

"WOMEN ARE VICIOUS, EVIL, BARBARIC ANIMALS, AND THEY NEED TO BE TREATED AS SUCH": AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF INCELDOM.

STUDENT NUMBER: 759475

SUPERVISOR: Dr Alessandra Fauslo

COURSE: MSc Forensic Psychology

YEAR: 2018/19

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This thesis contains language and subject matter that may be found offensive.

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Abstract

Purpose

The study of extremist communities online is important for preventative actions by policing agencies and understanding online radicalisation. Research has mainly focussed on Incels, the Manosphere and masculinity. The purpose of this study is to research the Inceldom online community. The Manosphere and Inceldom have been reported widely in the media since the attacks of Elliot Rodger and Alex Minnisan. Inceldom has created a space online in which men can gather and create a narrative of the male victim, with women as the cause.

Method

The first part of the analysis is an ethnographic description of Inceldom. The purpose of incorporating ethnography is to give a general description of the Inceldom subculture. The second part of the study is a discursive analysis, studying the devices used in creating categories and forming an identity.

Results

The study found that Incels use similar devices as other hate-groups to create identity structures, categorisations and self-victimisation. Persuasive storytelling helps to build consensus and to solidify the main tenants of Inceldom. It was also found that Incels have a 'race to the bottom' mentality, whereby the users will paint themselves in a negative light. This is seen to be done because the user wants to be being deserving to occupy the space.

Conclusions

Inceldom has been created as a space for young men who do not feel they belong within society, both online and offline. It has been argued that young men have been pushed to the side-lines of liberalised society, masculinity is seen as negative, and as a result seek others who share their views. Inceldom does not stand alone in its beliefs and there are often strong overlaps with other hate groups, which creates cross fertilisation of ideas.

"Women are vicious, evil, barbaric animals, and they need to be treated as such": An Ethnographic and Discursive Analysis of Inceldom.

Chapter 1.

1. Introduction

1.1 Who are Incels?

The online Urban Dictionary definition of an Incel states: "a person (usually male) who has a horrible personality and treats women like sexual objects and thinks his lack of a sex life comes from being "ugly" when it's really just his blatant sexism and terrible attitude" (Lizafoe, 2017). However, this may be too broad a definition for the general population. Incel is an abbreviation of "involuntary celibate". This term has been used in scientific discourse mainly to research the inability to have sexual intercourse due to health or age (Diokno, Brown, & Herzog, 1990; Donnelly, Burgess, Anderson, Davis, & Dillard, 2001). The inability to have sex in the context of this paper, however, discusses an Incel as maintain social celibacy, rather than a biological or ideological one. This situates the catalyst for their social positioning as external to the individual- thus making the Incels a unique group- more akin to a social doctrine than a lifestyle collective.

The term Incel first came to wider public knowledge after an attack carried out by Elliot Rodger in 2014 in which 6 people were killed and 14 injured. Rodger uploaded a 137-page document to a document-sharing website prior to his attack titled "My Twisted World. The Story of Elliot Rodger" (Rodger, 2014). This document was widely discussed in the media as a representation of the Incel movement ("Elliot Rodger", 2018). Rodger was the first person to carry out an attack in which the attacker publicly blamed women for his actions and placed himself within the **Manosphere** (an online and offline space in whereby men discuss and campaign for men's rights and issues.). This helped to create a relationship between **Inceldom** (groups of Incels who identify themselves as residing in the Manosphere) discourse online, and actions in the offline world which have become a tangible societal danger.

Rodger is not the only person to have committed crimes targeting women with Incel ideologies. In 1989, Marc Lépine carried out the École Polytechnique massacre in which 14 people were killed and 13 were wounded. Media reports stated that Lépine had targeted these women for taking predominately male jobs and yelled "You're all a bunch of feminists, and I hate feminists!" (Bindel, 2012). In 2018, Alek Minassian carried out a van attack in which 10 people were killed and a further 16 were injured (Crilly, Guly, & Molloy, 2018). Before the attack, he posted on Facebook that "The Incel Rebellion has already begun! We will overthrow all the Chads and Stacys! All hail the Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger!" ("Alek Minassian", 2018). In 2018, Scott Paul Beierle carried out a shooting in a yoga studio in Florida in which 2 were killed and 5 injured. In his now-deleted YouTube channel, he praised Rodger and the Incel movement (Mack, Jamison, & Reinstein, 2018). In 2018, Nikolas Cruz killed 17 students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas high school; deleted comments left by him such as "Elliot Rodger will not be forgotten" (Weill, Lorenz, Allen, & Briquelet, 2018) suggested he sympathised with the Incel movement. Overall, 14 attacks have been carried out with Inceldom ideologies as their motivation, with 107 fatalities and 62 injured.

1.2 The Online Creation of Inceldom

The term Incel was first coined by a woman using the pseudonym of Alana. Alana first created a website in 1997, incelsite.org. In a recent interview (Johnson, 2018), she described her younger self as a late bloomer and wanted to create a site where others like her could come to discuss difficulties in relationships. The website was a positive space in which words of encouragement were given to offer advice and support.

As the ClearWeb 2.0¹ became more readily available and with the creation of apps which were available on mobile devices, for aapps such as Reddit were created. Within Reddit, which was created in 2005, users could join for of like-minded people to discuss various topics (Reddit, 2017). A sub Reddit titled r/Incels was created and it became a place in which male users discussed their inability to have sex with females. r/Incels became an openly hostile environment towards women,

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¹ A term given to the widely used internet which is readily available to those with the internet. The DarkWeb can only be accessed with a tor browser (https://www.torproject.org/)

condoning rape and violence, and as a result was closed after a petition from other Reddit users.

Due to sites such as Reddit, YouTube, and Twitter removing content and banning users for their language relating to women and violence, Incels started moving over to other sites such as Gab.com, 4Chan.org and 8Ch.net who cite their leniency towards free speech. This is due to websites such as Twitter and Facebook censoring hate speech, xenophobia and material which the site's founders find offensive (O'Neill, 2016). Incels have also created their own sites which are solely for the purposes of discussing Inceldom and the Manosphere, with the biggest of these sites called incels.me, which was shut down in 2018.

Incels describe themselves as follows

"Incel means involuntary celibate, a person who wants to be in a loving relationship but is unable to find a partner despite his best effort. Incels want to be loved and give love back." ("Introduction to Incels", 2018)

This explanation however may only refer to Red Pill Incels and not all those who identify with Inceldom. Incels are mainly found to identify in two ways, red and black pill (Ging, 2007; Baele, Brace, & Coan, 2019). This relates to the film, The Matrix, where the main character is offered two pills. The red pill, the character can witness the world as it truly is; and the blue pill, the character continues to see the world as they currently do. The black pill is specific to the Manosphere, when the red/blue pill is not enough for explaining their ideas. Incels have built their narrative around this idea of seeing the world regarding the pill they have taken. To be a **Red Pill Incel**, belief that through changing appearance, becoming more successful and improving personality, ascension is possible. The **Black Pill Incel** believes however that ascending is not an option. They see themselves as true Incels, in that they see the world as it 'is'. This vein of Inceldom is where the most extremist views are shared. Black Pill Incels view all aspects of society as stacked against them, but they can identify this, and as a result, are superior.

There is a website which aims to lend scientific support to the Black Pill ("The Scientific Black Pill", 2018). This Wikipedia-style site quotes studies on women's

attraction towards sexual violence, gang members, height, race and wealth. The Black Pill Incel will use sites like this one to prove that their inability to have sex is due to the criteria set by women in general, therefore placing the blame as external to themselves.

Chapter 2.

2.1 Persuasive Storytelling and Terrorism

As with many political perspectives, the Manosphere is not a collective, but rather a collection of loose streams who channel their sentiment, mobilise their narratives, and build an accord centred around a gendered experience (Papacharissi 2016) with differing emphases. It is an ideological space which comprises of echo chambers, with each chamber building their own narratives to persuade the reader to exclude the feminist agenda and to live the masculine experience which they have deemed the most favourable (Siapera & Otero, 2015). To create these stories, the narrators must be consistent in their recurring theme, adhering to the group's heuristics (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997; Sullivan, Landau, Kay, & Rothschild, 2012). The story must also depict an in/out-group so the reader can easily differentiate 'we' and 'them'; being careful not to separate the groups as individual entities, but groups who are entwined and whose storylines overlap (Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005).

Aly, Macdonald, Jarvis, and Chen (2017) have argued that the terrorist groups Da'esh² and al-Qa'ida have managed to directly connect with their intended audience, allowing them to become active participants. Like Inceldom, these connections are decentralised online, but share the goal of building a brand through a series of narratives. Winter (2018) found through analysing Da'esh propaganda material, that three main themes emerged. Victimhood was used to show the human and infrastructural impact of the out-group's actions, to create a sense of injustice and to legitimise the actions of Da'esh. The second narrative used is Utopia. Winter (2018) argues this was used to create a story in which those who joined Da'esh would live comfortably and favourably within their religion. Winter (2018) argues that this was done to encourage a sense of belonging that was not just about violence. The third

² Da'esh is a name used for IS, ISIS, ISIL (Islamic State)

narrative was that of warfare. This built upon the heroic jihadi, the preparations for attacks and the aftermath that followed. Winter (2018) argues it showed the potency of Da'esh and by showing the aftermath, depicted its strength. This both helped to recruit new people and near the time of the collapse of the caliphate, keep those who were radicalised.

Storytelling can be used to convince an audience of a narrative and persuade that the story is true. This type of storytelling is different from some others, such as entertainment, as the primary goal is to influence. Papacharissi (2014) argues that storytelling is a process which is not methodical and ridged, rather it is harmonious. Those who create the best stories are ones who create complex and dynamic plots which creates incentives for the reader to continue and to become invested in the overall narrative. Creating a story within an online space, often relies on emotion, opinion and fact. The story creates anticipation that events may occur which 'others' are not yet aware (Papacharissi, 2014). This emotional investment in the storytelling process helps to feed into the cultural politics of an emotion (Ahmed, 2004). Emotion becomes the driver and helps to convey the intensity of the overall narrative which a group can become invested in, as well as build upon the story themselves. For the story to become believable, individuals add context and cues (Baesler & Burgoon, 1994; Taylor & Thompson, 1982). This creates an individual, emotional identifier, that the story is indeed true, as it has personal and persuasive evidence.

Inceldom has used this persuasive storytelling to create a single storyline that feminism and women are the oppressors, and Incels are the victims; their stories are not separate, rather linked. This validates the space as a place to condone and calls for action to return the in-group to a place of contentment (Ging, 2007; Baele, Brace, & Coan, 2019). Ging (2007) found in a thematic analysis of Manosphere spaces, the language which once was used specifically within Inceldom spaces was used throughout the Manosphere. Ging (2007) argues that this shows a consensus has formed from the Inceldom, in which active users of the Manosphere have adopted their ideals. This is argued to be shown using slut-shaming and doxxing³, once carried out only by the Inceldom stream of the Manosphere; now carried out by all streams.

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³ Doxxing is the act of revealing a person's personal details such as phone number and address. This is so the persons life is affected.

Ging (2007) also found a pervasive narrative throughout all streams of the Manosphere, that active users will portray women unfavourably. This is done by arguing through disproven evolutionary psychology theories, that women are hypergamous and irrational. This narrative of evolutionary psychology was also found in Baele, Brace, and Coan's (2019) quantitative and qualitative study of incels.me. The categorisation was used to create an impermeable out-group narrative; with women the culprits, and men the victims. Baele, Brace, and Coan's (2019) also found that to solidify women as the out-group, participants rationalised the discourse by placing the group in wider society. That is that women and feminism were not only harming Incels, but society more broadly.

