

**“Foids have no soul, they are not human.” A sociological examination of the  
language used by an online male supremacy group.**

by

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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## THESIS EXAMINATION INFORMATION

Submitted by: **Irina Levit**

### **Master of Arts in Criminology**

Thesis title: “Foids have no soul, they are not human.” A sociological examination of the language used by an online male supremacy group.
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An oral defense of this thesis took place on June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020, in front of the following examining committee:

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The above committee determined that the thesis is acceptable in form and content and that a satisfactory knowledge of the field covered by the thesis was demonstrated by the candidate during an oral examination. A signed copy of the Certificate of Approval is available from the School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies.

## **ABSTRACT**

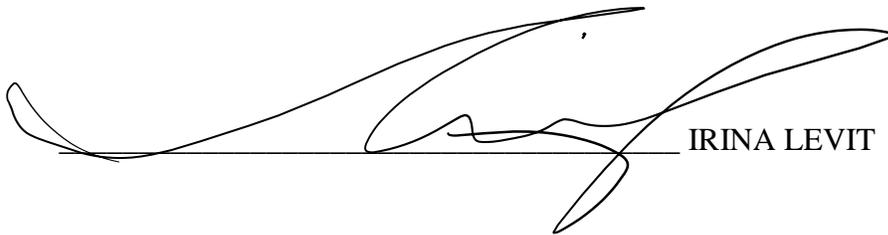
The online incel community has seen a rise in participation and mainstream media attention, largely due to recent mass murders targeting women committed by self-identified members. Scholarship has therefore focused on the community's relationship to violence and its highly misogynistic nature. Jock Young's theory of human behavior underlying criminality, as described in *The Vertigo of Late Modernity*, was used to trace the path from globalization to liquid modernity to othering and, finally, to violence. Young's work is key to understanding how an outgroup, in this case women, evolves from "us *and* them" to "us *versus* them" and finally to "threat", using a dictionary created and maintained by online male supremacy groups. This thesis found that women are presented as sexual commodities, male and female hierarchies of value reflect gender-based criteria, and significant contradictions in worldview may be resolved through the presence of Hopeful and Hopeless pathways.

**Keywords:** Jock Young; incel; misogyny; involuntary celibate; vertigo

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IRINA LEVIT

## **STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS**

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication. I have used standard referencing practices to acknowledge ideas, research techniques, or other materials that belong to others. Furthermore, I hereby certify that I am the sole source of the creative works and/or inventive knowledge described in this thesis.

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“Foids have no soul, they are not human.” A sociological examination of the language used by an online male supremacy group.

On Monday April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018, a horrible act took the lives of ten people: Beutis Renuka Amarasinghe, Andrea Knafelc Bradden, Geraldine Brady, So He Chung, Anne Marie D'Amico, Mary Elizabeth "Betty" Forsyth, Chul Min "Eddie" Kang, Ji Hun Kim, Munir Najjar, and Dorothy Sewell; 16 others were injured, some critically (Chin, Paling, & Shakeri, 2018). The perpetrator, it was later discovered, was a member of an increasingly expanding online movement of men who self-identify as involuntary celibate, or incel, constituting an extreme subgroup of a virtual network of male supremacy groups – the manosphere (Chin et al., 2018; Papadamou et al., 2020). According to a Facebook post the 2018 Toronto Mass Murderer<sup>1</sup> published before his rampage, he was motivated by another self-identified incel responsible for the 2014 Isla Vista murders which left six people dead: George Chen, Katie Cooper, Cheng-Yuan Hong, Christopher Michaels-Martinez, Weihan Wang, and Veronika Weiss (ABC7, 2014; BBC, 2018). The 2014 Isla Vista Mass Murderer has since been idolized and deified, elevated to the status of “The Supreme Gentleman” within the online incel community (BBC, 2018).

A prominent feature of the manosphere in general, and of incel groups specifically, is their misogyny (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017). Literature on misogyny in the public sphere spans decades (see Crouch, 2009 and Tuerkheimer, 1997 for examples).

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<sup>1</sup> Printing the names of mass murderers is linked to several negative social consequences, including the sensationalization and glorification of their actions (Fox & Levin, 2007). In an effort to avoid this and to lessen the focus on the offender, this thesis will not print names of mass murderers unless included in a direct quote. Instead, the perpetrator will be identified by his actions, and the date and location of the mass murder. This naming convention is not unprecedented – see Scaptura and Boyle’s (2019) similar treatment of identifying mass murderers and their actions.

The advent of the World Wide Web has launched misogyny into the virtual (online) space. Several scholars (Jane, 2014a, 2014b, 2015; O’Sullivan & Flanagan, 2003; Vera-Gray, 2017) and journalists (Penny, 2011; Lewis, 2011; Marcotte, 2012) have documented the nature, intensity, and severity of derogatory and violent intrusions – aided by new social networking tools – on women as they enter and establish themselves in online public spaces.

Although some scholars argue that e-bile, flaming, and gendertrolling<sup>2</sup> are novel forms of sexual harassment against women, others contend that they are extensions of the historical misogyny that appears to follow women on their journeys into spaces that are traditionally male-dominated (Jane 2014a; O’sullivan & Flanagan, 2003; Vera-Gray, 2017). Regardless of the chosen label, a key feature of the misogynistic language used is its dehumanizing nature. This is an important consideration as dehumanization via language has substantial negative individual and social consequences. Feelings of dehumanization can induce elevated adrenaline levels and increase risk of heart disease while impairing the immune system’s ability to fight infection and reducing cognitive capacity (Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Corsevski, 1998). Psychological and social individual effects may include PTSD-like symptoms, enduring anger, and a decreased sense of self-worth and self-esteem, thereby disrupting an individual’s sense of belonging within the larger human community (Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Haslam, 2006; Corsevski, 1998). Linguistic violence has also been linked to a wide spectrum of physical violence,

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<sup>2</sup> E-bile is defined by Jane (2014b, p. 533) as “any text or speech act which relies on technology for communication and/or publication, and is perceived by a sender, receiver, or outside observer as involving hostility”; e-bile is further characterized by profanity, ad hominem attacks, and sexualized violent imagery. O’Sullivan and Flanagan (2003) define “flaming” as hostile and aggressive computer-mediated communicative behavior. Finally, Mantilla (2013, p. 563) defines “gendertrolling” as “aggressive online behavior” that is misogynistic.

including inter-group conflict, interpersonal violence, war, and genocide (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013; Chirof & McCauley, 2010; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Kelman, 1976). Aggregated efforts to target women in the online public sphere has led to threats of rape, death, or other physical violence and has silenced the voices of many women (Jane, 2015; Lewis, 2011). Understanding the nature of dehumanization in online space is therefore an important step towards early detection systems and effective intervention programs, particularly in virtual spaces where such misogynistic ideology and hate speech is concentrated. Unfortunately, as will be made evident, literature on dehumanization and online misogyny is disconnected, sparse, and contains numerous methodological and conceptual issues, especially for extremely hateful online groups. A theory that encompasses the complexity of this human phenomenon and accounts for its wide spectrum of potential harms is necessary.

Chapter 1 will provide a summary of the extant literature on individuals within the involuntary celibacy group. Specifically, two streams of literature are identified: one focusing on developmental and predisposing factors during an individual's life course and the other focusing on the relationship between the online incel community and their capacity for violence. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 2, much of the following areas of disparately presented literature can be reconciled within Young's framework of human behaviour as presented in his *Vertigo of Late Modernity* and *The Exclusive Society*: (1) the expansion of misogyny into the virtual space; (2) the unique harms associated with such increased misogyny and hate speech; (3) the relation of real-world violence to seemingly niche online communities; (4) the various forms of dehumanization and their related harms; and (5) the process by which dehumanization develops, is maintained, and

facilitates violence. Chapter 3 will discuss the process of collecting the dataset and dictionary used for analysis, including the challenges encountered and their solutions.

Chapters 4 and 5 will describe both studies developed for this thesis. The study outlined in Chapter 4 examines frequency of dictionary entries' appearance in post titles and discusses the most frequent entries within the context of the extant literature on incels. Chapter 5 focuses on a thematic analysis, supplemented by membership categorization analysis, to develop themes found in the dictionary entries. Chapter 6 will focus on the overall analysis and discussion in light of the literature review. Novel themes are discussed in more detail here along with the resolution of contradictions identified in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 7 will include concluding remarks and outline implications for dehumanization, multiple homicide, and feminist research. Limitations present in the thesis and avenues for future research will also be reviewed in this chapter. All appendices are provided.

## **Chapter 1: Research on the Area of Incels**

Literature on those who identify as involuntary celibate (incels) is recent, having only entered academia in the last twenty years. As a result, this area is nascent and does not have a substantial scholarship. Despite its sparsity, two general streams can be identified: (1) incels within a life course and sexuality perspective, and (2) incels in relation to violence and misogyny. The first stream has a longer history, with studies dating to 2001 wherein authors attempt to understand involuntary celibacy within a broader context of sexuality and intimacy; this stream has a more inclusive definition, encompassing men and women of all sexual orientations who self-report a desire for sexual relations along with an inability to find a willing partner (Donnelly et al., 2001; Haydon et al., 2014). Sparked by media attention to mass murders committed by individuals who self-identify as incels, the second stream of literature emphasizes the links between misogyny, violence against women, and incel ideology (Baele, Brace, & Coan, 2019; Jaki, Smedt, Panchal, Rossa, & DePauw, 2019; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019). Instead of focusing on factors within an individual's life course that may predispose them to become involuntarily celibate, this current trend aims to understand their members' capacity for violence in the physical world (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). A review of both streams follows.

### **Stream One: Understanding Involuntary Celibacy Within the Life Course**

#### **Perspective.**

As involuntary celibacy is a new field of research, few studies have tackled this subject with fewer still focusing on the phenomenon outside of its link to violence, misogyny, or extremist ideology. Only three articles were identified for review, with one

discussing the difficulties of conducting research within the involuntary celibate community.

Donnelly et al.'s (2001) and Haydon et al.'s (2014) studies both conclude that a significant factor in becoming celibate involuntarily is delayed timing with regards to meeting pubertal, developmental, and/or interpersonal milestones. Donnelly and colleagues propose that, within Western society, there occurs a normative sexual trajectory that is marked by several key sexual and interpersonal experiences, such as dating, intimate touch, and sexual activity. While the timing, duration, sequence, and prevalence of these milestones may vary, the majority of people experience this sexual trajectory by the time they reach adulthood (Donnelly et al., 2001). According to the life course perspective, difficulties arise in social and sexual interaction when individuals do not attain these key experiences (Donnelly et al., 2001). Participants in both Donnelly et al.'s (2001) and Haydon et al.'s (2014) studies reported little or no experience with normative adolescent sexual experiences, resulting in a feeling of being “off-time” relative to their peers. Feeling “off-time” appears to follow these participants into adulthood, causing further difficulties with developing and maintaining adult relationships and sexual intimacy.

Only Donnelly and colleagues (2001) distinguish between categories of involuntary celibates, identifying three: (1) virginal celibates – those who have never engaged in vaginal intercourse; (2) single celibates – those have been in sexual relationships in the past but have not had a sexual partner in at least 6 months; and (3) partnered celibates – those who are in committed relationships but whose partner does not want to engage in sexual intercourse. Participants in this study reported a host of negative

consequences in response to desiring sexual activity while simultaneously being unable to attain it; specifically, a loss of confidence, negative self-image, frustration, depression, and even despair were reported. Traditional gender roles were reported as amplifying barriers to healthy sexual activity, with male participants indicating that the social pressure to initiate a relationship was prohibitive at times, while female participants stated discomfort with their body image prevented them from initiating contact (Donnelly et al., 2001). Lacking social and sexual relationships in the physical world, many participants reported seeking emotional support and a sense of community on the internet (Donnelly et al., 2011). Donnelly et al.'s (2001) and Haydon et al.'s (2014) works therefore emphasize the importance of meeting key adolescent milestones within a normative sexual trajectory in order to maintain healthy adult social and sexual relationships.

Burgess, Donnelly, Dillard, and Davis (2001) further emphasize the difficult nature of identifying and interviewing members of the involuntary celibate community in their discussion of the challenges encountered during the Donnelly et al. study (2001). Although the internet provides opportunities for research not readily available in the physical space, such as access to specialized communities of interest and its pseudo-anonymous nature, research specific to sex poses challenges. Burgess and colleagues (2001) identified several such challenges: participants' distrust of researchers, participant recruitment, and the need for face-to-face communication in discussing particularly sensitive subjects. Unlike scholarship in the second stream of incel literature, both Donnelly et al. (2001) and Haydon et al. (2014) surveyed a relatively equal amount of male and female participants identifying as involuntarily celibate.

## **Stream Two: The Interplay Between Incel Ideology, Misogyny, and Violence.**

Unlike the previous stream, which aimed to understand the life course trajectory that may predispose individuals to becoming celibate through direct participant surveys and interviews, this stream of literature emphasizes an observer viewpoint, collecting data from public access forums available online. This stream of scholarship is more prolific, with five articles published since 2017, commensurate with the virtual expansion of the “manosphere”.

Ging (2017) noted that the manosphere is an extension of men’s liberation movements of the 1970s – themselves a reactionary movement to the second wave of feminism. The manosphere is a heterogenous network of male supremacist groups operating predominantly in the virtual space (Ging, 2017; Papadamou et al., 2020). Consisting of incels, Pick-Up Artists (PUAs), Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW), Men’s Rights Activists (MRA), Traditional Conservatives (TradCon), and the wider Gamer geek culture, the manosphere is united by its goals to defeat feminism, keep women out of male-dominated spaces, and reinstate the patriarchy of the golden age, before the second rise of feminism (Ging, 2017, Papadamou et al., 2020). Varied male supremacy forums are unified by a central ideology – “The Red Pill”. Taken from a popular movie called *The Matrix*, the Red Pill refers to becoming free of the blissful ignorance of a post-apocalyptic world; within the manosphere, “taking the Red Pill” means freeing oneself of the oppression of misandry caused by feminism (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). Within incel communities, this ideology – termed the Black Pill – is taken to drastic heights, where nihilistic despair prevails (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019). Proponents of this Black Pill steadfastly believe that success in obtaining a sexual

relationship with a women is solely dependent on one's attractiveness, concluding that men who are not attractive are deprived of sexual contact by more attractive men – “Chads” (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020). While incels constitute a relatively smaller portion of the manosphere, their influence and impact, as the most extreme subgroup, is far-reaching and has real-world consequences (Baele et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020).

Papadamou and colleagues (2020) conducted a study examining the spread of hateful ideology on Youtube, focusing on incel-related videos. The authors concluded that Youtube's recommendation algorithm facilitates the propagation of misogynistic ideology, specifically they found that: (1) incel-related videos are increasing in numbers suggesting incel community members are utilizing Youtube to spread their ideology, (2) there is approximately a 21% chance of coming across an incel-related video within five hops, and (3) there is approximately a 6% chance of coming across an incel-related video by following the top ten recommendations when starting from a non-incel related video. Finally, there is a non-negligible number of videos that are purposely mislabeled as belonging to education, science and technology, and music categories. The proliferation of incel ideology using social media platforms, coupled with increased attention in the mainstream media is concerning journalists and academics alike, sparking a burst of news articles and scholarship investigating the link between incels and mass violence.

First, it should be noted that incels are not a homogenous group and scholars have acknowledged as such, stating that most members will not commit violence (Jaki et al., 2019; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019). Due to their heterogeneity, it is difficult to develop a standardized definition of involuntary celibacy. However, scholarship indicates that there

are several common characteristics; incels are male and predominantly virgins (Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020). In a study using text-based profiling, Jaki and colleagues (2019) found incels rated as likely being adolescent and slightly less educated. Within the study, there was a non-negligible number of discussions on the legitimacy of incel status – some users stated that only those who have never engaged in sexual activity with women may be considered true incels. Ging (2017) suggests that incels display a different form of toxic masculinity because of their apparent disavowal of certain elements of traditional hegemonic masculinity, namely sexual prowess, athletic ability, and exclusion of non-heterosexual orientations. This allows them to distance themselves from negative preconceptions of traditional hegemonic masculinity while simultaneously reaffirming differentials of inequality and power.

A study examining masculinity challenges in the general Western male population found that those individuals that display characteristics common to incels – such as feelings of exclusion, rejection, hate, disgust, and resentment – are more likely to react to a threat towards their gender identity by overcompensating masculinity performances (Scaptura & Boyle). The authors found displaying aggression, homophobia, and toughness while expressing a need for respect and the denigration of women are common responses to such an acceptance threat. Both Jaki et al. (2019) and Papadamou et al. (2020) suggest that incels are obsessed with sex, which is not surprising given that their unifying feature and self-identification rests on the inability to have social or intimate relationships with women. Exerting a sense of masculinity appears to be an important facet of the incel, and larger manosphere, community. The remainder of the review for

this section will describe how incels see themselves and others and provide a summary on the extant literature linking incel ideology to real-world violence.

***Incel Worldview: Perception of the Self – A Narrative of Contradiction.***

To maintain consistency with the literature, the definition of worldview will remain the same as described in Baele et al. (2019, p. 2) – that is, a worldview is “a set of interconnected beliefs and assumptions about the physical and social reality that together form a coherent interpretive lens through which this reality – and the worldview holder’s existence – is understood”. In a text analysis and profiling study examining an incel forum, Jaki et al. (2019) found the majority of messages to be negative, expressing themes of anger, uncertainty, social inhibition as it relates to mental disorders, isolation, low self-esteem, and neglect due to self-pity and hopelessness. Incels have positioned themselves at the bottom of a self-created hierarchy (so-called “beta” males), maintaining they are victims of feminism and female “degeneracy” (see subsequent section on worldview of women; Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017). This genetic deterministic pseudo-theory manifests in a contradictory manner, whereby incels are simultaneously deprived of sexual contact with women due to the incels’ subhuman nature while also presenting themselves as the only group capable of love, pro-social values, and intelligence (Baele et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020). Their response to this discrepancy is equally contradictory; some users maintain that men should strive towards the top of the aforementioned hierarchy, to be more like the “alpha” males that attract the majority of women, while others are content to embrace the hopelessness of their situation, resigning themselves to a meaningless existence (Ging, 2017).

*Incel Worldview: Understanding Others – Misogyny Galore and Inclusivity of...Hatred.*

Misogyny is a prevailing feature of the incel community to the extent that Jaki et al. (2019) suggest it is inherent to incel ideology itself. The authors' study found that 30% of the messages on the forum are misogynistic, using a measure of five offensive words in a text analysis; when the measure was increased to fifty offensive words, verb constructions, and word combinations, the percentage of misogynistic messages increased to 50%. The community is dominated by a rudimentary and pseudoscientific application of evolutionary psychology, using genetic determinism to represent women and their behaviour as "pervasive female 'degeneracy'" (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019, p. 252). According to this superficial interpretation of evolutionary psychology, women are incapable of agency and impulse control, and seek out men that are attractive but treat them poorly (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). Women are portrayed as immoral, irrational, hypersexual, hysterical, shallow, and unintelligent (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2017). Accordingly, as they are only capable of simple emotions and antisocial values, as evident by their "degeneracy", incel ideology dictates that they need to be dominated by men to correct the suffering and isolation they have caused to incels (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). Violence against women is often promoted and includes threats of rape, physical violence, and death (Jaki et al., 2019).

As an extension of misogyny, anti-feminism sentiment is also a common topic according to Jaki et al. (2019) and Papadamou et al., (2020). Specifically, feminism is presented as a threat to traditional masculinity, a form of brainwashing that is responsible for men's loneliness and suicide and the decline of Western society. Responses range

from the removal of women's rights to vote to the stripping of human rights, whereby women would become property of their husbands, who may keep them on a leash, cage them, or enforce capital punishment at will.

Although women constitute the primary target of derogatory speech by incels, scholarship suggests the presence of other outgroups; incels also demonstrate homophobia, heterosexism, racism, and xenophobia, another reflection of a perverted application of evolutionary psychology and genetic determinism (Ging, 2017; Papadamou et al., 2020). Jaki et al. (2019) conclude that approximately 15% of total threads were homophobic. The authors propose that this may be due to the majority of incels being heterosexual, therefore non-heterosexual perspectives may be either unwanted or simply irrelevant to the discussions at hand. Ging (2017) argues that the presence of homophobia despite acceptance of non-heterosexual orientations is a manifestation of incels' hybrid masculinity and their positioning to maintain patriarchal and traditional hegemonic discourse.

Racism and islamophobia are also present in a non-negligible way (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). Jaki et al. (2019) found that approximately 5% of all incel forum threads were racist, with Indian men and women being the prevalent target. The authors caution that, despite previous literature, their conclusions do not support that the majority of users are white. According to Jaki and colleagues (2019), race is invoked in determining which race has more incels and more desirable women; consensus was found among those who ascribe to the "just be white" theory, agreeing that unattractive white men are slightly better off than unattractive minority men. Finally, attractive men – referred to as "alphas" – deserve a mention; these men are portrayed in a contradictory

manner, both positively characterized by some while also dehumanized and negatively labeled by others (Baele et al., 2019). Armed with a general understanding of incels' worldviews, their capacity for violence can be explored.

### ***Understanding Incel Capacity for Violence.***

Mass murders committed by the 2018 Toronto Mass Murderer and the 2014 Isla Vista Mass Murderer have sparked significant media attention to the incel community and their members' capacity for violence – academic scholarship has also followed (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019). Incel ideology has been linked to a spectrum of violence, including rape and death threats, violent offenses, and mass murders (Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020). In a study examining incel ideology and its relationship to violence, Baele et al. (2019) identified the creation of ingroups and outgroups as key to facilitating violence. The authors specified that sharply delineated, rigid, and impermeable categories assigned to both the ingroup and the outgroups form the infrastructure upon which dehumanization and violence flourish. When positive traits are attributed to the ingroup and negative traits are attributed to the outgroup, distinct categories of inclusion and exclusion are created, encouraged by subcultural language that is both specific to the ingroup and that reifies the naturalness and exclusivity of such categories (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019).

Within the incel community, this is accomplished through two main pathways: use of ingroup-specific language as it relates to the Red Pill and Black Pill ideologies and the insistence that incels and “degenerate” women are natural categories (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019). The nihilistic nature of Black Pill terminology emphasizes the futility of attempting to escape the natural hierarchy that places incels at the bottom of

social and moral responsibility; at the same time, the misuse of biological determinism solidifies the perception that categories differentiating between incels, women, and other targeted groups are a consequence of natural processes (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019). These processes that imbue incels with positive essential traits and women with negative essential traits allow the creation and maintenance of the worldviews discussed before.

Baele and colleagues (2019) propose that the transition from virtual worldview to physical violence can be understood through the use of narrative, one which places the distinct and rigid ingroup and outgroup categories within the context of a story that emphasizes the oppression of the ingroup at the hands of the blame-worthy outgroup until the outgroup is overthrown. The authors argue this narrative is as important to facilitating violence as the creation of sharply differentiated categories. In understanding incels, the problem is traced to a collectively accepted origin – pervasive female “degeneracy” or “femoid hypergamy” (Baele et al., 2019, p. 253). The narrative begins at a time of contentment when patriarchal structures maintained and enforced the boundaries of natural categories for men and women, emphasizing traditional gender roles. In this Golden Age, men had access to sex with their women as they wished, ensuring a fair distribution of intimate, heterosexual relationships. Women’s natural tendencies to seek the most attractive male without restraint was kept in check by men’s domination of them. Per the authors, the rise of the second wave of feminism marks the turning point for this narrative, where the norms, laws, and boundaries become increasingly more permeable. Blame-attribution places feminists at the center of this change, condemning their actions and the consequent perceived rise in inceldom, hypergamy, and the

elimination of traditional gender roles and marriage. Finally, the narrative declares the present-day as a post-apocalyptic decline rife with women who have sexual relationships with everyone but incels. Baele et al. (2019) argue that, at this point, where the situation is presented as extreme and irreversible, that violence becomes the only solution.

Scaptura and Boyle (2019) take a similar cumulative strain approach to understanding how members of the incel community may be urged to violence; however, their framework is located within mass murder scholarship, specifically the works of Fox and Levin (2007) and Levin and Madfis (2009). The authors argue that when predisposing factors (chronic strain marked by lifelong failure and frustration), precipitating factors (acute strain marked by short-term events that seem catastrophic), and facilitating factors converge, risk of violence increases significantly. Scaptura and Boyle (2019) identified acceptance threat (masculinity challenge to gender identity described above) as a facilitating factor that encourages violent fantasies and violence against the self and others. They further concluded that every unit increase in acceptance threat was followed by a 48% increase in fantasies about rape and a 43% increase in fantasies involving eliminating enemies with weapons. The authors caution that their findings should not be generalized to all incels, but instead contribute to an overall understanding of mass violence as a gender-specific harm.

Jaki et al. (2019) have also linked incel ideology to aggression, violence against women, and extremist ideology. They found references to revolutions two months prior to the acts committed by the 2018 Toronto Mass Murderer. Baele and colleagues (2019) support these conclusions, finding that revolts and uprisings are a common subject within the incel forum. The authors expand upon this by identifying three different motives for

such uprisings: (1) members hope that such an uprising would lead to global recognition of the plight of incels at the hands of feminism, (2) cathartic violence as a liberating act of vengeance against those who wronged them, and (3) violence as an act of self-defence against the oppressive nature of feminism. The eminent question on the minds of many scholars (see for example Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019) is whether such incitement to violence reflects the genuine desires of incel community members or is this a form of posturing encouraged and amplified by the echo chamber of the internet?

Are individuals' real selves reflected more genuinely by their virtual or physical selves? Research conducted by Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) and Vaast (2007) indicates that virtual selves relatively accurately represent individuals' real selves. Utilizing semi-structured interviewed within a Grounded Theory approach, Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) interviewed 10 individuals who were active bloggers or Second Life<sup>3</sup> participants and found that participants prefer to reconstruct their physical selves in the online world. Vaast (2007) used mixed methodology to analyze over 300 profiles in a banking-related discussion forum and found that aspects of the virtual identity presented there demonstrated continuity with the individuals' offline personas and with their online identities in other virtual communities. However, these studies did not examine extreme ideologies so their applicability may be limited. Ging (2017) states that there may be little direct correlation to the performances of masculinity evident online and individuals' true capacity for violence. Jaki et al. (2019) supports this contention, adding that it is unclear whether the rhetoric present on such sites represents warning signs of future physical violence or fantasies that will not be acted upon. On the other hand, Jaki et al. (2019) also

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<sup>3</sup> Second Life is an online community where individuals can connect and interact with others using virtual representations of themselves.

argue that the genuineness of the self as presented online is not as important as the effect it has on others, specifically in its ability to function as a catalyst for the further radicalization of others. Radicalization is further promoted by the relative lack of content moderation on such sites (Jaki et al., 2019). Jane (2014a, 2014b, 2015) and Lewis (2011) may argue that the veracity of presentation of self online is not the predominant issue; considering incel ideology has tangible and real-world consequences, including incitement to violence and silencing the voices of women who dare enter male-dominated spaces, the spectrum of harmful acts must be identified, investigated, and resolved.

Extant literature on involuntary celibacy is sparse and what is present is disjointed. Prior to the mass media explosion of attention on the existence of incels, research focused on a life course analysis. Recent trends focus on the members' capacity for violence, treating them as a homogenous group (despite literature demonstrating otherwise), ironically othering the otherer. Patterns within literature are difficult to grasp due to the variety and lack of consensus in operationalizing key terms and the methodologies used. While Burgess et al. (2001), Donnelly et al. (2001), and Haydon et al. (2014) utilize a life course perspective without the inherent assumption that involuntary celibates have an increased affinity for violence, the remainder of the literature is unified predominantly by its association of incels to such violence, utilizing different methods, populations of study, and terminology. Ging's (2017) work focuses on different forms of masculinities within the general manosphere. While Baele et al. (2019), Jaki et al. (2019), Scaptura and Boyle (2019), and Papadamou et al. (2020) examine incel-related content, their approaches and applications vary widely as well. Baele et al. (2019) focus on incel narrative creation as it relates to the construction of an extremist

ideology and worldview; Jaki et al. (2019) utilizes text analysis to examine hate speech and its relation to violence, including incitement to violence and presence of threats; Saptura & Boyle (2019) identify incel-related traits and apply them to the demographic associated with mass murderers in the US to investigate links between incel traits and the presence of sexual and violent fantasies; finally, Papadamou et al. (2020) attempts to understand the spread of hateful ideology using incel-related content on a popular social media site – Youtube. Methodology, theoretical frameworks, and terminology become increasingly varied when search words are expanded to include variations of misogyny and hate speech, including e-bile, flaming, and gendertrolling (Jane, 2014a, 2014b, 2015; O’Sullivan & Flanagan, 2003; Vera-Gray, 2017).

A glaring limitation of the current literature is its outsider perspective. At the time of writing, no scholarship examined the perspective of the involuntary celibate using the language created and maintained by members of their communities. Considering members develop and maintain a public access dictionary, this is a peculiar omission in the context of the importance of learning relevant language in becoming an accepted member of a subculture (Becker, 1963[2018]). Since scholarship points to the necessity of dehumanization within the incel community, it would be prudent to investigate this area for common mechanisms, ideally using a theory that incorporates the macro-level factors identified, such as mass media attention and media consumerism along with proliferation of ideology using social media, through the language developed by its members. Furthermore, in focusing on misogyny in the online space, this thesis addresses a growing concern among feminist researchers and resists the normalization of gender-based harassment and violence against women in the virtual space.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical Considerations

Jock Young introduces his 2007 work *The Vertigo of Late Modernity* through a discussion on boundaries and borders – their erection, fall, permeability, and porosity. Throughout the book, he argues that borders – whether they be cultural, moral, social, legal or otherwise – change over time and space, doing so much faster in the era of late modernity. Interestingly, his work does not simply focus on the macro level consequences of globalization but emphasizes the changing nature of relationships: to the self, to others, to institutions (family, government, media), and to the global community. Young’s central thesis within his 2007 work is that an understanding of human behaviour *must* underlie any theory of criminality. Although Young (2007) specifies the deficits inherent in rational choice theory in understanding human *criminal* behaviour<sup>4</sup>, and therefore the violation of codified rules in law, such deficits may also be extended to the violations of informal boundaries of social acceptance. Becker (1963[2018]) supports this assertion in his work *Outsiders*, arguing that the processes that underlie the creation and enforcement of both formal and informal rules are similar.

Unfortunately, despite Young’s eloquent and comprehensive process-oriented narrative of the progression of othering and dehumanization – or perhaps, *because* of its poetic nature (Maruna, 2008) – his work is not frequently cited in other scholarship. Applications and discussions of Young’s work as it relates to othering and dehumanization are centred around issues of immigration (see for example Brotherton & Barrios, 2009; Phillips, 2019; Stageman, 2017; van der Pijl, Breuil, Swetzer, Drymioti, &

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<sup>4</sup> Young (2007) specifies that crime is not exclusively instrumental by nature. Individuals do not engage in violations of formal rules only to fulfil a physical need or in taking advantage of opportunity. Individuals may engage in criminal behavior for the purposes of pleasure and release – “rules are transgressed *because they are there* [emphasis added]” (p. 19).

