News+. <https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2021/08/46285d9c8a10-man-arrested-in-train-stabbings-suffered-rejection-in-relationships.html>
- Lankford, A. (2014). Précis of the myth of martyrdom: What really drives suicide bombers, rampage shooters, and other self-destructive killers. *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 37(4), 351–362. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X13001581>

- Lankford, A., & Silva, J. R. (2022). Sexually frustrated mass shooters: A study of perpetrators, profiles, behaviors, and victims. *Homicide Studies*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/10887679221106975>
- Larsen, J. (2020). Talking about radicalization. *Nordic Journal of Criminology*, 21(1), 49–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2578983X.2019.1685805>
- LaViolette, J., & Hogan, B. (2019). *Using platform signals for distinguishing discourses: The case of Men's Rights and Men's Liberation on Reddit* [Paper presentation]. International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, Munich, Germany.
- Leidig, E. (2021, August 31). *Why terrorism studies miss the mark when it comes to incels - icct*. ICCT. <https://icct.nl/publication/why-terrorism-studies-miss-the-mark-when-it-comes-to-incels/>
- Lieberman, A., & Schroeder, J. (2020). Two social lives: How differences between online and offline interaction influence social outcomes. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 31, 16–21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.06.022>
- Lincoln, & Guba. (1985). *Qualitative research guidelines project*.
<http://www.qualres.org/HomeThic-3697.html>
- McCoy, J., Jones, D., & Hastings, Z. (2019). *Building awareness, seeking solutions: 2019 report*. Organization for the Prevention of Violence.
- Meng, S. Q., Cheng, J. L., Li, Y. Y., Yang, X. Q., Zheng, J. W., Chang, X. W., Shi, Y., Chen, Y., Lu, L., Sun, Y., Bao, Y. P., & Shi, J. (2022). Global prevalence of digital addiction in general population: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 92, 102–128.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2022.102128>

- Menn, L. (2017). *Psycholinguistics: Introduction and applications* (2nd ed.). Plural Publishing, Inc.
- Murray, J. L. (2017). The role of sexual, sadistic, and misogynistic fantasy in mass serial killing. *Deviant Behavior*, 38(7), 735–743.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2016.1197669>
- Nascimento, T., Carvalho Suarez, M., & Dias Campo, R. (2021). An integrative review of online ethnographic methods: Differentiating theoretical bases, potentialities and limitations. *Qualitative Market Review*, 25(4), 492–510.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/QMR-07-2021-0086>
- Organization for the Prevention of Violence. (2019). *Extremism and hate motivated violence in Alberta*.
- Palma, S. (2019). Entitled to a happy ending: Fairy-tale logic from “Beauty and the Beast” to the incel movement. *Marvels & Tales*, 33(2), 319–337.
<https://doi.org/10.13110/marvelstales.33.2.0319>
- Papadamou, K., Zannettou, S., Blackburn, J., De Cristofaro, E., Stringhini, G., & Sirivianos, M. (2020). Understanding the incel community on YouTube. *Network Systems and Science Research Laboratory*. Advance online publication.
<https://arxiv.org/pdf/2001.08293v1.pdf>
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (4th ed.). SAGE.
- Pelzer, B., Kaati, L., Cohen, K., & Fernquist, J. (2021). Toxic language in online incel communities. *SN social sciences*, 1(213). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-021-00220-8>

- Powell, A., Stratton, G., & Cameron, R. (2018). *Digital criminology: Crime and justice in digital society*. Routledge.
- Preston, K., Halpin, M., & Maguire, F. (2021). The black pill: New technology and the male supremacy of involuntarily celibate men. *Men and masculinities*, 24(5), 823–841. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X211017954>
- Ribeiro, M. H., Blackburn, J., Bradlyn, B., DeCristofaro, E., Stringhini, G., Long, S., Greenberg, S., & Zannettou, S. (2020). *From Pick-Up Artists to Incels: A data-driven sketch of the Manosphere*. ArXiv. <https://arxiv.org/pdf/2001.07600v1.pdf>
- Ritter, C. S. (2022). Rethinking digital ethnography: A qualitative approach to understanding interfaces. *Qualitative Research*, 22(6), 916–932. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794121000540>
- Sabourin, M.-A. (2019, October 9). *Voyage au cœur de la manosphère*. L'actualité. <https://lactualite.com/societe/voyage-au-coeur-de-la-manosphere>
- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Salojärvi, E., Rantanen, M., Nieminen, E., Juote, A., & Hanhela, H. (2020). 'Incel' phenomenon in the digital era. In *Computational transformation of the public sphere* (pp. 195–210). University of Helsinki.
- Sang, Y., & Stanton, J. (2020). *Analyzing hate speech with incel-hunters' critiques* [Paper presentation]. International Conference on Social Media and Society, New York, NY, United States. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3400806.3400808>