Within Inceldom, the worldview is that women and men are separated clearly based on their behaviour and their own views on Inceldom salient issues. For example, if a woman in her 20's was very liberal she would be placed in a different categorisation to a woman of the same age but who was conservative in lifestyle and religion. This simplistic categorisation is like other extremist groups. Herf (2005) discusses parallels to the Nazi party. By creating definitive groups, the Nazi party popularised indifference of the atrocities being carried out. The German population were fed popular discourses which created an acceptance of the Nazi parties' actions and helped to strengthen the categorisations being made.

There is no in-between in the Inceldom storytelling narrative; this radical discourse helps to create extreme emotional connections to the Inceldom community which aggravate the in-group (Schwartz, Dunkel, & Waterman, 2009) and through the reductive "othering" narrative, form an emotional detachment to the out-group and a denial of the complexity of gender and sex. In their thesis on predominantly Islamic terrorism, Schwartz, Dunkel and Waterman (2009) argue that strong social identity to groups can create a sense of familism. This helps members of the groups create normative rationalisations to the extreme actions that members may take. They also argue that moral superiority occurs when the ingroup identifies the outgroup as corrupt and act in an excluding manner. This not only makes the story easier to tell and to follow, but negative traits can be identified and given to an outgroup, whilst positive traits are given to the ingroup (Baele, Brace, & Coan, 2019; McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). In Baele, Brace, and Coan's (2019) study they found that on

incels.me, words such as "good", "true", "real" and "attractive" were most used with males and "ugly", "bitch", "stupid" and "disgusting" were given to women.

2.2 Inceldom and Online Fora

The introduction of ClearWeb 2.0 technologies has changed the way people access and share information. Phones provide users with instant access to the internet, and Coleman (2010) has argued that this has caused an environment in which the internet has become important in communicating thoughts and ideas. When a user has a thought, or encounters a situation, an active user may automatically share this with their online community of whom they have formed salient relationships (Coleman, 2010). Online for a are spaces which are created for different purposes; 4/8 Chan are multi-subject for where multitudes of interests are discussed, including Inceldom, whereas Incels.is is a specific Inceldom based discussion fora. Specific fora help users to discuss what the world is and what it ought to be for specific groups (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). The topics discussed on subject-specific fora do not happen in a vacuum; Ging (2007) has argued that within Manosphere fora, cross-fertilisation of ideas has occurred from different sites, and Ging (2007) found this to be the case in 'Gamergate'. In 2014, a female games developer was targeted by the online gaming community. What started out as an argument about a game, became a targeted attack against her by Pick Up Artists (PUAs)⁴, Men's Rights Activists (MRA's)⁵, Traditional Conservatives (TradCons), Inceldom, and Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW) ⁶. Events like 'Gamergate' have helped to create Inceldom specific fora which have created a common enemy amongst its users; women and anti-feminist rhetoric.

Ging (2007) argues that Inceldom specific fora are for the collective venting of negative emotions, and that frequent active engagement helps to establish dominance that the users may not be able to realise in an offline space. Ging (2007) also argues that these fora are not used to call for an active uprising of users in the offline world. Papacharissi (2014) adds to this argument by stating that there are no causal links between social media and physical uprisings. Cultural, environmental, political and contextual factors all play a part in the actions, which may on the surface seem to be

⁴ Men who share tips in order to sleep with as many women as possible (puaforums.co.uk)

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⁵ Men who feel that the rights of men have been diminished due to the rise of feminism (Nagle, 2015)

⁶ Men who believe in male sovereignty (mgtow.com)

caused by these subject-specific fora. This may be the case where the availability of weapons is limited, such as the United Kingdom. However, in countries such as America and Canada where the largest attacks took place, the availability of weapons which can cause mass fatalities are more readily available.

Society does live with the media, whether that be online or offline media. Individual and collective identities are shaped by them (Deuze, 2012) and as a result, active users of subject-specific fora can help to form and maintain communities who share salient ideas. Active users and their ideas do not necessarily stay confined within exclusive online spaces but can spread to other sites which are more widely used by the public. Raids are used across subject-specific fora sites to take part in target harassment of individuals or sites, as well as to encourage members to spread a message deemed important (Hine et al, 2017). Hine et al found that there was an increase in subject-specific hate comments on YouTube videos after a raid were declared on 4chan.net politically incorrect (/pol/) board. This shows that users of these fora sites do not stay on these sites but will search more widely used sites to spread their messages.

Although Incel sites are regularly shut down, they often appear again shortly after, under different website names. This is because Incels, and those who communicate within Inceldom, are not legally considered as a hate group. However, the attacks that have been carried out by Incels have been argued to be terrorist attacks (Zimmerman, Ryan & Durismith, 2018), so it could be argued that Incels, in encouraging and calling for violence, bear a degree of similarity to terrorist organisations, which are equally comprised of non-active sympathisers. In a grounded theory study, which was conducted with individuals who had been radicalised and then later deradicalised, Sieckelinck, Sikkens, San, Kotnis and DeWinter (2019) found that there were three important pathways for becoming radicalised into a terrorist organisation. The first is a problematic family situation; a busy family, lack of parental support, and bullying can lead to individuals looking elsewhere for support. The second was an attractive ideological environment, this being a place that an individual can find a purpose and justice in their lives or their environment. The third journey was a passionate personality. Sieckelinck et al (2019) discussed that video games, learning religious texts and contributing to debate can be used to focus and to find meaning.

It can be hard to study legally identified terrorist organisations using open-access sources, as due to their status, they go to great lengths to hide their discourse. This study exploits the opportunity represented by open access Incels for to study the functioning of an extremist online community characterised by self-victimisation and hate towards a specific outgroup.

Chapter 3.

3. Method

3.1 Sources of Data

Data was collected from the website incels.is and from the main fora "Inceldom Discussion". This website was chosen to survey Reddit, (r/MGTOW, r/braincels), manosphere.org, lookism.net, 4chan.net and 8ch.net. Incels.is was selected because it was more subject-specific to black pill Incels than lookism.net which is varied in its Inceldom topics and allows women. Reddit was not chosen as it is a site which users are more likely to use identifiable information like Facebook. Manosphere.org is broad in its topics and its main use is blogs and not fora. 4chan.net and 8ch.net are not subject-specific sites and they are difficult to understand and negotiate

Three other fora were available on incels.is; OffTopic (Talk about your day, memes, LDAR lifestyle, or whatever comes to mind), Meta & Feedback (Ideas, suggestions, or anything about the site), and Ban Appeals (Unfairly banned? Tell us why and we'll review your case). Overall there were 9,901 users, 126,907 threads and 2,662,627 messages on incels.is. The main fora Inceldom Discussion was chosen as it self-described as "Discuss the blackpill and many other incel related topics" and consisted of 91,000 threads and 2M messages.

Every thread was saved, with all posts and comments/replies from Thursday 28th February 2019 to Thursday 7th March 2019. This resulted in 980 PDF files (Appendix A). A week was chosen as incels.is averages between 100-130 new threads a day and 30 replies per thread. A week was determined to provide enough data for this thesis.

All the posts were read continuously for the ethnographic analysis and six threads were chosen for the discourse analysis. These threads were chosen because they were the most extensive in their content, relating to the aims of the study.

3.2 Participants and Ethical Considerations

Due to the anonymity of Incels.is, participants' details are unknown. As the website is based on Inceldom, the assumption is that the participants were male, but any other inferences were not made. Incels.is is open access, all guests to the website can read all the posts but only members are able to contribute. All the users are aware of this and can see how many guests are accessing the site.

The users of incels.is use pseudonyms to protect their real-world identity, but also to create an identity within this space as in most online fora (Hine, 2000; Lindlof & Shatzer, 1998). In this study, pseudonyms, avatars and headings were included. The inclusion of pseudonyms has been used in previous studies of online spaces (King, 1996; Ging, 2017). Consent was not sought for this study, participants were not made aware that their posts were to be captured, or the possibility of their posts' inclusion in this study. This type of inclusion has been used before when studying open-access spaces (Bergstrom, 2011). The level of sensitivity regarding traditional ethical considerations was weighed against the level of accessibility the fora offered to guest users (Markham & Buchanan, 2012) as well as the terms of service on the website.

3.3. Analysis

3.3.1 Ethnographic analysis.

Coleman (2010) has argued that virtual ethnography is significant as salient websites of users have become centralised in many aspects of their everyday life. There have been no ethnographic analyses of Inceldom which can help to guide researchers into an understanding of this specific section of the Manosphere. For this reason, a virtual ethnographic analysis was conducted on the Manosphere, Inceldom and incels.is Hine's (2008) guidance on ethnographies of online communities were used to guide the analysis. The chapter cites that autoethnography must identify the subjectivity and navigate the covert frameworks which may not occur offline. The analysis must be multi-faceted and to not be limited by prior knowledge or what is widely understood by the general population.

In order to familiarise myself with the Manosphere and Inceldom, I watched videos on YouTube ('Heed and Succeed'), watched documentaries (This is what the life of an Incel looks like; The secret life of Incels), visited Inceldom websites (incels.me, looksmax.org, lookism.net, incels.net), messaging boards (4chan.net, 8ch.net, rgif.is), social media websites (facebook.com, reddit.com, twitter.com, gab.com) and articles about Inceldom as an ideology and Incel attacks (vox.com, cnn.com, bbc.com). As context was important when understanding Inceldom vocabulary, a glossary was made (Appendix B). For example, **Cel** is used as a suffix to describe either why the person believes that they are an Incel, to describe what the Incel feels, or as a description of the self. This example of context-dependence language shows the importance of thorough immersive reading in this study.

3.3.2. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis was then conducted on the data selected. Close attention was paid to the function of the overall narrative, for in the ability to tell a persuasive story. Willig's (2008) chapter on discourse analysis was followed; how the text constructs objects and subjects, the consequences of the narrative and how the text positions itself within the overall discourse. All the posts were read carefully without any attempt to analyse in order to become aware of what the text was doing. After reading through the threads, they were then coded. Due to the amount of data, each thread could not be individually coded. For this reason, the thread titles were coded. If the researcher was unsure as to what the thread title should be coded as, the replies were read. Through qualitative exploratory screening and over a year spent on Manosphere websites, two distinct areas appeared which would be chosen for analysis. A section on women was broken down into *The Characteristics of Women* and *Degeneracy of Society*, and Incels was separated into *A Race to the Bottom* and *Love or Sex*

These distinct areas appeared to be consistent areas of discussion within incels.is, with most topics of the conversation containing these elements. The data selected was done so carefully, reading it within the context of the thread topic. This was to ensure that the user's words were not used out of context to suit the needs of the study. Several threads were chosen according to the main recurrent theme being analysed.

Discourse analysis studied the conversations purpose; what the purpose was in the context of this website and the original threads message. By doing this, the social context of the site was considered in reading an overall analysis. This being that incels is a subject-specific site which is for those who identify and Red/Black Pill Incels. Identification of the post's reality was analysed in order to understand the mental representations of the post. Specifically, how the posts were representing themselves using language. The categorisation of social groupings and the consequences that occur was also analysed. This was to see how language was used to identify characteristics of different identified groups. The analysis also occurred on what the posters were doing with their words. Both in the context of the site, and in the context of the thread being replied to. How the participants managed their interests, both in identity as 'Incel' and a member of 'Inceldom'. Finally, action orientation was analysed in order to study social action of the posts, both as an individual of the group and how this added to the Inceldom identity.

Chapter 4.