Goderie, 2018), war (Bevier, 2017), gangs (Gormally, 2019; Ortiz, 2015), and deviance or criminality in general (Brotherton & Naegler, 2014; Jeknic & Cop, 2018; Young & Brotherton, 2014). It should be noted that the majority of authors utilize Young's work in a supplemental fashion, focusing on specific concepts or areas and disregarding the rest; for example focusing on social bulimia (Brotherton & Barrios, 2009; Stageman, 2017), the transition to liquid modernity (Jeknic & Cop, 2019; van der Pijl et al., 2018), chaos of reward (Phillips, 2019), or othering (Gormally, 2019). Very few examine such concepts in detail and only two scholars, in unpublished doctoral dissertations (Bevier, 2017; Ortiz, 2015), truly trace the path from liquid modernity to its potentially violent conclusion. Furthermore, despite multiple parallels between ingroup/outgroup formation, essentializing, othering, and demonization – to name a few – Young's work is not cited within the previously discussed dehumanization or incel literature.

In an ominous turn of events, this is partly foreshadowed in his discussion on the “attractions of hiatus” (Young, 2007, p.7). Although Young's work (2007) focuses on the process of othering as it applies to interpersonal and inter-group dehumanization to relieve the symptoms of vertigo – which can be understood as a sense of disequilibrium, fear of falling, and impending doom<sup>5</sup> – there is another dynamic at play. Young (2007) argues that criminologists and sociologists follow a similar path described as scientific othering, whereby the urge to maintain objectivity leads researchers to dismiss social relationships between their subjects and the world residing outside of the research question (Young, 2007). Scientific othering is quite evident in the extant incel literature. As mentioned above, scholarship encompassing the second stream of incel literature

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<sup>5</sup> This may be akin to the feelings of instability and vulnerability felt if one were to stand alone on a small isolated cliff overlooking a large drop in the midst of a windstorm.

focuses entirely on the members' relationship to violence – their capacity for it, incitement towards it, and propagation of ideology that promotes it – while disregarding relationships and links outside of it. It is therefore precisely Young's emphasis on understanding human behaviour that his work was chosen for this thesis. This thesis aims to address a significant gap in the literature: tracing the life course of dehumanization from inception to conclusion. The remainder of this section will provide a review of Young's theory as outlined within *The Vertigo of Late Modernity* (2007) and supplemented by: (1) Young's work in *The Exclusive Society* (1999); (2) extant literature examining involuntary celibacy; and (3) extant literature examining the field of dehumanization.

### **Transition to Liquid Modernity.**

Young (2007) begins by describing key changes in institutions of everyday life – such as community, social order, family, work, and identity – that occur as a result of globalizing forces within technological, economic, political, and sociocultural spheres. Young identifies global movement on a scale never seen before, and the role of mass media and consumerism as some of these factors. As a result, the organic community of the Golden Era within the 1950s and 1960s, where social relationships are direct and bound by space and time, transforms into a virtual one, no longer constrained by the boundaries of space and access to information. Identity building blocks, according to Young (2007), become precarious as traditional reference points – such as family, community, and work – lose importance within the global scale. With the blurring of boundaries within and between local and transnational institutions, the impact of face-to-face interaction and local culture is lessened, as are the constraints of informal social

control (Young, 2007). Individuals are left feeling as floating entities, without anchor to historically important features of society, and uncertain of their place in the world and of their self. Young (2007, p. 1) calls this time in society “liquid modernity” – “a fluidity of norm, institution, and social category” and argues its impact is threefold.

First, liquid modernity leads to social and individual disembeddedness. As the once clearly demarcated boundaries of social and cultural norms become more porous, individuals lose the clear frames of reference upon which to build their sense of self – becoming disembedded from the institutions and cultures that were bound by time and geography (Young, 2007). As the author asserts, this first axis of impact is coupled by a growing awareness of differing values, cultures, and more importantly, different ways of doing things. Individual choices are no longer bound by the local cultural and institutional reference points of the past – people can make different choices than their predecessors. Faced with newfound choice and freedom, individuals have the ability to construct their own narratives and achieve a sense of self-realization that wasn’t possible in the era of the organic community (Young, 2007). Young (2007) argues that this point in time marks the beginning of a crossroads, whereby individuals can choose the path of liberative potential, marked by human reinvention and flexibility, or embark upon the precariousness of ontological insecurity. It is unfortunate that members of the incel community chose the latter.

### **Choosing Repressive Potential: How Ontological Insecurity Leads to Resentment.**

Young (2007) argues that all individuals seek a sense of fairness and basic equality, both economically and socially; these building blocks of security largely determine whether an individual follows the path of reinvention and flexibility or feels pulled

towards the repressive outcomes of relative deprivation and ontological insecurity. Two elements of justice are key: distribution and recognition. The former harks to notions of meritocracy, whereby individuals are rewarded on the basis of merit in accordance with the American Dream, such that “honest labour pays off” and reward is commensurate with effort (Young, 2007). When meritocracy is perceived to be undermined, a sense of relative deprivation develops that leads to instability rooted in a chaos of reward.

Incomplete meritocracy is generated by three factors: (1) meting out reward without corresponding effort, (2) reduction in the comparability of rewards, and (3) the loss of personal narrative. Resentment related to the failure of meritocracy – marked by stereotyping, scapegoating, and disproportionality – foments humiliation of poverty and relative deprivation. According to Young (2007), the targeted group is portrayed in a reductionist manner that bears little affinity to the truth, upon which the stereotyped features are causally, and disproportionately to their impact, linked to a perceived or real social problem.

The second form of justice is found in a sense of respect awarded by others, in the fair distribution of self-esteem and social status. According to Young (2007), this form of foundation is more susceptible to disruption and instability than distributive justice because of the subjectivity inherent in seeking approval from significant others. When justice of recognition is subverted, humiliation of identity and misrecognition results, leading to a sense of randomness rooted in a chaos of identity, or ontological insecurity. Regardless of which form of justice is subverted, the outcome fosters feelings of anger, bitterness, and powerlessness – “ressentiment” – whose purpose is to mobilize action against an identified target (Young, 2007, p.10).

### **Invoking the Final Solution: Tracing Ressentiment to Violence.**

Both relative deprivation and ontological insecurity, and their respective forms of humiliation, lead to the same process of essentialism, albeit via slightly different ways (Young, 2007). Humiliation of poverty within relative deprivation emphasizes the creation of rigid boundaries between ingroups and outgroups, seeking out consumerism to counteract the feelings of unfairness and injustice among abundance. Unfortunately, such consumerism often amplifies relative deprivation, instead of relieving it, consistent with prior literature examining echo chambers (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019). Humiliation of misrecognition, and its associated ontological insecurity, is marked by an ascription of a natural and permanent essence to both the ingroup and the outgroup (Young, 2007). Both responses occur as a consequence of the continuously changing nature of physical, social, cultural, and moral borders in a globalized society; the outcome of essentializing, it seems, is to recapture stability through the creation of impermeable and clearly defined groups.

Young (2007, p.12) proposes that precariousness of both relative deprivation and ontological insecurity is felt as a “sense of vertigo”, marked by unsteadiness and disequilibrium, whose symptoms include: (1) an obsession with rules, whether formal or perceived, (2) definitively marked borders between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, (3) immutability of boundaries within political, social, moral, and cultural spheres, (4) intolerance for real or perceived deviance, and (5) inordinate response to the real or perceived violation of acceptable behaviour that easily turns vindictive. Young (2007) traces these signs of vertigo to the processes of essentializing and othering, describing how they culminate in the potential for violence.

Young rarely uses the term dehumanization in his work (1999, 2007) preferring to focus on aspects of essentializing, othering, and demonization. This may, at least partly, explain why Young's work is, to my knowledge, absent from within the larger field of dehumanization literature. There are, however, many similarities between his work and the works of scholars within the dehumanization literature, as will be made evident. The aforementioned modes of essentialism, as described in Young's work (1999, 2007), are built around perceptions of natural and historically formed divisions along ethnicity, race, gender, class, or nationality. This is consistent with the notions of psychological and cultural essentialism in extant literature on dehumanization, specifically the works of Haslam (2006), Hiebert (2008), Leyens and colleagues (2000, 2003), and D. Smith (2014). Essentialism is a key element in the formation of ingroups and outgroups and as a necessary step in dehumanization (Haslam, 2006; Hiebert, 2008; D. Smith, 2014). According to these scholars, an essence may be any trait, characteristic, or attribute that divides the ingroup from the outgroup and is not limited to the lines of division described by Young, encompassing bases of biology, language, intelligence, culture, or social interactions (Leyens et al., 2000; D. Smith, 2014). Furthermore, positive essences are more likely to be attributed to the ingroup while negative essences to the outgroup (Leyens et al., 2000). Regardless of the line of division upon which an essence is based, the nature of essences is intergenerationally transmissible, simple, and sharply delineates differences between categories, allowing inferences to be made about members belonging to such categories (D. Smith, 2014). Individuals experiencing relative deprivation and ontological insecurity rely on these natural, rigid, and impermeable divisions to essentialize themselves and others, creating a binary of acceptable and unacceptable

categories; both processes offer advantages in the path to regaining stability of identity and wealth.

In *The Exclusive Society*, Young (1997) outlines six reasons for the allure of self-essentializing: (1) provides ontological security and group solidarity by mandating acceptable behaviour, (2) absolving oneself of responsibility by removing choice in action, (3) providing justification and rationalization for otherwise unacceptable behaviour, (4) asserting superiority over others, (5) invoking a common unifying interest, and (6) in defense of self and the ingroup's natural category. These strategies echo the techniques of neutralization proposed by Sykes and Matza (1957), Alvarez (1997), and Minor (1981), specifically: denial of responsibility, denial of the victim, denial of humanity, appeal to higher loyalties, condemnation of the condemners, and defense of necessity. Literature examining the benefits of ingroup formation also presents supports to Young's (1997) attractions of self-essentializing, specifically Waytz and Epley's (2012) findings that feeling connected to your ingroup increases an individual's sense of meaning and self-esteem and promotes physical health. In a review conducted by Leyens and colleagues (2000), additional support is found for Young's (1997) third and fourth attractions of self-essentializing.

Young (1997) establishes that essentializing the self and the other constitute each other, such that one is necessary for the other to occur. He describes four attractions to essentializing the other: (1) providing ontological security by equating the other's behaviours as natural consequences of their flawed selves; (2) legitimizing a natural hierarchy, creating and maintaining superior and inferior categories; (3) allowing the essentializers to externalize blame for perceived or real social problems; and (4)

providing the capacity to project onto the deplorable other the most uncomfortable parts of self. Essentializing, along with distancing, diminishing, and the reification of normality constitute the components necessary for othering. These latter factors are consistent with literature examining the importance of psychological distancing underlying the facilitation of dehumanization. Opatow (1990), for example, links distancing with the moral exclusion necessary for objectification of others; Trope and Liberman (2003) add that increased psychological distance results in an abstract conceptualization of people that is likely to construct others in a simplistic manner.

Young (2007) describes the process of othering as necessary in cultivating and retaining order in a world where permeable boundaries are constantly shifting, and instability of economy and identity is rife. The author establishes two primary modes of othering: conservative othering and liberal othering, labelled as such due to their origins in right-leaning and left-leaning political writing, respectively. Conservative othering is defined by the ascription of positive traits to the self and the ingroup while simultaneously imposing negative traits on the outgroup. Such a rudimentary division between self and other finds support in previously discussed literature, where incel members claim positive traits, such as capability for love and intelligence, while simultaneously ascribing negative attributes, such as hypergamy, to the outgroup – women (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019). Liberal othering, by contrast, is defined as the outgroup possessing a deficit of the humanistic values and attributes enjoyed by the self and the ingroup (Young, 2007). This conceptualization of othering is consistent with the literature examining infracommunication, where the outgroup is stripped of the capability to have secondary emotions (see for example Leyens et al., 2000), and

animalistic dehumanization, where the outgroup is conceptualized to be lacking in characteristics that separate humans from animals – for example, maturity and self-control (Haslam, 2006).

Young (1997) lays out the necessary steps to othering in a narrative format, identifying the following key milestones: temptation, petrification, disturbance, and nemesis. Temptation refers to the deviant freely choosing to commit their deviance, potentially because of their flawed essence. Petrification follows, where the deviant is taken over by the defining features of their essential trait. The deviant is then conceptualized as the origin of a social problem. Finally, they are identified as the nemesis of society and the root cause of the pervasiveness and spread of the social problem, inevitably causing themselves and others suffering and misfortune. Young (2007, p. 35) emphasizes that it is only when individuals are successful in the creation of a “good enemy”, do the moral, social, and cultural boundaries preventing violence become permeable. When the nemesis, or the good enemy, is perceived to be a threat, transgression into violence becomes possible. Hiebert (2008) and Lifton (2000) both assert that conceptualizing the victim group as a threat is identified as a necessary step to the perpetration of violence, supporting Young’s (1997) thesis.

In tracing Young’s (1999, 2007) writing, it becomes evident that his comprehensive understanding of human behaviour in light of global factors and group processes addresses many of the gaps identified in the literature. Young’s theory therefore provides a unique framework within which to understand the progression of the worldview of incels.co forum members.

## **Importance of Language**

Language is key in expressing beliefs, internal states of mind, emotions, ideas, and cognitive processes (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). It is also an effective medium to convey characteristics related to dehumanization, aggression, and violence. For example, several scholars (Chung & Pennebaker, 2007; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013) have demonstrated that pronouns function as words that focus a recipient's attention to an individual ("I", "you", "him", "her") or a group ("us", "we", "they", "them"). Furthermore, the use of pronouns may also reflect social processes such that the use of first-person plural pronouns increases ingroup cohesion through the promotion of feelings of commonality and belongingness (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Waytz and Epley (2012) found that strong group cohesion, in turn, results in a reduced motivation to connect with persons outside of the ingroup, thereby heightening the likelihood of minimizing and dehumanizing members of the outgroup. Furthermore, the use of language that evokes physical, social, or temporal distance causes measurable changes in distancing effects across all domains (Nook, Shleider, & Somerville, 2017).

Finally, in a series of studies conducted by Matsumoto and colleagues (see Matsumoto, Frank, & Hwang, 2015; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Matsumoto, Hwang, & Frank, 2014) examining the relationship between language used by political leaders, emotion, and aggression, the authors came to several notable conclusions: (1) emotionally-laden words and narratives can be used to promote others' appraisals of situations and groups in a manner that favours violence against them; (2) expression of anger, contempt, and disgust was linked to acts of aggression; (3) speeches containing

aggressive traits had different linguistic markers than those containing non-aggressive traits, and (4) language used by political leaders may incite their followers to aggress against identified groups. Language and its constituent words, identified within a dictionary, are therefore essential elements to understanding how the worldview of incels is constructed and how its construction and maintenance lends favourable circumstances to dehumanization and associated violence.

The work presented in this thesis aims to address several gaps identified in the literature covered in Chapters 1 and 2. First, much of the dehumanization literature does not clearly identify its progression. Dehumanization is identified as a necessary element in a wide range of behaviour, from ingroup and outgroup formation (Waytz & Epley, 2013), intergroup aggression (Matusomoto and colleagues, 2013, 2014, 2015), collective violence (Rummel, 1995), and genocide (Hiebert, 2008; Staub, 1989). What is not frequently asked or answered is whether the nature or mechanisms of dehumanization is the same for all the aforementioned behaviours. Hiebert (2008) is one of the few scholars who attempts to examine dehumanization in a process-oriented approach. However, her identity construction of the victim group also suffers from ambiguous transitions between constructions. Identifying the mechanisms and factors that facilitate transition from “us and them” to “us *versus* them” is necessary to progress the discipline and provide insight into points of intervention.

Harassment and violence against women as they venture beyond their authorized spaces of existence has long been documented (see Crouch, 2009; Tuerkheimer, 1997). Globalizing forces have extended this harassment into the virtual space (see Jane, 2014a, 2014b, 2015; Vera-Gray, 2017). Coupled with a recent explosion of media attention

towards online male supremacy groups, the virtual manosphere has experienced an exponential rise in membership and participation (Papadamou et al., 2020). The last couple of years have seen a relatively substantial increase in literature examining involuntary celibate – incel – ideology, especially in its relation to the promotion and incitement of violence and mass murder (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019). However, literature in this area is still sparse, treats incels as a homogenous group, and focuses almost entirely on their propensity for violence towards others.

Furthermore, much of the research relies on researcher-identified themes to organize and interpret data, leading to a potential confirmation bias. As Scaptura and Boyle state (2019, p. 15), “[f]ocusing exclusively on the language of members themselves may provide a more accurate representation of how they see themselves”. Finally, a comprehensive framework is necessary in order to bridge disparate literature. Therefore, Young’s work presents a unique opportunity to understand dehumanization in a process-oriented manner that respects the heterogeneity and complexity of the incel community’s linguistic behavior.

### **Chapter 3: Data Collection**

In order to properly address the research questions, three studies were carried out utilizing a user-created dictionary and a dataset collected from the incels.co male supremacy site. The following section will: (1) describe the research questions and expectations of the current work, (2) provide a rationale for the use of the dictionary and dataset, (3) describe methods of data collection, and (4) describe steps in processing the dictionary and dataset. Descriptions of the studies themselves and their results will follow in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

#### **Stance and Expectations**

Per the extant literature, precedence allows for the analysis of language used in online spaces utilizing theoretical frameworks based in physical realities. Identifying and describing the nascent mechanisms of dehumanization via language is a necessary step in understanding how “us” *and* “them” progresses to “us” *versus* “them”, culminating in the necessitation of the destruction of “them”. In order to examine how language facilitates ingroup and outgroup formation, there must exist a defined set of words – a dictionary – and a database against which this dictionary can be analyzed.

My research questions are as follows:

1. Does the dictionary, created and maintained for use by members in the manosphere, reflect day-to-day communication practices on the incels.co site, specifically the inceldom discussion forum?
2. Which words, dictionary and non-dictionary, reflect the language deployed by incels.co users?

3. Utilizing word usage patterns gleaned from the first two research questions, contextualized within the theoretical frameworks, what can be understood about the formation of ingroups and outgroups and the gradual evolution of outgroup to threat within this male supremacy forum?

Due to the nature of the dictionary, described below, I expect that some dictionary entries will not appear in the dataset, especially those relating to manosphere groups outside the incels.co site. I also expect that dictionary word usage will reflect a more derogatory perspective towards women than towards non-incel men, or incels themselves.

Additionally, based on the limited incel literature, I expect that there will be substantial references to physical appearance, sex, and a nihilistic perspective on social order.

Finally, I expect that analyzing the incel dictionary within the context of Jock Young's theory of human behaviour will provide valuable insight in outlining how dehumanization is initiated, developed, maintained, and justified. Furthermore, I expect clarification with regards to two additional aspects: (1) factors leading up to dehumanization, and (2) the progression from dehumanization to violence against outgroups.

My position is that this thesis represents a unique contribution to the fields of research within dehumanization, feminism, and sociological and criminological theorizing in a number of ways. First, by examining ingroup and outgroup formation and their evolution into othering, I will be addressing a fundamental critique of dehumanization literature – the treatment of dehumanization as an all-or-nothing event. Second, examining the misogynistic nature of the incels.co community advances feminist research by illustrating how women are constructed as an inferior gender. Finally, this

thesis advances sociological and criminological theory by applying frameworks largely developed prior to the creation and mainstream usage of the internet to social order as it's maintained and challenged online; this is a crucial element as a large portion of day-to-day communication has moved online (Allison, 2018).

### **Selection of Data**

At the time that incel forum sites were initially explored, two were identified as potential sources of data collection: incels.me (the previous domain host of incels.co), and r/incels (a community on the Reddit social media platform). Incels.me was chosen for data collection for several reasons. First, the incels subreddit was banned in 2017 for hateful speech (Connery, 2019), rendering the ability to capture previous posts without involving the Reddit administrative team extremely difficult. Many users of r/incels became more active in the r/braincels subreddit, a community that identified itself as a more intellectual version of r/incels. However, analyzing r/braincels could confound results and conclusions because there may have been a change in internet and communication behaviour due to the presence of two converging communities and the potential for behaviour change resulting from a subreddit ban. Further complicating matters, r/braincels was first quarantined by Reddit executive staff in 2019, the year of data collection, and then also banned for violating Reddit's content policy (Connery, 2019). As a standalone site, incels.me became the best choice for data collection as it had safeguards in place to maintain the integrity of the site.

Incels.me does not need to conform to the rules and regulations of a larger entity, as is the case with Reddit communities, other than the laws of the country in which the domain exists (Levit, B., 2020, personal communication, December 9, 2019). As a result,

its users theoretically enjoy a broader freedom of expression and may more accurately reflect their authentic online identities (Bullingham & Vasconeslos, 2013; Vaast, 2007). It should be noted that the site's domain provider changed from incels.me to incels.is and, finally, to incels.co at the time of writing. The site's integrity remained and posts prior to domain changes were still available to view and comment on. Additionally, all posts related to discussion of incels and incel status are conveniently aggregated under one forum within the site named "Inceldom Discussion", reducing potential selection bias that may occur if posts were only selected based on identified categories. Finally, incels.me, hereafter referred to as "incels.co" as it exists at the time of writing, provides a larger breadth of posts for analysis due to the site's rules. Per the site's rules (SergeantIncel, 2017), created on November 9<sup>th</sup> of 2017, authors of new published pieces have one hour to edit or delete a post, while threads (responses or comments to posts) cannot be deleted without special permission from the moderators. Users cannot delete their own posts or threads by deleting their accounts as deleting an account is not possible; users must instead ask moderators for a voluntary ban for posts or threads to no longer be associated with a username (SergeantIncel, 2017). The site's rules and structure create excellent conditions for data collection as there is reduced chance of data loss associated with the passage of time. Incels.co was therefore used as the source for the collection of all posts and their subsequent threads, hereafter referred to as the dataset, from the year 2018. This year was chosen as it was the most recent and complete year prior to the start of writing.

In the header of incels.co, there exists a tab called "Wiki" that redirects to an Incel Wikipedia page, a collection of information maintained by users (Main Page, 2018). On this "Incel Wiki Main Page", there is a link to an incel glossary, also maintained by

registered users. The “Incel Forums Term Glossary” (2018), hereafter referred to as the dictionary, was chosen as the unit of analysis for two reasons. First and foremost, it is the dictionary directly linked to the site of study therefore the terms identified and defined in the dictionary are more likely to accurately reflect the language of the community in question. Second, the dictionary encompasses a broader scope of incel communities than just the incels.co site; per the wiki authors (Main Page, 2018), the wiki page maintains a central database of knowledge for incel and incel-related communities across different forums and countries. This dictionary therefore encompasses a larger male supremacy population than is captured by a single forum. Tautological and insular thinking associated with analysing data using only language developed by the author(s) of that data can be mitigated by utilizing a dictionary that reflects shared terms from a variety of different sources.

Dictionaries, both book-based and online, serve as sources of reference for identifying the meaning of unknown words (Dilenschneider, 2017). As per the extant literature identified in Chapter 2 of this thesis, language is an essential part of integrating into a subculture, or ingroup. The dictionary then becomes a repository of terms that are to be learned in order to be accepted as an ingroup member.

## **Data Collection and Processing**

Difficulties encountered while collecting, storing, organizing, and processing the dataset and the dictionary shaped the methodology and results of this thesis.

### ***Collecting the Dataset: A Lesson in How to Effectively Transfer, Store, and Organize Over 55,000 Posts***

Transferring all posts published in 2018 from their online location in the “Inceldom Discussion” forum of incels.co to a physical location on a computer was a necessity as having the posts in a physical location is the most efficient and accessible way to conduct analysis, primarily because the site has no search function and no ability to filter posts by the date published. Additionally, there is no concrete way to bookmark the page of the post last reviewed as the page number changes when new posts are published. Furthermore, if the site goes down permanently, the thesis cannot be completed. Therefore, an organizational system that allows transfer of web pages to a permanent storage location needed to be found.

The Evernote app was chosen because of its capabilities for storage, organization, and note-taking (Why Evernote?, n.d.). Evernote developed a chrome extension clipper that can save a webpage, similar to a screen capture but the clipper is not limited to what is visible on the screen (Web Clipper, n.d.); this is ideal for capturing the entirety of a post, including all responses appearing in text and graphic representation. Prior to beginning of post collection, a new notebook was created in the Evernote app titled “incels.co”; twelve notebooks were opened within the incels.co notebook, one for each month (“01 – January 2018”, “02 – February 2018”, etc.). Posts were only collected from the Inceldom Discussion forum within the then-titled incels.co website; only posts

published in 2018 were collected. Data collection occurred over several months. At the beginning of each data collection session, trial and error was used to identify the first post published in 2018 or the last post clipped. Clipping each post of 2018 was time-consuming. Web crawlers<sup>6</sup> were trialed in an effort to speed up the process but none of the web crawlers identified or used were able to follow post links to capture the whole post and its responses. Furthermore, the web crawlers could not capture even the post titles in their entirety, capturing post titles only as they appeared on the screen; if a post title was particularly long and only visible completely when the link to the full post was followed, the rest of the title was not captured. Manual saving of posts was therefore deemed necessary.

During collection, several steps were followed. Once the post captured last was identified, the next post's link was opened in a new tab. Using the Evernote web clipper, the post was captured in its entirety, minus any ads appearing on the screen. Prior to saving each post in Evernote, "Article" was selected under "clip format" and the appropriate notebook was selected under "organization"; for example, if the post was published February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018, then the post was saved in the "02 – February 2018" notebook. All saved posts, called "notes" in Evernote, were tagged with the date indicating when the post was created in the format of, for example "02-FEB", for a post created on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018. The uniform resource locator (URL) – the webpage address – of the post was also saved in the note. Nearing the end of the first month of data collection, posts would no longer save to the Evernote app; upon investigation, it was

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<sup>6</sup> A web crawler is a software program that accesses and catalogues web pages on the internet (Cloudflare, n.d.).

determined that the upload limit was reached and discussions with customer service concluded that this cap could not be removed for the duration of the data collection. As a result, a new method of saving posts would need to be utilized.

OneNote was considered as an alternative due its similar structure but, at the time of data collection, its web clipper did not have the same functionality and upload limits were unknown. Saving posts as .pdf files was chosen as the simplest method to continue. The protocol for collecting posts was similar; once the post captured last was identified, the next post's link was opened in a new tab. Keyboard shortcut "Ctrl+p" was used to prompt the computer to print the webpage being displayed; in the print options, "save as pdf" was chosen and the post was saved onto a file on the local computer in the format of "XXMON-[unique.link.portion]". For example, for a post titled "How pathetic Dad's [*sic*] can be" created on June 24<sup>th</sup>, the file name would be "24JUN-[how-pathetic-dads-can-be.55402]". Conveniently, all post titles appear in the URL and contain a unique identifying number. Files were then uploaded to a google drive associated with the author's "ontariotechu.net" student account; folders were created for each month. In both the Evernote and saving to pdf methods of data collection, there were special considerations for posts with multiple pages of comments. Both methods could only save the page that was opened – the first page of comments; subsequent pages with comments had to be saved separately. The method of saving posts did not differ for these pages but they were tagged "PART [x]" in Evernote or added to the end of the file name for posts saved as pdfs.

Prior to the start of data collection, it was estimated that between 45,000 to 60,000 posts were created in 2018. Due to the sheer number of posts that needed to be manually

saved, four people were hired for post saving; time constraints limited the extent that quality control could be deployed to ensure that no posts created in 2018 were missed. However, one day of each month was randomly selected and files saved were checked against the forum to detect how many, if any, posts were missed. For three months, between one to three posts per one hundred and fifty were missed, representing between 0.67% to 2% missed posts. The randomly selected day for June showed five missed posts, representing just over three percent. The missing posts were collected. Considering the large number of posts that were expected to be collected and assuming the quality control investigations were representative of data collection as a whole, missed posts were deemed acceptable as long as they represented under five percent of the total. Quality control for November was done after the month's posts had been collected; however, this month had to be redone as there appeared to be several days of posts missing. This month's posts were collected during the switch from Evernote to saving as pdf so it is possible that the discrepancy between actual number of posts and number of posts saved was due to logistical difficulties encountered during the switch. In total, 55,310 posts were identified as having been created in 2018 and were collected – 21,999 were collected using Evernote and 33,311 were collected by saving to pdf. Having the dataset saved to two different locations presented additional challenges for analysis that needed to be addressed.

Posts saved to the Google drive as pdf files were downloaded and saved to an external hard drive, in folders separated by month of post creation. However, posts clipped via Evernote could not be transferred en masse to the external hard-drive; instead, each post would have to be downloaded as a pdf file separately – this was not feasible.

Partly for this reason, analysis shifted to examining post titles only. Focusing on the titles of posts was an appropriate decision considering the vast number of data points – 55,310 titles in total. Furthermore, examining message threads would require an additional layer of analysis that could not be reasonably achieved in the time constraints of the Master’s program. Aggregating post titles into a single location that was readily analysable required additional processing.

Microsoft Excel was chosen to store all post titles; Excel formulas could also be used to run analyses and the app can be coded to run additional programs if necessary. To transfer titles from Evernote, each folder containing a specific month’s posts was opened. Once all files within the folder were selected, a menu appeared; from that menu, the option to create a table of contents was chosen. This action created a new note which numbered and listed all post titles within the folder chosen. The table of contents was copied and pasted into an excel spreadsheet; numbers were removed by deleting the column in which they appeared, and the post titles were alphabetized. This was done for all post titles in Evernote, saving them in Excel spreadsheets categorized by month of post creation. Posts saved to the hard drive were treated in a similar fashion; each folder containing a specific month’s posts was opened and all files were selected. The “copy as path” option was selected upon performing “Ctrl+Shift+Right-click”; this was pasted into the appropriate excel spreadsheet. “Copy as path” captured the file directory and file names of all posts within the month in the following format: “D:\incels.co data\11 - November\01NOV-[another-cucked-article-from-psychology-today.86274].pdf”. Information other than the post title is irrelevant and could potentially confound results therefore it was removed using Excel’s find and replace function. “D:\incels.co data\11 -

November\\*NOV-[“ and “.pdf” populated the find area while the replace area was left empty, effectively removing the irrelevant information without affecting the titles of the post. Since post titles from Evernote did not include dashes, these were also removed to maintain consistency; dashes were replaced with a single space.

It was important to ensure that titles included in analyses represented separate posts; therefore, posts with multiple pages of comments had to be addressed. Since each page of comments was saved in a separate pdf or note, when their titles were transferred to excel, duplications needed to be deleted. For titles transferred from the external hard-drive, subsequent pages of comments from a single post were denoted by “PART 2”, “PART 3”, etc.; these titles were deleted. However, when post titles were transferred from Evernote, tags indicating subsequent pages did not transfer therefore a manual review was required to find identical titles and delete duplicates; in total, 2,544 duplicates were removed, yielding 52,766 unique post titles ready for analysis.

### ***Collecting and Organizing the Dictionary.***

At the time of dictionary collection, the site containing the entries (Incel Forum Term Glossary, 2018) was poorly organized – entries were not alphabetized, and the site was not user friendly. In order to maintain consistency throughout the thesis, especially considering the site could be modified and entries removed or added at any time, it was necessary to capture the dictionary and use a single version of it throughout all analyses. Several steps were taken to achieve the numbered, alphabetized, and organized dictionary as it is found in Appendix A.

The goal of organizing the dictionary was to improve ease of readability while processing the data as minimally as possible. To this end, definitions and entries

appearing in Appendix A occur as they existed on the site at the time they were collected, including any spelling and grammatical errors, slang usage, and stylistic preferences. First, all entries were alphabetized, and duplicates were noted. For some duplicated entries, such as *supreme gentlemen*, the definitions were the same – these types of entries were deleted. Terms that were duplicated but which contained different definitions were merged into a single entry with two distinct definitions, separated by the phrase “[also defined as]” (see, for example, entry 5.1 *blackpill*). Finally, some entries were directly related to others – these were also merged. *STR or str* was defined as “short-term relationship”, another entry in the dictionary. *STR or str* and *short-term relationship* were therefore merged into a single entry, separated by the phrase “[also referred to as]” (see entry 240 in Appendix A). Only where terms and definitions were explicitly and clearly related, were such entries merged.