- Saurkar, A. V., Pathare, K. G., & Gode, S. A. (2018). An overview on webscraping techniques and tools. *International Journal on Future Revolution in Computer Science & Communication Engineering*, 4(4), 363–367.
- Scotto di Carlo, G. (2022). An analysis of self-other representations in the incelosphere. Between online misogyny and self-contempt. *Discourse & Society*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/09579265221099380>
- Shamieh, L., & Szenes, Z. (2015). The propaganda of ISIS/DAESH through the virtual space. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 7(1), 7–31.
- Sharkey, G. (2022). Failure to thrive: incels, boys and feminism. *Continuum*, 36(1), 351.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2021.1958160>
- Shields, C. (2020). *The deep web and the dark web*. <https://digital.com/online-privacy/deep-dark-web/>
- Shrestha, A., Akrami, N., & Kaati, L. (2020, December). *Introducing Digital-7 threat assessment of individuals in digital environments* [Paper presentation]. IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining (ASONAM).
- Smith, D., Butler-Warke, A., Davidson, E., & Stevens, G. (2022). “The ultimate test of self-discipline”: Lockdown and the NoFap community. *Sexualities*, 0(0).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607221091493>
- South China Morning Post. (2021, September 12). *What’s driving japan’s incel violence and south korea’s ‘semen terrorism’?* <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3148447/whats-driving-japans-incel-violence-and-south-koreas-semen>

- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2021). *Proud Boys*. Retrieved August 13, 2022, from <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys>
- Speckhard, A., Ellenberg, M., Morton, J., & Ash, A. (2021). Involuntary celibates' experiences of and grievance over sexual exclusion and the potential threat of violence among those active in an online incel forum. *Journal of Strategic Security, 14*(2), 89–121. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.14.2.1910>
- Speckmann, F. (2021). Web scraping: A useful tool to broaden and extend psychological research. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie, 229*(4), 241–244. <https://doi.org/10.1027/2151-2604/a000470>
- Stijelja, S., & Mishara, B. L. (2022). Psychosocial characteristics of involuntary celibates (Incels): A review of empirical research and assessment of the potential implications of research on adult virginity and late sexual onset. *Sexuality & Culture, 26*(5), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-022-10031-5>
- Sugiura, L. (2021). *The incel rebellion: The rise of the manosphere and the virtual war against women*. Emerald Publishing.
- Suler, A. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology & behavior, 7*(3), 321–326. <https://doi.org/10.1089/1094931041291295>
- Sunderland, J. (2022). Fighting for masculine hegemony: Contestation between alt-right and white nationalist masculinities on stormfront.org. *Men and masculinities, 0*(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X221120664>
- Takaaki, S., & Atsuo, I. (2019). *Dark web content analysis and visualization*. International Workshop on Security and Privacy Analytics. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3309182.3309189>

- Tastenhoye, C., Ross, N., Dupré, J., Bodnar, T., & Friedman, S. (2022). Involuntary celibates and forensic psychiatry. *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*. <https://doi.org/10.29158/JAAPL-210136>
- The International Association for Computer Information Systems* [Proceedings]. (2022, June 23). International Association for Computer Information Systems (IACIS) - Europe, virtual conference.
- Thorburn, J. (2023). The (de-)radical(-ising) potential of r/IncelExit and r/ExRedPill. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 26(3), 464–471. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494231153900>
- Tranchese, A., & Suguira, L. (2021). "I don't hate all women, just those stuck-up bitches": How incels and mainstream pornography speak the same extreme language of misogyny. *Violence against women*, 27(14), 2709–2734. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801221996453>
- United Nations. (n.d.). *Terrorism*. <https://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/terrorism/sg-high-level-panel-report-terrorism.htm>
- van Stekelenburg, J. (2017). Radicalization and violent emotions. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(4), 936–939. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001020>
- Vanian, J. (2017, November 10). Reddit bans controversial and misogynistic “Incel” forum. *Fortune*. www.fortune.com
- Walden University. (2022). *Research ethics review process by IRB*. Retrieved August 4, 2022, from <https://academicguides.waldenu.edu/research-center/research-ethics/review-process>