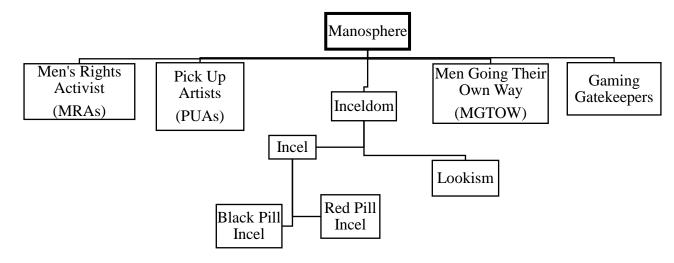
4. Analysis

4.1. Background Ethnography

4.1.1. Manosphere, Inceldom and Incels.

The Manosphere is an area of the internet, which is frequented predominantly by men, in order to discuss men's issues (see Figure 1). The Manosphere is dedicated to male politics and interests, this can include divorce, child custody and male suicide. As Figure 1 shows, the Manosphere is broken down into five distinct communities; MRA's, PUA's, MGTOW, Inceldom, and Gaming Gatekeepers who are men whose aim is to keep the online gaming community male-only.

Figure 1. Anti-feminist Manosphere



4.1.2. Incel Communication Spaces

Since the closure of r/Incels, Incels have had to create their own spaces, the fora are the most popular of the communication models chosen by Incels. There are many fora websites which are subject-specific to Inceldom. Incels.is is an open-access forum, meaning that all visitors to the site can view the discussion posts but they are unable to reply. In Figure 2, the home page is split into three thread categories in which a user can choose to access.

Figure 2. The home page forum thread options.



When clicking on the forum which the user would like to access, a list of threads is presented (See Figure 3). Only members of the site have permission to create or reply to threads, but all users can access and read the content. The user can access each thread by clicking on the heading in blue. The original poster can choose what category their topic can be placed into. This makes it easier for the user to decide

what to read and the poster helps to categorise their narrative. In the example in Figure 3, "[NSFW]", 'Not Safe for Work'. This is alerting the user that the content of the thread is sensitive in nature. "[LDAR]", 'Lay Down and Rot'. Threads that are categorised as LDAR are like those categorised as "[JFL]", 'Just Fucking Lie' or to commit suicide. The content of JFL/LDAR threads tends to lean to evidence that the only 'way out' for Black Pill Incels is to commit suicide.

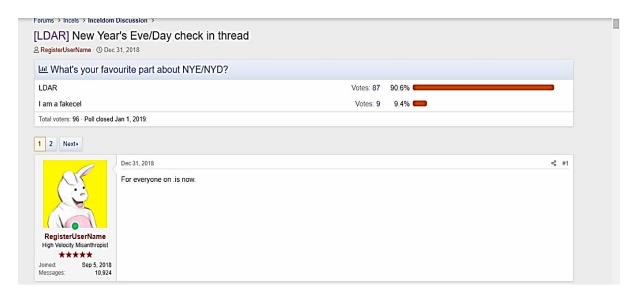
The thread gives information about it on the right-hand side; this includes the number of views and posts each thread has amassed, as well as who the last poster was. The information also includes when the last post was made, this can help the user determine which the most active thread is.

Figure 3. A list of threads that users can access from the "Inceldom Discussion" forum.

N	Keep fighting no matter what Nolifer88 - Today at 6.58 AM		Replies: Views:	26 114	1 minute ago UglyScotsman	
, A	[Soy] The owner of my gym is a massive cuck!!! HighTGymcel · 10 minutes ago		Replies: Views:	4 5	1 minute ago Reddit_is_for_cucks	April 10 Jo
T,	[NSFW] E-girl beheaded by her boyfriend. NeetSupremacist - Yesterday at 6:37 PM 2 3 4 5		Replies: Views:	276 9K	1 minute ago Hate_my_life	C
1	[ToxicFemininity] Foids should learn loyalty from dogs foreVER · Today at 7:02 AM		Replies: Views:	6 69	2 minutes ago ovrload	*
F	BBC: Inside The Secret World Of Incels: That's it. We're done. They interviewed the most insane nutjobs they could find. CFM kept saying "feeemeylz" FACEandLMS - Yesterday at 8:26 AM [2]		Replies: Views:	108 2K	2 minutes ago Reddit_is_for_cucks	September 1
1	[Serious] What we should learn from the beheaded e-girl incident Cuyen · Today at 7:15 AM		Replies: Views:	25 175	2 minutes ago mental_out	
	why are there so many single guys but so few single girls? imbored21 · Yesterday at 11:30 PM		Replies: Views:	26 440	3 minutes ago StaroRavager	272
× ×	[LDAR] New Year's Eve/Day check in thread RegisterUserName - Dec 31, 2018 [2]	<u>[.lil</u>	Replies: Views:	109 2K	7 minutes ago FlyFace	
	[Serious] who is the foid you hate the most? nxdismycope · Yesterday at 1:29 PM		Replies: Views:	47 612	7 minutes ago Carotel	C
13	[JFL] These are people calling us out 2 Cuyen · Yesterday at 2:43 PM		Replies: Views:	31 415	10 minutes ago Cuyen	1
, U	[Blackpill] The Height Pill destroyed me LittleBoy - Jan 25, 2019 [2]		Replies: Views:	105 5K	16 minutes ago Pareg	

Clicking on a thread title brings the user to the thread (See Figure 4). The poster of the thread in Figure 4 has created a poll in which members can vote, and on completion of the poll, all users of the site can view the results of. At the top, under the thread title, the name of the creator can be viewed. The creator of the thread can also choose to elaborate on their thread title which would be found in the first reply.

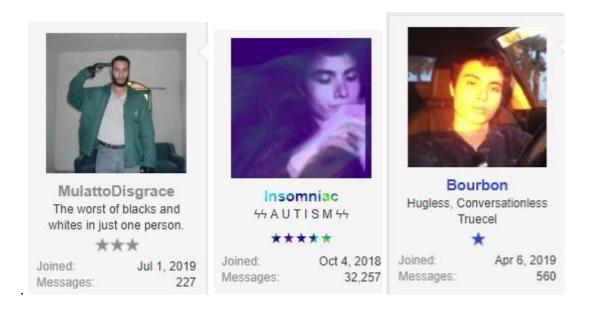
Figure 4. The first post seen within a topic posted.



For a user to reply they must first become a member of the site. Once a membership is given, they are then allowed to set up a profile which is shown when they start to reply to threads and create their own topics. The member can choose their username, avatar and a short sentence which is shown every time the member posts. The member is also given rank, stars and colours which change depending on the amount of time the member posts. Ranking information can be found in Appendix C.

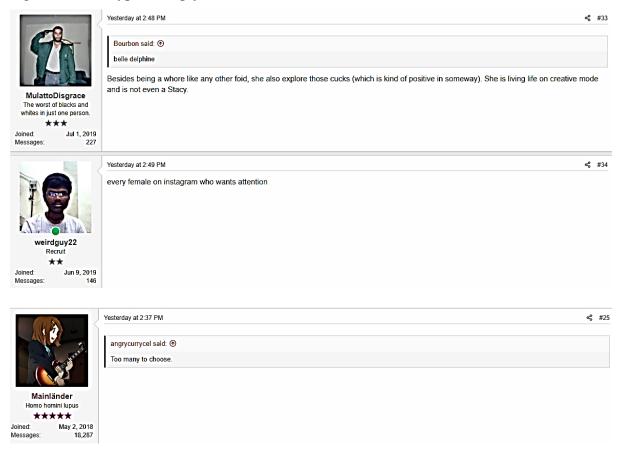
The profile information for each member can denote what is important for the member. At times it describes reasons for their Inceldom. In Figure 5, two of the users have a picture of Elliot Rodger as their avatar. All three of the users have given reasons for their Inceldom. This helps to identify the member within the community and shows how the members can contribute to a negative self-identity.

Figure 5. Three profiles which appear when the member posts on a thread



There are different ways in which members can reply within a thread. Figure 6 shows the three options available. The first shown is a direct reply. This is when a member wants to directly reply to a comment left by another user. The second shown is a unique post. This is when a member is replying to the original thread content. The third is an agreement quote. This is when a member quotes a reply from another member but does not leave a comment. This is done when the member agrees with the post and has nothing left to add. Members can also reply with pictures, links to other websites, video; and can direct another member of the site by typing their name after the @ symbol. Emoji's (), change in text style (*italics*, <u>underlined</u>, **bold**) and text size can also be used to add emotion or to change the tone of the text.

Figure 6. Three types of reply which are available to members.



This website set up is the same across all fora. This makes it easier for users and members to use multiple sites.

4.1.3. Incel Vocabulary

Inside the Manosphere and within the Inceldom, a unique vocabulary has evolved. A comprehensive glossary can be found in Appendix B. Language which is commonly used within social media and discussion spaces is also found within Inceldom spaces, but members have created new words and phrases.

The most notable instances are the use of '-cel', '-less', '-let', '-maxx', and '-mog' as a suffix. The use of these suffixes can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. The use of suffixes in Inceldom language.

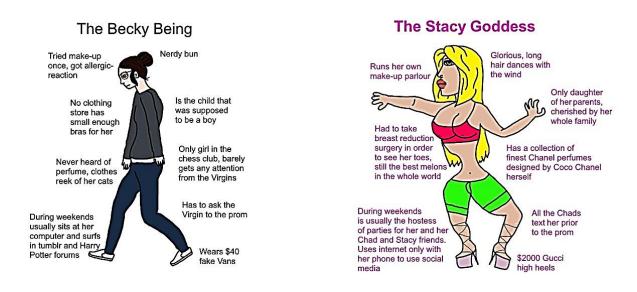
Suffix	Meaning	Example
- cel	Cause of Inceldom (the self)	Heightcel
	Insult another Incel	Volcel
	Description of the self	Currycel
- less	Absence of an action	Kissless
- let	An insult to another male.	Manlet
- mog	How another male is superior to the Incel	IQmog
- maxx	Embarking on an activity for ascension	Gymmaxx

When discussing women, a multitude of words is used depending on the topic and the overall discussion. A term which is used frequently within Inceldom is 'Foid'. This term is short for 'Femoid' and it relates to all women. It is made up of two words; 'Fem' – female, and 'Oid' – as in android.

Incels also can refer to women by calling her **Stacy**; this means a woman who has sex and is attractive. Stacy is used in a sexual context instead of Foid which is used as an overarching word to describe all women. **Becky** is used as the opposite of Stacy, a woman who is uninterested in their appearance, academic and with slightly masculine features (see Figure 6 for an Incel representation of Becky and Stacy).

When discussing women in a sexual nature, the term **Roastie** may also become included. A Roastie being a female who has had many sexual partners, and as a result has changed the appearance of her external genitals so they resemble roast beef. Other widely used words to describe women are used in conjunction with Incel created words. Words such as slut, whore, feminazi, bitch, cunt, etc. are used throughout Inceldom as descriptive terms.

