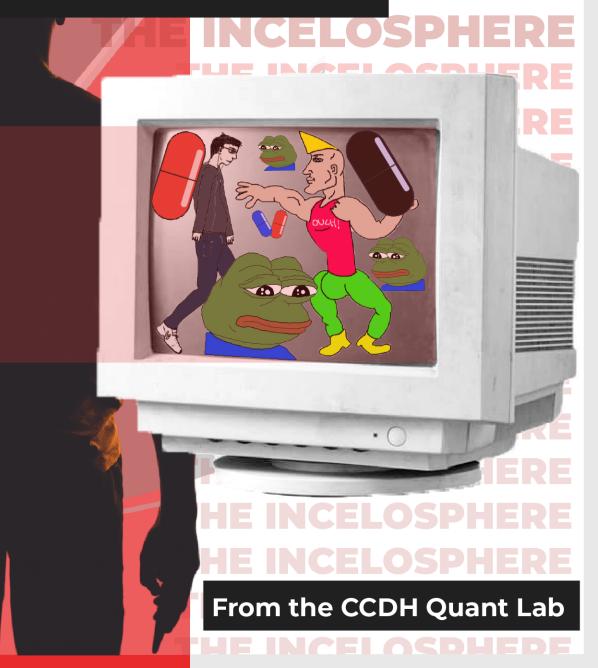


THE INCELOSPHERE
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Exposing pathways into incel communities and the harms they pose to women and children.

SPHERE SPHERE



## **Content Warning**

This report includes explicit language and content on the following themes that may be distressing to readers:

- Anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric
- Antisemitism
- Mental health, including self harm and suicide
- Pedophilia
- Racism
- Violence
- Violent misogyny, including sexual assault

If you find any of the content discussed in this report upsetting, you may find the following resources helpful.

Mental Health America – mental health support and advice To reach a 24-hour crisis center call 1-800-273-TALK, or text MHA to 741741 for the Crisis Text Line.

The Trevor Project – LGBTQ+ support and advice To reach a 24-hour phone hotline call 1-866-488-7386. Alternatively, you can text TREVOR to 1-202-304-1200 or use this link to find online webchat support.

Rape, Abuse and Incest Network - support for survivors of sexual violence
To reach a 24-hour hotline call 1-800-656-4673. Alternatively you can <u>click here</u> for webchat support.

The Samaritans - 24 hour support helpline To reach the hotline call 116 123. Alternatively you can email jo@samaritans.org.

#### Names of relevant websites

To avoid promoting the websites investigated in this report, we refrain from naming inceldedicated forums and websites to the best of our ability. The main forum we researched for this report is referred to as "the incel forum" or "the forum", whilst adjacent forums and websites are described according to their main focus.

#### Names of individuals

To protect the identities of individuals investigated in this report, we have removed all references that can be used to identify members, including usernames. This does not include generic photos of influential personalities that have been widely adopted by members of the communities.

## **Redaction of offensive language**

We have redacted certain extremely offensive words throughout the report using asterisks.

## **Glossary of incel terminology**

The incel community has developed their own intricate and extensive in-group language. Members regularly use specific terminology when interacting with each other and also employ it as a gatekeeping method that allows them to quickly identify who is welcome into the community.

For readers unfamiliar with incel terminology, a glossary can be found at the end of this report.

### **Contents**

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Executive Summary
- 3. Methodology
- 4. The Incel Forum: studying the largest dedicated online forum for incels
- 5. The Incelosphere Network: pathways from body image, unemployment and suicide
  - a. Body image forum
  - b. Unemployment forum
  - c. Suicide forum
  - d. Google searches for body image or unemployment return "incelosphere" sites
- 6. Structure of the incel forum: millions of visits far exceed activity from its members
  - a. Incel forum activity is driven by a small number of 'powerusers'
  - b. Top ten 'powerusers' spend eight hours a day logged on to the incel forum
  - c. Over half of visits to the incel forum are from the US and UK
- 7. The Incel Forum has links to mainstream social media platforms
  - a. Incel forum members have an adversarial relationship with Reddit
  - b. Forum members share content from incel YouTube channels
  - c. Women are covertly filmed by YouTube channel Sluthate Creeps
  - d. YouTube continues to offer Incel TV a platform
- 8. Over a fifth of incel forum posts feature misogynist, racist and homophobic language
  - a. 16% of posts contain a misogynist slur
  - b. 5% of posts contain a racist slur
  - c. Antisemitism drives references to Jewish people in 1.2% of all posts
  - d. 3% of posts contain homophobic or transphobic slurs
  - e. Third of incel forum posts promote rage and despair
- 9. Incel communities pose rape and child abuse threats, as well as shootings
  - a. Incel forum members post about "rape" every 29 minutes
  - b. Pedophilia is tolerated and even promoted in incel communities
  - c. Incel forum rules were changed to accommodate pedophilia
  - d. Incel forum interest in incel mass murderers is rising
- 10. Incel forum members as young as fifteen express violent and extremist views
- 11. Recommendations