The second step of processing involved reading and rereading the dictionary several times to make note of terms that were reasonably understood to be variations of other terms. For example, “bluepill” and “blackpill” were treated as both variations of the *-pill* entry and also as separate entries, appearing twice on the site with differing definitions. The terms and definitions were merged into their respective entries as variations of the term *-pill*. “Blackcel”, “cybercel”, “ethnicel”, “fakecel”, “forcedcel”, “nearcel”, “protocel”, “ricecel”, “stormfrontcel”, “trucel”, “volcel”, and “whitecel” were all identified as variations of the entry “incel”, even though they were treated as separate entries. It should be noted that terms were only treated as variations if the superceding term was present in its definition.

Finally, the decision not to merge certain entries should also be discussed. The entries “-cel” (entry 4) and “incel” (entry 121) perform different functions; the former describes a tool users can utilize to create an identity that is unique to them but knowable to others – *dickcel*, for example, is a male who is involuntary celibate because of the size of his penis. The latter, on the other hand, provides a variety of different ready-made identities which users can choose from; if one feels that they are “incel due to [a] mental condition like social anxiety or mental disorder” then he can identify as “mentalcel”, as defined by entry 121.14 in the dictionary (see Appendix A). Furthermore, if entries had sufficiently different definitions, then they were not merged. “AMOGing” (entry 17<sup>7</sup>) and “-mogged” (entry 4) are indirectly linked through the definition of “mog” (entry 185); their definitions are sufficiently different to be treated separately in the sense that the language used is mutually exclusive. While the terms are conceptually linked, as will be argued in the second study, the language used does not justify an outright merge of the entries. Once processing was complete, 327 entries were organized and alphabetized into the 289 distinct terms, variations, and definitions as they appear in Appendix A and are ready to be utilized as units of analysis.

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<sup>7</sup> All numbers that appear in parentheses following an italicized word refer to specific dictionary entries as they appear in Appendix A, regardless of whether the numbers are preceded by the word “entry”.

## Chapter 4: Study 1 – Frequency of Dictionary Word Usage

The first step in understanding how the dictionary informs and represents the shared perspective of incels.co users is to evaluate which terms reflect actual word usage of Inceldom Discussion forum participants. Upon reviewing the dictionary in its entirety, it becomes clear that at least six separate communities contributed to its creation: “PUA” (abbreviated from Pick Up Artist), “PUAhate”, “Love-shy”, the German AB (abbreviated from Absolute Beginner) incelosphere, Incels.co, and the braincels subreddit. PUAs, as defined by entry 226 and 157 of Appendix A, encompass individuals who believe that any male can be successful in seeking sexual relations with women as long as he appropriately portrays confidence, personality, and “game” – a colloquialism for charm (Game, 2018). PUAhate, on the other hand, deny these principles, emphasizing that focusing on “looks, money, and status” is the only sexual strategy that matters (see entry 157 – *LMS* – of Appendix A). Per entry 163 of the dictionary (see Appendix A), *love-shy* individuals are those who struggle forming romantic relationships with women because of shyness. The rest of the communities refer specifically to the *incelosphere*, the general online network of virtual locations where incels frequent and participate in discussion (see entry 126 of the dictionary in Appendix A). It appears that Incels.co comprises a portion of the users utilizing this dictionary.

Based on the rules of the site and the nature of the dictionary, several hypotheses follow. First, terms originating in a foreign language community, such as “LLUF” (*entry 155*) and “VT” (*entry 279*), are not expected to make an appearance in an English-language forum. As female users are “banned on sight...no exceptions” in the incels.co forums (SergeantIncel, 2017), terms that favour a female perspective are also not

expected to make an appearance in the dataset, including “pinkpill” (5.3), “AMALT” (15), and “babebux” (26). Third, in accordance with the nature of the site and the findings of Jaki et al’s (2019) and Papadamou et al. (2020), entries related to (1) physical appearance, such as “canthal tilt” (54), “baldcel” (121.1), “framecel” (121.8), and “long face” (158); (2) misogyny, such as “foid” (87), “femoid” (84), “roastie” (232), and “whore” (283); and (3) sex, such as “fap” (82), “one night stand” (207), and “short term relationship” (240) are likely among those words most often used in post titles. Finally, as an extension of Ging’s (2017) findings on the manospheric ideology of the redpill, there are several entries which reference an extreme version of the redpill – the “blackpill” (5.1), defined as a fatalist approach to dating whereby efforts to improve are meaningless. Due to the number of entries – including “suifuel” (2.2), “it’s over” (132), “LDAR” (151), “Reeee” (230), “rope” (234), “suey” (261), “sui” (262), and “visit Gandy” (278) – that reference this nihilistic position, it is hypothesized that references to “blackpill” (5.1) will be more numerous than references to other pills. Dictionary terms were run against the database – 52,766 post titles – in order to answer the question: what patterns exist in word usage of dictionary terms? Methodology and results for the first study follow.

## **Methodology and Results**

Analysis was run using Excel. Entries and their corresponding numbers populated the first two columns while the dataset populated column F in alphabetical order. Column G was used as an alphabetical reference point for the dataset. A formula was embedded into column C that searched for and counted dictionary entries in the dataset. The formula can be found in Figure 4.1 (p. 48). The COUNTIFS statistical function in Excel counts the number of cells in a given range that meet a single or multiple criterion (MS Excel:

How to use the COUNTIFS Function (WS), n.d.). The range is determined by the first set of cells in the parentheses; in this case, the range is restricted to column F where the dataset exists. Figure 4.1 illustrates that, for this given COUNTIFS, the criterion is set out by the contents of cell B6, corresponding to the entry *fuel*. The bookends surrounding B6 allow Excel to count words that include prefixes, suffixes, and indications of multiples. However, COUNTIFS does not account for variations in spelling and morphology – these had to be manually added as entry variations and counted separately.

**Figure 4.1**

*Excel Function for Study 1*

```
=COUNTIFS(F:F,"*"&B6&"*")
```

*Note.* This figure represents the excel function used for determining frequency of dictionary entries in the dataset. The post titles were located in column F. “B6” refers to the cell that contains the entry being searched for in the dataset.

Manually added dictionary entry variations fell into three major categories: spelling, morphological, and internet shorthand-related. Spelling variations include the addition or removal of spaces and punctuation; for example, “blackpill” (5.1) is found 1442 times in the dataset and an additional 212 times can be found if the variation “*black pill*” is included. The entry “it’s over” (132) appears 143 times, but this count increases to 579 when the variations “*its over*” and “*itsover*” are included. Morphological variations include different forms of the same root word; for example, entry “hypergamy” (119) occurs 126 times but including “*hypergam\**” increases the count to 147, indicating that twenty one morphological variations of hypergamy are used by incels.co forum users. Internet shorthand-related variations include abbreviations and initialisms. Entries like “GF” (98) relate to the former while “AWALT” (25) is an example of the latter.

“GF” (98) is an abbreviation of “girlfriend” (see Appendix A); on its own, it appears 420 times but when its unabbreviated forms are included, this count increases to 813.

“AWALT” (25) appears 29 times in the dataset and is an initialism of “all women are like that” (see Appendix A, entry 25), appearing an additional four times. A supercount was included in column D of the working Excel spreadsheet, summing counts for entries and their variations when applicable.

Results of study one can be found in Appendix B, where italicized entries are identified variations of dictionary entries. Bolded entries are those that exist in the dictionary and whose count or supercount exceeds zero. In general, cross-referencing the dictionary entries against the dataset illustrates that, of the 348 identified entries and their variations, only 251 are present in the titles for posts published in 2018 on the incels.co incelism discussion forum. Of those entries that are utilized in post titles, 117 appear between one and five times throughout the 52,766 post titles published in 2018. An additional 38 entries appear between six and ten times throughout all post titles published in 2018. This indicates that a large majority (252 or approximately 72%) of the 348 existing entries in the incels.co are either not utilized or infrequently utilized by the incels.co community, potentially reflecting the breadth of communities that contributed to the creation of the dictionary. The whittling down of dictionary terms allows further research to focus on word usage patterns that reflect the worldview of the specific community located within the incels.co forum.

A ranking of the twenty most frequently used words was also created and can be viewed in Table 4.1 (p. 50). It is important to note that in creating this ranking, entries that are prefixes or suffixes (for example “-fuel” or “-cel”) were not included in the

ranking. As these entries are tools for users to individualize their own identities, their inclusion would confound ranking results, particularly because these types of entries are included within other entries – for example, “-cel” (1) is present in “animalcel” (19), “Blackops2cel” (42), “copecelling” (67), “incel” (121) and its variations, and several other separate entries. “Chad” is the most frequently used entry at 3011 occurrences in the post titles, followed by “incel”, “cuck”, “blackpill”, and “foid”. It should be noted that when including the known variations of “incel” (see entries 121.1 through 121.26 in Appendix A), the ranking for “incel” surpasses that of “Chad”, with a total of 4,430 occurrences in the post titles.

**Table 4.1**

*Top Ranked Dictionary Entries*

Rank	Dictionary Entry	Dictionary entry #	Count
1	Chad	56	3011
2	incel <sup>1</sup>	121	2440
3	cuck <sup>2</sup>	68	1951
4	blackpill <sup>3</sup>	5.1	1658
5	foid	87	1215
6	normie	196	1089
7	cope <sup>4</sup>	66	983
8	sui <sup>5</sup>	262	847
9	GF <sup>6</sup>	98	813
10	femoid	84	660
11	looks <sup>7</sup>	146	600
12	inceldom	123	588
13	it's over <sup>8</sup>	132	579
14	PSL scale/rating <sup>9</sup>	225	494
15	beta* <sup>10</sup>	36	486
16	ethnic	78	458
17	cucktears <sup>11</sup>	69	439
18	ascend <sup>12</sup>	22	423
19	Stacy	254	416
20	whore	283	415

<sup>1</sup>This count does not include variations on “-cel” and instances where “incel” fits into “inceldom”. When including the identified variations of “incel” (see entries 121.1 through 121.126), the total count increases to 4,430.

<sup>2</sup>This count includes instances of “cuckold”.

<sup>3</sup>This count includes spelling variations of “blackpill”. See Appendix B for variations.

<sup>4</sup>This count includes instances of “copecelling” and spelling variations of same.

<sup>5</sup>This count includes instances where “sui” appears in “suicide fuel” and its spelling variations.

<sup>6</sup>This count includes the long form version of GF – “girlfriend”.

<sup>7</sup>This count includes the internet shorthand for “looks” – “L”.

<sup>8</sup>This count includes spelling variations of “it’s over”. See Appendix B for variations.

<sup>9</sup>This count includes ratings systems. See Appendix B for such ratings.

<sup>10</sup>This count includes variations where “beta” occurs within other dictionary entries, such as “beta male”.

<sup>11</sup>“Cucktears” is a derogatory term for another online group called “inceltears” that disparages incels. When including variations of “inceltear” and “IT user”, the count increases to 823 and would move the ninth rank.

<sup>12</sup>This count includes occurrences of “ascension”.

When reviewing those entries that appear in post titles, it becomes evident that entries originating from foreign language communities – such as “LLUF” (155), “LLUFies” (156), and “VT” (279) – are not present. One exception is “MAB (male absolute beginner)” (166), which is used four times within post titles. Since MAB is an abbreviation of English words, whereas LLUF (155) is an abbreviation of a German phrase “liegen lassen und fliege<sup>8</sup>”, the use exception may reflect a preference for English words on the incels.co forum. This number does not indicate a substantive presence and is reasonable to conclude the first hypothesis confirmed.

Interestingly, terms that favour a female perspective are present but insignificantly so. “Babebux” (26) does not occur while “pinkpill” (5.3) and “AMALT” (15) occur once

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<sup>8</sup> Translated to “Let Lie and Fly”.

each. The former occurs within the context “have you taken the pinkpill yet” and the latter within “amalt what are your thoughts on this”. These numbers do not represent a substantive presence and it is reasonable to conclude this hypothesis confirmed as well. However, the post titles indicate that a small effort to understand the female perspective within the involuntary celibate community does exist.

As anticipated, entries related to physical appearance, misogyny, and sex are present in the post titles. However, the relative frequency of their presence does not meet expectations set out by previous literature. While there are twenty-two entries related to physical appearance are present in the post titles, only two, “looks” (146) and “PSL scale/rating” (225), appear in the top twenty frequently used entries. Both entries are by definition gender-neutral, theoretically applicable to both men and women. However, some practical differences become evident when context is provided. When searching for five random instances of the usage of “looks”, the entry is implied to refer more to men’s looks and their importance in success, both in life and with women specifically; see for example (1) “Here’s what the terminal phase of an incel looks like”, (2) “Is there a forum out there for people who believe that looks are only what matter to women?”, (3) “Looks are everything in life”, (4) “Personality and looks correlation halo effect”, and (5) “This is what a feminist looks like”.

Since the majority of instances related to “psl rating” (225) come from numerical rating scales, a small sampling was taken from “psl rating”, a low rating of “0/10”, medium rating of “5/10”, and high rating of “10/10”. The more value neutral entry of “psl rating” indicates a gender-equivalent presence; see (1) “What’s her PSL rating?”, (2) “Whats [sic] your psl rating compared to weed”, and (3) “Subtract 3 points from your

PSL rating to get what women think of you”. Both the high and low ratings appear to be slightly inclined towards their use for women. A random sampling for the high rating produced the following: (1) “Over 30? You can’t get with this mega hottie, 10/10 perfect white girl”, (2) “2/10 ethnic pro-gamer throws away his career and hot 10/10 white gf away by messing around with a 14yo girl”, and (3) “I get high just thinking about how my day to day life would be if I was a 10/10 god-chad”. A random sampling for the low rating produced the following: (1) “Disabled midget femoid (0/10) have 6/10 boyfriend. JFL.”, (2) “GTFIH! White kid promposes [*sic*] to 0/10 landwhale Sharkeisha”, and (3) “If you have sex with a 0/10 ethnic Landwhale are you still incel?”. Interestingly, a higher rating to women also indicates slightly more value-positive adjectives, such as “gf” or “perfect” while a lower rating preceded adjectives and labels that were highly derogative, such as “landwhale” and “femoid”. The linking of positive and negative attributes to women based on a rating system suggests that, for incels, women’s worth and value is derived from their physical appearance.

As expected, misogynistic language is predominant in its frequency. Twenty entries were identified as present in the general word usage of incels.co forum members, three of which have a negative connotation (“HQNP”, “Stacy”, and “Becky”) and fourteen are explicitly derogatory (“femoid”, “foid”, “hole”, “landwhale”, “noodlewhore”, “prostitute”, “escort”, “golddigger”, “roastie”, “shitcunt”, “sloot”, “slut”, “warpig”, and “whore”). Five entries (in order of frequency) - “foid”, “GF”, “femoid”, “Stacy”, and “whore” – appear in the top twenty most frequently used entries within post titles. A random sampling of each entry produces the following. The entry “foid” appears in: (1) “foids live life on tutorial mode”, (2) “do you think if incels banded together they

could cause mass foid suicide by asking them out”, (3) “Japanese uni lowers foids scores”, (4) “guess how old these foids are”, and (5) “Bathe in some lifefuel and read how foids got rejected from chad”. The entry “GF” appears in: (1) “Your parents are tired of hearing you jerk off in your basement. THAT is why they want you to get a GF.”, (2) “i cannot looksmax enough without surgery to get a gf so I will looksmax to get treated respectfully by an escort”, (3) “incel with gf”, (4) “I deserve a gf more than most normies do”, and (5) “dude who takes care of himself gymcels and has normie looks manages to get a fat gf who covers her face with layers of makeup”.

The entry “femoid” appears in: (1) “never pity fat femoids they have higher smv than us we have more to endure in life”, (2) “Even Your Femoid Family Members Dislike/Hate/Scared of you”, (3) “daily reminder youre [*sic*] a volcel if you wont have an orgy with these femoids”, (4) “femoids gets cosmetic surgery for free on daytime tv wheres the free surgery for ugly males”, and (5) “2018 femoids would rather fuck & marry a bridge or the Eiffel Tower than us incels”. The entry “Stacy” appears in: (1) “21-year-old Stacy teaching assistant arrested for banging Chad 17-year-old”, (2) “16 y o stacy got a bmw for christmas”, (3) “universitycels would you leave your real university and distance learn with uopeople [*sic*] or the open university to escape the college stacy degeneracy”, (4) “Saw a black guy flirt with a Stacy and it was obvious she only wanted Chad.”, and (5) “becky like female trying to live the stacy dream lmaoooooooo”.

Finally, the entry “whore” appears in: (1) “Fucking whores as an incel in order to punish them”, (2) “Girls are becoming whores as young as 11”, (3) “jfl at these thirsty cum whores teehe we don’t care about looks dicksize and all of that confidenceeeeeee”, (4)

“Single mothers should be made to whore themselves out for their welfare”, and (5) “she is a whore until proven otherwise”.

Setting aside the obvious derogatory nature of “foid”, “femoid”, “stacy”, and “whore”, there are interesting threads implied here that should be pulled on. Inherent to the terms “stacy” and “whore” is a connection to sex, specifically in relation to the aforementioned pervasive female “degeneracy” discussed in the literature. Women are seen as having an advantage in their lives, a so-called “tutorial mode”, common in video games and designed to get the player used to the controls and gameplay without facing challenging requests or adversaries. As a result, incels experience a sense of unfairness (“femoids would rather fuck and marry a bridge...than us incels”) and related entitlement (“I deserve a GF”), expressing sentiment of rewards and challenges not being comparable (“wheres the free surgery for ugly males”). Consequently, when users feel that women do not get what they want, they express glee and a sense of justice (“bathe in some lifefuel...foids got rejected from chad”). There is an intense punitiveness, especially in posts including the term “whore” (“fucking whores...to punish them”). Ironically, women are also identified as being out of reach and something to aspire to and try to attain, especially in the context of the value-neutral term “GF”. This is a contradiction that will be further examined in the subsequent study and analysis.

While entries related to sex or relationships do appear in the post titles, none are present in the top twenty most frequently used words. As a result, the presence of these entries will be discussed in the subsequent study examining general themes. The third hypothesis indicating presence of entries related to physical appearance, misogyny, and sex is therefore partially confirmed. While entries related to sex, misogyny, and physical

appearance are present in post titles, only entries expressing misogyny and, to a smaller extent, physical appearance are frequently used by users.

The final hypothesis relates to the presence of entries expressing nihilism. There are 18 such entries present in post titles, four of which appear in the top twenty most frequently used words – “blackpill”, “cope”, “sui”<sup>9</sup>, and “it’s over”. A random sampling was taken to identify potential context clues. The entry “blackpill” produced the following results: (1) “social media is the ultimate blackpill”, (2) “a blackpill analysis on why women hate donald trump”, (3) “catfish is the most blackpilling show”, (4) “if you are incapable of getting some satisfaction from escortcelling betabuxxing you haven’t truly embraced the blackpill”, and (5) “justin Bieber fan drops brutal blackpill its over if youre not attractive”.

The second most frequent entry produced the following results: (1) “LDAR is a useless painful cope”, (2) “jfl at parents that try to cope through arranged marriage for their kids”, (3) “all I can do to cope is watching porn”, (4) “the only cope you should have is death”, and (5) “cope or rope”. Searching for “sui” in post titles yielded the following sample: (1) “extremely potent sui fuel”, (2) “sui fuel for shortcels”, (3) “best time to sui is when you are successful”, (4) “this scene from UP always gives me nuclear levels of Sui fuel”, and (5) “sui feels are at peak levels tonight”. The final entry related to nihilism provides the following: (1) “Chad Lite Gets Rejected By Curryfem<sup>10</sup> – It’s Over For Sub-\*’s! [video]”, (2) dozens of variations of “it’s over for [prefix]-cels”, (3) “does being rated PSLI 4 mean that its [sic] OVER?”, (4) “this week has been terrible since I

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<sup>9</sup> Short for suicide.

<sup>10</sup> “Curryfem” does not appear in the dictionary. However, the prefix “curry” is used to refer to people of Southeast Asian descent while “fem” likely denotes female, indicating this term is used to refer to a woman of Southeast Asian descent.

couldn't gymcel due to a gay injury, its over when you cant cope", and (5) "its OVER- 12 year old JB's getting creampied by young incel chads is the NORM". In general, entries related to nihilism relate to the futility of coping mechanisms, motivation for committing suicide, and contemplate the ideal time for committing suicide. Additionally, the blackpill ideology is used to explain life events. The presence of nihilism is consistent with literature indicating its prevalence in incel communities.

The first study was conducted to determine which dictionary entries were utilized by incels.co forum members in post titles. Words utilized by forum members and their frequency counts are found in Appendix B, while Table 4.1 (p. 50) provides a ranking of the top twenty most utilized words. A word count of dictionary entries' presence in the post titles found that the majority of entries are either not utilized or done so infrequently (defined as counts of five or less in the entire dataset). As expected, results indicate that incels.co users are primarily English-speaking males. Cross-referencing post titles with the dictionary entries created and maintained by incels.co forum users provide additional support for the presence of themes identified in the literature, namely physical appearance, misogyny, sex, and nihilism, albeit to varying degrees of frequency and popularity. Additionally, in line with the literature, entries reflected a bias towards the English language and a lack of female perspective. A preliminary analysis of the most frequently used misogynistic words suggested that women's value is constructed as a function of their accessibility for sex. These results provide a preliminary introduction to the second study, where themes are constructed from utilized dictionary entries and examined for relevance.

The largest limitation of this study is the use of post titles only. Not incorporating language from comment threads means that there is a substantial repository of words that have not been cross-referenced against the dictionary entries. Therefore, while the hypotheses are generally confirmed with respect to language used in post titles, it is not possible to confirm them throughout all language usage in the forum. Further research should expand the database to include comment threads for a comprehensive understanding.

## **Chapter 5: Study 2 – Thematic Analysis of Dictionary**

This study required an approach that eschewed preconceptions of the nature of the incels.co community while identifying patterned responses in the data. Considering the sparsity of research present on the subject, there is much that is unknown regarding incels. As a result, a thematic analysis was chosen as the primary methodology for Study 2. As per Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79), thematic analysis is a widely used method for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. It’s a versatile approach that has precedence in identifying patterns within online discussion boards (see for example Samplaski, 2017). According to the authors, a theme may be determined based on frequency of an identifiable pattern or its importance to the overall research question. In an effort to let the data inform the themes, an inductive approach to thematic analysis was chosen. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) caution that it is extraordinarily difficult for researchers to free themselves entirely of theoretical commitments. Therefore, the mandate for this approach was amended to identify themes based on data but organize and interpret them according to theoretical principles. Finally, both the semantic (surface) and latent (interpretative) meanings of the dictionary entries were used in developing themes. In response to criticism that thematic analysis does not provide clear guidelines on implementing such methodology, Braun and Clarke (2006) set out phases, outlined on page 87 of their article, and include: becoming familiar with the data through reading and rereading, developing initial codes and relating them to the data, searching for themes by aggregating similarly coded data, reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes through the process of refining the narrative present.

Considering the breadth of data available, Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) was chosen as a supplemental approach in developing initial codes for data. MCA is a form of ethnomethodology used in discursive and text-based analysis (Stokoe, 2012). Stokoe (2012) asserts that this methodology is well-suited in understanding how subjects describe and express their understanding of their worldview and is therefore an ideal supplementary approach to this study. Since MCA focuses on analysing interactional language, as in a conversation or message board, and this thesis is limited to post titles, MCA would not be sufficient or appropriate as a singular approach. Its coding strategies, however, are helpful in guiding the creation of initial codes used for theme building; they are outlined on page 281 of Stokoe's (2012) article. Since the interactional component is not implemented here, only some guiding principles are utilized: membership categorization device (MCD), category-bound activities (CBA), category-tied predicates (CTP), standardized relational pairs (SRP), positioned categories (PC), and the economy rule (Stokoe, 2012). Category refers to a label that describes a person. MCD refers to a family of related categories; for example, "gymcel" and "volcel" would belong to the "incel" family. CBAs are described as actions completed by specific categories; for example, "AMOGing" (17) is committed by an "AMOG" (16). CTPs describe words used to characterize a category; "approach anxiety" (21) describes fear in initiating contact with women, a fear used to characterize incels. SRPs are used to make connections between related entries, as in the case of "halo effect" (105) and "failo effect" (81). PCs imply presence of a hierarchy, as in the case of "gigachad" (99) and "chad" (56). Finally, the economy rule simply states that when possible, code an entry with a single code.

Overall results of themes can be found in the tables and figures presented within this chapter. It should be noted that in accordance with Stokoe's (2012) economy rule, chosen themes are not exhaustive and there may be entries that belong to multiple themes. However, due to spatial and temporal limitations, this thesis focuses on predominant themes. This is not to say that other themes may not be as important or lead to meaningful conclusions, but the scope of the thesis is limited, and only highly prevalent themes are able to be discussed. This section will focus on themes and patterns gleaned from the dictionary. First, general themes will be discussed and reviewed. Second, an examination of the male and female hierarchies shaped by the themes and entry definitions will follow. Peculiar linguistic markers were identified, related to the process of homogenizing the outgroup; these markers will be discussed subsequently. Finally, three prevalent contradictions in the incel worldview will be explored.

### **General Themes of the Incels.co Forum.**

Nine themes were identified as having some importance for discussion, references to: (1) a specific person, (2) race, (3) nihilism, (4) efforts at improvement, (5) physical appearance, (6) male and female ideals, (7) male and female strategies for sexual success, (8) sex acts or relationships, and (9) social hierarchy; all will be interpreted within Young's work in the following chapter.

Twelve entries were found to refer to a specific person, who is or once was living (see Table 5.1, p.62). These entries can be further categorized into scientific figures who espoused a theory related to physical appearance or masculine ideal, avatars of individuals famous in gaming or manosphere forums, and, most peculiarly, mass murderers. The last category houses five of the twelve entries, referencing four separate

mass murderers (the 2014 Isla Vista Mass Murderer has apparently earned two separate entries). This finding is in line with Scaptura and Boyle’s (2019) proposition linking incel traits to factors common among mass murderers. As will be made evident in the next chapter, there is additional overlap between mass murderer traits, incels, and Young’s theory of human behaviour underlying deviance.

**Table 5.1**

*References to Race and a Specific Person*

Specific Person		References to Race	
	DEN <sup>1</sup>		DEN <sup>1</sup>
Blackops2cel	42	Albino	11
Cho <sup>2</sup>	59	BBC	29
ER <sup>2</sup>	75	BBC theory	30
Good Looking Loser	102	BBV	31
Greensboro Jock	103	Ethnic	78
Jsanza29	140	Ethnik	79
Lanza <sup>2</sup>	149	FOB	86
Meeks	172	JBW	134
Mew	174	Noodlewhore	194
Sodini <sup>2</sup>	250	Rice-	231
Supreme gentlemen <sup>2</sup>	263	Yellow fever	287
zyzz	289		

<sup>1</sup>DEN = dictionary entry number

<sup>2</sup>Reference to mass murderer

In accordance with literature by Ging (2017), Jaki et al. (2019), and Papadamou et al. (2020), 11 entries were found to refer to race in a derogatory manner. Black and Asian people and immigrants were the prevalent targets, with three entries each. The presence of “JBW” (134), as in “just be white”, was consistent with Jaki et al.’s finding that incels perceive white incels to be slightly better off than non-white incels. The entries related to this theme can also be found in Table 5.1.

Table 5.2 (p. 64) summarizes entries related to two oppositional themes, nihilism and efforts at improvement, although the former far outweighs the latter, with 18 entries

versus 11. The nihilistic theme is not a surprising finding, given its presence in previous literature. What is interesting to note, though, is the number of entries that reference suicide or death, totalling nine. “Rope”, “suey”, “sui”, “suifuel”, “visit Gandy”, “visit Grier”, and “visit Orton” all refer to committing suicide or motivation for suicide; this is explicitly described in the definition for the dictionary entries. This is a concerning finding, especially given that extant literature focuses on incels’ capacity for violence against others and does not identify or acknowledge their capacity for violence towards themselves. The majority of the remaining entries in this theme reference a defeatist worldview, whereby their place in the world is sealed and unchangeable so there’s no point in trying – see for example “it’s over”, “LDAR” (as in “lay down and rot”), and “foreveralone”. Three entries also imply a general sense of frustration and futility – “jfc” (“just fucking cage”), “jfl” (“just fucking lol<sup>11</sup>”), and “mental masturbation”. In general, this theme encompasses sentiments of suicide, defeatism, and frustration.

A contrasting theme also prevails, one of efforts at improvement, a novel theme not identified in extant literature. Dictionary entries related to this theme encompass references to bodybuilding, approaching women, hope, and taking active steps to improve physical presentation, social skills, and income. The absence of this theme in previous literature is, again, reminiscent of Young’s (2007) attractions of hiatus, where researchers arguably became so enthralled with the mass media’s linkage of incels to mass murderers, that no other avenues were explored. The paradoxical relationship between nihilism and efforts at improvement hints at the presence of one of many contradictions, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

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<sup>11</sup> “lol” is short for “laugh out loud”.

**Table 5.2***References to Nihilism vs. Efforts at Improvement*

Nihilism	DEN <sup>1</sup>	Efforts at Improvement	DEN <sup>1</sup>
Blackpill	5.1	-maxx	3
Cope	66	NTmaxxing	3.4
Copecelling	67	Moneymax	3.3
Failo effect	81	Lowinhibmax	3.2
Foreveralone	88	Looksmax	3.1
It's over	132	statusmax	3.5
Jfc	136	Cold approach	61
JFL	137	Lifefuel	2.1
LDAR	151	Natty	189
Mental masturbation	173	Roids	233
Reeee	230	tren	273
rope	234		
suey	261		
Sui	262		
Suifuel	2.2		
Visit Gandy	278		
Visit Grier	278.1		
Visit Orton	278.3		

<sup>1</sup>DEN = dictionary entry number

Table 5.3 (p. 68) presents dictionary entries that reference physical appearance, and a related theme of masculine and feminine ideals. Entries defining physical appearance are abundant, totalling 22, and are an expected finding given the literature identifying physical appearance as a common topic of discussion (Jaki et al., 2019). A finding unique to this study, however, is the breakdown of entries referencing female, male, and gender-neutral physical appearance. Twelve entries are gender-neutral by definition; the dataset was examined for context clues as the counts for gender-neutral entries was low. All but two entries – “PSL rating” and “looks” – were actually found to be in reference to male physical appearance, increasing the number of entries referencing male descriptors to eighteen. This finding implies that dictionaries do not accurately reflect the real-world usage of entries. In contrast, female descriptors encompass only two

entries – “butterface” and “butterbody<sup>12</sup>”. Overall, the most surprising finding is the relative overabundance of entries related to male versus female physical appearance. Additionally, the specificity of the entries varies by gender. Male descriptors focus on individual facial features, such as the eyes or the bone structure, while female descriptors reference the same concept in equal relation to the face and body; “butter” refers to the part of the body deemed unattractive, so a woman would be considered attractive “but her face” (as in “if not for her face”).