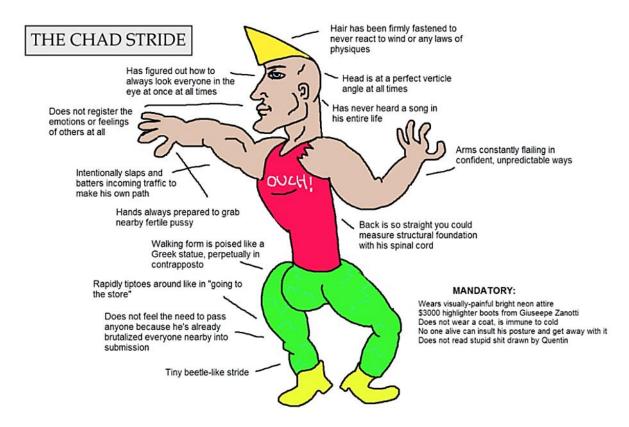
Figure 6. Becky and Stacy are drawn in this style using MS Paint throughout Inceldom. The descriptions can change depending on the author of the picture. (RNR_0, 2018)



When discussing other males, **cuck** may be used to describe many types of man. Traditionally, cuck was used to describe a male who is cheated on by his partner. This is derived from the porn genre, cuckolding; in where a husband watches another man have sex with his wife. In its use within the Inceldom, it can describe types of men of whom the Incel does not agree with.

Betabuxx is like a Cuck; a male financially supporting a woman. A Betabuxx is less attractive than the woman, and within Inceldom the male must be raising the woman's child from a previous relationship. Betabuxx is used the same across contexts and is a derogatory descriptive term. Chad, Chadlite and Tyrone are used to describe men who can have sex with women. Like Stacy and Becky, they too have illustrations in order to describe them (see Figure 7). A Chad is portrayed as an Alpha male, with a high muscle mass, strong jawline and tall. Incels describe Chad as a man who treats women poorly yet does not struggle to find sexual partners. Tyrone is the Black version of Chad but differs in that Tyrone's predominant sexual partners are White, married women. Incels often say that a Cuck or Betabuxx's wife is having sex with Tyrone. A Chadlite can be described differently depending on the context. Chadlite may be used as a mocking term for a man who is dating, and it can be used to describe how a Red Pill Incel wants to see themselves after ascension.

Figure 7. Chad is drawn in this style using MS Paint throughout Inceldom. The descriptions can change depending on the author of the picture (Cauterucci, 2018).



A final term which has some noteworthiness is '**ER**'. This term relates to Elliot Rodger. Stating 'ER' can be used in multiple ways. The most popular being 'going ER' or 'pulling an ER'. This simply means, carrying out a mass killing. It can also be used within words; for example, 'angER', 'stalkER'. When these letters are used, the context is to encourage, to offer a solution of a mass killing or a violent event. This use of the letter's 'ER' is only used in this context and this is consistent across Inceldom.

4.1.4. A Race to the Bottom.

Within Inceldom the more criteria fulfilled to be an Incel, the higher status is held within Inceldom. I observed many self-descriptions of negative terms in order to have a higher status within this community. Users are keen to describe personal deficiencies, including their looks, wealth, mental status, race, height, country of origin or residence, family, education, disability etc. The Incel will go to great lengths

to describe themselves as negatively as possible to explain why they are unable to find a sexual partner. The Black Pill Incel will give themselves personal attributes which are said to be the reasons why they will never find a sexual partner. I observed descriptions included being too short, having the wrong genetics and being the 'wrong' race, this can be seen in Figure 8. The Red Pill Incel may give personal attributes to themselves which they can change which may help them ascend. I observed users describing how they are saving money for facial reconstruction, going on medication to help with social anxiety and going to university to earn more money, this can be seen in Figure 9. Disagreements are had as to those who aspire to relationships and those who reject women overall, this can be seen in Figure 10.

Figure 8. A reply to a thread asking what surgery would be needed in order to become a Chad.

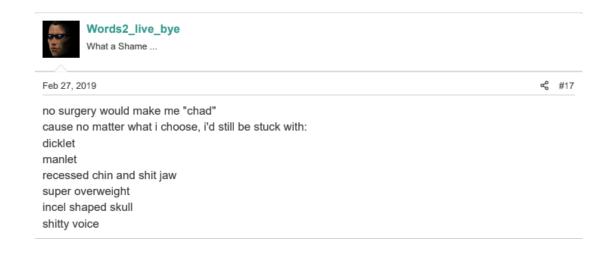
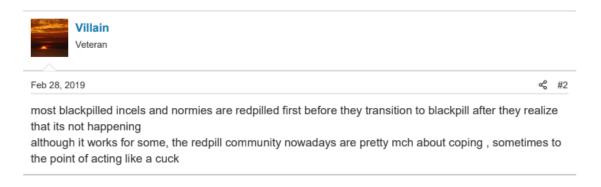


Figure 9. This is a reply to a thread asking if changing eye colour could improve sexual opportunities.



Figure 10. A post disagreeing with the notion of Red Pill Incels ability to ascend.



The "race to the bottom" mentality is most common among Black Pill Incels. The sub-community that is more defeatist appears self-fulfilling and creates a vacuum in which even critiques of said sub-community strengthen the core ideological message. The more negatively they view themselves, the community or the toxicity, the stronger the aggressive apathy becomes- it proves the existence of the Black Pill, and the pessimism is heightened. I observed the Black Pill Incels give the most examples of their inability to ever find a partner, blaming both their physical appearance but also women being incapable of looking past attractiveness.

4.1.5. Incels Views on Women and Contemporary Society

As the word Incel is short for Involuntary Celibate, the main thread that runs throughout Inceldom is women. The central narrative emerging is that women are the

reason for Inceldom. This is an easy enough assumption to make as one cannot be an Incel if one is not celibate, however, once the significant time is spent within various Incel spaces, it becomes clear that women not choosing an Incel as a sexual partner is not the only reason Incels have a distaste for women. Women have become the overarching scapegoat for all the woes of Inceldom, this can be seen in Figure 11.

Figure 11. A post discussing how women and minorities are causing economic collapse.



Western societies are on decline. Prosperity attracted socialism/communism and it birthed feminism.

But prosperity can't be maintained without enormous sacrifice. If things keep going the same way, there will be more people on welfare than people working to pay the taxes necessary to keep that welfare state up.

And when that happens, there will be social collapse, because females and minorities will demand free money from the government. The government will either have to rise the taxes or print money. Rising taxes only work so far, until people can't pay it anymore.

And freely printing money makes inflation. More inflation means that your your money is worth less. Until you need fifty million dollars to buy a loaf of bread.

In an economic collapse, I believe foids will go back to being property, they will have to prostitute themselves for food, since their gender studies degree is worth shit in a ruined economy (it is already worthless in a functioning one, imagine in a collapse scenario).

Inceldom foundation is built upon Lookism. A person who is naturally attractive by the relevant society's standards, will do better in life. They will make more friends, do better in academia, get better jobs and will have more sexual partners. I have observed that within Inceldom, Lookism is generally described when discussing men; a man is valued less by society if he is not attractive, this can be seen in Figure 12 and 13. Women tend not to be discussed in terms of Lookism as women have inherently more worth because they are sexual objects. Within Inceldom, a woman will do better in life because the opposite gender wants to have sex with her regardless of looks. She will make more friends and will get better jobs, because she is a sexual being.

Figure 12. A post which starts with the perception that Lookism is important within society.

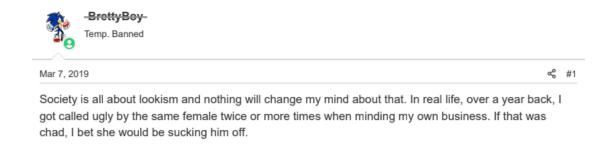


Figure 13. A post which includes societies perceptions of Lookism and not just women.



As women are having an advantage over men regarding Lookism, within Inceldom, women are placed in high disregard. Women are seen to pick men primarily on their looks. If a man has a high **Sexual Market Value** (**SMV**), how much sexual worth a person has in relation to others, then he will be first to be considered for a sexual partner. It is only after the woman has determined that a man's SMV is within her acceptable range that she will recognise the man's other attributes such as personality or wealth. Within Inceldom this is widely agreed and is the main motive why women are determined as the reason for Inceldom. I observed posts which discuss others SMV, this was usually celebrities or posts of people on the internet, this can be seen in Figure 14.

Figure 14. A post discussing the SMV of actor Adam Driver.



He is 5/10. He has a long midface but has enough facial harmony to compensate this. And he is 6' 2.5", thats a huge SMV boost.

With the rise of feminism and equal rights throughout society, I have observed that Incels see this as detrimental for men, resulting in men not being equal to women, but lesser than. Incels have built upon the narrative that increased movement towards equality between the sexes is causing more men to become Incels.

Within Black Pill Incels, a narrative which has become entrenched is that women are not capable of choosing a sexual partner. This links back to Lookism and how women choose their sexual partners based on attractiveness and no other personal attributes. Black Pill Incels have a belief in the redistribution of women; that is that as women cannot see past attractiveness, they cannot be trusted to pick their own sexual partners. Redistribution of women is similar in idea to arranged marriages but would be law instead of the cultural specification. Black Pill Incels see the redistribution of women creating a level playing field and would help men in other aspects, he could improve his social skills which would in turn give him more opportunities to create friendships and do better at work, this can be seen in Figure 15. It would also restrain the importance of Lookism and feminism, would in turn benefit those within Inceldom and society overall.

Figure 15. A post which gives a solution to the problem of Incels not having sex.

I may have a solution to this.

EVERY hard working male that shows that he has worked hard all his life and has been a good citizen of his country is given the opportunity to get sex. Every year, he will get sex once for working so hard.

Now, women who have shown that they do not respect society by dating drug-dealers, cheating on their looksmatched boyfriends for chad, using tinder too extreme to not just find a partner but to only select attractive males and leave other men to rot, etc.

These women that are not respecting society are called and once a year, they will meet in a government building that does this program. The program to let hard-working men sleep with women that have shown, that they do not repect morals and rules.

The men are given condoms, the women are given birth-control pills. We know that a woman would NEVER except being impregnated by a 7/10 non-male model. So this is controlled to be safe sex.

4.1.6. Conclusion

Non-participant observation of the Inceldom has created an understanding that there is more to Incels than the inability to have sex. There is variety in their beliefs, from the positivity of the Red Pill Incel and attempts of ascension, the Lookism factions who take a sociological approach to how society views attractiveness, and the Black Pill Incels who place blame at the feet of women for all complications in life. The use of fora and the formation of evolving language has created communities of like-minded individuals who refer to one another, share information, ideas and emotions. It can be a place to get advice on talking to women, to become fitter and generally improve their lives. It can also be a place in which extreme behaviour and thinking are encouraged; killers such as Rodger and Minissain are deified, articles of husbands killing wives are shared and fantasies of murder encouraged. Inceldom overall, aims to educate as many men as possible to the ideologies of the Red Pill. The hope is that the more men who understand the Red Pill, feminism will be slowed or reversed, and men will again be able to choose their sexual partners with ease.

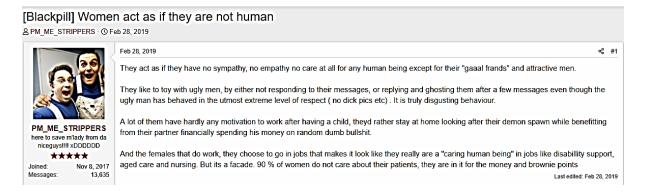
4.2. Discourse Analysis

4.2.1. Views on Women Within Inceldom

4.2.2. The Characteristics of Women

The vocabulary centred on women within Inceldom varies depending on the context, as partially explained in the background ethnography. It can be used to explain an accepted viewpoint, to argue for an acceptance of opinion, or to offer evidence of a widely held belief. The vocabulary used is both widespread and Incel specific. It helps to create a narrative of female-specific characteristics which bring the Black Pill Incel community closer together, in order to create shared beliefs. Within the Incel community, women are seen to be fundamentally different from men, as shown below.