### 1 Introduction

It has been eight years since incels violently burst into the public eye. Elliot Rodger, a 22 year old man, murdered six people and injured fourteen more in Isla Vista, California, before killing himself. Before he died, he posted a long manifesto and several videos on YouTube detailing his hatedrenched worldview and membership of a nascent community of incels. Since then, dozens more have died at the hands of self-proclaimed incels around the world.

Across the world, law enforcement and intelligence organizations are aware of the growing issue of incel threats, considering it a priority. The Secret Service National Threat Assessment Center (NTAC) said in March 2022 that incels are a rising threat in the US.<sup>1</sup> The UK Intelligence and Security Committee were warned by MI5 that incels are establishing synergistic relationships with other conspiratorial and violent movements.<sup>2</sup>

This new report, a product of the Center for Countering Digital Hate's new Quant Lab, is a systematic study of over a million posts over the past eighteen months on the world's leading incels forum. By stripping language down to mathematics, we can eke out trends that provide real insight into incel communities. Our Quant Lab researchers studied an active community with thousands of members, some more active than others, that attracts a wider audience who make millions of visits a month. Analysis of their discourse shows this core group poses a clear and present danger to women, other young men, and reveals an emerging threat to our children.

We are in no doubt after conducting this study that this community of angry, belligerent and unapologetic men are dangerous to each other, with malignant social dynamics whereby they encourage each other to worse and worse extremes. Analysis of thread titles show they are soaked in anger and despair. Only 5.8% of thread tags were positive. We found an over-time increase of 59% in violent rhetoric over the past year. We see a growing proliferation of content that encourages and excuses child sexual exploitation. In fact, in March 2022, the forum rules changed to permit sexualization of pubescent minors.

Here we can see, in real time, the social norms of a community evolving, driven to new excesses. Unchecked, incel communities have the potential to radicalize further.

The organizers of the incel forum we studied – which we do not name – also set up forums for self-harm, body image anxiety and chronic unemployment. They know their market. They seek to grow their numbers. Children are welcomed onto the platform. We found self-identified minors discussing antisemitic conspiracies, a desire to perpetrate mass murders and even how to evade scrutiny by law enforcement.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Hot Yoga Tallahassee: A case study of misogynistic extremism", US Secret Service, 15 March 2022, <a href="https://www.secretservice.gov/newsroom/releases/2022/03/secret-services-latest-research-highlights-mass-violence-motived-misogyny">https://www.secretservice.gov/newsroom/releases/2022/03/secret-services-latest-research-highlights-mass-violence-motived-misogyny</a>

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Extreme Right-Wing Terrorism", Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament, 13 July 2022, pages 26–27, <a href="https://isc.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/E02710035-HCP-Extreme-Right-Wing-Terrorism\_Accessible.pdf">https://isc.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/E02710035-HCP-Extreme-Right-Wing-Terrorism\_Accessible.pdf</a>

CCDH has looked at other forms of hate before, for example anti-LGBTQ+ hate in our most recent report, at antisemitism and anti-Muslim hate. It is dangerous to elide being a bigot to being a violent extremist. To do so cheapens the seriousness with which we take violent extremism and its cost in lives. However, there should be no doubt that the widespread proliferation of malignant content and ideas online create an enabling environment for more dangerous views to fester and grow. This is accelerated by social media in particular. Their platforms often serve to amplify harmful content – which reacts to high positive and negative engagement by pushing content into more people's timelines – and can lead to normalization of these ideas through frequency bias.