Physical appearance is closely related to another gender-based theme, masculine and feminine ideals. Similar to the physical appearance breakdown, there are substantially more entries related to masculine ideals, at 16 in total, compared to feminine ideals, only two. Feminine ideals evoke historical, pseudoscientific concepts of eugenics theory, specifically those common in the US during the early and mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Both terms define the ideal woman as having exaggerated secondary sexual characteristics, including large breasts and buttocks, with black women representing the epitome of this exaggeration. Masculine ideals, on the other hand, are fairly varied as it seems incels have a theory for every potential deficit. In general, the masculine ideal for men is described as including increased testosterone, defined musculature, being tall, having a full head of hair, and having exaggerated secondary sexual characteristics. The peculiar finding in this comparison is the substantial abundance of male descriptors in comparison

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<sup>12</sup> A distinction was made between entries that are considered descriptors versus analogous labels for women, in accordance with the guiding principles of membership categorization analysis outlined in Stokoe (2012). “Butterface” and “butterbody”, for example, are considered descriptors because they fit into the category-tied predicates concept, akin to an adjective. Entries like “landwhale” or “warpig”, for example, are considered categories because they function as person-nouns in a sentence. For example, in the sentence “she is a warpig”, “warpig” functions as a category because it refers to a person, albeit in a highly derogatory manner. The entry “butterface”, on the other hand, cannot be used in this manner but may function as an adjective in a sentence, as in the example “she has a butterface”.

to the paucity of female descriptors and indicates another contradiction to be discussed later in the chapter, especially in light of the community's focus on women and the extant literature examining dehumanization and othering.

Table 5.4 (p. 69) reflects entries that reference male and female strategies for sexual success, according to the incel worldview. A familiar pattern becomes clear – there are, again, substantially more descriptors for male sexual strategy (22) than female sexual strategy (7). Another significant difference becomes clear. Female sexual strategy is portrayed as rigid and linear while male sexual strategy is portrayed as an open-ended, flexible approach with multiple alternatives. As a result, women are portrayed as being incapable of higher order thinking, acting on base impulses that direct them to have sex with any and all attractive men they can find, and finally settling for a lesser man (“beta”) to provide financial stability once they are no longer able to lure attractive men. Men, on the other hand, are presented as having options and are able to pursue alternate methods of achieving success in having sexual relations with women; for example, men have the options to improve their presentation or financial situation, use a dating site, or focus on social skills. They are therefore portrayed as having more agency and cognitive ability than women – their options are not founded in impulse or instinct and they are able to exert restraint and choice.

Finally, Table 5.5 (p. 70) summarizes two minor themes related to sex and social hierarchy. There are ten entries in the former and six in the latter. Social hierarchy refers to a level of comfort interacting with women and is supported by literature referencing isolation, mental health, and inhibition (Jaki et al., 2019). The theme of relationships and sex acts provides insight into another potential contradiction, specifically incels'

construction of women. The majority of entries in this theme reference entries that describe sexual acts with no romantic or emotionally intimate attachment (for example “one night stand” and “pump and dump”). Furthermore, most other themes describe women in a derogatory manner. However, there are four entries that indicate a desire not previously discussed – love (“oneitis”, “long term relationship”, “to make it”, and “ascend”). This desire seems incompatible with incels’ general construction of women as lesser than and unworthy and provides an interesting avenue for further exploration.

**Table 5.3**

*Male and Female Ideals and Physical Appearance According to Incel Ideology*

	References to Physical Appearance				Masculine and Feminine Ideals				
	Male	DEN <sup>1</sup>	Gender Neutral	DEN <sup>1</sup>	Female	DEN <sup>1</sup>	Masculine Ideals	DEN <sup>1</sup>	Feminine Ideals
beta eyes/big eyes/big round eyes	37	canthal tilt	54	Butterbody	52	bald theory	27	BBV	31
bone smash theory	45	NCT	54.1	butterface	53	BBC theory	30	high E	109
bug eyes/frog eyes/bulging eyes	51	PCT	54.2			DHT	72		
face theory/face law /F.A.C.E.	80	compact midface/short midface	64			face theory/face law/F.A.C.E.	80		
hooded eyes	115	deep set eyes	70			failo effect	81		
hunter eyes	116	fWHR	94			GL	100		
long face/long midface/narrow face/gay face	158	IPD	130			halo effect	105		
Norwood/Norwooding/NW	197	looks	146			height theory	107		
		PSL	225			heightism	108		
		scale/rating				high T	113		
		potato face	219			looks	161		
		upper eyelid exposure	276			theory/looks			
		zygo	288			law			
						masculinity theory	170		
						Natty	189		
						pretty boy	220		
						social proof	249		
						t/test	264		

<sup>1</sup>DEN = dictionary entry number

**Table 5.4***Male and Female Strategies for Sexual Success*

Male Strategies for Sexual Success		Female Strategies for Sexual Success	
	DEN <sup>1</sup>		DEN <sup>1</sup>
-maxx	3	AF/BB	9
Beta provider	36.2	Betabux	39
Bone smash theory	45	Cock carousel	60
Cold approach	61	Hypergamy	119
Go outside theory	101	Juggernaut law	141
IOI	129	Personality	211
IOD	128	The Wall	269
JBW	134		
L	146		
LMS	157		
Luck theory	164		
M	165		
Mew theory	178		
Meeks	172		
MGTOW	176		
Mog	185		
Morph game	187		
Numbers game	201		
OKC	204		
POF	217		
S	236		
To make it	272		

<sup>1</sup>DEN = dictionary entry number

**Table 5.5***Minor Themes: Relationship/Sex & Social Hierarchy*

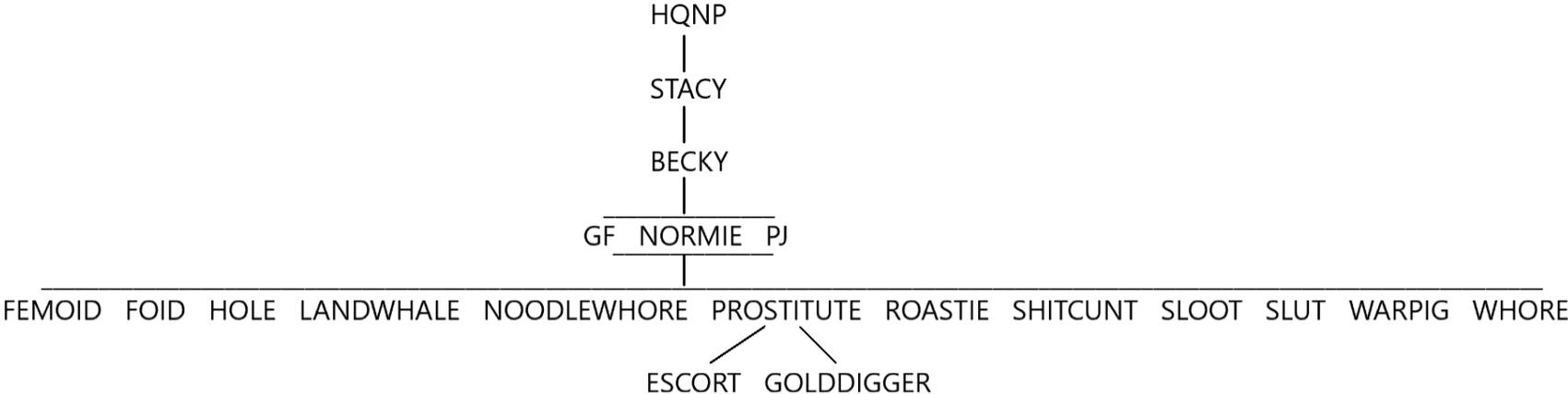
References to Sex Acts/Relationships		References to Social Hierarchy	
	DEN <sup>1</sup>		DEN <sup>1</sup>
Ascend	22	Aspie	23
Cuck	68	Low inhibition	110.2
Fap	82	Inhibition	110.1
Long term relationship	159	High inhibition	110
MAB	166	Love-shy	163
Nofap	193	sperg	253
NSA	198		
One night stand	207		
Oneitis	206		
Pump and dump	227		
To make it	272		
Wizard	284		

<sup>1</sup>DEN = dictionary entry number***The Creation and Maintenance of Gender-Based Hierarchies.***

A peculiarity of the incels.co forum is their usage of usually derogatory or generalizing words to refer to men and women. An examination of the number and types of such gender-based labels found 22 entries for male vernacular and 20 entries for female vernacular, the first finding that approaches a semblance of gender equality. The entries themselves indicated that different types of labels evoked a sense of superiority or inferiority, thereby implying the presence of a hierarchy. An attempt was made to visualize these male and female hierarchies and the results are present in Figure 5.1 (p. 71) and Figure 5.2 (p. 72). These hierarches represent the perceived value of males and females in accordance with the incel worldview.

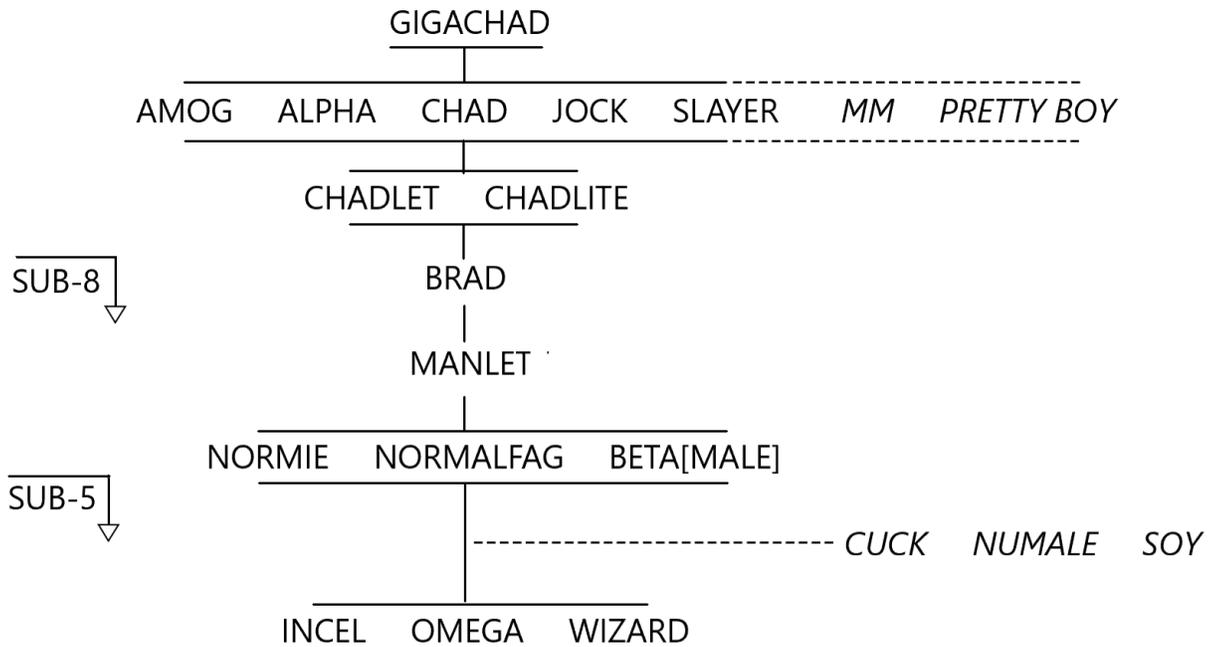
**Figure 5.1**

*Female Hierarchy*



**Figure 5.2**

*Male Hierarchy*



*Note.* Entries in italics with dashed lines reflect inconclusive placement. Definitions of these entries do not provide clear guidance on their placement in the hierarchy. Hierarchical placement is therefore not definitive but based largely on context clues.

The male and female hierarchies follow different criteria. Starting with the female hierarchy in Figure 5.1 (p. 71) and in light of the previously identified themes, the female hierarchy was constructed around the notion that women's worth as human beings is derived from their attractiveness and capacity for men's sexual satisfaction. This is especially evident in themes related to physical appearance, feminine ideals, and female strategies for sexual success. The common trend amongst all of them is women's sexuality is tied to their attractiveness. Since no other aspect of women's existence is referenced, it is clear that their existence is reduced to sexual prowess. A reductionist construction of women is also present in the definitions of labels ascribed to them. For example, "stacy" and "becky" both refer to women who are attractive, with the former more so than the latter. "HQNP" refers to a form of mythical being, a woman who is attractive *and* intelligent (hence the designation of "high quality"). "Normie" refers to an average looking person (female and male) and marks the middle of the hierarchy, flanked by two value-neutral terms ("GF" and "PJ"). The remainder of the labels, 14 in total, are explicitly derogatory, with some definitions admitting as such ("derogatory term for female" or "pejorative used to describe a female"). The definitions indicate that these labels are interchangeable, making the construction of the female hierarchy much shorter and wider. While the superficial interpretation of these terms indicates that they reflect multiple forms of dehumanization, a closer examination reveals that these terms, consistent with previously identified themes, center around women's alleged promiscuity. This further indicates that a woman's worth is also based around her sexual purity. Women are therefore not constructed as full human beings, capable of choice and free

thinking, but are instead portrayed with the singular focus of their value as entities for sexual satisfaction.

The male hierarchy (Figure 5.2, p. 72) finds some similarity with the female hierarchy, as it is also based in part on the perception of attractiveness, present in the definitions of these labels. Closer examination reveals that some definitions link male attractiveness to sexual success with women, such that the more attractive men are able to have more sex with multiple women (see for example “slayer”). This is further supported by the entries present in the female strategy for sexual success theme, whereby women will seek out attractive men to have sex with them. It should also be noted that there are five additional labels whose place on the hierarchy is inconclusive: “cuck” (68), “MM” (“male model”; 184), “numale” (200), “pretty boy” (220), and “soy” (252). These entries are visually represented in italics and denoted by a dashed line. The definitions for these terms acknowledge their place lower on the hierarchy but do not specify where. The unifying feature of these terms is the presence of feminine or feminist qualities, which according to the incel dictionary, makes these men less attractive to women. The rationale for the placement of these entries ought to be noted. “MM” and “pretty boy” are defined as having less sexual appeal to women due to feminine features, however, context clues demonstrate the entries’ use interchangeably with “Chad” and “Slayer”, as evident in post titles such as “from pretty boy Chad-jock to bald old fellae in few years”, “pics of male models chads pretty boys etc [*sic*] trigger reddit and incel tears posters”, and “Chad / Male model at the gym I go to sharing his chick stories”. Other post titles question the equivalence of “Chad” to “male model” and “pretty boy”, as evident in the following: “You dont [*sic*] need to be male model level tier to be chad”, “am i [*sic*] the only one on

here who would rather be a pretty boy than a stereotypical chad”, and “mogged a pretty boy manlet walmart manager”. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude a true location for these entries in the hierarchy. The discrepancy between the definition and the context clues suggests that dictionary definitions do not necessarily reflect real-world usage or may have evolved.

“Cuck”, “numale”, and “soy” are more difficult to place. Their definitions reference feminist qualities and lower testosterone as the causal factors in their minimal sexual appeal to women. Context clues suggest these entries are used in an extremely derogatory manner, as for example in “its over 4 soy boy cucks”, “could it be soy cucks are simply low iq and dont have the brain power to figure out looks are mostly what matter”, “i [*sic*] fucking hate male feminists so much soyboy cucks”, “soyboy numales fucking disgust me”, “Numale cucked by a BBC slayer in action”, and “Why do the fucking numales and fensails of reddit refer to a person's boyfriend/girlfriend as that person's "SO"?”. The derogatory nature of these entries’ use indicates their place lower on the hierarchy but higher than incels’ as incels have placed themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy. Neither the post titles nor the definitions provide a clear understanding of their place on the hierarchy therefore their placement is also inconclusive.

The male hierarchy’s construction is narrower and longer in comparison to the female hierarchy, indicating a depth of choice not accessible to women. In accordance with the definition of incel, incels have placed themselves at the bottom of this self-constructed hierarchy, portraying themselves as both unattractive and unable to have sex with women, despite their desire to. Overall, both men and women are portrayed in a reductionist manner, their worth derived from their subjectively perceived attractiveness.

However, men are provided more depth of humanity while women are reduced to the degree of sexual satisfaction that they can provide men.

***Linguistic Markers Elucidating Mechanisms of Generalization.***

As per the literature, homogenizing the other is an essential part of dehumanization as the target group or outgroup members are frequently described as being homogenous; however, how such descriptions are created and maintained is not discussed. The results of this study provide some insight, through linguistic processes that create and maintain shared knowledge.

Stokoe (2012) identifies mutual category knowledge, or shared knowledge, as key to ease of communication. If participants in a discourse were constantly required to review basic elements about common objects and categories, the expression of internal states and the communication of ideas and information would be greatly hindered. This is frequently achieved through the use of idioms or words and phrases that possess idiomatic qualities (Stokoe, 2012). The central requirement of an idiom is that its meaning cannot be determined through a literal reading of the word(s); instead, it has an interpretive meaning established through usage and precedence. Idioms can be created through three interlacing components: describing the actions of an individual, treating those actions as prototypical of the category the individual is deemed to belong to, and finally, establishing the generalized (categorical) knowledge as shared (Stokoe, 2012). This process functions to bypass the need for further explanation while constructing the content of the idiom as essential to group knowledge and normalized.

Many entries within the dictionary are idioms or have idiomatic qualities; the entries used to create the male and female hierarchies, for example, would all fit this

description, as each term defines a prototype of a unique category of people that engages in behaviour specific to that category. Two phrases will be used to illustrate how shared knowledge is constructed in vilifying one group while deifying another: “AWALT”, an abbreviation for “All Women Are Like That”, and “go ER”, subcultural language that means to commit mass murder.

A random sampling of five instances of AWALT in the dataset was selected to help illustrate this linguistic process. The post titled “What's your argument for AWALT and women not being capable of love?” indicates the creation of shared knowledge around all women not being capable of love, therefore “all women are like that”. The poster specifically asks for anecdotes that confirm this premise, acting like an echo chamber in the linking of women and their inherent lack of capacity for a primary emotion. “Femoids are so predictable awalt” attempts to establish that women are so consistent in their undesirable behaviour that the label that “all women are like that” is a natural outcome, one that is ascribed without resistance. The post titled “awalt awalt awalt dont [*sic*] fall into their trap” reminds users not to entertain perspectives or arguments that do not confirm the generalized nature of AWALT. This is further evidenced in the post “do you believe in awalt 100 or do u think theres [*sic*] 1 unicorn in 10 000 awalts”, where the use of “unicorn” indicates a mythical creature that does not exist, implying that women who do not fit the AWALT generalization similarly do not exist. Finally, “Tomcel & Jerrycel<sup>13</sup> #AWALT” is a clever way of garnering support, as hashtags are utilized in social media platforms as calls to action or as a way to garner large amounts of support for a particular issue or movement (see #MeToo or #BLM;

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<sup>13</sup> Neither “Tomcel” nor “Jerrycel” are defined in the dictionary and the post title does not provide additional insight. However, these terms appear to be references to the Tom & Jerry children’s cartoon.

Smith, 2016). Interestingly, none of these post titles actually describe what behaviour is related to the ascription of the AWALT idiom; instead, efforts are concentrated at establishing this phrase as common knowledge. This arguably allows individual users to generalize to all women their personal unpleasant experiences, biases, and prejudices.

The use of a noun as a verb elucidates how shared knowledge is constructed and how such knowledge normalizes and legitimizes behaviour. The phrase “go ER” reflects both an eponymous verb phrase and zero derivation. An eponymous verb phrase is a phrase that describes an action that is recognizably linked to a specific person (Rapp & Gerrig, 1999). In order to understand the meaning of this verb phrase and use it correctly, reader must be aware of the person behind the eponym and the dominant salience – recognizable action – associated with it. In this case, readers must know who the initials ER refer to (provided by the dictionary) and be aware of the dominant salience regarding ER. While the dictionary provides some information about the person behind the eponym (the 2014 Isla Vista Mass Murderer), the following information is not provided and must be gleaned elsewhere or otherwise assumed to be known: that the eponym is a mass murderer who targeted women, wrote a manifesto, and was a self-described incel. The absence of this information in the dictionary indicates that such category-bound predicates are part of shared knowledge within the incel forum. This presence of shared knowledge regarding ER and his actions support the notion of generalizations via idiomatic quality.

Furthermore, “go ER” is a zero-derivation verb, where the root “ER”, a noun, performs a secondary function as a verb (Dixon, 2008). Dixon (2008) illustrates this using the words tailor, butcher, doctor, and nurse. In examining these words, the action

completed through the derived verb is directly related to the noun of the derived verb. For example, a nurse, commonly described as a caring profession, *cares* for their patient. A similar rationale can be applied to “go ER”. In this case, the action completed by the noun – mass murder committed by the 2014 Isla Vista Mass Murderer – becomes the derived verb and in so doing replaces the language of committing mass murder with “going ER”. Effectively, this allows users to distance themselves from the gravity and violence of expressing the desire or need to commit mass murder.

***Contradictions Galore: Identifying Conflicting Worldview Constructions Through Dictionary Terms.***

Three major contradictions were identified. First, the overabundance of male descriptors in comparison to the paucity of female descriptors within the themes of sexual strategy, physical appearance, and ideals is surprising given the prevailing ideology’s focus on women. This contradiction provides an interesting avenue for understanding othering and dehumanization, especially considering both processes require the ascription of positive attributes to the ingroup and negative attributes to the outgroup; this does not align with the finding that the majority of male descriptors have an implied or explicit negative connotation.

Secondly, the prevalence of a nihilistic worldview is questioned in the presence of paradoxical themes related to improvement efforts and male strategies for sexual success. The question is this: if the incel worldview hinges upon a defeatist attitude, why are entries to hope present and utilized frequently? Finally, there exists a peculiar anomaly in entries that reference a relationship to women. On the one hand, women are reduced to objects for sexual satisfaction of men, but on the other hand, they are imbued with an

almost divine nature, as evident in the entries “to make it” (272) and “ascend” (22).

Women are therefore simultaneously derogated and dehumanized while elevated to an unreachable status. This raises the question of whether it is possible to tease out pathways, processes, or factors that can help determine which construction of women will be embraced.

Overall, study 2 was fruitful in its results, providing support for previously identified themes in both the first study and in previous literature while also elucidating new themes and patterns that were not otherwise known. An inductive thematic approach, supplemented by membership categorization analysis, was chosen as the primary methodology for study two. Nine themes were identified, four of which – race, nihilism, physical appearance, and sex acts or relationships – were in line with previous literature. Two additional themes – specific person and social hierarchy – also find some indirect support in the literature. Entries specific to past mass murderers constitute more than 40% of all entries within the specific person theme, which is in line with previous literature examining an apparent fixation on mass murderers within the incel community. Three themes were identified that are unique to this thesis: efforts at improvement, male and female ideals, and male and female strategies for sexual success. Efforts at improvement is directly antithetical to the extant literature’s focus on incel ideology’s defeatist nature. Based on these themes, women were more likely to be portrayed as inferior to men in terms of higher cognitive ability, pursuing sexual relations with non-incel men at a rate inconsistent with the purpose of reproduction. Women’s behaviour is described more rigidly relative to men, for whom dictionary entries reflect flexibility and freedom of choice and agency. Additionally, unique to this study are the nuances surrounding some

of the themes. For example, there was a substantial imbalance between the number of female descriptors as compared to male within the themes of physical appearance, ideals, and strategies for sexual success. The majority of entries across all themes were in reference to men.

The content and context of the entries strongly suggested a hierarchal quality to many of the labels used to describe both men and women. Dictionary definitions were examined to create a visual representation of the male and female hierarchies as constructed within the incel worldview. These are found in Figure 5.1 (p. 71) and Figure 5.2 (p. 72). The female hierarchy was determined to be a function of women's sexuality and their physical appearance, which is also linked to a subjective determination of sexual attraction. The more attractive a woman is deemed, the higher on the hierarchy she is placed. However, with a higher placement comes a presumption of hyper-promiscuity potential; although it should be noted that all women are presumed to be hypersexual, as per the ideology's notion of "pervasive female degeneracy" and "hypergamy". Similar to the female hierarchy, the male hierarchy is also constructed on the basis of perceived physical attractiveness. In this case, however, the other dimension involved is the ability to access sexual resources, or the presumption that those higher on the hierarchy do not have to put in any effort to obtain sex with women.

A third finding within the second study refers to the linguistic processes related to shared knowledge, or the mechanism behind homogenization of the outgroup. Examination of the dictionary found several entries with idiomatic qualities and others where nouns are utilized as verbs. Both of these findings provide support for the creation and maintenance of shared knowledge, or generalizations, that foster psychological

distance between the ingroup and outgroup and allow users to distance themselves from violent acts. Finally, thematic analysis identified three major contradictions within the data: (1) a relative overabundance of negative male descriptors in comparison to female descriptors, inconsistent with literature ascribing positive traits to the ingroup; (2) prevalence of entries related to improvement efforts inconsistent with literature's singular focus on nihilism; and (3) the construction of a relationship with women as something to aspire to, inconsistent with the misogynistic focus of literature and the majority of other entries.

In the next chapter, the results of both studies will be contextualized within the extant literature and specifically within Young's work in tracing the process describing the transition from liquid modernity to its potentially violent conclusion for the incels.co forum members. Proposed resolutions to the identified contradictions will also be discussed.

## **Chapter 6: Overall Analysis and Discussion**

In understanding the complexity and interrelatedness of the themes and results presented previously, this thesis turns to Young's work, as detailed in his *Vertigo of Late Modernity* (2007) and, to a lesser extent, *The Exclusive Society* (1999). Young's work is unique, especially within the field of dehumanization and its related subjects, because of its novel interplay between macro-level factors and meso- and micro-level processes in grasping the complexity of human behaviour. As dehumanization is a complex phenomenon, engaging with this subject in a manner that respects this complexity is not only appropriate, but necessary. As a novice on the border of knowledge, I wade into uncertain waters offering an argument for understanding dehumanization as a process using Young's theory of human behaviour, tracing macro-level factors related to globalization to the group and individual processes that facilitate the formation of ingroups and outgroups, demonization of the other, and its potential culmination into violence. This chapter will end on a proposed resolution to the previously identified contradictions through separate pathways leading to Hopeless and Hopeful narratives.

### **Charting the Path of Dehumanization: How Young's Theory of Human Behaviour Explains Dehumanization from Inception to Final Solution**

This section will follow Young's theory of human behaviour in illustrating the progression of dehumanization as evident in the incels.co forum. In keeping with scholarship that criticizes the field of dehumanization for its all or nothing approach, contextualizing the incel worldview within the results of this thesis and the limited literature examining incel ideology and behaviour will serve as an important first step in

understanding how a targeted group evolves from “them” to “sub-human” or “non-human” to “threat”.

### ***Transition to Liquid Modernity: Taking the Blackpill***

Young (2007) argues that globalizing forces have led to shifts within borders of key institutions traditionally responsible for providing building blocks for building and maintaining identity, resulting in a state of liquid modernity. Baele et al. (2019) speak of a similar transition in their study examining the extremist worldview of incels. They outline a familiar narrative and flow of events, beginning in the Golden Age, occurring within the same time frame as Young’s Golden Era, where traditional gender roles and patriarchal structures provide stability and security within the aforementioned institutions – social order, community, work, family, and identity. Neither women nor men of this era question their identity and more importantly, their place in society. Women’s “natural” tendencies towards reproducing with only attractive men are kept in check by their husbands’ and society’s power over them (Baele et al., 2019). A fair distribution of relationships is maintained in a society where adultery and pre-marital sex on the part of women is punished, thereby ensuring that the vast majority of men receive their entitled share of women and the natural category of involuntary celibate men is kept at a low rate of prevalence (Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019). According to incel ideology, the rise of feminism marked the end of the Golden Era (Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020).

The establishment of feminism as a legitimate social and academic institution, coupled with the rise of the neoliberal economy and the global proliferation of awareness of feminism characterized the beginning of the erosion of the Golden Era’s patriarchal norms and rules (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017). This erosion culminated in the

previously discussed deterministic concept of “femoid hypergamy” and pervasive female “degeneracy”. In this era of late modernity, women’s sexuality runs rampant, with a majority having sexual activity with a relative minority of men, and no longer for the “natural” purposes of reproduction, resulting in the exponential increase of the “natural” category of incels. These sentiments are also found in data from the current thesis, especially in regard to dictionary terms encompassed by the theme referencing female strategies for sexual success (see Table 5.4, p. 69). In defining “hypergamy” (119), for example, women are portrayed as constantly seeking men that exist above their own place in life, whether in social status, income, or physical attraction. Furthermore, when reviewing post titles that contain this term, context clues provide associations between hypergamy and feminism, globalization, and the decline of society. Post titles such as (1) “went out again after a long time of inactivity saw the blackpill effect of feminism hypergamy in action big time”, (2) “Hypergamy, feminism's last objective ?”, (3) “hypergamy and more promiscuous wmen [sic] causes lower quality marriages and society”, and (4) “3rd wave feminism and hypergamy” indicate a causal relationship between the rise of feminism and increased “promiscuity”, resulting in a decline of “quality marriages” and the values that characterized family as an institution in the Golden Era.

Globalization is questioned as a force amplifying this perceived social problem, as evident in posts such as: (1) “Hypergamy is infinite. Things will always get worse as long as cell phones and internet exist”, (2) “degeneracy hypergamy tinder are all parts of human nature”, and (3) “is hypergamy merely instinctual or is it a byproduct [sic] of media manipulation”. (1) “[P]roof hypergamy is worse than ever in 2018”, (2) “ultimate

mega proof how hypergamy was none in existent in the 1950's”, and (3) “here is proof hypergamy wasnt [*sic*] as bad in the 2000's” further support the notion that the transition out of the Golden Era is advancing the decline of traditional gender-based values dominant in the 1950s. Finally, post titles linked to the “hypergamy” definition anticipate that the future does not hold hope with regards to regaining the identity building blocks of the patriarchal familial intuition of the past; see for example (1) “men will worship women and deny hypergamy until the very end when humanity is dying out from zero birth rate”, (2) “The only way to stop hypergamy and degeneracy is to stop the event that started it all, the enightenment [*sic*] age.”, (3) “Daily reminder: NOTHING will ever happen. Hypergamy gets worse. Women keep winning.”, and (4) “How much worse will hypergamy be in 2028?”.

The axes of liquid modernity – identified as disembeddedness, individual self-realization, and pluralism of values – are arguably also present in the extant incel literature, aided largely by the rise of mass media as a cultural point of reference, mass consumerism via technological advancements, and the expansion of virtual communities (Young, 2007). Recent years have brought significant attention to the existence, and plight, of the manosphere and the involuntary celibate community (Baele et al., 2019; Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019). The proliferation of incel ideology is promoted through social media platform algorithms, which have been demonstrated to recommend extremist viewpoints to consumers who do not search for them (Papadamou et al., 2020). Finally, several scholars have demonstrated the expanding nature of the manosphere in general, and the incel community specifically (Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019; Papadamou et al., 2020). These factors amplify the echo

chamber nature of insular and extreme virtual communities. The aforementioned transition into liquid modernity has led to a sense of individual and social disembodiedness; in the case of the incels.co community, members no longer feel that the gender-based values of the Golden Era are adequately emphasized in mainstream society. In the proliferation of the internet, the second and third axes of liquid modernity are evident within the incels.co forum, specifically in the pluralism of different ways of knowing, known as “pills” in the incel worldview. The “pills” (defined in entries 5.1 through 5.6 in Appendix A), or philosophical viewpoints, present a binary view of the world, where individuals can either confront the “true” realities of the world, marked by an increasingly unfair advantage of women over men, or slink into denial, accepting a comforting lie fed to society by the immoral and destructive institution of feminism.