Post 1

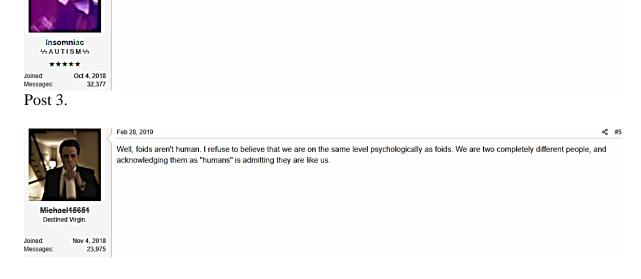


«° #2

Post 2.

Feb 28, 2019

They barely qualify as human tbh.

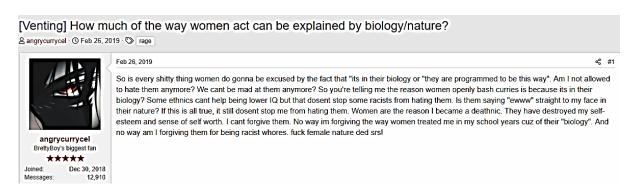


Within this topic, the posts maintain that women are fundamentally different from men. The posts do this through different means. Post 1 states, "no sympathy, no empathy no care at all for any human being except for the "gaaal frands" and "attractive men". This post tells the reader that women are selective as to whom they give their emotional affection. This language expands upon the topic title "women act as if they are not human", by placing women outside of the group 'human'. The post is not explicitly saying that women are not human, but that women's behaviour cannot be recognised as such.

Post 2 adds to this narrative by writing "barely qualify". Post 3 writes "foids aren't human". Post 3 then continues to add to this narrative by writing "same level psychologically". This builds upon post 1 that it is the psychological characteristics of women that make them different to men.

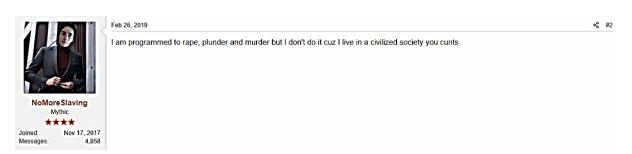
The persuasiveness of posts 1 to 3 in their action orientation attributes the behaviour of women as possessing biological or psychological deficiencies which solidify the group narrative of women. The consequences of this rhetoric are the creation of an aggressive form of self-victimisation.

Post 4.



Note. "Curries" – Indian descent; "deathnic" – 'Admitting' that not being white is negative; "cuz" - because; "ded srsl" – dead seriously.

Post 5.



Post 4 questions the behaviour of women being explained and defended on a biological or naturalistic basis, and questions why hatred of women is disallowed, presumably by society, "So is every shitty thing women gonna do be excused by the fact that "its in their biology" or "they are programmed to be this way"". Post 4 then continues by building a picture of cruelty shown by women, based on the posters race and academic achievement, which has created low self-worth and esteem, "women openly bash curries ... They have destroyed my self-esteem and sense of self-worth". This post, by providing evidence of how women have affected the self, aims to persuade the reader that not only does the post have accountability but that the poster has personal interactions with women, which can add to the overall Incel discourse.

Post 5 agrees that there is a belief that men are born with characteristics, by stating, "I am programmed to rape, plunder and murder". The poster then places themselves in a hierarchical position above women because these programmed acts are not carried out. Post 5 also adds to the narrative built by previous posts that women are inherently different from men. Men are placed higher on the hierarchy by the reasoning that they can control their behaviours. These posts show that Incels believe there are fundamental differences between men and women; with women possessing negative and uncontrollable traits.

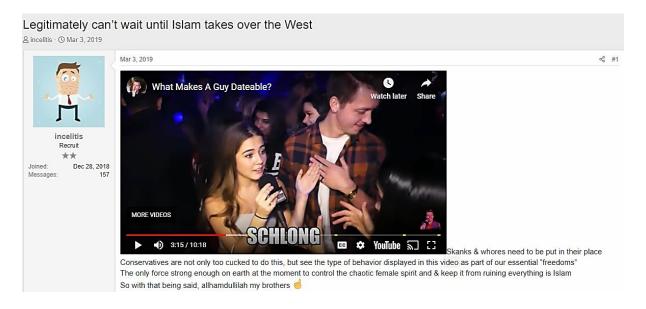
4.2.3. The Degeneracy of Society

A recurring theme that runs through Inceldom is that of societal changes having worsened men's position. Through all strands of Inceldom, a narrative has emerged that men being excluded from sexual relationships is a modern phenomenon. Discussions have also been had within Inceldom relating to feminism and the creation of equal rights; the industrial revolution which has increased available wealth, and the internet providing access to information of those around them. In the eyes of Inceldom, these changes have caused a degenerate society. To continuously solidify this narrative, Incels will search for evidence as well as posing solutions.

In the thread analysed from post 6, gives both evidence for and a solution to, this overall breakdown in society. The video presented as evidence is from a YouTube

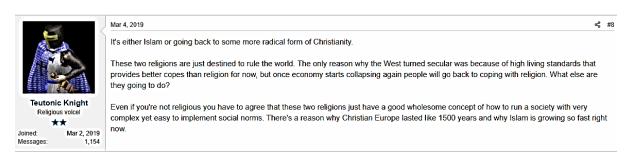
channel called JackDenmo, an entertainment channel, titled "What Makes A Guy Dateable?" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJuIoPs6aLc). In this video, a male interviewer attends an American nightclub and asks individuals and groups of women, which features they look for when choosing a partner. Many of the women interviewed are drunk, and most of the women answer with different variations of penis size as an important factor for partner selection.

Post 6.



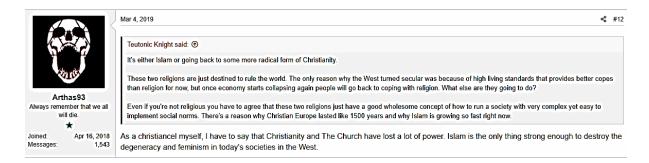
Note. "Cucked" – conforming to the status quo.

Post 7.



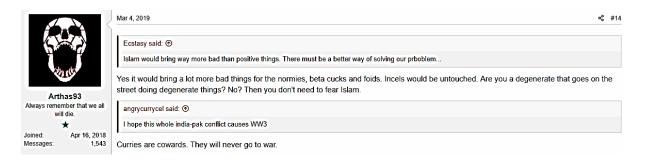
Note. "Cope" – Something which helps a person deal with a situation.

Post 8.



Note. "Christiancel" – Identifying as a Christian Incel.

Post 9.



Note. "Normie" – a 'normal' male; "beta cuck" – a feminine conforming male.

Post 10.



Note. "Hypergamy" - Women seeking to be with men who have a greater SMV than themselves; "femorrhoids" - combining the word foid and haemorrhoids.

The types of behaviour that are a problem to society are presented in post 6 with the video presented as evidence. The specific problem of the "chaotic female spirit" is also introduced, and how this problem will "ruin everything". The solution then presented, is Islam.

Islam and radical Christianity are presented as solutions in posts 6, 7, and 8, "Islam or going back to some more radical form of Christianity", "Islam is the only thing strong enough". When topics of religion are presented to the Inceldom narrative, the main theme of its inclusion is in the religion's radical tenants, which are shown in posts 6 and 7, "The only force strong enough". The radical aspects within the context of these posts are female conservatism and hierarchy within society.

The narrative evolves into a discussion from religion as a solution into a deepened discussion on theories of modern society. The predominant discussion being the role of women in modern society, and how this liberalism of society has negative impacts, as can be seen in post 7. Post 7 states "these two religions just have a good wholesome concept of how to run a society with very complex yet easy to implement social norms". By using the term "wholesome", the post is referring to traditional conservative ideals, antonyms of wholesome being 'contaminated', 'indecent' and 'impure'. With post 7 using the term "wholesome" and "easy to implement social norms", states that there is the belief that these norms are not currently been adhered to. Post 7 then continues with the solution of implementing religious social values "It's either Islam or going back to some more radical form of Christianity". The social norms that post 7 are referring to could be conservative and oppressive behaviours which women once had to. Post 8 also furthers the narrative by introducing feminism as a specific problem to society and furthers the description of "wholesome" in post 7, with "degeneracy". Posts 7 and 8 are building on each other's overall message trying to be portrayed from the original thread; there is a problem with society, being caused by the degenerate behaviour of women and the feminist movement. Post 9 continues this religious solution by specifically mentioning the groups who would be targeted by the religious tenants that would be introduced; "normies, beta cucks and foids. Incels would be untouched." The inclusion of normies and not the expected Chads, makes this post swing to the more extreme, as normies are not particularly hated within Inceldom, they are more pitied. The post has placed the Incel on the top of a societal hierarchy or moral behaviour.

Post 10, in response to post 9, offers a non-religious argument but offers support to the discourse surrounding women and feminism as to blame for society's downfall. To this poster, it is not religion as "degeneracy still exists" in Muslim countries, "but in different forms" and ultimately this is attributed to female privilege.

The post mentions hypergamy twice and female's choice of sexual partners three times. This post adds to the Inceldom narrative that women are incapable of choosing their own sexual partners. Whereas posts 5 to 8 discussed that women are degenerate in their overtly sexual behaviour in the video, post 8 adds a disagreement that it's not just women's behaviour specific to the video, but that women themselves are the reason for the downfall of society, which in turn has made "everyone dysfunctional", and the solution is to place restrictions on women to prevent the "collapse" of society.

4.2.4. Conclusion

Incels perceive that they are victims of problems created by women, but in this section the discourse is that they do not face them alone. They have identified that perceived societal collapse has occurred for every man. The analysis above shows that according to Inceldom theories not liking women is not limited to an individual Incel or Inceldom ideology; it is an identification of the route to societal collapse.

This type of rhetoric has been used against minority groups before to show that it is not the individual who is being affected by the minority, but society. Once the collective agrees on this, the individual is then more able to express views and carry out behaviours which before, they would not have been able to. During Nazi rule, propaganda was used to blame the Jewish and Roma communities for Germany becoming poorer (Arendt, 1994, Miller, 1995; Savage, 2006; Browning, 1988). This type of narrative has been found to solidify the minority out-group as a separate entity (Bruneau, 2016). In section (4.2.2.) above, it was shown that the Inceldom narrative has built upon the notion that women are fundamentally different from men. It is not within the scope of this paper to compare Inceldom with the Nazi party, but similarity in the methods that both groups have used to create a narrative of fundamental differences that cause harm to wider society is present. Inceldom has created an ideology that women are fundamentally different to men that they are unable to control their behaviour, and as a result this behaviour had led to the downfall of society. By presenting solutions such as the redistribution of women and sex, Inceldom is placing its followers as a group which wants to save society, not as a group of individuals who merely hate women. It paints them as revolutionaries and not spreaders of hatred. It is a doctrine that will save all of society. Giving them the

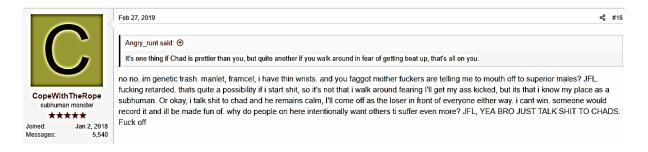
greater purpose that is lacking in their lives, and therefore a legitimate masculine cause.

4.3. Incel Identification

4.3.1. Negative Self-Identification

Within Inceldom, a phenomenon has occurred where Incels openly say why they deserve to be identified as an Incel. If the other members of the community deem that the user is not a true Incel, they will be labelled a Volcel or a Fakecel. To protect their Incel identity, the user will actively describe themselves in a negative way to solidify that they deserve to be part of the community. This helps to place the user as persuasive, accountable and affirms their identity as an Incel. This section of the analysis will show the methods that are used to solidify their Incel identity. It will also show how the Inceldom community works together to strengthen this negative discourse.