We find in this study a reflexive dynamic between misogynistic communities online and incels. They argue with each other, support each other, share ideas, promote each other's lexicon and values. In short, they are brothers-in-arms in a war against women. That's why a small subculture, numbering in the thousands, has had such an enormous effect. They have mastered the amplification machine of unregulated, poorly-moderated social media, using trolling-for-engagement tactics, the rapid anonymous dissemination of memes, clickbait to draw people into other forums. We found a particular problem on YouTube, in our experience a platform that has been particularly poor at enforcing community standards and is slow to respond to reports of problems there. SlutHate Creep, one of the popular channels on the forum we studied, is designed to denigrate covertly filmed women. It should never have lasted so long.

Incels are dangerous to themselves and to others. They are a highly-developed example of the kinds of modern digital communities, based on malignant ideologies, pseudoscience, misinformation and hate that proliferate and are enabled by unregulated online businesses to cause our societies serious harm. The Secret Service NTAC report ended by warning "although every act of targeted violence may not be prevented, the risk of future tragedies can be reduced if the appropriate systems are in place to identify the warning signs, gather information to assess the risk of violence, and apply the appropriate community resources." We agree wholeheartedly, and hope our findings, and our recommendations for policy-makers and platforms at the end of the report are helpful to that end.

Imran Ahmed CEO, CCDH

## **2 Executive Summary**

A network of four sites founded by two individuals offers pathways into the incelosphere

- Researchers identified the largest dedicated incel forum based on traffic figures from SimilarWeb which show it receives an average of 2.6 million visits a month.
- The incel forum sits at the heart of a network of "incelosphere" sites that were set up by the same two individuals since 2017 and form pathways into incel communities.
- The network hosts dedicated forums for discussion of body image, suicide and unemployment. All except for the suicide forum do not allow women as members.
- This network has been linked to dozens of suicides and at least one mass shooting.
- This wider incelosphere network has 55,818 members and receives an average of 7.6 million monthly visits. Analysis of usernames suggests that membership of the body image and unemployment forums overlaps with membership of the incel forum.
- Google searches for terms connected with body image and unemployment present links to incelosphere sites on their first page of results.

The incel forum at the heart of the network has millions of visits but just 4,000 active members

- Researchers collected all posts from the most popular subforum of the incel forum, posted from January 1 2021 to July 7, 2022 creating a dataset of 1,183,812 posts.
- This dataset reveals that the incel forum consists of a small number of active members with interest from a much larger number of visiting users:
  - 2.6 million visits a month, making a 16:1 ratio of visits to posts
  - 17,118 total members
  - 4,057 active members who posted in the period of study
  - 406 'powerusers' who account for 74.6% of all posts on the forum
- The US accounts for 44% of all visits to the incel forum, while the UK accounts for 7.5%. Amongst active users, 6% use predominantly British spellings in posts.
- Incel forum posts most frequently link to YouTube. Forum members share content from incel YouTube channels, which have 136,000 subscribers and 24.2 million video views.
- Users often link to Incel TV, a channel YouTube has previously refused to remove. Another called Sluthate Creeps posts videos of women in covertly filmed London.

### Forum posts reveal promotion of extreme hatred, rape, pedophilia and mass shootings

- Over a fifth of posts in the forum feature misogynist, racist, antisemitic or anti-LGBTQ+ language, with 16% of posts featuring misogynist slurs.
- Forum members post about rape every 29 minutes, and examination of discussions of rape shows that 89% of posters are supportive.
- Over a quarter of incel forum users have posted pedophilia keywords, and discussions of pedophilia show 53% of posters are supportive.
- The incel forum's rules were changed on March 5, 2022 to accommodate pedophilia. The relevant rules changed from "do not sexualize minors in any way, shape or form" to "do not sexualize pre-pubescent minors in any way, shape, or form.
- Posts mentioning incel mass murders increased 59% between 2021 and 2022
- Analysis of the 'tags' applied to discussion threads on the forum shows that over a third are tagged with topics promoting expressions of anger or despair over members' incel status.
   Just 5.8% are tagged with topics promoting a more optimistic outlook.