For those who experience a sense of off-timing and delay in normative sexual, social, and developmental adolescent trajectories, identified in stream one of incel literature as predisposing factors to adopting the incel ideology as adults, these aforementioned factors may promote a nihilistic individual self-realization, the third axis of liquid modernity, that evokes the Golden Age of the patriarchy and the uncertainty and sense of unfairness that accompanies living in an era of pervasive female “degeneracy”. In the incels.co forum, this narrative is known as the “blackpill” (5.1) and is frequently invoked in post titles as an invitation to confirm specific “truths” or garner emotional support in the difficulties of accepting a nihilistic worldview. The former is evident in post titles such as (1) “Blackpill on height”, (2) “blackpill too defined bone cheeks are bad and can make you look older”, and (3) “Brutal blackpill moment for me. I thought a cute looking girl was innocent, only to find out she is sucking dicks and getting fucked”

where members discuss the importance of physical attributes in male-female interactions and the extent of contemporary female “degeneracy”. The latter, garnering support, is evident in posts such as (1) “bein [*sic*] bluepilled is easier than being blackpilled”, (2) “BRUTAL BLACKPILL FOR MANLETS: DO NOT WATCH THIS VIDEO UNLESS YOU'RE READY TO ROPE AND/OR ER”, and (3) “Even if all men where [*sic*] blackpilled nothing would change”.

It should also be noted that the dictionary utilized in the incels.co forum provides further opportunity for individual members to establish a building block for identity that is specific to confirming the blackpill ideology. The suffix “-cel” (1) allows users to identify themselves based on a readily available identity – such as “currycel” (121.3), “escortcel” (121.6), “mentalcel” (121.14), or “truecel” (121.21) – or to create a unique, albeit equally reductionist, identity based on a single trait, for example “dickcel” or “locationcel<sup>14</sup>”. This option provides individuals not only with a sense of self-realization, but also with the illusion of newfound choice and freedom – the ability to construct their own narrative not bound by reference points of the past. Unfortunately, as defeatism is inherent in the blackpill ideology, the path of liberative potential, identified by Young (2007) as encompassing reinvention and flexibility, is not readily accessible to members of the incels.co forum. Instead, the path of ontological insecurity is adopted.

### ***Choosing Repressive Potential: Ontological Insecurity in the Context of Incel Ideology***

Ontological insecurity is described as a function of the degree to which two related forms of injustice are perceived: injustice of distribution and injustice of

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<sup>14</sup> Neither “dickcel” nor “locationcel” are defined in the dictionary however “dickcel” likely refers to an individual who believes they are incel due to the size or characteristics of their penis. A “locationcel” likely identifies their geographic location as the reason for their inceldom, suggesting that they may have better luck in attaining sexual or romantic relationships with women were they living in a different country.

recognition (Young, 2007). Injustice of distribution is entrenched in the chaos of reward brought by a perceived failure of meritocracy while injustice of recognition speaks to a sense of disrespect resulting in a chaos of identity (Young, 2007). While both forms of chaos lead to the same outcome of resentment, their paths are different, and this necessitates a closer examination. In a surprising turn of events, this thesis found substantial support for Young's (2007) chaos of reward, more so than his notion of a chaos of identity. The following discussion will expand upon both forms of chaos within the context of the data.

### **Chaos of Reward: Constructing Women as a Zero-Sum Sexual Commodity.**

Young (2007) identified three factors contributing to a sense of incomplete meritocracy, an injustice of distribution: receiving reward without commensurate effort, presence of incomparable rewards, and loss of personal narrative. Incomplete meritocracy manifests in behaviours characteristic of stereotyping, scapegoating, and disproportionality, leading to a sense of relative deprivation. In describing the chaos of reward, Young (2007) emphasizes the economic context, describing the importance of work as a building block for identity and vertigo – physical and emotional instability and vulnerability – that results once work disintegrates as a stable reference point. At first glance, it appears that very few dictionary entries used by incels.co participants relate to an economic or labour perspective, with only “NEET” (192) referencing occupation and a handful others related to maximizing financial potential as a male strategy for sexual success – see, for example, “moneymax” (3.3), “beta provider” (36.2), and “betabux” (39). However, by examining entry definitions, themes, and context clues, a concerning archetype presents itself: the depiction of women as a zero-sum sexual commodity. It should be noted that while

previous literature supports the argument that content on the incels.co forum is misogynistic (see Baele et al., 2019; Jaki et al., 2019), it does not expand on its nature. Therefore, the following argument is based on the results of the thesis and represents a unique contribution to the literature.

Marx (1859[1904], p. 20) defines a commodity as “anything necessary, useful, or pleasant in life”, stipulating that a commodity must have both use value and exchange value. Use value is defined as having purpose only through consumption, as linen would only in the use of making and wearing clothing. Exchange value is defined as the ability to exchange something with a use value for something else with a different use value or for currency. Women are constructed as commodities in the sense that their use value is male sexual gratification and can be exchanged for currency or social interaction. In the circumstance where a commodity is not distributed in an equitable manner, especially for those who claim a need for it – in this case, incels – a deficit may be perceived.

If women are defined as commodities, then applying economic principles to a perceived deficit of said commodity becomes a reasonable outcome. Results from study one, particularly the section on entries related to misogyny, offer support that, within the incel worldview, women’s worth and value is derived from their sexuality, having purpose only to the extent that they can be utilized as a sexual resource for men, especially incels. Therefore, in the worldview of incels, meritocracy is not defined by traditional aspects of work and labour and their related characteristics of effort – “hard honest work” – and reward – financial compensation. Instead, effort is rooted in the patriarchal structures that limit women’s agency and dictate appropriate gender-based behaviour while reward is defined simply as sex with women. In an interesting exercise

of mental gymnastics, women are seen as both the resource and the resource allocator, allowing the ingroup to simultaneously reduce women to a single trait that creates the content of their worth as commodities while also blaming them for its perceived deficit. Thesis results illustrate this construction of women within the context of Young's (2007) work.

Loss of personal narrative, one of Young's (2007) identified factors facilitating incomplete meritocracy, was discussed in the previous section (see "Transition to Late Modernity"), therefore this section will focus on the remaining two factors: meting out reward without commensurate effort and the reduction of the comparability of rewards. Receiving reward without commensurate effort is linked to a sense of unfairness, specifically that other groups have it easier. This is explicitly linked to misogynistic dictionary entries, see for example (1) "foids live life on tutorial mode", (2) "noodle whores have life on easy tutorial mode", and (3) "ANY CHAD OR STACY THAT HAS BEEN PLAYING THEIR LIFE ON TUTORIAL DIFFICULTY WOULD HAVE KILLED THEMSELVES BY NOW IF THEY WERE IN MY SHOES". Tutorial mode refers to the introductory portion of a video game that allows players to familiarize themselves with the controls and environment without facing any moderate or significant challenges in gameplay. The inference here is that women live life on "easy mode" as compared to incels. A search for "tutorial" found 27 post titles that portray women as having an inherent advantage over men, especially incels. Similarly, there are an additional 52 post titles that reference how "easy women have it". The implication of life on tutorial mode is that women receive rewards that are not equitable, relative to the effort that they put in. Post titles do not generally expand on the nature of the efforts or

rewards in question but on occasion, context clues identify sex as a potential reward; see for example (1) “Your looks match fucks new guys as easy as she takes a shit”, (2) “Your looksmatch gets sex as easy as you get pimples”, (3) “how easy it is for foids to get laid”, (4) “jfl at how easy is to get sex as a foid”, and (5) “So fucking jealous of how easy women have it when it comes to dating and sex”. Therefore, in the view of incels, women do not put forth the same effort into obtaining sex as do men, particularly incels, thereby contributing to the failure of sexual meritocracy.

Post titles indicate that attractive men – “Chads” (56) – and average men – “normies” (196) also bear some responsibility in the disintegration of meritocracy. References to these individuals living life in a tutorial mode also exists, with more responsibility shouldered by Chad than by normie. Although, regardless of which category a male falls into, the bulk of responsibility is attributed to women. In comparison to the 79 post titles that portray women as having an inherent advantage in life over men, only eight post titles construct Chad as living in tutorial mode in comparison to incels, and only three do the same for normies.

Results from study two also support the argument that women are constructed as sexual commodities. Recalling the section titled “the creation and maintenance of gender-based hierarchies”, evidence was provided supporting the notion that women’s value is derived exclusively from their sexuality and promiscuity. Women’s existence is acknowledged only to the extent that they function as sexual commodities. Labels used for women have definitions that fall into three general categories: (1) rating of physical attractiveness, such as “Becky” (35), “Stacy” (254), “Landwhale” (147), or “Warpig” (281); (2) stripping women of human qualities, such as “foid” (87), “Femoid” (84), and

“shitcunt” (239); or (3) defining women in relation to sexual practices, such as “prostitute” (222), “escort” (222.1), “golddigger” (222.2), “slut” (247), “sloot” (246), “roastie” (232), and “whore” (283). Additional context clues of the first two categories suggest that, even when the definition is not directly tied to sexual practices, it may be used in the same purpose practically. Context clues for “Stacy” reveal post titles such as: (1) “The face you need to hook up with a stacy in 2018” and (2) “The fact stacys [*sic*] actually suck chads dick and drink their sperm”. Similar searches for “landwhale” reveal the following: (1) “Fat landwhale chooses chad over incel for sex”, (2) “these old landwhales would be incel as males instead they get paid for sex”, (3) “If you have sex with a 0/10 ethnic Landwhale are you still Incel?”, (4) “Fat Ugly MoonFace Landwhale dating Chadlite. ITS OVER”, and (5) “i [*sic*] would actually fuck a 2 10 [*sic*] morbidly obese landwhale so that the normies would completely lose the ability to humiliate me pics inside”.

Of the second category, post titles that include “foid” also indicate the dictionary entry’s use to imply women as sexual commodities, see for example: (1) “The preferred method of contraception among foids.”, (2) “do mature foids want teen cock”, and (3) “the perfect sex bed for any foid”. Searches of “femoid” reveal similar results, such as: (1) “Even femoid teachers will fuck a chad student after he finishes high school”, (2) “Even if a femoid agrees to go out with you, it's pointless”, (3) “Even femoid babies and infants crave nothing but Chad cock”, and (4) “do you buy this femoid being a virgin”. Definitions of dictionary entries and their practical usage therefore strongly suggests that women’s value is reduced to the likelihood of accessing their potential for sex.

Additional support for the aforementioned construction of women as sexual commodities may also be found in the themes identified in study two, specifically those relating to female strategies for sexual success and feminine ideals. All of the entries found in these two themes explicitly identify increased promiscuity as a defining feature of women as a group, consistent with prior literature examining the concept of pervasive “female degeneracy” in the incel worldview. In a world defined by sexual meritocracy, participants in the incels.co forum construct women as sexual commodities and the allocators of this precious resource. In doing so, members of the forum are able to portray women as receiving rewards not earned by meritorious effort. Furthermore, rewards for incels, they argue, are not equally available as those for women or other, non-incel males.

Support is present for Young’s (2007) second factor contributing to the sense of incomplete meritocracy – presence of incomparable rewards. Comparable rewards, in relation to sexual meritocracy, is a concept present in the incel dictionary, specifically in the entry “looksmatch” (162), defined as “your equivalent in looks for the opposite sex” (see Appendix A). In theory, since physical attraction is a primary factor in sexual success – see for example “looks theory” (161) or “LMS” (157) – any male should be able to access resources (sex with women) as long as he pursues women with the same level of attractiveness as him. Context clues of dictionary entries indicate that forum members believe reward levels are skewed against their favour, biased towards women or attractive men. Failure of sexual meritocracy as it favours women can be seen in post titles such as: (1) “these old landwhales would be incel as males instead they get paid for sex”, (2) “Ugly looks don't affect women ONE IOTA. If you believe ugly women can't get chads, you're bluepilled AS FUCK”, (3) “To Landwhales who expect a 6'2" Chad”,

(4) “this chad lite i [*sic*] know is dating a 3 10 [*sic*] foid”, (5) “two wheeled goblin<sup>15</sup> demands tall chad in uniform”, (6) “No one cares fucked up, ugly, or fat women are. They can still get endless amounts of men and chad-lites”, (7) “i [*sic*] scarcely see 5 10 [*sic*] girls with nonchads”, and (8) “this bbw<sup>16</sup> demands her chad to be at least six feet no ugly manlets ewww”. Similarly, failure of sexual meritocracy as it favours non-incel men is evident in post titles such as (1) “this curry chad gets all the vaganas [*sic*]”, (2) “this is the difference between incels to failed normies to normies to chads”, (3) “This is all thats [*sic*] required to slay Stacy poon in 2018 if you're a Chad”, (4) “no chad goes unnoticed”, (5) “only chads life is worth living”, (6) “Only Chad can get away with”, and (7) “no matter what idea you come up with for getting women chad has already done it”. In both cases, incels.co participants identify women and attractive men as the recipients of substantially more rewards than incels.

Post titles strongly suggest that patriarchal norms of the Golden Era, specifically the oppressive structures and policies that punish women for expressing sexuality and agency, are invoked in arguments that rewards of the present are not comparable to rewards of the past. For example, see (1) “guys in the 1950s had it so fucking good i [*sic*] would rather be a normal man in the 50s than a billionaire in modern society”, (2) “if only i [*sic*] could be born in the 1950s”, (3) “it was easier getting laid in 1960 than today”, (4) “The 1960s were still great times for men! HELLS ANGEL BEATS WIFE!”, (5) “why modern age is worse than both the prehistoric era and pre 1960s for sub8 men”, (6) “ever notice how submissive girls are in futuristic films from e g [*sic*] the 1960s”, (7) “in the 1970s it was easy to get a 30 year old woman”, and (8) “in the 1970s women lined

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<sup>15</sup> “goblin” does not appear in the dictionary but appears to be another derogatory colloquialism for woman.

<sup>16</sup> “bbw” is short for “big, beautiful woman”.

up for asperger men”. As the treatment of women as sexual commodities was more common and acceptable during the 1950s through the 1970s, under the watchful and punitive structure of patriarchy, post titles that wax nostalgic about this era seek to restore access to this precious female commodity.

The three factors underlying a failure of meritocracy identified by Young (2007) – loss of personal narrative, meting out of rewards not earned, and incomparable rewards – culminate in a sense of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation can be understood as a lack of access to a resource or commodity that is perceived to be deserved. Within the incel ideology context, incels believe they are being deprived of a sexual resource – women – relative to its allocation to incel and non-incel men. Relative deprivation manifests in three behaviours – stereotyping, scapegoating, and disproportionality – and also finds support in data gathered from the thesis. As per Young (2007), stereotyping is akin to the portrayal of a group in an overly simplified and reductionist manner. The stereotypes features are then disproportionately identified as the cause of a perceived or real social problem. This process is partly described in a previous section detailing the increased and untethered female promiscuity characteristic of pervasive female “degeneracy” and “hypergamy”, resulting from the rise of feminism, and establishing this stereotype as the cause of the disintegration of family as an institution upon which identity may be built (see the section titled “From Transition to Late Modernity”).

Examination of post titles with entries found within the female hierarchy (see Figure 5.1, p. 71) provides insight into relative deprivation. Post titles such as “I deserve a GF more than most normies do” and “femoids would rather fuck and marry a bridge or the eifell [*sic*] tower than us incels” indicate that members feel a sense of unfairness in

their inability to access a commodity readily available to others. This sense of unfairness, or more specifically of entitlement, is further evidenced when reviewing post titles that contain a variation of “deserve” or “entitle”, illustrated by posts like (1) “Why is feeling "entitled" to sex a horrible thing?”, (2) “I am ENTITLED to a CUTE VIRGIN LOVING GF”, (3) “i am entitled to a cute submussive virgin foid there i said it”, (4) “[LAW OF ATTRACTION] I am ENTITLED to a 3/10 chubby girl with small breasts!!!”, (5) “Why do anti-incels/niceguys always say we aren't entitled to love/sex?”, (6) “I deserve to fuck a 9/10 jb<sup>17</sup> goddess”, (7) “i deserve sex”, (8) “I deserve a girlfriend”, (9) “Everyone here deserves sex with a hot female”, (10) “all men deserve to be chads”, (11) “yes we deserve a virgin girlfriend”, (12) “all men deserve multiple wife”, (13) “incels deserve to be rich”, and (14) “i not only deserve a girlfriend im owed one”.

Furthermore, other post titles disparage the apparent entitlement held by women. This can be seen in posts such as (1) “do women deserve the rights they have”, (2) “women deserve zero rights zero freedom zero income”, (3) “it infuriates me that sluts think they deserve romantic love and stability”, (4) “never feel bad for insulting a woman she deserves it”, (5) “I hate the entitlement of femoids”, (6) “Female entitlement in a nutshell”, (7) “Females are not entitled to life”, (8) “female entitlement”, and (9) “why do femoids feel like theyre [*sic*] entitled to have a job without needing to suck the business owners dick”.

In general, within the incels.co forum, chaos of reward – injustice of distribution – is rooted in a sense of a failing sexual meritocracy, whereby women, specifically sex with women, are constructed as the commodity that is desired but unobtainable as a result of

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<sup>17</sup> “jb” is short for jailbait, internet slang for a girl who is considered a minor. In some jurisdictions, sex with a minor is statutory rape and carries a jail/prison sentence.

women unfairly distributing sex to non-incel men. The outcome of a chaos of reward, and that of a chaos of identity, is resentment.

**Chaos of Identity: Incel Placement at the Bottom of the Social Hierarchy.**

Young (2007) describes the chaos of identity as rooted in the perceived unequal distribution of self-esteem and social status. He argues that a lack of approval from socially significant others leads to a sense of randomness and a humiliation of misrecognition. Just as a chaos of reward follows relative economic deprivation, so too does the chaos of identity follow relative deprivation in the realm of *social status*. Respect and self-esteem are central to a justice of recognition. Evidence for these two elements is sparse.

Previous literature – see Donnelly et al. (2001) and Jaki et al. (2019) – found a relationship between low self-esteem and identifying as involuntarily celibate, however this relationship was not discussed in any detail beyond acknowledgement. Scaptura and Boyle (2019) identified expressing a need for respect in the context of acceptance threat, specifying that men who feel a threat to their gender identity are more likely to promote traditional gender roles in an effort to appear more masculine. This is supported by the previously discussed post titles that wax nostalgic for the Golden Era of patriarchal gender roles. The dictionary definition of “halo effect” (105) further supports this notion that masculine men command more respect, as is evident in the definition (see Appendix A):

“The psychological effect when people ascribe personality characteristics or other qualities based on their impression of a person. For example, good looking people are perceived as smarter, better leaders and more successful even without properly getting to know the person. *Masculine looking men are perceived to be respected more by their peers, more mature and more dominant.*” [emphasis added]

“Halo effect” (105) is the only dictionary entry that references respect or self-esteem. However, there is another avenue to be explored in understanding the role that respect and self-esteem play within the incel worldview.

Recalling the male hierarchy (Figure 5.2, p. 72) discussed in a previous section (see “The creation and maintenance of gender-based hierarchies”), incels have placed themselves at the bottom of a hierarchy based on physical attractiveness and ability to access a sexual commodity. This is an interesting finding as upward physical comparison appears to have an inverse relationship with self-esteem. In one of the studies conducted by Thornton and Moore (1993), the authors found that men who compared themselves to more physically attractive men experienced a reduction in self-esteem. Therefore, there is a suggested relationship between physical comparison among men and a negative effect on self-esteem. This may be further supported by the content of dictionary entries in relation to words that construct the male hierarchy, specifically the terms “sub-5” (257) and “sub-8” (258). The latter is simply defined as “A man who is not good-looking enough” while the former includes the caveat “condemned to a life of fapping<sup>18</sup>, escorts and incel rage”. The caveat not only links physical attractiveness to a life outcome but asserts a causal relationship between decreased physical attractiveness and a low social status. “Omega male” (205) further supports this sentiment, defining such as a male as “a man on the lowest rung of the sexual/romantic (and sometimes general) social hierarchies.” Additionally, “Beta male” (36.1) is defined as average across several dimensions, including income, physical attractiveness, social skills, and access to sexual commodities. In the incel worldview then, incels find themselves at the bottom of a social

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<sup>18</sup> “fapping” is a colloquialism for masturbation.

hierarchy. Engaging in upward social comparison leaves them with a lowered self-esteem and a sense of deprivation in relation to respect and social status.

The end of chapter 5 identified three major contradictions in the results of the thesis. Themes of sexual strategy, physical appearance, and ideals reveal a plethora of male descriptors and a relative lack of female descriptors. The contradiction is elucidated within the context of othering and dehumanization literature; the majority of male descriptors within these themes possess an explicit or implied negative connotation. However, literature (see for example, Haslam, 2006; and work done by Leyens and colleagues, 2000, 2003, 2007) identifies the central role of ascribing positive traits to the ingroup and negative traits to the outgroup in dehumanization. If previous literature is followed, results would be expected to show the inverse – a higher ratio of negative descriptors for females than males. This apparent contradiction can be understood not as a function of dehumanizing the outgroup but a manifestation of incels' placement of themselves at the bottom of a self-constructed hierarchy. As upward same-sex physical comparison is associated with lowered self-esteem, the abundance of male descriptors may suggest the presence of low self-esteem within men who identify as incel. Within the context of Young's (2007) work, low self-esteem is an important element in facilitating humiliation of misrecognition and a chaos of identity. As previously discussed, chaos of identity and a chaos of reward both result in feelings of resentment.

***“Foids like this deserve capital punishment”*: Tracing Resentment to a Final Outcome**

Defined as a feeling of anger, bitterness, and powerlessness, resentment functions to motivate action against the offending group (Young, 2007). As previously

indicated, this thesis was not structured to test for the presence of linguistic expression of emotions. However, several scholars (Donnelly et al., 2001; Ging, 2017; Jaki et al., 2019; Scaptura & Boyle, 2019) have found expressions of anger by members of incel and manosphere communities, lending support to the presence of this negative emotion in manosphere rhetoric. Bitterness can also be understood as disappointment stemming from a sense of unfairness; unfairness, in relation to distribution and recognition, has been extensively discussed in the previous section. Finally, powerlessness is present in some post titles, such as “femoids would rather fuck and marry a bridge or the eifell [*sic*] tower than us incels” and “Look at this disgusting slob fem brutally displaying her power and Chad bf”. A search for post titles that include “power” yields 146 results, but these do not all correspond to a feeling of powerlessness, therefore it is not possible conclude its presence at this time. Future research should examine this construct specifically.

Essentialism is a necessary prerequisite of othering and dehumanization (Haslam, 2006; Hiebert, 2008; Leyens et al., 2000, 2003, 2007; D. Smith, 2014; Young, 1999, 2007). The form essentialism takes depends upon its origin; Young (2007) describes the creation of rigid boundaries between ingroups and outgroups as stemming from relative deprivation while the attribution of a permanent and natural essence as resulting from a humiliation of misrecognition. Women’s essence, according to incel ideology, is established in the content of dictionary entries related to female strategies for sexual success (Table 5.4, p. 69) and feminine ideals (Table 5.3, p. 68). Essence revolves around hypersexuality and is characterized by impulsivity, irrationality, acting upon on baser instincts, and lacking in civility and maturity. Consistent with Haslam’s (2006) work on animalistic dehumanization, women are denied uniquely human traits, those that govern

the animal-human divide. In this way, women are denied the capacity for higher order thinking, moral compass, emotional maturity, and intelligence. This form of dehumanization and essentialism is evident in posts such as (1) “Ethnic women have no morals”, (2) “government subsidized c sections for an increasing number of foids who are too lazy to shit out their fuck trophy among other hints of moral decay”, (3) “women were never chaste because of any moral ethical ideal but because of circumstance”, (4) “If god exists would he punish women,for [sic] them being sexually immoral”, (5) “women are children”, (6) “this truck commercial is why you should treat women like children”, (7) “sex with foids of all ages is pedophilia because foids never mature past the mentality of children”, (8) “holes admit they cant be held responsible for any of their actions so why should they be treated as anything more than children”, (9) “femoids are literally children”, and (10) “When I look into the eyes of women I see nothing but some primal animal only driven by instinct”.

Mechanistic dehumanization, defined as the denial of human nature characteristics, imbues upon the target superficiality and a lack of warmth and agency (Haslam, 2006). Additionally, Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) found that, when stereotyping an outgroup, if the group is rated low on dimensions of both competence and warmth, feelings of contempt, anger, disgust, and resentment follow. Furthermore, the outgroup is judged to be of low status, inferior in comparison to the ingroup. Both Young (2007) and Fiske et al. (2002) provided the same examples of groups that fit this stereotyping behaviour – namely, poor people and welfare recipients. Within the incels.co context, women lack warmth, competence, agency, and emotional depth. This is evident in posts such as (1) “society only cares about sluts and whores”, (2) “irrefutable proof

that women only care about looks”, (3) “women have shallow, superficial type of intelligence only”, and (4) “imagine women in the future can be bred to be non superficial”. Dictionary entries like “personality” (211), “hypergamy” (119), “AF/BB” (9), “cock carousel” (60) and “betabux” (39) further support the notion that women are portrayed as acting upon a base sexual drive, with either no self-control or restraint that would maximise financial benefit. Finally, the naturalness of such essences is evident in post titles such as (1) “inceldom is natural selection and our genes will never pass on”, (2) “chads are our natural enemies along with normies and women”, (3) “women are naturally attracted to degeneracy”, and (4) “women must understand that their natural role is to provide me their bodies”.

The creation and maintenance of rigid boundaries between ingroups and outgroups is best exemplified by the female and male hierarchies (see Figure 5.1, p. 71, and Figure 5.2, p. 72) and the content of the definitions that sustain them. With regards to the female hierarchy (Figure 5.1, p. 71), the hierarchy is a function of two main aspects: physical attractiveness and sexual activity. Dictionary entries with a higher level of physical attractiveness are implied to have more value and are therefore at the top of the hierarchy. Those with an implied or explicit element of higher sexual activity can be found at the bottom of the hierarchy. As the hierarchy is created on the basis of physical attractiveness, the subjects of the hierarchy’s labels cannot move between levels, as a “Stacy” cannot be a “Becky”. While it is possible for two forum members to rate an individual differently, thereby attaching a different label based on their subjective physical attractiveness rating, the label maintains its rigidity in the eye of the beholder. However, it appears that labels within the same hierarchal level may be used

interchangeably at times, as in “i had a meltdown started calling foids on the street whores” and “11 years old is when western foids lose their innocence and they all become whores”. Additionally, in some titles, multiple labels may be applied to a single individual, as in the case of (1) “gif of the student incel alone at graduation and low iq chad kissing his stacy gf next to him”, (2) “Friends stacy gf asked me why I'm not in a relationship” or (3) “Be an incel 8/10 of any height you want or a 2/10 but have a stacy GF who loves you”. As illustrated though, these multiple labelling practices are usually implemented in the context of an unreachable ideal. Alternatively, it's possible that this may simply be the result of a linguistic practice whereby a noun is used as an adjective, known as a noun modifier. In this case, “stacy” modifies the noun “GF”. The use of multiple or interchangeable labels is not a common practice but still indicates that boundaries of label usage are not as impermeable or immutable as might be suggested.

The male hierarchy (Figure 5.2, p. 72) follows a similar logic as the female hierarchy with one exception, those labels that correspond to a higher sexual activity are also found towards the top of the hierarchy. At the bottom is where incels place themselves, both physically unattractive and experiencing a deficit of access to sexual activity with women. Interchangeable labels do not appear to be as common but multiple labelling in a similar format is present; see for example (1) “what women want their chad bfs to do to all incel males”, (2) “its fucking over look at this foid and her chad bf”, and (3) “foid got slapped by chad bf”. The similarity in formatting lends support that the presence of chad/stacy bf/gf is not a commentary on the permeability of categories but reflects a characteristic of English language usage.

Linguistic markers that promote generalization and homogenization of an outgroup, as discussed in “linguistic markers elucidating mechanisms of generalization”, provide support to the argument that dictionary entries promote the maintenance of boundaries between ingroups and outgroups. By ascribing idiomatic qualities to the outgroup, the possibility of improvement or a positive outlier is denied. This is again evidenced in post titles such as (1) “do you believe in the nawalt unicorn”, (2) “do you believe in awalt 100 or do u think theres [sic] 1 unicorn in 10 000 awalts”, and (3) “awalt awalt dont fall into their trap”.

Young (2007) further describes essentialism as a method for individuals to gain a sense of control in a world marked by vertigo. Othering fulfils the need to cultivate order in a world where boundaries are constantly shifting and permeability changes. Young (2007) describes two modes of othering, liberal and conservative. Liberal othering, defined by the denial of human traits to the outgroup, is supported by data from the thesis, as discussed in a previous section examining animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization within the incels.co forum. Conservative othering finds less support, especially in light of the multitude of negative entries related to male physical appearance and masculine ideals. Forum participants engage more frequently in attributing negative characteristics to themselves than attributing positive ones.

Despite this, there is substantial evidence supporting Young’s (1999) steps of othering. In the first stage, temptation, the deviant freely chooses to engage in deviant behaviour, in part perhaps because of their flawed essence. This is akin to women choosing to engage in sexual activity with attractive men because of a baser instinct towards promiscuity. In the second stage of petrification, the deviant is consumed by the

defining features of their essence (Young, 1999). Hypergamy and pervasive female “degeneracy” mark this stage, where women’s goal is defined by “AF/BB” (9) and they are consumed by the apparent need to have sex with attractive men for as long as possible and then find someone to financially provide for them when they can longer attract “Chad” (56). In the disturbance stage, the deviant is identified as the root cause of a larger social problem (Young, 1999). Women, and to a lesser degree “Chad”, are identified as the cause of the increasing incidence and prevalence of the naturally occurring “incel” category. If women were bound by law or norms, as was the case in the Golden Age of patriarchy, to sexually and socially submit to men, then a fair distribution of respect would be attained and access to the precious commodity of sex would be more equitable. In the final stage, nemesis, the deviant is defined as an enemy of society, leaving in their wake suffering and misfortune (Young, 1999). Within the incel ideology, the rise of feminism marked the beginning of the end, so to speak, where the traditional institutions of marriage and family no longer exist in the same function or structure as they once did. Women and their sexually degenerate behaviour are constructed as the enemy of society, especially its ideals of fairness and meritocracy. Its victims are incels, who must suffer from the inequitable distribution of respect and access to sex.

Once an enemy is constructed as a threat, violence becomes possible (Hiebert, 2008; Lifton, 2000; Young 2007). The presence of rage and frustration is supported by thesis results; see dictionary entries such as “Reeee” (230), “jfl” (137), and “jfc” (136). However, these entries do not indicate the direction in which violent behaviour may manifest. Although previous literature explores a relationship between incel ideology and violence against women, the current thesis suggests that the expression of violence by

incels may follow two different avenues: externalized violence towards others, or internalized violence towards themselves. Externalized violence targets women disproportionately to the other outgroup, non-incel men. This is evident in posts that encourage: (1) punishment, such as “Fucking whores as an incel in order to punish them”, “new punishment for roasties”, “single mothers should be made to whore themselves out for their welfare”, and “if passive aggressiveness were punishable by death would there be any females left”; (2) genocide, such as “FUCKING SHIT THIS IS GENOCIDE FUEL (AWALT AWALT AWALT AWALT AWALT)”, “AWALT AWALT AWALT. HUMAN GENOCIDE NOW!”, “Well I Just Experienced More Genocide Fuel”, “oh you dont [*sic*] think we need mass genocide”, and “genocide fuel 4 foot 7 chad gets girl offering to date him”; and (3) mass murder, such as “FFS I've had enough of this shit, want to go ER”, “would you go er if crime were legalized for 24 hours”, “why incels go er”, “i [*sic*] will never blame a manlet if he decided to go er cho being a manlet is nothing short kek of suffering”, “i [*sic*] will go er right now”, “how to properly go er”, and “high t from nofap makes me want to go er”.