- Williams, D., Arntfield, M., Schaal, K., & Vincent, J. (2021). Wanting sex and willing to kill: Examining demographic and cognitive characteristics of violent "involuntary celibates". *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 39(4), 38401.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2512>
- Williams, Z. (2018, April 25). 'Raw hatred': why the 'incel' movement targets and terrorises women. *the Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/25/raw-hatred-why-incel-movement-targets-terrorises-women>
- Wood, A., Tanteckchi, P., & Keatley, D. (2022). A crime script analysis of involuntary celibate (INCEL) mass murders. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–13.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2037630>
- Wright, P., & Elam, P. (2014). *Go your own way: Understanding MGTOW* [Kindle].
- Wulfert, E. (2018). Social learning according to Albert Bandura. In *Salem press encyclopedia of health*. Salem Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2015). *Qualitative research from start to finish* (2nd ed.). Guilford Press.
- Zimmerman, S., Ryan, L., & Duriesmith, D. (2018). *PolicyBrief: Recognizing the violent extremist ideology of 'incels'*. WIIS Global. <https://www.wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Policybrief-Violent-Extremists-Incels.pdf>

Appendix: Definitions

Term	Meaning
Alek Minassian	An incel "saint" responsible for a 2018 van attack in Toronto that resulted in the death of 11 people
alpha	A high-status male. a.k.a. a Chad A confident, attractive male. Considered superior to a "beta"
arab	Middle Eastern
autismcel	An incel who is on the autism spectrum
AWALT	All Women Are Like That Generalization for women, often in a negative way
BBC/Big Black Cock	Refers to the belief that black men are more sexually appealing due to their alleged penis size
becky	A female. Second only to Stacys with regards to looks and social status. Considered to be more attainable
beta	An average male Subordinate to Alphas
beta uprising	Considered to be inferior within the societal hierarchy Refers to a revolt of the less attractive men in society. Desired end game is decreased hypergamy of women, allowing less attractive men a wider dating pool
betabux	A less attractive man in a relationship with a woman and providing for her financially
black pill/blackpill	For incel, a belief that society will never change and, therefore, there is no chance of less attractive males having a sexual or romantic relationship with a woman
blackcel	A black incel
bluepill	Not believing that society discriminates against men Remaining ignorant to the truth according to the incel worldview
cel/-cel	The opposite of red-pilling Suffix denoting involuntary celibate With an added prefix, denotes condition leading to celibacy
chad/chad- chaddam	Prototype of an attractive male, usually white A sexually successful Middle Eastern male
chadfishing	Creating a fake dating profile using an attractive male photo, then mistreating females who respond to the fake profile
chadreet/chadpreet	A sexually successful South Asian
chang	A sexually successful East Asian male
cock carousel	The period of life in which women engage with many, often changing, sexual partners, usually alphas. Believed to be between 15-30 y.o.
cope	A coping mechanism

Term	Meaning
	May also be used to refer to strategies for self-improvement (e.g., plastic surgery or other measures taken to change one's appearance)
cuck	Someone who agrees with more liberal points of view
cunt	Originated from cuckold A female
curry	Any female who has rejected an incel
currycel	South Asian, usually Indian
day of rebellion	Indian incel
decile system	The day incels get back at women and Chads; a.k.a. beta uprising or incel rebellion
degeneracy	A hierarchy of physical attractiveness Being sexually active
depressioncel	For some incel, finally engaging in sex is viewed as backward development, a degeneration.
dick-	An incel with some form of depression
Elliot Rodger	The size, or lack thereof, of the penis An incel "saint" The "supreme gentleman" Responsible for a shooting rampage in Isla Vista, CA in 2014 that resulted in the death of 6 and injury to 24 others
ER	Elliot Rodger
ethnic-	Being non-white
ethnicel	Non-white incel
eye-	The appearance of one's eyes
fake-	Lying, usually only used with the suffix -cel
fakecel	Person claiming to be an incel who does not meet the criteria, i.e., is not a virgin or has been in a relationship
FBIcel	Law enforcement pretending to be incel
fedjacket(ing)	Making the case that someone is a snitch
femcel	Female incel
feminazi	Someone who claims to be a feminist but wants women to be superior to men
femoid/foid	Woman Implies that women are not fully human.
femtard	Someone who promotes sexual equality through inequality Originates from the belief that the feminism movement encourages sexual inequality, with women having the advantage
FFJ	Fathers for Justice Focused on men's problems, rather than espousing violence against women.