### Forum members as young as fifteen express violent and extremist views on the forum

- Researchers identified three users aged between 15 and 17 who were amongst the forum's most active members and expressed extreme views.
  - Adam: 17, logged on for 10 hours a day, posted about "Jewish propaganda"
  - Ben: 15, discussed desire to commit a mass shooting in posts
  - Carl: student, discussed evading referral to UK's anti-extremism program

### Mainstream platforms must close pathways to the incelosphere

- YouTube must deplatform incel YouTube channels with more than 136,000 subscribers and 24.2 million views across their videos.
- Google must downrank incelosphere websites in search results for terms connected with inceldom, body image, suicide and unemployment.
- Platforms must address digital harms such as body image and mental health that can drive children into incelosphere communities.
- Governments should design and implement anti-extremism interventions for incels.

## 3 Methodology

Analysis in this report is predominantly based on a large dataset of posts collected from the primary English-language incel website. Using this data, we analyzed member activity, over-time trends and keyword frequencies. We also compared broader post activity on the forum to web traffic figures from Similarweb.

Scraping posts from the largest subforum of the primary English-language incel website

Researchers collected a dataset of posts from the most popular subforum of the incel website, which contains 69% of forum's total visible posts.

Post collection was carried out using the Beautiful Soup Python library in conjunction with CloudScraper to collect all posts made in the most popular subforum going back to January 1, 2021. In total, researchers collected 1,183,812 posts from the subforum, covering every post and thread created between January 1, 2021 and July 7, 2022.

Throughout this report, when we use the term "average" we have calculated the mean.

### Keyword analysis

Keyword analysis was carried out programmatically using Python. Unless otherwise stated, words were counted when they appeared either as an exact match or the plural version of that word. Regular expressions were used to identify words that contained certain patterns such as the capitalization of "ER" within a word.

Assessing total posts from the primary English-language incel website

To gather wider figures for the number of posts appearing across the entire website, including other subforums, researchers used the Wayback Machine to identify the site's total post count at the start of each month from June 2021 to July 2022.

Researchers recorded the month-on-month increase in total post count to derive the number of posts made in a given month. In the cases where an archived version of the site on the 1st of the month wasn't available, the first available day of the month was used instead.

A large number of posts were deleted during February 2022, so an annual average was used as an approximation for the number of posts during this month. A table of the exact post counts and dates of each of these observations is provided in an appendix at the end of this report.

### Similarweb Statistics

Data for web traffic over time was collected over a period of a year via Similarweb's freely-available profile of the primary English-language incel website.

## 4 The Incel Forum: studying the largest dedicated online forum for incels

Average monthly visits: 2.4 million

Our analysis of five active dedicated incel forums collated from various reports and Wikipedia pages suggests that the forum studied by this report remains the largest. The forum is hereafter referred to as "the incel forum" or "the forum" throughout this report.

#### What is an incel?

The word "incel" is shorthand for "involuntary celibate". The term's original and literal meaning is therefore someone who is unable to develop a romantic or sexual relationship despite desiring one. One of the first incel sites was founded by a woman in the mid-1990s, as a "small and generally supportive community" named "Involuntary Celibacy Project".<sup>3</sup>

However, incel communities have since become predominantly male-only spaces that blame their members' problems on women, promoting a hateful and violent ideology linked to the murder or injury of 100 people in last ten years, mostly women.<sup>4</sup> These incel communities are identified as part of a wider online "manosphere" that promotes hatred of women. This report examines the largest online incel community, the pathways that young men take to join it and the threat it poses to women and children in particular.

Over three months between April and June 2022, the forum received an estimated 7.2 million visits according to Similarweb. Research suggests that the second largest forum received only 182,600 visits in the same timeframe. As of August 2022, the website stated in its footer that it had 17,118 members at the time of data collection.<sup>5</sup> This figure is significantly higher than the member count (where available) of other incel-dedicated forums included in our analysis – the second biggest forum we analyzed had just over 1,600 members.<sup>6</sup>

Founded in 2017 by Diego Joaquín Galante, known by forum members as "Sergeant Incel", the forum was created in response to the banning of the incel subreddit /r/incels. Forum threads are largely centered around frustration over relationships and the "black pill ideology", which revolves around the core belief that the ability of an individual to establish romantic relationships is determined by appearance and therefore genetics.