The second avenue for violence is directed at incels themselves, in the form of self-harm or suicide. This is evident in Table 5.2's (p. 64) references to nihilism where half of the 18 entries are related to suicide, three of which appear in the top 20 most frequently used entries (see Table 4.1, p. 50). “Bone smash theory” (45) indicates self-harm as an alternative to suicide, although it does not appear to be a popular option, appearing in only four post titles: (1) “why the fuck havent [*sic*] you bonesmashed”, (2) “volcel if you arent [*sic*] bonesmashing”, (3) “Bone smash theory”, and (4) “bonesmashed my nose”. The second avenue strongly suggests that expression of

violence is not limited to others but may be turned towards the self, indicating a level of distress that requires mental health intervention.

### **Resolving Contradiction: The Hopeless and Hopeful Pathways**

At the end of chapter 5, three contradictions within the data were identified. The first, an imbalance in the quantity of male to female descriptors in several themes, was addressed earlier in this chapter. The second contradiction is found in the opposing entries related to nihilism and efforts at improvement (see Table 5.2, p. 64). The third contradiction is apparent in Table 5.5 (p. 70), references to sex acts and relationships; specifically, there exist inherently exclusive viewpoints regarding women. The latter two contradictions will be discussed here.

The majority of discussion in the thesis has focused on the negative construction of women, as this is the innate focus of the incel worldview. However, there are four dictionary entries that deify women or construct women as an unobtainable ideal, specifically “ascend” (22), “long term relationship” (159), “oneitis” (206), and “to make it” (272). I propose that both of these contradictions may be resolved by the introduction of the Hopeless and Hopeful pathways. Incels.co members who staunchly believe in the blackpill ideology, especially its cynical nature and outcomes, are substantially more likely to find themselves following the Hopeless pathway. I hypothesize that, within this pathway, violence towards others and nihilistic tendencies would be more common. Additionally, an increasingly rigid construction of women as inferior and the cause of incel suffering would similarly be more likely. Finally, the idolatry of mass murderers, especially those who share in the belief of a complete failure of sexual meritocracy and who target women, would arguably be more prevalent in this pathway.

In contrast, the Hopeful pathway is characterized by efforts at improving social skills, physical appearance, and income potential. While forum members within this pathway may likely still believe they are at an inherent disadvantage for attracting women, they acknowledge that certain behaviour is within their control and may provide a compensatory mechanism. As women are not constructed as an inherently unattainable goal, there exists hope in the language used by subscribers to this pathway. This hopeful language manifests in the perception that while a relationship or sex with women is difficult to achieve, it is not impossible, and incels may “ascend”, or climb the social hierarchy by doing so. There are also numerous references to surgery in post titles, illustrated by posts such as (1) “nose surgery changes life”, (2) “just had plastic surgery today”, (3) “Is there a surgery for this?”, (4) “Is plastic surgery viable?”, (5) “have anyone surgerymaxxed”, and (6) “finally getting jaw surgery sliding genioplasty”. It should be noted that, in keeping with Young’s (2007) dislike of binaries, the Hopeful and Hopeless pathways do not constitute a binary, but are best understood as points on a spectrum, where individuals may find characteristics of mostly one or the other pathway and may be able to move between the two. In other words, the borders between these pathways are permeable, as is the case elsewhere.

This chapter traced macro-level factors of globalization to group and individual-level changes in order to understand the evolution of dehumanization. In order to accomplish this, data was analysed from over 52,000 posts using dictionary entries partially created and maintained by members of a male supremacy group, the incels.co forum. Furthermore, Young’s theory of human behaviour underlying criminality, as detailed in his 2007 work, and to a lesser extent *The Exclusive Society* (1999), was

utilized as the framework upon which to understand, organize, and interpret the results of the two studies conducted. The chapter traced shifting boundaries of norms and institutions to a sense of disembeddedness and loss of personal narrative, illustrating how incels.co forum members may be at risk of adopting the nihilistic blackpill ideology in a bid to construct a new narrative, as the traditional building blocks of identity present in the Golden Age of patriarchy are no longer deemed to be readily available. In a curious twist, the thesis found more support for Young's (2007) notion of chaos of reward than chaos of identity. The next and final chapter will summarize findings, identify implications, address limitations, and propose avenues for future research.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion, Limitations of Thesis, and Avenues for Future Research**

The purpose of this thesis was to understand incel ideology in their own words using a framework that would illuminate the progression of dehumanization as a phenomenon, providing insight into the transitions between “us and them” to “us versus them” and potentially to “them” as enemy. The incels.co forum was identified as the case study, because of its stability in online space and the fact that it’s publicly accessible. Since rules prohibit women from participating (SergeantIncel, 2017), data collection was limited to observational methods and publicly accessible data to ensure no ethical violations. Furthermore, incels.co links to a publicly accessible and maintained glossary of terms, used as the dictionary in this thesis. Since the incels.co forum constitutes a part of the larger manosphere community that contributes to this dictionary, tautological thinking can be avoided. Finally, in order to assess the frequency and relative importance of dictionary entries, all posts published in a single year were collected. At the time writing first began, 2018 was the most recent full year that had passed so collection of posts was restricted to any post published in 2018. Posts were collected using Evernote and a simpler print-to-pdf option. Due to technical issues during post collection, analysis had to be limited to the examination of post titles only. A total of 52,766 post titles were collected and organized for analysis. Two studies were carried out to determine the frequency of dictionary entry usage and the themes and patterns present therein.

Young’s (2007) work was chosen as the framework from which to contextualize language in the incels.co forum. Young emphasizes that an understanding of human behaviour must underlie any theory of criminality, or deviance, therefore by utilizing his work, we are able to understand a wider range of linguistic behaviour that includes

dehumanization and potential violence. In keeping with Young's (2007) critique of the attractions of hiatus, an inductive approach to the data was taken to reduce potential researcher bias. For example, presuppositions of violence were removed by utilizing an inductive thematic approach to promote an understanding of the incel worldview that is more reflective of the reality as they see it. Additionally, expectations were limited. However, as the extant literature (summarized in Chapters 1 and 2) consistently demonstrated the presence of misogyny, it was hypothesized that women would form the dominant outgroup through which the progression of dehumanization may be best understood.

One of the largest contributions of this thesis is its finding that women are constructed as a zero-sum sexual commodity. Specifically, the world is perceived as an incomplete sexual meritocracy, where sex with women – the commodity – is unequally distributed among men, available only to the most physically attractive men while incels are denied this basic human right. Furthermore, the blame for this inequitable distribution of commodity is thrust upon women. After the rise of feminism, women are portrayed as having given in to baser instincts unable to restrain themselves from sexual relations, allowing the distribution of their sexuality to “lesser men” only in situations where a more attractive male no longer wants to partake. In a world where patriarchal structures no longer exist to force an equitable distribution, as was present in the Golden Age where laws and norms forced female subservience to men, chaos and disorder is abundant as female degeneracy becomes pervasive and the natural category of incel is amplified. Some users go so far as to claim that this is resulting in an incel “holocaust” or “genocide”.

As dictionary entries do not address respect or self-esteem directly, the chaos of identity concept has less direct support from the thesis data. However, data from the thesis, specifically in relation to male physical appearance and masculine ideals supports literature examining self-esteem and same-sex physical comparison. Findings indicate that reduced self-esteem, a central factor in the development of a chaos of identity, is associated with upward physical comparison. Incels.co forum users routinely engage in upward physical comparison with men who are deemed more physically attractive. In fact, the male hierarchy is constructed on these exercises. These findings provide the second major contribution of the thesis to the literature, in their potential to resolve the first major contradiction identified. Specifically, that the overabundance of male physical descriptors in comparison to female descriptors as a manifestation of low self-esteem and a humiliation of misrecognition.

Substantial support was found for Young's (1999, 2007) notions of essentializing and othering in the thesis. Findings suggest the content of the essences ascribed to women and men may be found in themes of masculine and feminine ideals, physical appearance, and male and female strategies for sexual success. These are further supported by the content of the male and female hierarchies. More support was found for Young's (2007) concept of liberal othering, however, findings were in line with his steps towards othering. Finally, support was also found for Young's (2007) argument linking construction of the victim group as a threat as a necessary element in overcoming inhibitions to violence. Data supported previous literature that found a relationship between incel ideology and incitement to violence against women. In addition, the data

also illustrated that violence may take a different pathway, internalized towards incels themselves and manifesting as self-harm or suicide. This is a novel finding.

The final major contribution of the thesis to the literature is found at the end of Chapter 6, where a resolution is proposed to the remaining two contradictions. In understanding that incels.co participants are not a homogenous group, it is reasonable to argue that there may be different pathways users follow. The Hopeless pathway is consistent with previous literature and is characterized by a predominantly nihilistic viewpoint where effort is meaningless, sexual meritocracy has failed entirely, and incels are doomed to a life without equitable access to sex. The Hopeful pathway, on the other hand, holds the belief that sexual meritocracy is truly incomplete and disadvantages incels but access to sex may be possible through efforts at improving social skills, physical appearance, or income potential. The boundaries between these pathways are permeable and users may move between pathways.

The findings presented here reflect a substantial contribution to the literature, both in understanding the phenomenon of an online male supremacy group and in elucidating mechanisms of dehumanization. Furthermore, this thesis represents one of few attempts at applying Young's (2007) in its entirety, demonstrating that such an exercise is possible and provides a more comprehensive understanding of human behaviour than application of singular concepts.

### **Implications for Research**

Implications for the data and findings presented in this thesis are numerous, specifically within the realms of feminism, dehumanization research, and the field of multiple homicide. The conceptualization of women as sexual commodities would be of

particular interest to feminist researchers, especially in understanding a worldview that emphasizes a failed sexual meritocracy. The sentiment that women's worth is tied to a biological function is also mirrored within genocide research. Although the majority of victims who are targeted for killing during genocide or crimes against humanity are men and older boys, women who are past child-bearing age are also targeted for immediate physical destruction (Global Justice Center [GJC], 2018). GJC (2018) argues that while men and older boys are targeted because they pose a physical threat, older women are targeted because their purpose for existence as females has passed – that is, as they can no longer bear children, their utility is limited. Portraying women as products with use value, based on sexual gratification or biological propagation, has substantial implications for feminist movements and international victims' rights organizations.

The male and female hierarchies discussed in the thesis have implication for literature examining dehumanization. The distinction between animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization suggested by Haslam (2006) may be refined using the findings derived from thesis data. For example, while superficiality is characteristic of mechanistic dehumanization, per Haslam (2006), it may not always be used as such. The post title “imagine women in the future can be bred to be non superficial” contains references to the aforementioned mechanistic dehumanization but the use of the phrase “bred out” suggests animal husbandry and therefore the presence of animalistic dehumanization. Thesis data and findings can therefore provide insight into the real-world manifestations of different forms of dehumanization.

Finally, the themes of frustration, futility, and defeatism are in line with scholarship examining predisposing factors common to mass murderers. The Hopeful and

Hopeless pathways presented here may be used by multiple homicide researchers to enrich theory and explore mechanisms to narrow down common denominators amongst mass murderers. The implications discussed are not exhaustive and many others are present that were not included due to spatial limitations.

### **Limitations of the Thesis**

There are several limitations to this thesis that need to be acknowledged. First, this is a qualitative analysis with no additional coders. Initial codes and overall themes were developed by a single researcher which may lead to a bias in results. This was partially mitigated by an inductive approach to data analysis; however, future work should certainly attempt to reproduce this study with multiple coders.

The largest limitation is stems from the use of post titles only. Many nuances may be left unknown because comment threads were not followed. Following comment threads may have changed the frequency of dictionary entries in a manner that may elucidate different word usage patterns or alter the relative importance of themes. It is also possible that participants disagreed with the nature, tone, or content of post titles but this is unknown. However, this is unlikely to be the case in the majority of post titles as there is general consistency regarding the derogatory, dehumanization, and othering nature of the post titles – also consistent with previous literature. This is an unfortunate consequence of the technical difficulties encountered during data collection and of the temporal limitations imposed by a master's thesis.

Due to the breadth of data collected, the scope of the framework chosen, and the time limitations set by a master's thesis, many themes and concepts were not examined in as detailed a manner as the data would allow. For example, while advantages of

essentializing the self and the outgroup are described within Young's (1997) work, they are not explicitly addressed in the section on essentializing in Chapter 6. Instead, for those advantages for whom supporting evidence exists, advantages are discussed in areas where the advantages are first encountered. The length of the thesis prohibits a detailed and comprehensive examination of each of Young's (1997) supplemental concepts.

As a result of the necessity to focus on post titles alone, there are aspects of the framework and extant literature that are not able to be analyzed, specifically negative emotions of anger, contempt, disgust, and fear and their relationship to dehumanization and capacity for violent behaviour. Young (2007) and numerous other scholars in the dehumanization field have illustrated a link between the aforementioned emotions and behaviour that promotes dehumanization, violence, aggression, intergroup hostility, condemnation, moral exclusion, and a desire to isolate or eliminate the offending object or group (see Buckels & Trapnell, 2013; Haidt, 2003; Haslam, 2006; Matsumoto & colleagues, 2013, 2014, 2015; Sternberg, 2003).

Finally, the resolutions to identified contradictions presented in the thesis were not discussed in significant detail. This is largely because the contradictions themselves were a surprising finding and time and space restrictions did not allow for additional studies. Despite the limitations present, findings from this thesis represent significant contributions to the literature and provide interesting avenues for future research.

### **Avenues for Future Research**

Findings from this thesis present several avenues for future research, in addition to the ones identified above. First, it would be interesting to identify users with long and consistent posting histories and investigate said history for the presence of mechanisms

that may elucidate how extreme ideologies and beliefs are developed and sustained. The same posting histories may also provide insight into the Hopeless and Hopeful pathways and the extent of permeability between the two.

The presence of linguistic markers should be examined further in the context of idiomatic qualities and verb derivations in creating shared knowledge for the purpose of legitimating horrific acts of violence and homogenizing groups.

There is evidence of overlap between the findings of this thesis and Goffman's works. Specifically, there is evidence of overlap with the hopeless/hopeful streams and Goffman's concepts of discredited and discreditable stigmas (Goffman, 1963). This overlap may help to elucidate different linguistic behaviour as points of intervention. Additionally, there is evidence supporting Goffman's notion of "backstage" as described in his work *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956). The incels.co forum serves as the incelosphere's "backstage", where performance tips are exchanged, teammates are kept in line, and the audience is disparaged.

Finally, results regarding the two potential avenues for violence beg the question - is evocation of suicide or violence against others more common? Future research should examine. Previous literature focuses exclusively on incels' capacity for violence towards others but the dictionary illustrates frequency of words and patterns related to self-harm (bone smash theory) and suicide.

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## Appendix A: Incels.co-linked Dictionary

Dictionary Entry ID #	Dictionary Entry	Dictionary Definition
1	- cel	Suffix denoting <a href="#">involuntary celibate</a> . Used in the formation of the words: <a href="#">gymcel</a> , <a href="#">heightcel</a> , <a href="#">baldcel</a> , <a href="#">workcel</a> , <a href="#">wristcel</a> , etc. The stem word indicates the condition that made him incel, the activity that the incel spends to compensate for his lack of success with women, or just an incel that happen to be with the quality. For example, a <a href="#">baldcel</a> is a <a href="#">balding</a> man who is unattractive to women because of his <a href="#">hair loss</a> . A <a href="#">gymcel</a> is a man who spends his free time exercising in the hopes that a more fit <a href="#">body</a> will cause him to become more attractive to women. A <a href="#">currycel</a> is a South Asian male who happens to be an incel. See incel for specifics.
2	- fuel	Motivation for something. ex. Lifefuel (Inspirational, motivating, induces warm emotions)
2.1	lifefuel	Something that is positive and gives encouragement in life.
2.2	suifuel	Short for, "suicide fuel", or something deeply depressing.
3	- maxx/-maxxing/-max	An effort to improve an aspect of one's life in order to secure sexual and/or romantic intimacy. "Maximize" it.
3.1	looksmax	Maxing out one's own appearance. See also: Guide to looksmaxing
3.2	lowinhibmaxx	To get a low inhibition, to become someone with low inhibition
3.3	moneymax	to improve one's money.
3.4	Ntmaxxing	Means maximizing non-autistic traits in an effort to appear and act normal and have better success with women, regardless if one has autism or not.
3.5	statusmax	to improve one's status.
4	- mogged	Suffix indicating being dominated by another person. The stem word denotes the feature that one is being dominated by.
4.1	akabusimogged	Being dominated by a man of Kriss Akabusi-like prowess. Awooga indeed.
4.2	DOLPHmogged	The hardest of -mogged. It means an individual got dominated by Dolph Lundgren, and is now facing a proverbial decision : to leap or not to leap.
4.3	heighmogged	Being dominated by another's height.
4.4	skullmogged	Being dominated by a man with a better shaped or bigger skull.

4.5	wristmogged	Being dominated by a man with a thicker wrist.
5	- pill	Refers to embracing a type of philosophy. Coined from the movie The Matrix where the character Morpheus gives Neo the option to accept reality by swallowing a red pill or go back being connected to the matrix by swallowing the blue pill;
5.1	blackpill	A fatalistic/depressed version of red pill. <i>[also defined as]</i> A collection of harsh truths about dating and relationships backed by sociological studies. Alternative, a fatalist position about dating born from a belief in gender essentialism. Often, but not necessarily is concomitant with Existential Nihilism.
5.2	bluepill	The preference of believing in a comforting or convenient lie, especially when it concerns a person's world view, with emphasis on the pretense or opinion that goes contrary to the research suggesting physical attraction is utmost in social or sexual situations. <i>[also defined as]</i> Used to describe something that does not agree, understand. or acknowledge the harsh realities of the world, specifically about dating.
5.3	pinkpill	The femcel version of the blackpill. A femcel's brand of philosophy.
5.4	purplepill	The stance of being neutral or on the fence with regards to gender relations; i.e. not on the manosphere side, nor on the feminist side.
5.5	redpill	Confronting the true pretense of an aspect of a particular thing, especially in regards to the mechanics of socialisation, in the incel contexts.
5.6	whitepill	The acceptance phase of the blackpill and therefore seeking to assimilate that knowledge to improve your life, or become a volcel per <a href="https://incels.wiki/w/Whitepill">https://incels.wiki/w/Whitepill</a> . The term has also been used by some to refer to the negation of the black pill i.e another form of the bluepill.
6	- pill	The act of accepting one of the "pills" as the truth.
7	Abine	A kind term to refer to a female AB, or a woman inexperienced in romantic or sexual relationships. Used in the German AB community.
8	adipophilia	Attraction to fat people
9	AF/BB	Alpha fucks / beta buxx. Refer to woman who gets fucked by alphas and settles down with a beta. Originates from a concept in evolutionary psychology, known as strategic pluralism.

10	AFC	An "Average Frustraed Chump". A term favored by the incelosphere of the 1990s. Variations include WBAFC (Way-Below AFC), BAFC (Below AFC) and AFChick (a female AFC).
11	albino	A term originating from the user TomCruise. It is a disparaging remark used towards SlutHate Users of European Descent
12	all-or-nothing	Theory which states that you're either a slayer or an incel.
13	alpha	The opposite of a beta male. Takes on risk and confrontation. Confident and a leader.
14	alt	Stands for alternate account.
15	AMALT	Femcel version of AWALT. "All men are like that" or "All men are literal trash."
16	AMOG	Short for 'Alpha Male of the Group', a term originating in the PUA community.
17	AMOGing	Originally a PUA slang which refers in degrading a man who's trying to interfere with your sexual conquest.
18	Andreas Lubitz	Co-pilot of Germanwings Flight 9525. Purposely crashed a plane full of slayers and 8+ JB into a mountainside killing 150, after his girlfriend broke up with him.
19	animalcel	<i>[no entry present]</i>
20	anteface	A face where the middle and lower face protrude forwardly. A straight full anteface is the most preferred in male faces.[1] Term originated from plastic surgeon Hermann Sailer.
21	approach anxiety	Fear of initiating a casual conversation with a woman, fear of flirting with a woman or fear of asking a woman out.
22	ascend	When an incel moves on to get laid or gain a relationship. In the looksmaxxing community ascending means succeeding in improving Looks with plastic surgery.
23	aspie	An aspie is one who has Asperger's Syndrome, which is believed to be part of the autism spectrum. Aspies, while often being quite gifted verbally, have social, emotional, and sensory integration difficulties, among others. They engage in repetitive behavior in a restricted area of interest and have low social awareness. The exact cause of Asperger's is unknown, but it is known to be partially genetic. There is no working treatment. Many people with this improve as they mature to adulthood, but social and communication difficulties typically persist. <i>[see also "sperg"]</i>

24	AT	An abbreviation in the AB German scene for asshole theory
25	AWALT	All woman are like that. Used to generalize woman. Not necessarily to be taken literally, however it is advised as a heuristic when dealing with women, as they are good at pretending to be NAWALTS.
26	Babebux	Femcel version of Betabux, but with less attached. A beta female when a man takes advantage of her. She is chosen to be his significant other because she earns a decent wage to finance his lifestyle, etc. "Cock Carousel" is exclusive to incels, so the last part of Betabux does not apply.
27	bald theory	A concept originating from the user TomCruise. He argues that you can never be 8+ if you do not look good Bald.
28	barebacking / going bareback	Having sex without condoms.
29	BBC	Big Black Cock. Often used to address blacks on the forum. The topic of whether it is true are not is brought up time and time again.
30	BBC Theory	This theory argues that blacks are in fact the quintessential of masculinity and sex appeal. Some whitecels who have failed in their homecountries, see blacks succeeding and adopt the belief that it's better to be black, than white, despite evidence to the contrary which shows that deathnics and blacks are often discriminated against by women in the dating market.
31	BBV	Big Black Vagina. Often used to address blacks Females on the forum.
32	BBV Theory	This theory argues that blacks Females are in fact the quintessential of female sexuality. The theory also argues that the more Dom the BBV the great chance of her siring you slayer son(s).
33	BDD	Usually refers to "Body dysmorphic disorder" a psychiatric illness where one is irrationally concerned about one's physical appearance, manifest in inaccuracy with fastidious attentiveness.
34	be smart enough to know when you are lucky theory	Take the opportunity even if it's sounds too good to be true, in some cases you are actually hitting the jackpot.
35	Becky	A moderately attractive female. Not as attractive as Stacy.
36	beta	(1) A weak male, opposite to an alpha. (2) a beta provider
36.1	Beta male	A beta male is an average male, aka someone who is not a leader, not very physically strong, not rich, not super

		hot, unassertive, and is subordinate to alpha males in terms of mate access.
36.2	beta provider	A man who financially supports the woman in a relationship. It could also be a man who emotionally supports her by being overly romantic, sometimes to the detriment of his personal boundaries and to the health of the relationship.
37	beta eyes / big eyes / big round eyes	Eyes that appear big. Not necessarily unattractive in a male, but often considered to be a negative trait. Sometimes also called bug eyes or frog eyes.
38	beta provider game	Tactic used by men who want sex. Basically the man jumps through hoops by going through multiple dates hoping that the woman will eventually reward him with sex. In a relationship he will support the woman financially or emotionally.
39	betabux	also betabuxing. When a male financially provides for a partner. Frequently used to imply that a woman is only with a man due to his provisioning capabilities, and not out of any real attraction.
40	BF	Abbreviation for "body fat". Also means boyfriend.
41	black knight	The opposite of a white knight. In other words, a man who purposefully inconveniences or imperils women, and is hostile towards them.
42	Blackops2cel	A French male who achieved meme status after his picture was posted on the subreddit r/amiugly. Seen by some as the incel messiah.
43	Blue baller	Someone whose incelism is causing them physical pain in the balls (testicles).
44	bone law	Refers to the fact that male aesthetics depends on the development of a man's bodily frame and facial bones mostly. For example according to bone law a receding chin is due to an underdeveloped jawbone.
45	bone smash theory	A theory predicated on the principle of Wolff's law (the idea that bones will grow in response to stress placed on them), bone smash theory asserts that you can cause bone growth by exposing the bone to repeated blunt trauma. This is usually used to cause growth of the facial bones, such as the cheekbones or mandible.
46	bonepressed	Measuring the size of one's penis by pushing the pubic fat all the way down to the bone when using a ruler. Said to be the most accurate way of measuring due to wide variation btw pubic fat composites among men.
47	boyo	A Welsh/Irish slang word for 'friend' or 'mate', literally meaning 'boy'. Became popularized as a term of address

			in the PSL community. -Other variations: Broyo, Broyolo
48	Brad		A moderately attractive male, typically white. Not as attractive as a Chad.
49	BTFO		"Blown the fuck out." Meaning a certain comment is demoralizing or demotivating to a group/individual. It can also be used to say someone lost an argument or got verbally one-upped.
50	buddy boy		Slang term for comrade or chum. Often used as a derogatory term of address towards other forum members that lack understanding or have an opposed point of view from your own. Popularized by user "Jboi" on puahate.
51	bug eyes / frog eyes / bulging eyes		Eyes that pop out. Could be caused by retruded or downward infraorbital rim placement. Sometimes called big eyes or beta eyes.
52	butterbody		The reverse of butterface.
53	butterface		A woman who has an amazing body and an ugly face at the same time. Comes from 'but her face'.
54	canthal tilt		<p>The angle of the lateral canthus (outside corner of eye) in relation to the medial canthus (inside corner of eye). A positive canthal tilt means the lateral canthus is higher on the face in proportion to the medial canthus, whereas a negative canthal tilt means the lateral canthus is lower on the face than the medial canthus. Some sluthaters claim that a negative canthal tilt is an extremely unattractive feature on men. They argue that it looks droopy and unimimidating.</p> <p>For both men and women, a positive canthal tilt is ideal because it makes for hooded, hunter eyes. It can be argued that an overly positive canthal tilt is a slightly negative trait in males, as it is a feminine feature. Most male sex symbols have neutral, or slightly positive canthal tilt. Negative canthal givse a drowsy, tired appearance. Though there are men who are attractive despite a negative canthal tilt, such as Adrien Brody, Aubrey Graham, Adam Gallagher and André Hamann.</p>
	54.1	NCT	Negative Canthal Tilt
	54.2	PCT	Positive canthal tilt. An attractive tilting of the eyes in a V-shape.
55	carrot theory		In certain studies a yellowish skin complexion is shown to be a highly significant predictor of preferences for mate selection for both genders. This tint is easiest to achieve with moderate beta-carotene consumption, abundant in carrots hence the name. In layman's terms it

		would be called 'healthy skin glow' theory, the opposite of it is a pale skin, this glow was preferred even over a natural tan.
		A physically attractive male, typically white. With a PSL rating of 8/10 or higher.
56	Chad	Ethnic counterparts:  Tyrone - black Chaddam - Arab Chadpreet - Indian Chang - East Asian
57	Chadlet	A manlet (Short) Chad
58	Chadlite	A moderately attractive male, typically white. Derived from Chad + -ite. With a PSL rating of 7.
59	Cho	Refers to Seung-Hui Cho, the Virginia tech shooter.
60	cock carousel	Metaphor for women having sex with lots of different men. Which is what many women do in between relationships, or before they settle down for marriage.
61	cold approach	Former PUA term refers to meeting strangers in public hoping this will get the person laid. The cold here means that the woman hasn't been prepared or worked up in any way prior to meeting him. This at a social situation like at a party within a group of friends this would be called 'warm approach'
62	Colez	(Pronounced coals.[1]) A legendary slayer who brought us from the dark ages of twinkly male models. Extolled the virtues of masculine, high testosterone features (like a wide face, wide clavicles, a well developed chin that could cut diamonds) and how they are what makes women attracted to you.
63	Colez biker gang	A random collection of users creating ludicrous meme like bad boy characters to parody the masculinity crew using exaggerations. Generally normal people can pick them out of the posters since they sound like cartoons, but aspies can't so some of them actually worship this group.
64	compact midface / short midface	A high midface ratio, a high fWHR, a short head, a short chin, a short forehead, high bizygomatic width, or wide-set eyes. Compact midfaces are considered the ideal for females because they supposedly indicate neoteny. Some argue that it is also a positive feature for males, as a long midface is nearly universally seen as a negative feature. Concept promoted by Phoenix Wright/Yatterman at missjfacialplasticsurgery.com, Love-Shy forums and PuaHate.

65	Coolidge effect	<p>The heightened sexual attraction that men experience for a new sexual partner. Also known as "new pussy". Often experienced in one-night stands and short-term relationships. Has been hypothesised to also exist in females of various species, and there is some scientific evidence for this claim [2]</p>
66	cope	<p>Adopting an untrue belief, to avoid the pain that comes from facing a harsh, unpleasant reality.</p> <p>Usually used to by lookists to point out that any effort other than plastic surgery is merely a coping mechanism and not productive toward finding a partner. The insulting nature of the word lends it's use to trolls seeking to make others feel bad for daily activities.</p> <p>Example:</p> <p>Coping: "Yes, I did loose both my legs due to a car accident, which lead to losing my job and my wife divorcing me. But I can honestly say that my life is better now, I've learned to appreciate the small things."</p> <p>Facing harsh reality: "After I lost my legs, my wife divorced me, and women in the dating market universally reject me. It's over."</p>
67	copecelling	<p>An incel coping mechanism intended to makes sense of an unpleasant reality. It's generally seen in the manlet and ethnic variety, or when a perceived incel is dating out of his league. Usually a pathetic display of black and white thinking, and overall shortsightedness and ignorance.</p> <p>Height is all that matters. Tall guys can't be incel.</p> <p>Being white is all that matters. White guys can't be incel.</p> <p>How can she be dating him? He is a manlet/ethnic!</p> <p>Note that this does not apply to any of the LMS triumvirate, as this is scientifically proven and accepted fact. Referring to any of these as the cause for one's inceldom would not in any way be considered as copecelling, but rather observing the reality of one's unfortunate fate.</p>

68	Cuck, cuckold	(1) A man with an unfaithful girlfriend/wife. (2) A man who is in an open relationship.
69	cucktears	Short for the subreddit inceltears, a virgin-shaming terrorist group on Reddit
70	deep-set eyes	Possessing a protruded brow ridge, protruding zygomatic bones, and pronounced infraorbital development. This creates a 'deep set' eye appearance.
71	Depression	The onset of melancholy from being inferior to Johnny Depp, also known as being Deppmogged. It is the inevitable aftermath of being sub-Depp.  I just saw a video of prime Johnny Depp in motion... I'm so Depressed.
72	DHT	Dihydrotestosterone, the major androgenizing Hormone. Plays a major role in male pattern baldness, facial / body hair, acne, libido (sex drive). It is also a potent fat fighter. Also an important Neurosteroid.
73	DOM	Short for dominant. It commonly refers to a ultra-masculine face, but could also refer to an intimidating presence or dominant behavior.
74	ED	Short for erectile dysfunction.
75	ER	Elliot Rodger, the Isla Vista killer.
76	escort crew	Incels who only have sex with prostitutes.
77	escort theory	A pragmatic philosophy that proposes to isolated adult virgins that they should just man up and get over their issues with safe prostitutes until they fix their sexual frustration. Some advocates consider this the only option for incels as long as they live.
78	ethnic	Meaning depends on location, but in the U.S. it usually refers to those of nonwhite ethnicity, who are believed to be repulsive to women, usually due to their lower social status and differing physical features as compared to whites.
79	ethnik	A substitute for "ethnic", due to a censorship filter on PUAhate.
80	face theory / face law / F.A.C.E	The theory that face is most important and overshadows all other qualities when it comes to dating. F.A.C.E stands for "Face and Age Conquer Everything".
81	failo effect	The opposite of the halo effect. When someone is physically attractive, they are assumed to have other attractive non-physical features. The failo effect states that an ugly person will be assumed to have unattractive non-physical features on account of being physically ugly. Common among incels. See 'halo effect' for more.
82	fap	Synonym for masturbating. Meant to bring to mind the sound of masturbating. -fap- -fap- -fap-

83	FB or fb	Facebook <i>[also defined as]</i> fuck buddy
84	femoid	A derogatory term for female. Stemmed from female and -oid (as in android or humanoid). Used to suggest that females are not fully human.
85	fish lips	Big misshapen lips or big lips. Blacks and ethnics are sometimes referred to having "fish lips" due to their size. Also some male models or celebrities like Johnny Deep are accused of having "fish lips" due to their size.[2] However, big lips are not necessarily unattractive on men.
86	FOB	Short for Fresh Off the Boat. Refers to immigrants, usually East Asian and Indian immigrants who have thick accents.
87	foid	A derogatory term for female. Stemmed from female and -oid (as in android or humanoid). Used to suggest that females are not fully human.
88	foreveralone	No hope for a relationship. Alternatively, the forum foreveralone, a feminist incel subreddit that doesn't self-identify as incel.
89	fuck and chuck	See pump and dump.
90	fuckstration	The physical manifestation of what inceldom does to a person, characterized primarily by agitation and awkwardly bulging erections at inappropriate moments.
91	Fuckzoned	When a femcel is used in a relationship for nothing other than sex. Think "friendzoned" but pertaining to sex.
92	fuel	Something provokes rage. e.g. suicide fuel.
93	FWB	Friends with benefits
94	fWHR	Facial Width-to-Height Ratio. Sometimes measured as the bizygomatic width divided by the distance from the upper eyelids to the upper lip.[3] Sometimes measured as the byzygomatic width divided by the distance from the nasion to the prosthion.[4]
95	G4P or g4p	Means 'gay for pay', it's heterosexual men doing solo erotic shows for homosexual men for money.
96	Galter	An incelospherian or manospherian who attempts to subvert his bluepilled or gynocentric society through economic means.
97	Galting	The act of subverting one's bluepilled or gynocentric society through economic means by incelibates or manospherians.
98	GF	girlfriend
99	gigachad	A male who is higher in attractiveness than Chad.
100	GL	Short for good looking.