Post 11.

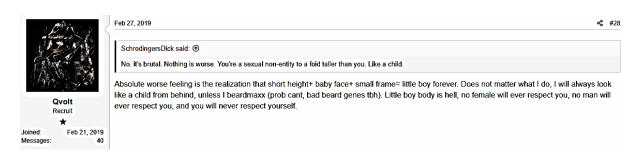


Note. "Framcel" – Incel due to body frame; "subhuman" – Less than human.

Post 12.

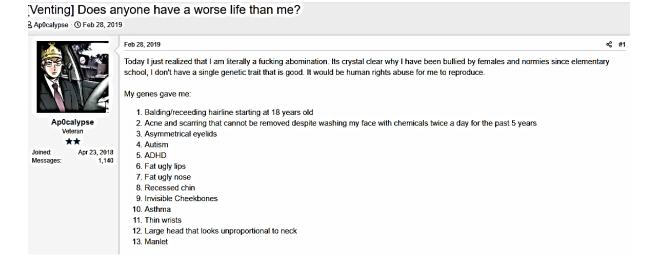


Post 13.



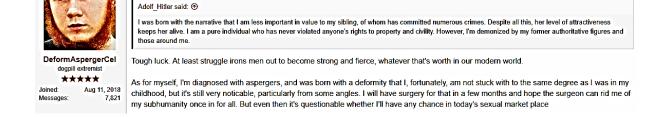
Note. "Beardmaxx" – Improving how the face looks by growing a beard.

Post 14

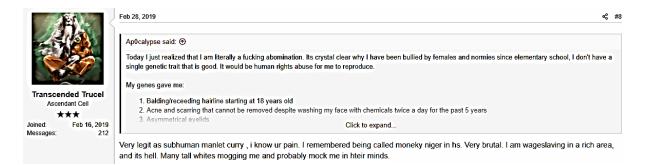


Post 15.

Feb 28, 2019



Post 16.



Note. "Wageslave" - Having to work, primarily used when talking about low paid work.

Post 11 is pushing back against a familiar discourse that Incels should revolt against Chads using violence, "you faggot mother fuckers are telling me to mouth off to superior male? JFL ... YEAH BRO JUST TALK SHIT TO CHADS. Fuck off". Post 11 is creating a discourse of how Incels will never 'win' if they tried to rebel against the perceived status quo. The narrative strengthened by giving specific reasons, not for their Inceldom per se, but why they are a lesser human. The post is giving specific reasons as to why they believe a Chad is better than them. In this case, the characteristics related to body shape and size "manlet", "framcel", and "thin wrists". The post then develops the discourse that because of the posters frame, this would then have negative emotional repercussions if the suggested violence were to be carried out, "I'll come off as the loser in front of everyone ... someone would record it and ill be made fun of". The post also states "I know my place as a subhuman"; this actively positions the user within the category of less than human and acceptance of this case. The user writes with intense aggression which is rarely seen directed at other users. Post 13 continues the narrative of looks and emotion by starting with "absolute worse feeling", giving the reader a persuasive start to the text. The post then further strengthens the link between frame and emotion; adding the notion of respect. "short height + baby face + small frame = little boy forever ... little boy is hell ... you will never respect yourself". The post clearly defines a link between the way others see the user and the way they see themselves.

Post 12 discusses the notion of SMV on a 10-point scale and how this scale can differ dependent on ethnicity, "As an ethnic you need to be at least a 7/10". Ethnicity is important within Inceldom; this can be seen using their vocabulary (JBW; JBB;

Curry; Ricecel). The post is a reply to another stating "It is over if you are not 7/10 at least". In the context of the thread, "it is over" is related to not finding a sexual partner and life is over as a result. Post 12 expands upon this by stating that ethnicity changes the SMV number in relation to finding a sexual partner. Within Inceldom if you are White you have a greater SMV than a person who is not, this can be found also in post 16, "very legit as subhuman manlet curry, I know ur pain". This ethnic rating is another example of the constant classification effort within Inceldom. In post 16 the subjective experience of the post creates an experience of hopelessness. The use of the word "subhuman" positions the poster as lesser and this has caused an emotional reaction, "I know ur pain".

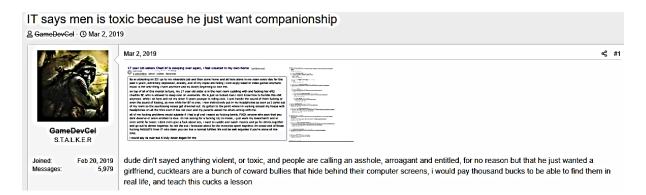
In post 14, the poster gives 13 reasons why "I am literally a fucking abomination". The post creates a discourse in which both the emotional and physical ramifications of the reasoning are introduced; "bullied" and "human rights abuse for me to reproduce". Within the reasons, all but two are related to looks which are directly linked to Lookism. Posts 15 and 16 add to this narrative of sub humanism and genetics; "hope the surgeon can rid me of my subhumanity" and "very legit as a subhuman manlet curry". The posts are not stating one aspect which adds to the narrative, but multiple reasons which add to their identity positioning. Posts 14, 15, and 16 all-state an internal reason as well as the external, "aspergers", "wageslave" and "ADHD", thus reinforcing the narrative that it is both the interiority as well as the exteriority which is important to Inceldom. This is shown in post 15, "it's questionable whether I'll have any chance in today's sexual marketplace". The post is creating a sense of hopelessness, that even with surgery to correct a physiological problem, 'subhumanity' will still be present. When post 15 writes "it's questionable", the practice of the denouncing opportunities for further action. That is, the poster relays a sense of despair.

4.3.2. Love or Sex?

It would be unwise to view Incels as a group who only want sex and for the societal dominance of women. Through the haze of violent language, it can be hard to see that there is an underlying need for affection and compassion. This section will focus on a thread which discusses a post in which a narrative of loneliness, hopelessness and a need for affection is presented. Post 17 is defending a post made by a user on the

Reddit board r/BrainCels, which was screenshotted and shared on the Reddit board r/IncelTears (Post 17a). The post is started with a narrative that a post, which depicts a user wanting a girlfriend, is used as a bullying tactic by r/IncelTears. This narrative is widely used within Inceldom; those who do not align themselves with Inceldom or their belief systems, hate and mock Incels regardless of what they say. Post 17 has actively gone onto r/IncelTears to find instances to post on this forum to evidence this narrative.

Post 17.



Note. "Cucktears" – A mocking term referring to the Reddit site r/IncelTears.

Post 17a.

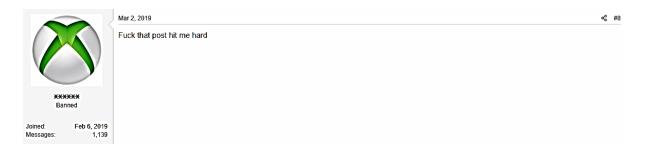


all of my fucking problems would subside if I had a gf and I wasnt so fucking lonely. FUCK anyone who says that you dont deserve or arent entitled to love. Im not asking for a fucking 10/10 model, I just want my looksmatch and id even settle for lower. I dont even give a fuck about sex, I want to cuddle and watch movies and go for drives together and go out to dinner together. Its not the sex I fantasize about its the moments spent together. Im soooo sick of these fucking FAGGOTS from IT who claim you can live a normal fulfilled life and be well adjusted if you're alone all the time.

i would say its over but it truly never began for me

Note. This picture is the attached screenshot from post 17. It is a screenshot from the Reddit board r/IncelTears.

Post 18.



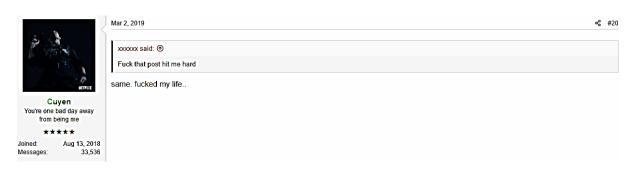
Post 19.



Post 20.



Post 21.



Post 17a depicts a user who compares one life, that of an Incel, to that of his sister, aiming to show how life is different for young females in comparison to males. The post uses a similar discourse that has been covered previously wherein the users use negative language about the self, "extremely depressed, anxiety ... life is just so

fucked ... sit here and rot ... it never began for me". Post 17a does not use words such as 'foid' to describe the sister, but does use expletives when describing her sexual activities, which may suggest an extreme emotional reaction. Post 17a differs from posts that have been analysed previously in depicting a need for affection, "I want to cuddle ... its not the sex I fantasize about it's the moments spent together". The post conveys anger that wanting affection is seen negatively by r/IncelTears, "fucking FAGGOTS from IT".

Posts 18 to 21 all find a relation to post 17a, post 20 gives an emotional reaction to post 17a, specifying loneliness as an important factor, "its just that hes so fucking lonely like me". Post 21 is an agreement reply to post 18, in which an affinity of feelings is created, "same. Fucked my life". The posts combined create a narrative of oneness, centred around loneliness with outsiders taking part in bullying behaviour based upon these feelings. This can be seen in post 19, "i think the worst part was the normic reaction", the subjective experience that is portrayed is one of sadness that others outside of the Inceldom, Incels are insulted because of their need for affection. It is also interesting that post 19 does not identify with post 17a, but with what non-Incels say about the post

4.3.3. Conclusion

Section 4.3.2 gives some insight as to why users may access and contribute to fora by creating a space where users feel safe that they can post about the negative aspects of life without their words being used against them. The use of formulated language also creates a barrier that may make it harder for outsiders to read and understand what Incels mean. This thread gives a small insight into underlying feelings of rejection, not just by women but from society.

5. Discussion

Baele, Brace and Coan (2019) suggested that further research needs to be conducted to comprehensively map Inceldom beyond a specific website. Through ethnographic and discourse analysis of Inceldom, this study aimed to deepen our understanding of

this area of the Manosphere and the narrative which is used to build a community based on hate.

The tactics that are used within Inceldom are not unique. The use of dehumanising language is not rare in extreme groups (Fine, 2010) and has been used in conflicts to destroy the outgroup as to retrieve the material goods the ingroup requires (Bar-Tal, 1990; Arendt, 1994; Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007; Savage, 2006; Browning, 1988). In the case of Incels, the material good is sex. For this high-cost action to occur, the enemy or outgroup must be portrayed as being incapable of reform (Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007). In the case of Incels, they portray women as non-human machines; cold and unfeeling. By using the term Foid or Femoid, they continue the narrative that not only are women apathetic towards men who they do not find attractive but gives validity to Incels that they do not need to treat women as human. This helps to shield the Incel from feelings of guilt from the language or behaviour they utilise (Bandura, 2002). This type of language also sanitises women as victims of violence. By also referring to women as animals, Incels create the narrative that women are overly emotional, unable to control their animal-like instincts and as such, the animal emotions must be crushed (Giner-Sorolla, Leidner, & Castano, 2012; Ging, 2007).