The site's navbar links to a Wikipedia-style site, which details incels theories and ideology for new members. The site also hosts an invite-only Discord server with a current base of 150 members. To join, users are required to have posted 400 posts on the forum. It also maintains an active Twitter account with 3,586 followers that is uses to promote incel views and attack perceived critics. This Twitter account has previously attacked the Center for Countering Digital Hate for

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Men Who Hate Women", Laura Bates, 3 September 2020, page 14, Simon & Schuster Ltd

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Men Who Hate Women", Laura Bates, 3 September 2020, page 14, Simon & Schuster Ltd

<sup>5</sup> Figure as of 17 August 2022

<sup>6</sup> Figure as of 17 August 2022

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;Incels Are Running An Online Suicide Forum That Was Blamed For A Young Woman's Death", BuzzFeed News, 6 June 2019, <a href="https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tasneemnashrulla/incels-suicide-forum-woman-killed-herself">https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tasneemnashrulla/incels-suicide-forum-woman-killed-herself</a>

our campaigning on influencer Andrew Tate's promotion of hatred of women and our previous investigations into incel communities.

A self-proclaimed "heterosexual male-only forum", the website prohibits women and the LGBTQ+ community, as well as "non-incels" from attaining membership. This is part of a published set of rules that includes a ban on the "discussion of personal romantic/sexual experiences" and a requirement that users sign up with a "masculine sounding username".

The site is aware of its radical and harmful content, offering various visual themes such as "Fast Banana Viral Marketing" which users can apply "for the purpose of not letting people around you notice you are browsing an incel forum".

#### Links to offline violence

The website studied by this report has been criticized for containing extremist content targeting women that could have deadly consequences. In July 2021, a man was charged with illegal possession of a modified AR-15 type assault rifle with a suspected "bump stock" attachment that would allow for rapid fire, and one count of attempting to commit a hate crime relating to a plot to "slaughter" women at an unnamed Ohio university.8

Whilst media outlets stated only that the perpetrator "had been active on incel websites", members of the website under study suggested that he had posted on their site under the alias "Oedipus".

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;'Incel' Plotted to Slaughter Thousands of Women at an Ohio University: Police", The Daily Beast, 21 July 2021, <a href="https://www.thedaily-beast.com/incel-tres-genco-plotted-to-slaughter-woman-at-ohio-university-police-allege">https://www.thedaily-beast.com/incel-tres-genco-plotted-to-slaughter-woman-at-ohio-university-police-allege</a>

## 5 The Incelosphere Network: pathways from body image, unemployment and suicide

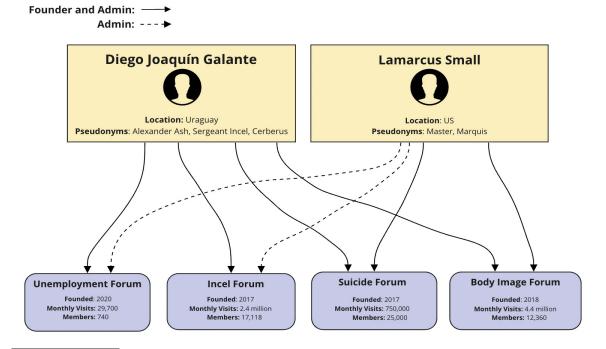
The incel forum studied by this report is it at the heart of a network of communities focused on body image, unemployment and suicide, that form pathways into the "incelosphere". This wider network has 55,818 members and receives an average of 7.6 million monthly visits.

The 'incelosphere' is a catch-all term for all communities occupying various positions on a spectrum of 'inceldom' – "a state of being involuntarily celibate". This ecosystem incorporates both softer and harder elements of the incel ideology, offering not only support networks for those who believe they are unable to establish romantic relationships, but also acting as a haven for more extreme individuals advocating violence against women.

The incel forum is just one of four forums founded by the same two individuals, Diego Joaquín Galante and Lamarcus Small. Following the establishment of the incel forum in 2017, Galante and Small created the following three forums centered around incel-adjacent topics, which are given descriptive names here to avoid promoting the sites:

- An unemployment forum, centering on young men not in education or work
- A suicide forum, reported to be implicated in encouraging a number of suicides
- A body image forum, promoting the practice of obsessively seeking to improve your physical appearance known as "looksmaxing" in the incel community

Between April and June 2022, the family of forums collectively received over 22.5 million visits worldwide.<sup>10</sup> With the exception of the suicide forum, all of the sites are "male-only" communities with an explicit ban on women.