101	go outside theory	The theory that if you go outside and interact with other people, you have a better chance of getting laid than trolling internet forums for hours per day.
102	Good Looking Loser / GLL	A pick-up artist guru who is critical of some mainstream PUA beliefs and practices. Unlike some other PUA's Good Looking Loser emphasizes that looks do matter.
103	Greensboro Jock	Greensboro Jock is a famous photograph of an American football player that epitomized hyper-masculinity and jock/Chad idealism. For many years the mystery subject of the photograph was called "The ideal image of a Chad" by the pua & incel community. He was formally identified in May 2015 as Jay Gould (born April 1st 1979), an American man who was now living as a entrepreneur millionaire and CEO of a company called Yashi. He was a Greensboro student of 20-years-old when he was photographed in 1999. The image also brought him recognition on the forum <a href="http://www.bodybuilding.com">www.bodybuilding.com</a> .
104	GTFIH	"Get The Fuck In Here" i.e. read this post.
105	halo effect	The psychological effect when people ascribe personality characteristics or other qualities based on their impression of a person. For example, good looking people are perceived as smarter, better leaders and more successful even without properly getting to know the person. Masculine looking men are perceived to be respected more by their peers, more mature and more dominant.
106	hammy	Short for, hamlossus, a reference to a poster on /r/malegrooming who become a meme in incel communities due to his facial appearance
107	height theory	Refers to the scientific research that suggests height is a distinctively or the prime attractive feature for men.
108	heightism	Prejudice or discrimination based on one's height.
109	high E	High estrogen. In females, this results in large breasts, an hourglass figure, a rounded buttocks and lustful facial features. High E females typically desire high T males. Low E females typically prefer low T males. While both males and females can be high E, the term is typically used in reference to females. The opposite term is High T (high testosterone).
110	high inhibition	A person who sacrifices his/her happiness due to the irrational fear that pursuing personal goals will result in people's social disapproval. In layman's terms it's somebody who can't stand up for himself and chooses passivity/safety. See social inhibition at Wikipedia.
110.1	Inhibition	See high inhibition.

110.2	Low inhibition <i>[also referred to as]</i> Low Inhib	Refers to a person who doesn't care what others think of him, generally it's the mindset of a functioning adult male, in extreme cases refers to antisocial criminals. <i>[also defined as]</i> Is confident and doesn't second guess.
111	High IQ	Indicates agreement with a point previously stated
112	high quality non-primitive (HQNP)	An attractive, intelligent, "higher class" female. Term coined by Tyger.
113	high T	High testosterone. In males, this results in a masculine (high) fWHR, low inhibition, large interior skull volume, increased muscularity, thick bones, a prominent supraorbital ridge, and high horizontal punching power. High T women have similar features.
114	hole	A pejorative used to refer to a female among some incels (and noncels).
115	hooded eyes	The appearance of eyes aliken to that of Sean O'Pry, where an fold of adipose skin covers the upper crease of one's eyelid.
116	hook nose	Nose which is bumpy
117	horizontal punching power	Referring to the amount of force generated by a single punch. Polynesians are widely argued to generate the most horizontal punching power.
118	hunter eyes	Vertically narrow eyes, usually covered by big brow ridge and tilted eyebrows. Different from DOM eyebrows which are straight.
119	hypergamy	Usually refers to a facet of evolutionary psychology regarding women, especially in regards to their sexual partners, preferring to date above their league in either physical beauty, social status or wealth. Also used to imply that women are never satisfied with their male partners, and as such are always looking for a "better" male, in this sense synonymous with monkey branching[5].
120	icarus92	A chatroom used by members of the former Puahate still active today.
121	incel	An involuntary celibate man. Refers to state in which a person who is willing and physically able to engage in sexual relations is unable to find a partner. The term applies to people who have not yet engaged in sex, those who have had sex at least once but are unable to find another partner, and those in a relationship with a partner who is unwilling to have sex.
121.1	baldcel	For more about this see this article --> [3] A man who is either bald or balding which drastically affects one's aesthetic value.

121.2	blackcel	A black incel. Also known as an niggacel. <i>[also defined as]</i>
121.3	currycel	An incel who is Indian.
121.4	cybercel	Someone who visits the incelosphere; synonymous with incelospherian.
121.5	ethnicel	A non-black and non-white incel, such as Indian, East Asian etc. Typically considered the lowest of all incel races. <i>[also defined as]</i> An incel who is ethnic.
121.6	Escortcel	An incel who uses the services of an escort to get laid.
121.7	Fakecel	A person who claims to be an incel, but isn't. <i>[also defined as]</i> Someone pretending to be an incel to be edgy or to fit in.
121.8	framecel	An adult male with the bone structure of a 15 year old kid. Frame refers here to body frame.
121.9	forcedcel	Someone whose inceldom is caused by literal state-coercion and policies by a government which seeks to alter procreation patterns in the country. A great example are the male Uyghurs in China who are being sex-segregated from their women in a deliberate Chinese effort to lower Uyghur demographics.
121.10	gingercel	An incel who has ginger hair.
121.11	gymcel	An incel who thinks he can compensate with muscles for his low LMS. Alternatively, an incel who engages in physical exercise as a coping mechanism to deal with his inceldom. Also used by non incels in a facetious manner to refer to lifting weights.
121.12	heightcel/shortcel	A short guy who is incel because of his height.
121.13	inhibitioncel	A person whose social inhibition is extremely high.
121.14	mentalcel	A person who is incel due to mental condition like social anxiety or mental disorder.
121.15	nearcel	Someone who is romantically unsuccessful, but not adequately enough to qualify as an incel or truecel; a portmanteau of "nearly" and "incel".
121.16	protocel	Someone whose inceldom preceded the incelosphere era.
121.17	ricecel	An incel who is East Asian. <i>[see also 'incelese']</i>
121.18	skullcel	An incel whose skull hasn't reached the adult male's size thus it distorts his facial proportions.
121.19	slavecel	An extreme version of the workcel. A workcel whose work has a great hold over him in terms of time and energy. He's practically a slave.

121.20	stormfrontcel	Racist whitecels who rage about ethnics and blacks. Often become angry about interracial dating.
121.21	truecel	Kiss-less and touch-less virgin -- has never had any sort of physical interaction with a member of the opposite sex. Also known as a permacel. Also a very unattractive individual.
121.22	virgincel	An incel whose lack of sexual experience makes him even more socially awkward.
121.23	volcel	A voluntary celibate. Someone who can get sex but choose not to. Contrast it to incel.
121.24	whitecel	A white incel. Also known as an albinocel.
121.25	workcel	Someone whose work preoccupies any freedom to enjoy any activities that may be conducive to the chance of sexual intercourse.
121.26	wristcel	An adult or fully grown incel whose wrist bones are of small circumference and/or of womanly or childish size thus it effects his masculinity or sense of manliness. Typically it means wrists less than 6.5" inches.
122	incel rule of thumb	If you are attracted to her, then she is out of your league.
123	Inceldom spectrum	A scale measuring how deeply one is immersed with the inceldom condition. Most deeply immersed = truecel. Least deeply immersed = nearcel. The median in between nearcel and truecel = incel.
124	incelese	Synonymous with ricecel.
125	incelibacy	As a mass noun = incelibacy. As a countable noun = incelibate. The term is a shortening of "involuntary celibacy".
126	incelosphere	The incelosphere is an umbrella term describing the set of websites and forums that discuss inceldom. Someone who visits these sites is called a cybercel or incelospherian. <i>[also defined as]</i> The incelosphere is the network of forums and websites that discuss inceldom. Someone who frequents these websites is called a cybercel or incelospherian.
127	Inkwell	means Incel (Sarcastic.) Was originally coined to mock the users of the subreddit inceltears, as the term was commonly misspelled by its users.
128	IOD	Indicator of disinterest.
129	IOI	Indicator of interest. Actions that may indicate that a woman is interested in you.
130	IPD	inter-pupillary distance; the eyes should not be too far apart or too close to one another
131	IT	Short for the subreddit inceltears, a virgin-shaming terrorist group on Reddit

132	it's over	An expression of defeat or fatalism, common among incels.
133	JB	Stands for jailbait. Usually refers to a teenager. Used outside incel communities as well.
134	JBW	Just be white.
135	JesslynNicole	27 year old attractive female member. Lives in a small town in Kansas. Reads history books, plays video games, doesn't believe in online dating, hates loud/rude guys, and doesn't go out or drink. Wants an incel boyfriend with a high IQ. Claims to have only slept with 3 guys, had 2 long term relationships and hasn't had sex since 2008. Some consider her a master troll or a one in a million anomaly. Admin deleted her account after her real life identity was revealed. Now posts under an alt account.
136	jfc	Acronym for "just fucking cage".
137	JFL	Just fucking lol.
138	jock	A stereotypical athletic high school student that is popular with girls.
139	Jomon	The original Ainu descended inhabitants of Japan. A robust, masculine, hairier race before they were outbred by Yayoi and Chinese.
140	Jsanza29	Johnny Sanza: 23 year old truecel from Canada. The general consensus amongst the regular posters is that he represents the epitome of ugliness.
141	juggernaut law	If a woman is below average height, has wonky teeth, Dumbo ears, this makes guys feel like they have a CHANCE with her, as opposed to if she were more "perfect", less flawed. So this means that even girls that are AVERAGE and BELOW still have guys hitting on them. You can't stop a woman's dating potential. She is like The Juggernaut. If she is a single mum, then more guys will think they are being her prince charming by rescuing her from all the "other bad, bad men out there". She is UNSTOPPABLE. Any flaw she has JUST MAKES HER STRONGER in the dating world.
142	KEK	Different form of "lol", or "laughing out loud". Its origin is in World of Warcraft.
143	KHHHHVHHJSHDGS GHDHVV	The Ultimate Truecel
144	KHHV	Kissless, hugless, handholdless virgin
145	KV=	Stands for kissless virgin
146	L	Looks
147	Landwhale	An obese human female, often morbidly so. Generally seen as being of very low desirability and extreme low worth to men and at the lowest end of the totem pole in

		regards to female attractiveness. Alternatively called a fat cow, hog or warpig.
148	Lanket	Tall, skinny, and therefore unattractive man.
149	Lanza	Refers to Adam Lanza the Sandy Hook shooter.
150	Late Starter	A person who has taken much longer than most people to gain sexual and/or romantic experience. After the entry to sexual/romantic experience, however, no more side effects of incelism show. Someone who continues to have side effects of incelism after gaining sexual/romantic experience are referred to as post-acute-incelism-syndrome or PAIS.
151	LDAR	Lay Down and Rot.
152	Le Fort fracture of skull	types of facial fractures involving the maxillary bone and surrounding structures in a usually bilateral and either horizontal, pyramidal or transverse way. Le Forts are performed sometimes to fix a receded areas of facial bones like the maxillary. Lefort III is basically homicide (it involves flaying the skin off the face, and then cutting the skull nearly in half) and is thus not performed for petty cosmetic reasons, rather it is only performed to rectify severe deformities.  Type of leforts include Lefort I, Lefort II, and Lefort III [ <i>hyperlinks present but link to empty pages</i> ]
153	legit	It means true. Denote one's agreement to particular opinion or fact.
154	lequack surgery	[ <i>no entry present</i> ]
155	LLUF	An abbreviation of Liegen lassen und fliege, or, in English, Let Lie and Fly. Used to describe the attitude that women in your native country are unattainable or not worth dating and so the only rational strategy if one wants to date is to fly (travel) abroad for a date.
156	LLUFies	Used in the German AB communities. Followers of the above concept.
157	LMS	(L)ooks, (M)oney and (S)tatus. Concept developed by PUAHate suggesting that what matters in attracting women are looks, money and status. It denies personality, confidence or game to be significant factors.
158	long face / horse face / long midface / narrow face / gay face	A low midface ratio, a low fWHR, a long head, a long chin, a long forehead, low bizygomatic width or close-set eyes. A long face could be natural due to bodily height (taller people have longer faces;[6] e.g. Yao Ming has a long face due to his height[7]). A long face could also be caused by environmental factors such as

		mouthbreathing (Adenoid face). A long face is deemed to be unattractive by some sluthaters, yet some of these sluthaters themselves are unaware that some of the people they worship (like Randy Orton and Ian Somerhalder) have high midface ratios. This is due to an illusion.
159	long-term relationship <i>[also referred to as]</i> LTR or ltr	A relationship that lasts a long time, especially with those who are planning to live together, are considering to be exclusive with each other, or are possibly considering to marry. The sex gets boring due to low perceived mutual attraction and sexual variety.
160	lookism	Prejudice or discrimination based on one's looks.
161	looks theory / looks law	A theory which holds that looks matter a lot in dating. Compare to PUA advice and the usual "be confident" advice.
162	looksmatch	Your equivalent in looks for the opposite sex.
163	love-shy	An inability to form a romantic partnership because of shyness. Overlaps with inceldom. Coined by psychologist Brian Gilmartin.
164	luck theory	A theory that states that luck plays a role in a man's success in wooing women. How lucky you are is typically genetically based and determined at birth. Many times when a man is seen dating a woman outside of his league, it is assumed he has a great personality or is very wealthy. This is true in many cases, but there is also the possibility he is just lucky.
165	M	Money <i>[see also 'LMS']</i>
166	MAB	Male absolute beginner. A man inexperienced in sexual or romantic relationships. Used in the German AB community.
167	male model nuthugger / MM nuthugger	A term used by the masculinity crew to deride those who like male models--who are too feminine to be considered attractive by them.
168	manlet	A short male who is less than average height (5'10" / 177 cm).
169	mascthetic	Combination of masculine and aesthetic. Used by some factions of the masculinity crew.
170	masculinity theory	The theory which claims that a masculine appearance (in both face and body) is important to a man's attractiveness. A masculine face, a robust bone structure and high muscle mass are regarded as attractive. It claims that women don't find feminine faces, narrow faces or a skinny body attractive on men.
171	masculinty crew	A group of men who believes in masculinity theory or adheres to it by going to the gym.

172	Meeks	Jeremy Meeks.
173	mental masturbation	Useless intellectual debate that has nothing to do with reality anymore and only serves to bloat up the person's ego.
174	Mew	(1) Mike Mew] or John Mew (2) to have proper oral posture.
175	Mewing	An informal term of pushing the tongue up hard against the roof of the mouth for long periods of time and/or or chewing hard falim gum. It is said to improve the appearance of the jaw and to give the user a stronger and more aesthetic looking profile. It is pioneered by British orthodontist Mike Mew, after whom the technique is named.
176	MGTOW	Refers to 'men going their own way'. The term describes a group of men who believe that their social isolation, passive-aggressive behavior, not having children, and theories they posted online will collapse society as it is.
177	midface ratio <i>[also referred to as]</i> MFR	Distance from midpoint of the pupils to the middle of the lips (sometimes to the top of the lips) divided by the interpupillary distance. Concept promoted by Phoenix Wright/Yatterman at missjfacialplasticsurgery.com, Love-Shy forums and PuaHate.
178	Mike Mew / Mew Theory	An orthodontist who argues the development of the face and jaws is dependent on correct oral posture. Mew theory suggest chewing hard gum and pressing the tongue to the roof of mouth. [8]
179	Milkmired	To have aged like milk, unlike someone who ages like wine.
180	mirin	Short for admiring.
181	miscer	Active member of the 'misc' found at the forum of bodybuilding.com
182	MiscLegend	The biggest slayer in the Shire. Also, a pizza-faced burrito maker from Manletland. When not obsessing about his height and/or showing his erect phallus to people online, he's approaching women at the train station to invite them to the woods.
183	Mixoscopia	The promotion of watching sex (or porn) rather than actual sex.
184	MM	Male Model
185	mog	to amog someone,  a bastardized version of 'amog', or 'alpha male of the group' referring to someone being more good-looking or superior than you. Derives from PUA slang, where mogging (socially or physically dominating other males) was advocated as a method of attracting women. e.g.

		"he mogged me', meaning, 'he was better looking than me'
186	monkeybranching	Synonymous with one sense of the term hypergamy. When a women abandons a relationship in order to secure a "better male". Also used as a verb as in "to monkeybranch".
187	Morph Theory / morph game	To digitally manipulate your online dating profile images to appear more aesthetic.
188	MÜ	An abbreviation of Männerüberschuss, or, in English: Multiple Men. Used to describe the theory that in Germany inceldom exists in the above 53 year old crowd due to a surplus of men above age 53 in Germany. Used in the German AB communities.
189	natty	Refers to natural bodybuilding, it means without the use of steroids, or other Performance Enhancing Drugs (PEDs).  Alternatively, refers to Natty Kadifa
190	NAWALT	Not all woman are like that.
191	neck theory	Neck is important in making you masculine
192	NEET	a person who is Not in Education, Employment, or Training.
193	nofap	Abstaining for masturbation. Usually due to moral reasons, or due to the notion that masturbation lessens testosterone and makes one weak and undesirable. Sometimes, it may be due to the belief that abstaining from masturbation increases creativity and motivation. Fap is a word that is supposed to bring to mind the sound of masturbation -fap- -fap- -fap-.
194	Noodlewhore	An Asian Woman.
195	normalfag theory	The average everyday boring person's dating strategy, which is dating people who are just good enough for sex from their small pool of prospects and this selection takes place when their level of sexual frustration exceeds their fear of rejection.
196	normie	An average everyday boring person. Sometimes used to refer to people that are "average" in looks in contrast to Chad and incel. A "high-tier normie" refers to person who is- above average in attractiveness (but not as attractive as Brad or Becky). A "low-tier normie" refers to a person who are below average in attractiveness.
196.1	normalfag	The average everyday boring person.
196.2	Normalo/Normala	The equivalent to normie in German AB communities. Possibily coined without knowledge of the English equivalent. Used in the German AB communities to

		describe someone who is not incel but instead has gained normal sexual experience.
197	Norwood/Norwooding/ NW	The Hamilton–Norwood scale is a scale for measuring the different stages of male pattern baldness. A Norwood 1 means there is no hair loss, with a Norwood 7 being the most advanced stage. Most young adult men have a Norwood 1 hairline, and anything beyond a Norwood 2 is exponentially worse. "Norwood 0" is used to mean a man with an unusually low hairline, and was not part of the original Hamilton-Norwood scale. A balding man is said to be "Norwooding".
198	NSA	No strings attached.
199	NT	Short for neurotypical, normal people who don't have autism, or severe social anxiety.
200	numale	A man who has feminist qualities.
201	numbers game	The more women you meet the more easy it is to find one who likes you.
202	nutrition theory	The idea that eating habits, intake of adequate vitamins and minerals lead to a better looking face.
203	OdB	Abbreviation for Objekt der Begierde or, in English, Object of Desire. Used to describe a person you would like to partner with. Used in the German AB communities.
204	OKC or okc	Refers to the dating site OkCupid.
205	Omega male	A man on the lowest rung of the sexual/romantic (and sometimes general) social hierarchies. Often a synonym for incel or truecel. Very ugly or severely handicapped.
206	Oneitis	To fall in love with someone.
207	one-night stand [also referred to as] ONS	A one-time sexual encounter. The sex is usually more exciting than in long-term relationships due to sexual variety and increased perceived mutual attraction.
208	Our Heavenly Father	Refers to David Gandy. A group of incels here consider him the living god of male aesthetics.
209	Peppers life / dat Peppers life	Being an isolated virgin and living on welfare as a mature person. Comes from the actual lifestyle of the user 'Brian Peppers' on this forum.
210	Permavirgin	Synonymous with "truecel".
211	Personality	From braincels automod: "Personality isn't really that important to most women. They often emphasize personality for good physical looks and social status."
212	Personality Detector	This term is used to mock women who stick with abusive significant others or women who enter relationships with someone who has a negative background. Personality detectors in reality tend to give people a weird feeling around those with negative/malicious intentions. Incels argue that this

		warning fails so much with women, that the idea of sexual freedom being a rational sorting mechanism for personality is insane.
213	PFL	Palpebral fissure length; this measures the length of the eye, longer is better as it will make the eye more long than tall
214	pickup autist	Derogatory term used to describe people who are addicted to products of PUA's and engage in this in a repetitive way like an autist who has his daily rituals.
215	Pizza Guy / Pizza Slayer	An autistic teenager who has a channel on YouTube with over 20,000 subscribers that reviews energy drinks and pizza. A popular animated gif features him giving a thumbs up.
216	PJ or Plain Jane	Refers to an average-looking female rated 5 to 6/10
217	POF or pof	Refers to the dating site PlentyofFish.
218	POIS	An abbreviation of Post Acute Inceldom Syndrome. A description of those who are sexually active but continue to experience the side effects of inceldom or the side effects of self-destructive behaviour and medical conditions caused by a period of inceldom. This is somewhat analogous to the German AB community term semi-AB, or semi-absolute beginner. Someone who has sexual experience but still has problems with intimacy.
219	potato face	A facial phenotype that has shallow cheekbones, shallow brow ridge, underdeveloped jaw. The term comes from the resemblance with a potato. The technically correct term is amorphous appearance, meaning soft solid.
220	pretty boy	A male considered attractive, but with a relatively feminine face. An example is Justin Bieber. The masculinity crew views pretty boys as cuckolds or "asexual handbags"--having no sexual appeal to women.
221	Prime=	When it is/was at its best (for example: prime Stacy)
222	prostitute	A woman who exchanges sex for money. It includes women who are in relationships with beta providers.
		subgroups of prostitutes:
222.1	escort	Higher class prostitute who only works through websites and has her own place to service the clients. Some of them visit the client or go out with them to social gatherings. Contrary to popular beliefs these women are clean and safe. Preferred by middle and upper class

222.2	gold digger	Women who only date rich men and they do this because of their money. Technically they sell sex for money but only to one customer at a time.
222.3	streetwalker	Low class prostitute that walks the streets, they are source of STD's, sell drugs and mug some of their clients. Preferred by poverty class people and sociopaths.
223	proximity theory	Refers to the statistically demonstrated fact that most people date people who live close to them and are in the same social group. Proximity theory argues this is the number one preference of most people due to it's convenience and their risk aversion.
224	PSL	An acronym for the sequential semi-incelospherian forums: PUAhate.com, sluthate, and lookism.net
225	PSL scale/rating	A rating that would be given to you if you were a member of PUAhate.com, sluthate, and/or lookism.net
226	PUA	'Pickup Artist' originally coined from the belief that picking up women is a form of art. Used to describe the members of the seduction community. Now it refers to a group of fraudulent men who sell overcharged useless/untested self-help advice on dating to naive sexually inexperienced people.
227	pump and dump	Having sex with a female with the female expecting a relationship, but instead of the man pursuing a relationship, he abandons her after he gets the sex he desires.
228	rat face	refers to a face characterized by a disproportionately long midface, narrow skull and overly tapered, narrow-often receding chin.Example. [ <i>links to defunct site – sluthate.com</i> ]
229	raw sex appeal	Term used by the masculinity crew to refer to attractive qualities.
230	Reeee	Commonly referred to now as an "autistic screeching meme", this is an onomatopoeic expression of intense rage or frustration typically associated with the Angry Pepe character. It is meant to represent the unique croak produced by several species of frogs when agitated. Used by more groups than just incels.
231	Rice-	Relating to someone from Asia.
232	roastie	A sexually promiscuous woman. Word originated from the idea that a woman's vagina becomes distended after she get fucked by a lot of partners.
233	roids	Anabolic steroids. A form of chemical enhancement used to increase muscle growth.
234	rope	to commit suicide

235	RTT	Roided, Tatted and Tanned. Commonly claimed to project a "bad boy" or masculine image.
236	S	Status
237	SA or sa	Short for 'Shitty Advice'
238	SAP	Small Asian Penis. Used to address Asian males. Term popularized by Tyger.
239	shitcunt	A morally deplorable female e.g. a complete cunt. A word popularized by the forum user 'Norwood Cemetery'
240	short-term relationship <i>[also referred to as]</i> STR or str	A relationship that may not last a long time. Includes a causal relationship, an affair and possibly a one-night stand. The sex in a short-term relationship is usually more exciting than in a long-term relationship due to increased perceived mutual attraction and sexual variety.
241	SIG or sig	Short form for signature.
242	simp	Some Idolizing Medicore Pussy, often used as a pejorative for an effeminate male similar to cuck.
243	skull size theory	For a male face to be attractive it needs a minimal skull size so that all the facial ratios fall in place.
244	slay	Sexual conquest which presumes getting peer approval automatically.
245	slayer	Alpha male who slays. Generally refers to an attractive male that has sex with multiple women very easy.
246	sloot	A substitute for "slut", usually used by miscers.
247	slut	A woman who has casual sex with multiple men. Usage depends on circumstances, if the woman sleeps with the person than being slut means she was wild in bed, if she rejects the person it means she's hypergamous and a stuck-up.
248	smash and dash	See pump and dump.
249	social proof	A special case of 'halo effect' it refers to people who have a certain status in a group and whatever they do is filtered through that resulting in the group accepting that behavior from this person even though they would never swallow this from a complete stranger.
250	Sodini	Refers to George Sodini, the man who shot women at LA Fitness because they had rejected him.
251	sour grapes	Used to ridicule a copeer. "If I can't have it, then it wasn't any good anyway". Used quite a bit by anti-incels.
252	soy	The official drink of anti-incels according to masculinist incels. There have been studies that suggest, but do not prove, that soy lowers testosterone. Masculinist incels use this to suggest someone is low testosterone, therefore less of a man.

253	sperg	A person who has Aspergers. See 'aspie'.
254	Stacy	A female counterpart of Chad. A white attractive female with an hourglass figure.
255	Stacylite	A moderately attractive Stacy. Derived from Stacy + -ite.
256	sterons	Another slang word for anabolic steroids.
257	sub-5	A man who is less than 5/10 on a Looks rating or LMS rating. Condemned to a life of fapping, escorts and incel rage.
258	sub-8	A man who is not good-looking enough.
259	subhuman	ugly person or feature
260	Sub-Pitt	Below Brad Pitt in facial aesthetics. You aren't living the life and are most likely an incel.
261	suey	To visit Gandy.
262	sui	to commit suicide
263	supreme gentleman	A narcissistic title given by Elliot Rodger to himself.
264	T/test	Testosterone, the primary androgen produced by the male body in the Leydig cells of the testicles.
265	tallfag	A tall guy.
266	tbhngl	Short for "to be honest, no gonna lie". Invented by incels.co user Weed. Mostly a nonsense statement and used as a period at the end of sentences.
267	tbhtbh	A nonsense phrase created by the incels.co user: Weed. Short for, "to be honest, to be honest", but the phrase is used as just a period of sentences by some. Also synonymous with tbhngl, or variations of the repeated combination of tbh and ngl.
268	TFL	Stands for true forced loneliness. A phrase mostly used by vloggers who blame women and society for their woes. They were the first incel Youtubers. More conspiracy oriented than self-described incels, as many also blame the "New World Order" etc...
269	The Wall	"The wall" aka the strongest cope is nothing but a carrot on a stick. Unattractive young men get told to focus on studying and finding a high paying job in order to betabuxx for an used up roastie later in life. This is supposed to happen the moment women hit "the wall". But they never hit "the wall". Women attract men even in their 50s and 60s. It's true that the biological clock is ticking but that doesn't matter thanks to freezing eggs and other tools.
270	theory theory	Refers to the obvious fact that the more you mentally masturbate on a subject the less happier and more socially isolated you become.
271	thirstie	An incel with an exceptionally high libido. As a consequence sufferers tremendously. This is the type of

		incel that regularly uses anaphrodisiacs to keep themselves sane.
272	to make it	To become a slayer. See 'slayer' for more.
273	tren	Trenbolone, a powerful 19-nortestosterone based anabolic steroid.
274	TRT or trt	Means 'testosterone replacement therapy'.
275	Turbo	An extreme case. (e.g. turbomanlet - a very short man)
276	upper eyelid exposure	Visible lines in the upper eyelid. Not necessarily unattractive. Term originated from PuaHate.
277	vex / vertu	The biggest virgin on this forum.
278	visit Gandy	To kill oneself; to visit "God" aka "David Gandy", some of the posters consider him the god of male aesthetics.
278.1	Visit Grier	Alternate of form of "visit Gandy"
278.2	visit Kinney	Alternate of form of "visit Gandy", came into use after PuaHate started to censor visiting Gandy.
278.3	Visit Orton	Masculinity crew's version of "Visit Gandy"
279	VT	An abbreviation of Verachtenstheorie or, in English, Despise Theory. Used to describe an unconscious or conscious female contempt toward men without sexual experience. Used in the German AB communities.
280	WAB	An abbreviation of Woman (female) Absolute Beginner. A woman inexperienced in sexual or romantic relationships. Used in the German AB community.
281	warpig	A type of obese and piggy-looking female. Often quarrelsome and bellicose, these females look to create war with people (particularly men) that don't find them attractive.
282	white knight [also referred to as] WK	Believing that women will be impressed by protective behaviour and coming to their rescue. Guys do this in the hope of a sex reward.
283	whore	Slang for prostitute. See 'prostitute' for more.
284	wizard	A man who is a virgin until the age of 30. Wizardchan parodies a meme that if a man maintains his virginity until the age of 30 he's going to achieve supernatural powers like a wizard. Elliot Rodger once frequented that site too.
285	womb to tomb	To live as an incel for life. Used to describe a man so ugly and aspie that he will be a truecel for life. Incels that never made it. See "to make it" for more.
286	wrist theory	A theory that wrist circumference is the best indicator of upper-body bone thickness because there is a lack of adipose tissue surrounding it.
287	yellow fever	A debilitating degenerative disease characterized by the unnatural attraction towards mongoloid creatures. Symptoms include: small phallus, low testosterone, short stature, weak facial bones, Alt-right political

		leanings, high voice, effeminate behavior, Caucasian ancestry, childlike brain, gracile bone structure, head trauma during childhood.
288	zygo	Short for zygoma or zygomatic bone (cheekbone).
289	zyzz	Refers to Aziz Shavershian who was an Australian (of Kurdish ancestry) bodybuilder, personal trainer, model and Internet celebrity known for his unique style. He created a cult following on YouTube. He came up with the term 'we're all gonna make it' and several other memes. He died of a heart attack at age 22, partially induced by harsh steroid and recreational drug abuse. Zyzz was his internet handle.