Inceldom has been shown not to be based on a single issue, which most would assume to be women, but stems from many societal concerns of whom the common denominators are women and feminism. The story of victimisation links to other areas which gain traction within the Manosphere and beyond. Daryush Valizadeh, an author of many books which are said to help men find sexual partners (Valizadeh, 2011, 2018), has added to the commentary that men's right to free speech is limited compared to women's (Buncombe, 2016). The Proud Boys are an organisation with 'Chapters' of members around the world (proudboysusa.com). They are associated with Alex Jones of InfoWars.com, Tommy Robinson of the BNP (Casciani, 2019) and Ann Coulter, a right-wing pundit. The Proud Boys, who pride themselves on being Western Chauvinists, have strong links to white-supremacy, violence, Islamophobia and anti-Semitic rhetoric (ADL, n.d., SPCL, n.d.). This group ostensibly lends itself to encouraging men to be 'real men' and to denounce feminism; whilst the group takes part in violent assaults like Charlottesville. Feminism has been blamed for creating an Orwellianesque world (Hume, 2015), a falling birth rate (Brown, 2017), and generally, the downfall of society (Bedard, 2011).

Nagel (2017) has argued that young men who have felt alienated by reduced social and economic prospects have been enticed into fora which encourage male hegemony and collective identity. Nagel goes on to argue that as the media painted men as privileged and offenders of female space (#MeToo), the Manosphere gave space for these men to identify differences and to rally around a common enemy. These spaces, although seemingly subject-specific, merge into each other and share similar rhetoric which can drive hate speech. As the attacks carried out by Rodger, Minassian, and Cruz show, these sites can have real-world consequences.

Groups such as The Proud Boys call for an extreme portrayal of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have argued that hegemonic masculinity can be recognised at a regional and local level. A regional level being a country or the internet, and local being an immediate environment to the individual. A relevant argument put forward is that hegemonic masculinity at a regional level can have effects at a local level. In the case of the attack carried out by Minassian, an active user of Inceldom online spaces, he found affirmation of his core beliefs and was ultimately encouraged to carry out his attack. The online spaces which he utilised were used on a regional level, his attack was carried out at a local level. Light and Kirk (2000) found that regional hegemonic models were found to be salient in influencing normative hegemonic behaviour at the local level. However, Ging (2007) has argued that the masculinity which is portrayed online by users does not matter if it refers to their real-world self. The aim is to assert male social and sexual dominance. This however may not be the case as this type of dominance within online spaces can have detrimental effects on women. Dean (2003) has questioned that if women do not perceive they are safe to discuss and bring awareness to issues which directly affect them in online spaces, this could have detrimental effects within the off-line world. For example, without a safe place for women to share stories the abusers may not have been held to account. Without bringing widespread attention in which the internet can be used so effectively for, true gender equality may never be realised (Ging, 2007).

The Manosphere takes up a large portion of the ClearWeb 2.0 and has moved from subject-specific sites into the mainstream. Inceldom is gaining members and the

media is becoming more aware of their existence. Incels are carrying out more attacks specifically in the name of Inceldom, and more recently non-Incel specific attackers are carrying out attacks, but who have Inceldom ideologies, as in the example of Cruz and more recently the Daytona shooter (Smith Rojas & Robertson, 2019). Further research is needed on the links between hate-groups, discovering if they are separate groups with similar ideologies, or if they are a cohesive structure with different names. Further ethnographic research could also be conducted on Incels who use fora and study their behaviour in the offline world. There needs to be more understanding of the life's users portray online have any correlation to the lives, they have offline. This study aimed to add another layer of understanding to the use of Inceldom spaces online and how the use of these sites can build such extremist in/out-group mentality to the stage where young men take violent action.

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7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix A. Data Set

Due to the number of topics and posts captured for analysis, the data has been saved in a cloud.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Bx2SC7tbHxawRMKzX7yfs_P48KK72fHC?usp=sharing

7.2. Appendix B. Glossary

80:20 Rule – 80% of women only want to have sex with 20% of men.

AA – Approach Anxiety; See Approach Anxiety

Approach invitation – Cues given by the opposite sex that they want to be approached.

AF – Alpha Fuck; See Alpha Fuck

AFC – Average Frustrated Chump; See Average Frustrated Chump

Albino - It is a disparaging remark used towards SlutHate Users of European Descent; See SlutHate.

All or Nothing – Can't have sex or can have sex with anyone they want; See Incel or Slayer

Alpha – Masculine, perfect genetics; highest ranking male in a group.

Alpha widow – A woman who has had sex with an Alpha male who wishes she could continue to have sex/be in a relationship with him.

Alt – Alternative account; relates to forum usage

AMOG – Alpha Male Of the Group

Approach Anxiety – Fear of approaching a woman.

Ascended/Ascend – Becoming sexually attractive to be able to have sex. See the suffix '-maxx'.

Aspie – Asperger's Syndrome

Average Fustrated Chump – Derogatory term used to refer to men who do not have a good history of 'picking up' women.

Bad boy – attractive male who is abusive to women; See Chad

Bald Theory – A male cannot ascend if he is bald; a male cannot be above an 8 if he is bald

BB – Betabuxx; See Betabuxx

BBD – Body Dysmorphic Disorder

BBV – Big Black Vagina

BBV Theory – Black females are the height of female sexuality; tends to be found within the Red Pill Incel communities

Be smart enough to know when you are lucky Theory – Take the sexual opportunity

Becky – A female who is attractive but not as attractive as (a) Stacy; average attractiveness

Beta – A male who generally lacks charisma, usually a normie; below an Alpha; a provider

Beta eyes – Big eyes found in a male; not seen to be attractive

Beta Orbiter - A man who will hang out with a woman in the hope they will have sex with them.

Beta provider game – A man who will supply a woman with gifts or expensive dates to have sex.

Betabuxx – An unattractive man being in a relationship with, and financially supporting, a woman. The woman will normally have a higher SMV than the man. The woman will also have a child from a previous relationship.

BetaCel – Can't have sex because they are Beta; Believe they are better than Omega. See suffix '-cel'.

BF – Boyfriend; Body Fat

Black Knight – A man who will put men over women; Believe men over women if women report rape/assault.

Black Pill – The world is against unattractive me; sexuality based on genetics; cannot ascend. (See Lookism)

Blackcel/Niggacel/Niggercel – A Black Incel; See suffix '-cel"

Blackopscel – Patron saint of Inceldom. 'Typical' looking Incel based on facial structure and overall appearance. This person is most likely not an Incel as he has never been identified.

Bloatmaxxing – Lean bulking; Becoming more intimidating. See the suffix '-maxx'.

Blue Pill – Hold views of Normies.

Bone law – A males SMV is related to his bone structure; See Bonesmashing

Bonesmashing – Smashing or breaking facial bones to alter the structure.

Boyo – Affectionate term amongst Incels.

Brad – In between a Chad and a Normie.

BrainCels – Discriminated for low attractiveness and either a high or low intelligence. See the suffix '-cel'.

Butterbody – A woman who has an attractive face but unattractive face

Butterface – A woman who has an attractive body but an unattractive face.

Buxx - A suffix used to imply a way of living.

Cad – A man who has many short-term relationships.

Cancer – Joined the Incel community between 2013 - 2015.

Canthal tilt - The angle of the lateral canthus (outside corner of the eye) in relation to the medial canthus (inside corner of the eye). A negative canthal tilt is seen as an extremely unattractive feature on men.

Cel – A suffix used to describe either why the person believes that they are an Incel. It can also be used to describe what the Incel feels or a description of the self. Meaning is dependent on context.

Chad – Sexually successful man.

Chaddam – Arab Chad; See Chad

Chadlites - In between a Chad and a Normie.

Chang – Asian Chad; See Chad

Chapreet – Indian Chad; See Chad

Cho – Refers to Seung-Hui Cho the Virginia Tech Shooter

Cock carousel – Women who have sex with lots of men; See Roastie

CockMogging – Dominated by penis size. See the suffix '-mog'.

Cold Approach – PUA term referring to approaching a woman in public and initiating a want for sexual intercourse

Colez – Height of masculinity; broad, muscular, and tall.

Cope – Things that give the Incel the ability to cope with the inability to have sex; Mega and Giga and used here as suffixes to describe the level of "cope".

Copecell/Copecelling – When a perceived Incel is dating outside of his Looksmatch; can be used to describe an Incel who doubts the veracity of another Incel.

Cuck/Cucked – A man who is being cheated on by his partner. Refers to the porn genre 'cuckolding'.

Cuckbook - Facebook.

CuntRag – Female Face

CurryCel – Incel because the person is from India, Pakistan or Bangladesh (See JBW; JBB; the suffix '-cel')

DeathMogged – A person who has planned or have carried out a "good" suicide. See the suffix '-mog'.

Deracinated Mulatto Bugman – removing mixed-race people from society, specifically those who are liberal and urban.

DHV – Demonstration of High Value; See Demonstration of High Value

Dualistic Mating Strategy – Women have short term relationships for sex and long-term relationships for financial gain.

Ephebophillia – Sexual interest in adolescents; Prime breeding age.

ER – Initials of Elliot Rodger; can be used within a word; encourages or glorifies mass murder.

Escort Crew/Escortcel – Incels who only have sex with escorts; debates occur whether they are true Incels

Escort Theory – Paying for sex to relieve sexual tension.

Ethnic - Non-white

EthnicCel – Incel because the person is not white or black (See JBW; JBB; the suffix '-cel')

FA – Forever Alone

Face Theory – The face is the most important aspect for women when choosing a male sexual partner

Failo Effect – An unattractive person is seen to have unattractive personal attributes by society.

Fap/No Fap – Masturbation; abstaining from masturbation

Femoid/Foid – A woman; a derogatory term

FHO – Female Humanoid Organism; See Femoid/Foid

Friend zoning - Sexually rejecting a man because he is a friend

FTOW - Fuck Ten Other Women; After a rejection, sleep with ten other women. See GFTOW.

Fuck and chuck – Have sexual intercourse and then do not see the partner again

Fuckstration – Sexual frustration

Fuel – A suffix used to say the prefix gives the person a reason for an action.

fWHR – Facial Width to Height Ratio; ratio can determine your SMV

George Sodini – Bridgeville LA Fitness shooting; suicide note and Blog blames women for him having to carry out the attack.

GF – Girlfriend

GFTOW – Go Fuck Ten Other Women; After a rejection, sleep with ten other women.

GigaChad – More attractive than a Chad; See Colez

GLL – Good Looking Loser; looks matter; used amongst PUAs

Go outside Theory – An Incel will not find a sexual partner if they stay inside

Going caveman - Sexually dominating a woman

Going ER – Killing women as Elliot Rogers did. See ER.

Greensboro Jock – A picture of Jay Gould (American football player) who was used to highlight what a Chad looked like.

GTFO – Get The Fuck Out; Leave the discussion.

GymMaxx – Ascension from going to the gym; Increasing masculinity. See the suffix '-maxx'

Halo effect – Attractive people are seen to have attractive personal attributes by society.

Hapa – Child of a White male and an Asian woman

Height Theory – Women determine the height to be the most important factor when choosing a sexual partner

HiCel – High standards for what constitutes an attractive woman; standards are too high. See the suffix '-cel'.

High E – High levels of Oestrogen

High Inhibition – Fear of following own goals will result in letting down those around them

High T – High levels of Testosterone

HOII – How Over Is It? Relates to asking for advice or ratings on attractiveness.

Hypergamy – Women seeking to be with men who are high on the looks scale than themselves. (See 80:20 rule)

Incel – Involuntary Celibate.

Incel rage – Negative outward emotion resulting from a no sexual activity

Incel rule of thumb – If an Incel is attracted to a female, then she is out of your 'league'

Inceldom – People who are part of the Incel community.

Incelsphere – Another term for Inceldom

Inhib - Inhibited

IOI – Indicator of Interest; indications from a female that she is sexually attracted to a male

IQMog – Dominated by someone's intelligence. See the suffix '-mog'.

IT – Incel Tears. A Reddit forum dedicated to Incels; primarily used for entertainment in mocking Incels.