<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Our incel problem", Vox, 23 April 2019, https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/4/16/18287446/incel-definition-reddit

<sup>10</sup> Similarweb defines a "visit" as when one or more pages within a site are accessed in a single session. A new visit is logged if a visitor returns after being inactive for more than 30 minutes or if they are present on the site at midnight. "Monthly Visits", Similarweb, Accessed 27 July 2022, <a href="https://support.similarweb.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000501465-Monthly-Visits">https://support.similarweb.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000501465-Monthly-Visits</a>

## 5.1 Body image forum

## Average monthly visits: 4.4 million

Founded by Galante and Small in August 2018, the body image forum is popular in the wider incelopshere community for "men that wish to improve their looks" and interested in "becoming the best version" of themselves.

Members exchange so-called "looksmax" techniques in order to improve their appearances. One such technique the community frequently discusses is "mewing", which requires the flattening of the tongue against the roof of the mouth and allegedly sharpens the jawline.<sup>11</sup>

Whilst some incels turn to looksmaxing as a coping mechanism or method to help them "ascend" (that is, to escape inceldom by having sexual relations with someone), the concept is not exclusive to the incels community, extending the forum's influence to those who do not explicitly identify as incel.

Discussions about incels on the body image forum are generally critical, partly due to the perceived defeatism of the incel community. Despite this, we found that 5% of usernames that we collected in a small scale scrape of the forum were also in use on the incels forum.<sup>12</sup>

The site's "Ratings" subforum allows members rate each other's appearances based on uploaded images and videos and exchange "advice" on how to "improve". Whilst members have a "4-hour window to edit/delete posts", this does not apply to the Ratings posts and threads, which cannot be deleted unless members "upgrade to a VIP rank".

Whilst survey results released on the forum in 2022 reports that 83% of members are ages 18 and above, many threads in the section are posted by minors. One thread identified was created by an alleged 14-year-old. In response, users suggested that the minor should get "lip fillers" and "cut weight" to "ascend…to giga chad".

"I would get some bimax so you can get hooded eyes. Maybe some lip fillers. I would also cut weight to get hollow cheeks. You are htn rn, but all that would ascend you to giga chad."

The body image forum runs ads on its website powered by marketing agencies including Clever Advertising and Infolinks. Looksmax.org offers various "VIP" upgrade packages to its members ranging from \$8.99 to \$49.99. The most expensive package offers members features such as "no ads", username changes and access to an "exclusive subforum".

The site maintains a Discord server with 736 members and a Twitter profile with 196 followers.

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;What Is Mewing?", WebMD, 9 April 2021, https://www.webmd.com/oral-health/what-is-mewing

<sup>12 12,726</sup> posts collected made by 1270 unique usernames

## 5.2 Unemployment forum

Average monthly visits: 29,700

The unemployment forum posted its welcome post under its Rules and FAQ section in September 2020. The post was uploaded by Cerberus, who users have acknowledged to be "Sergeant Incel" or "Serge" – the primary pseudonyms of Galante. The smallest forum in the network with just 740 members, it is primarily intended for users who are not in employment or education, although users who are in work are permitted to join the forum.\(^{13}\) It maintains a small Discord server with 26 members.

One subforum is dedicated to threads discussing ways to earn money and finances, including trading stocks and cryptocurrency. Members typically scorn the employed, who they refer to as "wageslaves", and exchange ideas on how to make money as quickly and easily as possible. Depression is also a common theme amongst posters, many who believe they are "doomed to a life of NEETing" despite expressing a desire for a "normal life".

Discussions of experiences as an incel are common on the unemployment forum, and users regularly post negatively about women. A small dataset scraped from the forum revealed significant crossover in membership names with the incels site, with 17% of usernames appearing on both sites.<sup>14</sup>

"i am almost certain i am doomed to a life of NEETing. i want to live a normal life but i know im not ready for all of these responsibilities... its just agonizing that rotting alone will by my life".