*Note.* The entries and definitions in this dictionary are as they appear in the site, including errors in spelling and grammar, and stylistic preferences.

## Appendix B: Study One Results

#	Entry	Count	Supercount
<b>1</b>	<b>cel</b>	<b>9915</b>	<b>9915</b>
	<i>locationcel</i>	10	
	<i>dickcel</i>	39	
	<i>asiancel</i>	19	
<b>2</b>	<b>fuel</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>679</b>
	<i>ER_fuel</i>	9	
	<i>Kek_fuel</i>	1	
	<i>kekfuel</i>	19	
	<i>Rage_fuel</i>	31	
	<i>ragefuel</i>	67	
	<i>sadfuel</i>	2	
	<i>Sad_fuel</i>	0	
<b>2.1</b>	<b>lifefuel</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>141</b>
	<i>Life_fuel</i>	26	
	<i>life-fuel</i>	1	
<b>2.2</b>	<b>suifuel</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>353</b>
	<i>Suicide_fuel</i>	93	
	<i>Sui_fuel</i>	51	
	<i>sui-fuel</i>	1	
	<i>suicidefuel</i>	109	
<b>3</b>	<b>-_maxx/-maxxing/-max</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>478</b>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>looksmax</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>186</b>
	<i>looksmaxxing</i>	33	
	<i>looksmaxing</i>	28	
<b>3.2</b>	<b>lowinhibmax</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>18</b>
	<i>inhibmax</i>	8	
	<i>inhibmaxxing</i>	5	
<b>3.3</b>	<b>moneymax</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>35</b>
	<i>moneymaxing</i>	0	
	<i>moneymaxxing</i>	12	
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Ntmaxxing</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>
	<i>Ntmax</i>	13	
	<i>ntmaxing</i>	0	
<b>3.5</b>	<b>statusmax</b>	<b>29</b>	
<b>4</b>	<b>mogged</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>239</b>
	<i>moged</i>	7	
<b>4.1</b>	<b>akabusimogg</b>	<b>0</b>	
	<i>akabusimog</i>	0	

<b>4.2</b>	<b>DOLPHmogg</b>	<b>0</b>	
	<i>DOLPHmog</i>	0	
<b>4.3</b>	<b>heightmogg</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>69</b>
	<i>heightmog</i>	40	
<b>4.4</b>	<b>skullmogg</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>
	<i>skullmog</i>	5	
<b>4.5</b>	<b>wristmogg</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>wristmog</i>	1	
<b>5</b>	<b>pill</b>	<b>2735</b>	
<b>5.1</b>	<b>blackpill</b>	<b>1442</b>	<b>1658</b>
	<i>black_pill</i>	212	
	<i>Black-pill</i>	4	
<b>5.2</b>	<b>bluepill</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>397</b>
	<i>blue_pill</i>	72	
	<i>Blue-pill</i>	1	
<b>5.3</b>	<b>pinkpill_</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>pink_pill</i>	0	
<b>5.4</b>	<b>purplepill</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
	<i>purple_pill</i>	3	
<b>5.5</b>	<b>redpill</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>187</b>
	<i>red_pill</i>	63	
	<i>Red-pill</i>	1	
<b>5.6</b>	<b>whitepill</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>16</b>
	<i>white_pill</i>	5	
<b>6</b>	<b>pilled</b>	<b>675</b>	
7	Abine	0	
8	adipophilia	0	
<b>9</b>	<b>AF/BB</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>27</b>
	<i>AF_BB</i>	0	
	<i>alpha_fucks</i>	3	
	<i>beta_bux</i>	24	
10	AFC_	0	
<b>11</b>	<b>albino</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>12</b>	<b>all_or_nothing</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>13</b>	<b>alpha</b>	<b>102</b>	
<b>14</b>	<b>alt_</b>	<b>62</b>	
<b>15</b>	<b>AMALT</b>	<b>1</b>	
	<i>all_men_are_like_that</i>	0	
	<i>all_men_are_literal_trash</i>	0	
<b>16</b>	<b>AMOG</b>	<b>14</b>	
	<i>alpha_male*_group</i>	0	
<b>17</b>	<b>AMOGing</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

	<i>amogging</i>	0	
18	Andreas_Lubitz	0	
	<i>Lubitz</i>	0	
19	animalcel	0	
20	anteface	0	
21	approach_anxiety	0	
<b>22</b>	<b>ascend</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>423</b>
	<i>ascension</i>	62	
<b>23</b>	<b>aspie</b>	<b>46</b>	
24	_AT_	1826	0
<b>25</b>	<b>AWALT</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>33</b>
	<i>all_women_are_like_that</i>	4	
26	Babebux	0	
<b>27</b>	<b>bald_theory</b>	<b>2</b>	
28	barebacking_/_going_bareback	0	
	<i>barebac</i>	0	
	<i>going_barebac</i>	0	
<b>29</b>	<b>BBC</b>	<b>126</b>	
	<i>big_black_cock</i>	0	
<b>30</b>	<b>BBC_Theory</b>	<b>21</b>	
31	BBV	0	
	<i>big_black_vagina</i>	0	
32	BBV_Theory	0	
<b>33</b>	<b>BDD</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>
	<i>body_dysmorphic_dis</i>	2	
34	be_smart_enough_to_know_when_you_are_lucky_theory_	0	
<b>35</b>	<b>Becky</b>	<b>18</b>	
<b>36</b>	<b>beta_</b>	<b>230</b>	
	<i>beta*</i>	<b>486</b>	
<b>36.1</b>	<b>Beta_male</b>	<b>22</b>	
<b>36.2</b>	<b>beta_provider_</b>	<b>5</b>	
<b>37</b>	<b>beta_eyes_/_big_eyes_/_big_round_eyes_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>beta_eyes</i>	0	
	<i>big_eyes</i>	1	
	<i>big_round_eyes</i>	0	
38	beta_provider_game	0	
<b>39</b>	<b>betabux</b>	<b>180</b>	
<b>40</b>	<b>_BF</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>272</b>
	<i>boyfriend</i>	152	
	<i>body_fat</i>	14	
<b>41</b>	<b>black_knight_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

	<i>BK</i>	1	
<b>42</b>	<b>Blackops2cel</b>	<b>83</b>	
43	Blue_baller	0	
44	bone_law_	0	
<b>45</b>	<b>bone_smash_theory_</b>	<b>1</b>	
46	bonepressed_	0	
<b>47</b>	<b>boyo</b>	<b>71</b>	
<b>48</b>	<b>Brad</b>	<b>21</b>	
<b>49</b>	<b>BTFO</b>	<b>49</b>	
50	buddy_boy_	0	
<b>51</b>	<b>bug_eyes / _frog_eyes / _bulging_eyes</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
	<i>bug_eyes</i>	5	
	<i>frog_eyes</i>	0	
	<i>bulg*_eyes</i>	0	
<b>52</b>	<b>butterbody</b>	<b>1</b>	
	<i>butter_body</i>	0	
<b>53</b>	<b>butterface</b>	<b>2</b>	
	<i>butter_face</i>	0	
<b>54</b>	<b>canthal_tilt_</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
54.1	_NCT	3	
54.2	PCT	3	
55	carrot_theory_	0	
<b>56</b>	<b>Chad</b>	<b>3011</b>	<b>3011</b>
	<i>Chad_</i>	1734	
<b>57</b>	<b>Chadlet_</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>58</b>	<b>Chadlite_</b>	<b>93</b>	
<b>59</b>	<b>_Cho_</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
	<i>title_starts_with_Cho</i>	1	
<b>60</b>	<b>cock_carousel_</b>	<b>14</b>	
<b>61</b>	<b>cold_approach_</b>	<b>9</b>	
62	Colez	0	
63	Colez_biker_gang_	0	
<b>64</b>	<b>compact_midface / _short_midface_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>40</b>
	<i>midface</i>	40	
	<i>compact_midface</i>	2	
	<i>short_midface</i>	1	
65	Coolidge_effect_	0	
<b>66</b>	<b>cope</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>983</b>
	<i>cope_</i>	497	
<b>67</b>	<b>copecelling</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
	<i>copecel</i>	3	
<b>68</b>	<b>Cuck, _cuckold_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1951</b>

	<i>cuck</i>	1951	
	<i>cuckold</i>	108	
<b>69</b>	<b>cucktears</b>	<b>439</b>	
<b>70</b>	<b>deep_set_eyes_</b>	<b>1</b>	
71	Depression	0	
<b>72</b>	<b>DHT_</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>73</b>	<b>_DOM_</b>	<b>7</b>	
<b>74</b>	<b>_ED_</b>	<b>7</b>	
<b>75</b>	<b>_ER_</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>305</b>
	<i>elliot</i>	164	
	<i>eliot</i>	5	
	<i>go_er</i>	48	
76	escort_crew_	0	
77	escort_theory_	0	
<b>78</b>	<b>ethnic</b>	<b>458</b>	<b>458</b>
	<i>ethnic_</i>	206	
<b>79</b>	<b>ethnic</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>
	<i>ethnic_</i>	4	
<b>80</b>	<b>face_theory /_face_law /_F.A.C.E</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
	<i>face_theory</i>	1	
	<i>face_law</i>	1	
	<i>f_.a_.c_.e</i>	0	
<b>81</b>	<b>failo_effect_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>
	<i>failo</i>	7	
<b>82</b>	<b>fap</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>102</b>
	<i>[minus_"nofap"_entry_results]</i>	-136	
<b>83</b>	<b>FB_or_fb</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>144</b>
	<i>facebook</i>	102	
	<i>fuck_bu*y</i>	4	
	<i>fuckbu*y</i>	1	
	<i>_fb</i>	46	37
	<i>[removal_of_fb_w/in_fbi_context]</i>	-9	
<b>84</b>	<b>femoid</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>660</b>
	<i>Femoid_</i>	308	
85	fish_lips	0	
<b>86</b>	<b>FOB</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>fresh_off_*boat</i>	0	
<b>87</b>	<b>foid</b>	<b>1215</b>	
<b>88</b>	<b>foreveralone</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>42</b>
	<i>forever_alone</i>	11	
89	fuck_and_chuck	0	
90	fuckstration	0	

91	Fuckzoned	0	
<b>92</b>	<b>_fuel_</b>	<b>146</b>	
<b>93</b>	<b>FWB</b>	<b>3</b>	
	<i>friends_with_benefits</i>	0	
<b>94</b>	<b>fWHR</b>	<b>12</b>	
95	G4P_or_g4p	0	
	<i>G4P</i>	0	
	<i>Gay_for_pay</i>	0	
	<i>galt</i>	0	
96	Galter	0	
97	Galting_	0	
<b>98</b>	<b>GF</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>813</b>
	<i>girlfriend</i>	389	
	<i>girl_friend</i>	4	
<b>99</b>	<b>gigachad_</b>	<b>23</b>	
<b>100</b>	<b>GL_</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>173</b>
	<i>ngl_</i>	3	
	<i>good_looking</i>	167	
	<i>not_good_looking</i>	6	
<b>101</b>	<b>go_outside_theory</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>20</b>
	<i>go_outside_</i>	20	
<b>102</b>	<b>Good_Looking_Loser_/_GLL</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>good_looking_loser</i>	1	
	<i>GLL</i>	0	
<b>103</b>	<b>Greensboro_Jock_</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>greensboro</i>	1	
<b>104</b>	<b>GTFIH</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>308</b>
	<i>get_the_fuck_in_here</i>	2	
<b>105</b>	<b>halo_effect_</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>34</b>
	<i>halo_</i>	34	
106	hammy_	0	
<b>107</b>	<b>height_theory</b>	<b>5</b>	
<b>108</b>	<b>heightism</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>109</b>	<b>high_E_</b>	<b>1</b>	
	<i>highE_</i>	0	
<b>110</b>	<b>high_inhibition</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>27</b>
	<i>high_inhib_</i>	21	
<b>110.1</b>	<b>Inhibition</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>115</b>
	<i>inhib_</i>	77	
<b>110.2</b>	<b>Low_inhibition</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>57</b>
	<i>low_inhib_</i>	43	
<b>111</b>	<b>High_IQ_</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>69</b>

	<i>highiq</i>	3	
<b>112</b>	<b>high_quality_non-primitive_(HQNP)</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>high_quality_non_primit</i>	0	
	<i>HQNP</i>	4	
<b>113</b>	<b>high_T_</b>	<b>16</b>	
	<i>highT</i>	0	
<b>114</b>	<b>hole</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>137</b>
	<i>hole_</i>	111	
	<i>[minus_"asshole"]</i>	-29	
<b>115</b>	<b>hooded_eyes</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>hood_eye</i>	0	
116	<i>hook_nose_</i>	0	
117	<i>horizontal_punching_power_</i>	0	
<b>118</b>	<b>hunter_eyes</b>	<b>12</b>	
<b>119</b>	<b>hypergamy</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>147</b>
	<i>hypergam*</i>	147	
120	<i>icarus92</i>	0	
<b>121</b>	<b>incel_</b>	<b>2440</b>	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>baldcel</b>	<b>53</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>blackcel</b>	<b>105</b>	
<b>121.3</b>	<b>currycel</b>	<b>217</b>	
121.4	<i>cybercel</i>	0	
<b>121.5</b>	<b>ethnicel</b>	<b>53</b>	
<b>121.6</b>	<b>Escortcel</b>	<b>125</b>	
<b>121.7</b>	<b>Fakecel</b>	<b>142</b>	
	<i>fakcel</i>	0	
<b>121.8</b>	<b>framecel</b>	<b>56</b>	
121.9	<i>forcedcel</i>	0	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>gingercel</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>0</b>			
<b>121.1</b>	<b>gymcel</b>	<b>265</b>	
<b>1</b>			
<b>121.1</b>	<b>heightcel/shortcel</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2</b>			
	<i>heightcel</i>	7	
	<i>shortcel</i>	23	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>inhibitioncel</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>3</b>			
	<i>inhibcel</i>	9	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>mentalcel</b>	<b>165</b>	
<b>4</b>			
121.1	<i>nearcel</i>	0	
<b>5</b>			

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121.1	6	procel	0	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>ricecel</b>	<b>168</b>	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>skullcel</b>	<b>13</b>	
<b>121.1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>slavecel</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>stormfrontcel</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>truecel</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>289</b>
		<i>trucel</i>	28	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>virgincel</b>	<b>4</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>volcel</b>	<b>190</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>whitecel</b>	<b>73</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>workcel</b>	<b>15</b>	
<b>121.2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>wristcel</b>	<b>12</b>	
122		incel_rule_of_thumb_	0	
		<i>rule_of_thumb</i>	0	
<b>123</b>		<b>Inceldom_spectrum</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>588</b>
		<i>Inceldom</i>	588	
124		incelese	0	
<b>125</b>		<b>incelibacy_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
		<i>incelibac</i>	1	
<b>126</b>		<b>incelosphere_</b>	<b>2</b>	
127		Inkwell	0	
<b>128</b>		<b>IOD</b>	<b>34</b>	
<b>129</b>		<b>IOI</b>	<b>43</b>	
<b>130</b>		<b>IPD</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>131</b>		<b>_IT_</b>	<b>1749</b>	<b>384</b>
		<i>inceltear</i>	353	
		<i>IT_user</i>	31	
<b>132</b>		<b>it's_over</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>579</b>
		<i>its_over</i>	414	
		<i>it'sover</i>	0	
		<i>itsover</i>	22	
<b>133</b>		<b>JB_</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>134</b>
		<i>jailbait</i>	24	

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	<i>jbs</i>	29	
	<i>jbpill</i>	4	
	<i>[manual_add_of_"jb"_at_end_of_title]</i>	12	
<b>134</b>	<b>JBW</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>222</b>
	<i>just_be_white</i>	49	
	<i>justbewhite</i>	1	
135	JesslynNicole	0	
	<i>jesslyn</i>	0	
<b>136</b>	<b>jfc</b>	<b>8</b>	
	<i>just_fucking_cage</i>	0	
<b>137</b>	<b>JFL</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>369</b>
	<i>just_fucking_laugh</i>	0	
	<i>just_fucking_lol</i>	16	
	<i>just_fuckin_lol</i>	0	
	<i>just_fucking_kek</i>	0	
<b>138</b>	<b>jock_</b>	<b>8</b>	
139	Jomon	0	
<b>140</b>	<b>Jsanza29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>18</b>
	<i>jsanza</i>	18	
<b>141</b>	<b>juggernaut_law_</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>27</b>
	<i>juggernaut</i>	27	
<b>142</b>	<b>KEK</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>55</b>
	<i>[minus_"kekfuel"_results]</i>	-19	
143	KHHHHVHHJSHDGS GHDHV	0	
<b>144</b>	<b>KHHV</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>
	<i>kissless_handholdless_hugless_virgin</i>	0	
	<i>kissless_hugless_handholdless_virgin</i>	0	
<b>145</b>	<b>KV</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>34</b>
	<i>kissless_virgin</i>	22	
<b>146</b>	<b>_L_</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>600</b>
	<i>looks_</i>	598	
<b>147</b>	<b>Landwhale</b>	<b>89</b>	
148	Lanket	0	
<b>149</b>	<b>Lanza</b>	<b>2</b>	
150	Late_Starter	0	
<b>151</b>	<b>LDAR</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>144</b>
	<i>lay_down_and_rot</i>	2	
152	Le_Fort_fracture_of_skull	0	
	<i>le_fort</i>	0	
<b>153</b>	<b>legit_</b>	<b>176</b>	
154	lequack_surgery	0	
	<i>lequack</i>	0	

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155	LLUF	0	
156	LLUFies	0	
<b>157</b>	<b>LMS</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>64</b>
	<i>looks_money_status</i>	1	
<b>158</b>	<b>long_face_/_horse_face_/_long_midface_/_narrow_face_/_gay_face_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>38</b>
	<i>long_face</i>	7	
	<i>horse_face</i>	0	
	<i>long_midface</i>	28	
	<i>narrow_face</i>	2	
	<i>gay_face</i>	1	
<b>159</b>	<b>long_term_relationship_</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>24</b>
	<i>LTR_</i>	21	
<b>160</b>	<b>lookism</b>	<b>204</b>	
<b>161</b>	<b>looks_theory_/_looks_law</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>39</b>
	<i>looks_theory</i>	37	
	<i>looks_law</i>	2	
<b>162</b>	<b>looksmatch_</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>76</b>
	<i>looks_match</i>	20	
	<i>look_match</i>	1	
<b>163</b>	<b>love-shy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
	<i>love_shy</i>	4	
<b>164</b>	<b>luck_theory_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>18</b>
	<i>luck_</i>	18	
<b>165</b>	<b>_M_</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>195</b>
	<i>money_</i>	170	
<b>166</b>	<b>MAB</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>male_absolute_beginner</i>	0	
167	<i>male_model_nuthugger_/_MM_nuthugger_</i>	0	
	<i>male_model_nuthugger</i>	0	
	<i>MM_nuthugger</i>	0	
<b>168</b>	<b>manlet_</b>	<b>190</b>	
169	<i>mascthetic</i>	0	
	<i>masculinity</i>	44	<b>45</b>
<b>170</b>	<b>masculinity_theory_</b>	<b>1</b>	
171	<i>masculinity_crew_</i>	0	
<b>172</b>	<b>Meeks_</b>	<b>29</b>	
<b>173</b>	<b>mental_masturbation_</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>mental_masturb*</i>	1	
<b>174</b>	<b>Mew_</b>	<b>6</b>	
<b>175</b>	<b>Mewing_</b>	<b>15</b>	
<b>176</b>	<b>MGTOW_</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>113</b>

	<i>men_going_their_own_way</i>	1	
177	midface_ratio_	0	
<b>178</b>	<b>Mike_Mew_/_Mew_Theory_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>mike_mew</i>	4	
	<i>mew_theory</i>	0	
179	Milkmired_	0	
	<i>milkmir</i>	0	
<b>180</b>	<b>mirin_</b>	<b>3</b>	
181	miscer	0	
182	MiscLegend	0	
183	Mixoscopia_	0	
<b>184</b>	<b>MM_</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>67</b>
	<i>male_model</i>	57	
<b>185</b>	<b>mog_</b>	<b>125</b>	
186	monkeybranching_	0	
	<i>monkeybranch</i>	0	
	<i>monkey_branch</i>	0	
<b>187</b>	<b>Morph_Theory_/_morph_game</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>57</b>
	<i>morph_theory</i>	0	
	<i>morph_game</i>	3	
	<i>morph</i>	54	
188	MÜ	0	
	<i>_mu_</i>	0	
<b>189</b>	<b>natty</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>190</b>	<b>NAWALT</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>
	<i>not_all_women_are_like_that</i>	2	
191	neck_theory_	0	
<b>192</b>	<b>NEET</b>	<b>103</b>	
	<i>not_in_education_employment_or_training</i>	0	
<b>193</b>	<b>nofap</b>	<b>136</b>	
<b>194</b>	<b>Noodlewhore</b>	<b>47</b>	
195	normalfag_theory_	0	
<b>196</b>	<b>normie</b>	<b>1089</b>	
<b>196.1</b>	<b>normalfag</b>	<b>24</b>	
196.2	Normalo/Normala_	0	
	<i>Normalo</i>	0	
	<i>normala</i>	0	
<b>197</b>	<b>Norwood/Norwooding/NW</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>42</b>
	<i>norwood</i>	41	
	<i>NW_</i>	1	
<b>198</b>	<b>NSA</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>115</b>

	<i>no_strings_attached</i>	1	
<b>199</b>	<b>NT</b>	<b>10556</b>	<b>64</b>
	<i>_NT_</i>	54	
	<i>neurotypical</i>	10	
<b>200</b>	<b>numale_</b>	<b>24</b>	
<b>201</b>	<b>numbers_game_</b>	<b>1</b>	
202	<i>nutrition_theory_</i>	0	
203	<i>OdB_</i>	0	
<b>204</b>	<b>OKC_or_okc</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>43</b>
	<i>OKC</i>	23	
	<i>ok_cupid</i>	2	
	<i>okcupid</i>	18	
<b>205</b>	<b>Omega_male</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>
	<i>Omega</i>	9	
<b>206</b>	<b>Oneitis_</b>	<b>142</b>	
<b>207</b>	<b>one_night_stand_</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>
	<i>one-night_stand</i>	0	
	<i>_ONS_</i>	4	
208	<i>Our_Heavenly_Father_</i>	0	
209	<i>Peppers_life/_dat_Peppers_life</i>	0	
	<i>peppers_life</i>	0	
210	<i>Permavirgin</i>	0	
<b>211</b>	<b>Personality</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>343</b>
	<i>p_e_r_s_o_n_a_l_I_t_y</i>	3	
212	<i>Personality_detector_</i>	0	
	<i>p_e_r_s_o_n_a_l_I_t_y_d_e_t_e_c_t_o_r</i>	0	
213	<i>PFL_</i>	0	
	<i>Palpebral_fissure_length</i>	0	
214	<i>pickup_autist_</i>	0	
215	<i>Pizza_Guy/_Pizza_Slayer_</i>	0	
	<i>Pizza_Guy</i>	0	
	<i>pizza_slayer</i>	0	
<b>216</b>	<b>PJ_or_Plain_Jane</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
	<i>plain_jane</i>	3	
	<i>PJ_</i>	0	
<b>217</b>	<b>POF_or_pof_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>14</b>
	<i>POF</i>	12	
	<i>plentyoffish</i>	0	
	<i>plenty_of_fish</i>	2	
<b>218</b>	<b>POIS</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
	<i>Post_acute_incel*_syndrome</i>	0	
	<i>PAIS</i>	0	

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<b>219</b>	<b>potato_face</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>220</b>	<b>pretty_boy_</b>	<b>21</b>	
<b>221</b>	<b>Prime</b>	<b>108</b>	
<b>222</b>	<b>prostitute</b>	<b>69</b>	
<b>222.1</b>	<b>escort</b>	<b>240</b>	
<b>222.2</b>	<b>gold_digger</b>	<b>7</b>	
222.3	streetwalker_	0	
	<i>street_walker</i>	0	
223	proximity_theory	0	
<b>224</b>	<b>PSL_</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>55</b>
	<i>puahate</i>	6	
	<i>sluthate</i>	6	
	<i>lookism.net</i>	14	
<b>225</b>	<b>PSL_scale/rating</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>494</b>
	<i>psl_scale</i>	0	
	<i>psl_rating</i>	7	
	<i>0_10</i>	35	
	<i>1_10</i>	36	
	<i>2_10</i>	23	
	<i>3_10</i>	27	
	<i>4_10</i>	25	
	<i>5_10</i>	29	
	<i>6_10</i>	25	
	<i>7_10</i>	24	
	<i>8_10</i>	28	
	<i>9_10</i>	25	
	<i>10_10</i>	26	
	<i>*.5_10</i>	0	
	<i>*.5/10</i>	7	
	<i>*/10</i>	177	
<b>226</b>	<b>PUA_</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>
	<i>pickup_artist</i>	4	
	<i>pickupartist</i>	0	
<b>227</b>	<b>pump_and_dump</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>
	<i>pumped_and_dumped</i>	5	
228	rat_face_	0	
229	raw_sex_appeal_	0	
<b>230</b>	<b>Reeee</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>22</b>
	<i>Reee</i>	22	
<b>231</b>	<b>Rice-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>221</b>
	<i>Rice</i>	219	
<b>232</b>	<b>roastie_</b>	<b>411</b>	

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<b>233</b>	<b>roids_</b>	<b>28</b>	
<b>234</b>	<b>rope</b>	<b>358</b>	
235	RTT	0	
<b>236</b>	<b>_S_</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>224</b>
	<i>status</i>	184	
<b>237</b>	<b>SA_or_sa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>_SA_</i>	2	
	<i>shitty_advice</i>	2	
238	<i>_SAP_</i>	0	
	<i>small_asian_penis</i>	0	
<b>239</b>	<b>shiteunt_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>105</b>
	<i>Cunt</i>	105	
240	<i>short_term_relationship_</i>	0	
	<i>STR_</i>	0	
<b>241</b>	<b>SIG_or_sig_</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
	<i>sig_</i>	0	
	<i>signature</i>	4	
242	<i>simp_</i>	0	
243	<i>skull_size_theory_</i>	0	
<b>244</b>	<b>slay_</b>	<b>46</b>	
<b>245</b>	<b>slayer_</b>	<b>45</b>	
<b>246</b>	<b>sloot_</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>247</b>	<b>slut_</b>	<b>158</b>	
248	<i>smash_and_dash_</i>	0	
	<i>smashed_and_dashed</i>	0	
<b>249</b>	<b>social_proof_</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>250</b>	<b>Sodini</b>	<b>4</b>	
251	<i>sour_grapes_</i>	0	
<b>252</b>	<b>soy_</b>	<b>65</b>	
<b>253</b>	<b>sperg_</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>254</b>	<b>Stacy</b>	<b>416</b>	
255	<i>Stacylite_</i>	0	
256	<i>sterons_</i>	0	
<b>257</b>	<b>sub-5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>
	<i>sub_5</i>	15	
<b>258</b>	<b>sub-8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>65</b>
	<i>sub_8</i>	63	
<b>259</b>	<b>subhuman</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>294</b>
	<i>sub_human</i>	21	
	<i>sub-human</i>	2	
260	<i>Sub-Pitt</i>	0	
	<i>sub_pitt</i>	0	

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261	<b>suey</b>	<b>1</b>	
262	<b>sui</b>	<b>847</b>	<b>494</b>
	<i>[minus_353x_var_of_suifuel]</i>	0	
263	<b>supreme_gentleman</b>	<b>5</b>	
264	<b>T/test</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>
	<i>t_test</i>	17	
265	<b>tallfag_</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
	<i>tall_fag</i>	0	
266	tbhngl	0	
	<i>to_be_honest_not_gonna_lie</i>	0	
	<i>tbh_ngl</i>	0	
267	<b>tbhtbh</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>
	<i>to_be_honest_to_be_honest</i>	0	
	<i>to_be_honest</i>	8	
	<i>tbh_tbh</i>	8	
268	<b>TFL</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>
	<i>true_forced_loneliness</i>	1	
269	<b>The_Wall_</b>	<b>28</b>	
270	theory_theory_	0	
271	thirstie_	0	
272	<b>to_make_it_</b>	<b>11</b>	
273	<b>tren</b>	<b>40</b>	
274	TRT_or_trt_	0	
	<i>TRT</i>	0	
	<i>testosterone_replacement_therapy</i>	0	
275	<b>Turbo_</b>	<b>19</b>	
276	<b>upper_eyelid_exposure</b>	<b>5</b>	
277	<b>vex_/vertu</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>vex</i>	0	
	<i>vertu</i>	1	
278	<b>visit_Gandy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>
	<i>gandy</i>	12	
278.1	<b>Visit_Grier</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
	<i>grier</i>	3	
278.2	visit_Kinney	0	0
	<i>kinney</i>	0	
278.3	<b>Visit_Orton</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
	<i>orton</i>	2	
279	_VT_	0	
	<i>Verachtenstheorie</i>	0	
	<i>despise_theory</i>	0	
280	WAB	0	

	<i>woman_absolute_beginner</i>	0	
<b>281</b>	<b>warpig</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>28</b>
	<i>war_pig</i>	0	
	<i>pig</i>	28	
<b>282</b>	<b>white_knight</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>69</b>
	<i>_WK</i>	3	
	<i>[manual_add_of_"wk"_at_beg_of_title]</i>	2	
<b>283</b>	<b>whore</b>	<b>415</b>	
<b>284</b>	<b>wizard</b>	<b>5</b>	
<b>285</b>	<b>womb_to_tomb</b>	<b>1</b>	
286	<i>wrist_theory</i>	0	
<b>287</b>	<b>yellow_fever</b>	<b>8</b>	
<b>288</b>	<b>zygo</b>	<b>10</b>	
<b>289</b>	<b>zyzz</b>	<b>6</b>	

*Note.* Numbers correspond to dictionary entries as they occur in Appendix A. Terms in italics indicate those that are not present in the dictionary but identified as variations of Appendix A entries. Bolded entries are those that exist in the dictionary and have a count or supercount above zero. Underscores preceding and/or following entries represent spaces used within Excel and its COUNTIFS function.