JBB – Just Be Black; Women prefer sex with black men, See Tyrone.

JBGL – Just Be Good Looking; Life would be better if the individual was attractive.

JBW – Just Be White; Only white men should be able to breed; Women only have relationships with white men.

JFC – Just Fucking Cage

JFL – Just Fucking Leave

Juan – Hispanic Chad; See Chad

Juggernaut Law – Women cannot be Incels as it does not matter what they look like, there will always be a man who will want to be her sexual partner

Keck – A meme used predominantly by the far-right; See also 'Pepe'

KHHV – Kissless, Hugless, Handholdless, Virgin.

Land Balaenoptera musculus – Land Blue Whale

Landwhale – An obese female

Lanza – Adam Lanza; Sandy Hook Massacre

LARP – Live Action Role Play; Pretending to be someone you are not (See Catfish)

LDAR – Lay Down And Rot/Rollover; become NEET; Commit suicide; give up trying.

Less – A suffix used to describe the self and relates to interaction. Meaning is dependent on context.

Let -A suffix used to describe how a person is less than; an insulting term used to describe others. Meaning is dependent on context.

LifeFuel – Things that give an Incel the will to live; hope. (See the suffix '-fuel')

LMR – Last Minute Resistance; Overcoming a no and turning it into consent (See Soft No)

LMS – Look, Money, Status; the theory that women only want LMS and do not care about personality; See Bad Boy

Lookism – Discriminated in all walks of life because of a person's attractiveness (See Black Pill).

LooksMatch – Seeking a sexual partner with the same SMV.

Looksmaxx – Improving looks through surgery, gym etc. (See Ascend; Red Pill; suffix '-maxx')

LooksMog – Dominated by someone's appearance (See the suffix '-mog')

LTR – Long Term Relationship

Lubitz – The Germanwings plane crash

Machismo – Aggressive masculine pride; Very traditional masculine values.

Manlet – A man shorter than 5' 10" (See the suffix '-let)

Marcel – A married man who is also an Incel; seen as a Betabuxx

Mascthetic – Masculine aesthetic

Masculinity crew – Men who go to the gym together; a group of men who all want to look as masculine as possible

Masculinity Theory – Women find masculine men the most attractive

Maxx – A suffix used to describe how a person can ascend. Meaning is dependent on context.

Meeks – Women only attracted to looks; Jeremy Meeks.

MentalCels - Discriminated for either a high or low intelligence (See the suffix '-cel)

Mewing – Changing the shape of the face by putting the tongue on the roof of the mouth.

MGTOW – Men Going Their Own Way; Rejecting relationships.

Midface Ratio – Distance from the pupils to the middle of the lips

Mirin – Shortened from admiring

Misandry – A hatred of men

Mog/Mogging/Mogged – Used as a suffix; the prefix is used to describe how the user of the word has been dominated.

Morph Theory – Manipulating a dating profile picture to appear more attractive

MRA – Male Rights Activists

Mudsharks – White women who only have sex with black men.

NAWALT - Not All Women Are Like That

NEET – Not in Education, Employment or Training.

NEETBux – Being on social welfare.

Newfag – Joined Incel community between 2010-2012.

NMAWOT – Never Marry A Woman Over Thirty

Non-con'd – Raped; used in online spaces where the word 'rape' may be flagged, and the comment or user is removed/banned

Noodle Whore – An Asian woman who sleeps with lots of men.

NormalFag – A socially functioning person (See Normie)

Normie – Average looks, intelligence, and life.

NT – Neurotypical

Numale Feminist – Men who do not conform to masculine traits and befriend women.

Omega – Lowest on the genetic scale of looks; not very masculine.

Orbiters – People who hang around the opposite gender hoping to have sex with them.

Our Heavenly Father – David Gandy; Incels refer to him as the epitome of male aesthetics

Pawning - Using attractive women to demonstrate high SMV

Pepe – A meme used predominantly by the far-right; See also 'Keck'

PermaVirgin – A man who is never expected to lose his virginity

Potato Face – Shallow cheekbone, shallow brow ridge and an underdeveloped jaw

Proper Swallowing – Not sucking on teeth when eating; cure hollow cheeks.

PUA – Pick Up Artist; a sub-section of the Manosphere who believe that having sex with as many women as possible is an art form.

Pulling an ER - Killing women as Elliot Rogers did (See ER)

Pump and dump - Have sexual intercourse and then do not see the partner again

Purple Pill – Beliefs from Blue/Black/Red Pill.

RageCel – Aggressive; angry; violent Incel (See the suffix '-cel')

Rat Face – Long midface, narrow skull and a receding chin.

Red Pill – A minds set that things can get better. Believe that people can ascend.

RiceCel - Incel because the person is from South East Asia (See JBW; JBB; the suffix '-cel').

Roastie – Women's external genitalia have stretched due to the amount of sex with different men; roast beef

RoidCel – Using steroids in order to Looksmaxx or Ascend; Incel because the user has taken too many steroids (See the suffix '-cel').

Rope – Suicide

RTT - Roided, Tattooed and Tanned

SA - Shitty advice

SAP – Small Asian Penis

Sfcel – Stormfrontcel

ShitCunt – A female with no morals

SIMP – Some Idolising Mediocre Pussy

Slayer – Alpha male who has sex with multiple women

Slaying – Doing better.

Sloot - Slut

Slut – A hypergamous women who have sex with multiple men

SlutHate – Elliot Rodger used the site; now renamed to https://redpilltalk.com

SMV – Sexual Market Value; rated on a scale of 1-10. This is how much sexual worth a person has in relation to others.

Sodini – George Sodini; LA Fitness Shooter

Soft No – A woman says no to consensual sex but does not mean it.

SoyBoy – Lack of masculine traits; Not a real man; Overtly feminine

Sperg – Asperger's Syndrome (Insult)

Spic - Hispanic

Splitting – Splitting the traditional relationship model; one man for sex, one man for relationship.

St. BlackOps2Cel – Patron saint of Inceldom; 'typical' looking Incel based on facial structure and overall appearance. This person is most likely not an Incel as he has never been identified.

Stacy/Stacey – Sexually successful woman

Stacylite – A woman who thinks she is (a) Stacy; an attractive female but less attractive than (a) Stacy

Stormfrontcel – A white Incel who hates ethnics; against interracial sexual relationships

Sub# – Sub refers to below; # is either the SMV number or height; meaning dependent on context.

Subhumans – Less than human

Sui – Suicide

SuiFuel – Suicide fuel.

Supreme Gentleman – The name Elliot Rodger gave himself in his manifesto

TFL – True Forced Loneliness

TFL – True Forced Loners; Vloggers

TFW – That Feel When

The bitch shield - Female defence against unwanted male attention

Truecel – Never had sex, kissed, held hands, hugged, or relationship (See the suffix '-cel'; see also KHHV)

Twink – Men who have a weak appearance

Tyrone - Black Chad

Volcel – Voluntary celibate

WageSlave – Chasing wages and being a slave to your job.

Warpig – Aggressive and overweight female

White Knight – A man who will protect women; Believe them if they report assault/rape; Feminist

White Pill – Actively look for solutions; Actively seek to Ascend (See Red Pill)

Wigger – White nigger

Wizard – Virgin over the age of 30.

Womb to tomb – a Truecel

WristCel – Incel because of the circumference of the wrist; skinny wrists (See the suffix '-cel')

Yellow Fever – Attracted to Asian women

Zambo – child of black male and Amerindian woman

Zero night-stand - having sex without staying the night

7.3. Appendix C. Ranking Levels for Incels.is

One star denotes 100 posts up to a maximum of 5 stars. Every 500 posts, the rank is increased, the members colour changes and their stars are reset.

Legend

Admin - Administrator

Mod - Moderator

Enlightened - 30000 posts

Transcendental - 25000 posts

Obscure - 20000 posts

Paragon - 15000 posts

Luminary - 10000 posts

Overlord - 5000 posts

Mythic - 4500 posts

Wizard - 4000 posts

Legend - 3500 posts

Commander - 3000 posts

Admiral - 2500 posts

Major - 2000 posts

Captain - 1500 posts

Veteran - 1000 posts

Officer - 500 posts

Recruit - 0 posts

7.4. Appendix D. Reflexivity

Prior assumptions and experience

I first heard about the Manosphere and Incels after the Elliot Rodger attack and then further through social media websites such as Twitter. My previous research has been conducted on the use of the internet and how it can change behaviour. This meant that I was able to have some understanding of psychological mechanisms which occur online.

I had some assumptions of the Manosphere from what I had read on Twitter and Reddit, in order to overcome this, I muted all news and discussions related to the Manosphere and spent over a year lurking on multiple Manosphere websites. This gave me the opportunity to read and experience all the subjects which are salient to the users. It gave me the opportunity to understand why users went into and contributed to the Inceldom space.

Awareness of social setting and the social 'distance' between the researcher and the researched

The specific Inceldom space which I chose to experience is one of the more extreme which are available on the ClearWeb. This has meant that some of the subject matter has been difficult to read. I have wondered throughout if the users over-exaggerated their rhetoric in order to be the 'best' Incel, or to be the most shocking. I also know that what they were saying online was not being carried out in the real world, but when they encourage others to carry out the actions, it is important that this be a part of the study. I question my distance from the participants. Whilst I was lurking, I read from a few users who had said that they had been lurkers on the sites before they joined and contributed. Learning, as I was doing, what Inceldom was and what was being represented. This felt at times as if just by my lurking I was part of the study.

Awareness of wider social and political context

Whilst writing this study, there have been three notable mass shootings in America; El Paso, Dayton and Gilroy. During the writing, I have researched the shooters to find if there were any links to the Manosphere or the threads which are intertwined to other factions of the internet. The act of immediately going online to 8ch.net and gab.com

to find out what happened means that there is a wider social context of the actions of people who find themselves within the Manosphere. Also, wider society not understanding the Manosphere and the dangers it poses. I was listening to a podcast of James O'Brien on LBC radio where he posed the question "how do we put the genie back in the bottle?". As I reflected on his question and the responses from his listeners, I felt that I should add the section on *Love or Sex* so that there could be more reflection by the readers. The question O'Brien posed maybe should not have been "How do we put the genie back in the bottle?" but "has society forced the genie out of the bottle?"

Potential for psychological harm

I was aware from the start of psychological harm coming to myself. This was also a worry of my supervisor and my mentor. I have worked in areas which can contain sensitive topic matter, so I have become detached emotionally from the rhetoric used. I was aware as I was writing the study whether I should include all the words that are used. I felt uncomfortable knowing that people may read this study and may be adversely affected by its content. I decided to place a warning at the beginning of the study, and I urge the reader, if this reading this study has affected, you, please seek guidance.

Ethical considerations

I spent a lot of time considering the ethical implications of this study. First, whether I should include the user handles which were used on the website, I decided to include them for several reasons. First, the website is open-access and the users know it is open-access. Secondly, the users know that others come onto the site and will screenshot their posts and post them on other sites. Thirdly, I believed it would help to create a better picture of Inceldom if the posts had a name. The name that the poster users is usually a way to identify why they are an Incel. By adding the names, it helped to create richer data.

Ethical considerations within the internet are varied depending on which book or report is read, but the main consensus is to apply the considerations on a case by case basis. I did not participate in the forums as I did not want to deceive the forum users and lurkers, and I did not want to manipulate naturally occurring behaviour.

Throughout the study, I have referred to ethical guidelines to ensure that I was

considering. This was important to me as I did not want ethical questions being posed which would take the discussion away from the overall message of the study.