Term	Meaning
	Concerned with paternal rights and ensuring fathers have access to their children
frame-	The overall structure of the body, where your (predetermined) bones build up a "frame" for the rest of your body to form around
friendzone	Being friends with a woman without any sexuality involved, but wanting to have sex with her
fuel	A picture, image, animation, movie, or text that triggers a specific emotion
gaycel	A homosexual incel
gigastacy	An extremely attractive woman
glowie	Used for agencies like the ATF, FBI, etc. The inability of personnel within these agencies to blend into the native population's habits, patterns and speech make them stick out like a sore thumb; hence they "glow in the dark." Typical indicators include the inability/hesitation to use racial slurs, improper use of memes, and the pushing of mainstream political theories.
glowposting	When law enforcement or any other similar organization creates posts online baiting potential criminals to reveal their intentions
going ER	Referring to the acts perpetrated by Elliot Rodger term used by incel to indicate an intent (whether actual or just as a dramatic expression) to commit acts of violence
gymcel	Working out at the gym
gymmaxx	Attempting to improve physical characteristics through exercising
gynocentrism	Perspective that female privilege is a reality while male privilege is feminist propaganda
hair-	The appearance or lack of hair or hairstyle
height-	Body size or physical height
heightism	Discrimination due to height
hole	Woman
hypergamy	Women "marrying up" or only being interested in men who are perceived to be much more attractive than them
incel	Involuntary celibate; being unable to have sex despite having the desire to do so
Incel Rebellion	Carrying out acts of revenge as retribution for lack of romantic success
inceldom	The state of being involuntarily celibate
incelbrities	Incel celebrities/martyrs for the incel cause
IT	The subreddit r/IncelTears

Term	Meaning
it's over	Giving up on dating women because there will be no success. Often used after the reasons why it's over
japanesecel	A Japanese incel
JBW	Just Be White Commonly used by ethnic incels to clarify their view that being white would fix their problems with women.
JFL	Just Fucking Lol
jihadmaxxing	Joining jihadist groups to access sex
juggernaut law	Even ugly women can still have an advantage in dating because of inherently greater value in the sexual marketplace
KHHV	Kissless, handholdless, hugless virgin.
KTHHFV	Kissless, touchless, hugless, handholdless, friendless, and virgin
LDAR	Lie Down and Rot Considered to be one of the only options available to incels who are "blackpilled"
life-	The perceived quality of life
life fuel	A medium that triggers happiness. Typically used with depictions of women being hurt, injured, raped, or killed
LMS	Looks, money, status
lookism/looksism	Discrimination based on physical appearance
looksmaxx	Attempting to improve physical characteristics, often through plastic surgery such as facial implants
lurker	Someone who reads but never participates in an online forum
manlet	A man of low height. Typically, under 6ft
maxxing	Attempting to improve an aspect of oneself with the goal of obtaining sexual intimacy
meat curtain	Protruding labia minora
meek	A man, whose success with women, is wholly dependent upon his looks, despite his being morally questionable or having a criminal history
mental-	The existence of psychological conditions in yourself, or lack thereof in others
mentalcel	Someone whose incelism can be attributed to some psychological factor. An umbrella term encompassing several mental health issues, including depression
mewing	Changing your tongue posture to improve your jaw shape

Term	Meaning
MGTOW	Men Going Their Own Way. A group of men who have decided to longer seek a relationship with women.
MLM	Men's Liberation Movement Formed in response to the rise of feminism in the 60s and 70s Refers to social movements and positions whose primary topic is men and masculinity
-mog	Dominating another man (originated from amog - Alpha of Male Group - from Pickup Artistry)
mogging	Being dominated by another person
MRA	Men's Rights Activist Men who seek a return to traditional values when women are subordinate to men
MRM	Men's Rights Movement Men who believe men's issues/interests have become secondary issues due to the rise of feminism
NEET	Not in Education, Employment, or Training Replaced previous terminology of "status zero"
NMAWOT	Never marry a woman over thirty
noodle	East Asian (if the suffix is male)
normie	An average-looking person A male who is physically, socially, or sexually somewhere between a Chad and an incel
oofy doofy theory	Theory on how the modern dating market works associated with the TFL subculture of incels
omega	a.k.a. incel A bottom-status male who is unable to receive any sex or affection
orbiter	A man who continues to like his female friend despite encountering rejection multiple times see friendzone
pill	Refers to a range of beliefs or worldviews Derived from the <i>Matrix</i> movies and subsumed by the incel and many alt-right communities
pink pill	Female incel's version of the blackpill
prime	A female 14-20 yrs old (considered to be when women are most fertile)
PUA	Pick Up Artists Believe women are objects to be tricked into sex
purple pill	Having a neutral stance on gender relations that is somewhere between bluepill and redpill
rage fuel	Not on the "manosphere" side, not on the "feminist" side. Anything that triggers rage.

Term	Meaning
	Typically, refers to images of women kissing or having sex with attractive men. See also: suicide fuel / suifuel
rapecel/rapepill	Incel that advocate rape and sexual violence
red pill	Some rapecel also advocate the legalization of rape Acknowledgement of a sexual hierarchy in which most men are not considered desirable by societal standards. Red-pillers believe they can improve their looks via exercise and/or plastic surgery to obtain sexual fulfillment akin to the lifestyle experienced by Chads
rice	East Asian (if the suffix is male)
ricecel	Asian incel
roast beef	Protruding dark-colored labia minora Refers to the perceived worn-out appearance of the labia of a sexually active woman
roastie	Short for roast beef
ropefuel	Upsetting content that makes you want to kill yourself
roping/ropeing	To commit suicide; short for hanging oneself
Saint Alek	Alek Minassian Incel responsible for van attack in Toronto, CA in 2018 that killed 11 pedestrians
Saint Elliot	Elliot Rodger, self-affiliated incel Responsible for shootings in Isla Vista, CA in 2014
Saint Yogacel	Scott Beirle The incel affiliated shooter who opened fire in a yoga class in Tallahassee, FL in 2018
seggs	Slang for sex
Sexual market value (SMV)	Attractiveness
sexual marketplace (SMP)	The entire dating landscape
slut	Any female
soy boy	A man who agrees with feminist viewpoints
St. Blackops2cel	An incel "saint". A picture of a rather nerdy looking, smiling guy with messy hair, wearing a t-shirt with artwork from the 2012 game Call of Duty: Black Ops II. (Note: this male exists but has never stated he is an incel. It is alleged he is embarrassed by the use of his picture within the incel community)
stacy / stacey	Female equivalent to Chad. Prototypically attractive female, most often white and blonde. considered to have elevated social status
Standardcel	A male whose inceldom is due to their having too high standards or being too picky

Term	Meaning
stormcels	Incel who openly support far-right extremist ideologies and subscribe to racist, antisemitic, and socially conservative views. A.K.A. alt-right cels
sui	Suicide
suifuel	Short for “suicide fuel”, used to refer to something contributing to depression or suicidality
supreme gentleman	Elliot Rodger
teehee	A woman's laugh
TFL	True Forced Loneliness Previously considered by some to have been a preferred term for incels
TKV	A predominantly black YouTube vlogging community, often categorized as a sub-group of incels
to ascend	Touchless, kissless, virgin To have sex or a relationship, alternately, to commit suicide
to blackpill	To convert someone to the incel mindset
to go ER	To commit a mass shooting
to provide	Short for ‘to go Elliot Rodger’ The act of a man paying many, if not all, of his partner's expenses Perceived to be the only reason why the woman stays in the relationship
to rope	To commit suicide
to settle	The act of a woman marrying a less attractive beta man because the beta male provides for her and improves her quality of life
truecel	True incel Someone who is so socially inept that he has rarely interacted with women at all
tyrone	A sexually successful African American male
used up	Pejorative indicating a woman’s vulva and vagina are “worn out” by excessive sexual activity
vagina	Vulva (Many incel confuse these two terms)
volcel	Voluntary celibate
white	Western/Caucasian
white pill/whitepill	Acceptance of the blackpill perspective on the world and one's incel status but attempting to improve your life or find coping mechanisms rather than lay down and rot
white theory	Belief that being white would fix an ethnic incel’s problems with women (see JBW)
whore	Woman Any woman who has engaged in sex

Term	Meaning
-whore	General suffix for women. Ethnic prefixes describe the woman's country of origin or ethnicity, while descriptive prefixes are used to refer to the reason a woman has rejected an incel. e.g., a woman who rejects a man because he is bald, is a hairwhore
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
wrist	The size, e.g., diameter, of one's wrist; it is believed that wrist diameter equates to virility/attractiveness
XRW	Extreme Right Wing