<sup>13</sup> Figure as of 17 August 2022

<sup>14 12,937</sup> posts were made by 346 unique usernames

### 5.3 Suicide forum

Average monthly visits: 750,000

Founded by Galante and Small in March 2018, the suicide forum hosts users who discuss taking their lives and various methods of suicide.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike other forums in the network, the suicide forum has no ban on women users and is aimed at an audience beyond the incelosphere, yielding the largest membership of the network with over 25,600 members.<sup>16</sup>

In a report released by the New York Times in December 2021, at least 45 members on the forum were identified to have killed themselves, although it is expected that the real number is higher.<sup>17</sup> Drawing upon Buzzfeed's previous piece which identified the incel forum and suicide forum as part of the same network, the NYT's investigation unveiled the identities of Galante and Small by piecing together information from various sources, including domain registrations, financial documents and interviews with acquaintances of the two.<sup>18</sup>

While the site does host subforums dedicated to "recovery", most discussion is given over to sharing detailed and practical advice on suicide methods. Despite forum rules which state that "NO ONE on this site will advise you on how to end your life", an investigation by the New York Times found one user who joined the site and was "encouraged" to end his life by using a lethal chemical. Before taking their lives, referred to by members as "catching the bus" or "CTB", members often publish their final goodbyes on the forum.

Due to the open nature of the forum, there is less overlap in the community with incels although members who do identify as incels are active. Links to the incel community were further weakened following the handover of the forum to a new administrator who is believed not to identify with the incel community. The handover followed the release of the NYT investigation.

The suicide forum maintains a Twitter account with 1,255 followers that is uses to attack critics and defend the forum's approach to mental health and suicide. It previously maintained a Discord server which has since been banned by the platform.

<sup>15 &</sup>quot;Where the Despairing Log On, and Learn Ways to Die", New York Times, 9 December 2021, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html</a>

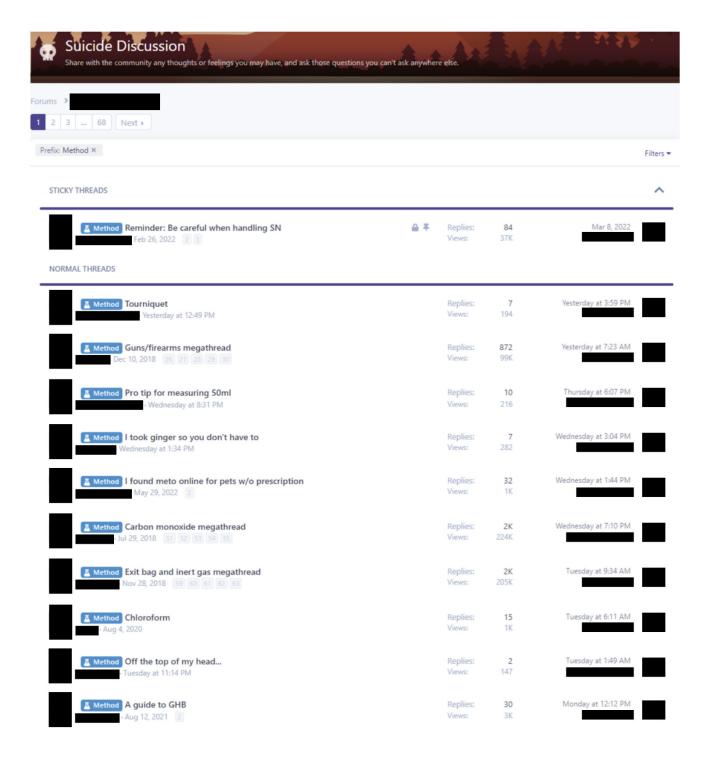
<sup>16</sup> Figure as of 17 August 2022

<sup>17 &</sup>quot;Where the Despairing Log On, and Learn Ways to Die", New York Times, 9 December 2021, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html</a>

<sup>18 &</sup>quot;Where the Despairing Log On, and Learn Ways to Die", New York Times, 9 December 2021, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html</a>

<sup>19 &</sup>quot;Where the Despairing Log On, and Learn Ways to Die", New York Times, 9 December 2021, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html</a>

### **Suicide Discussion**



## 5.4 Google searches for body image or unemployment return "incelosphere" sites

Forums in the "incelosphere" network we identify in this report feature on the first page of Google search results for terms associated with body image and unemployment.

This demonstrates the ease with which users who become concerned about their appearance or unemployed status could encounter incelosphere sites and join them.

The table below collates the results of searches in New York, US and London, UK for terms associated with the focus of forums in the "incelosphere" network. Researchers marked the search rank of the relevant forum and the rank of any relevant pages from the incel wiki, a user-maintained encyclopedia of incel ideology advertised in the incel forum's navigation bar.

Researchers examined the term "looksmaxxing" is a verb meaning 'to improve your appearance' that is popular in incel communities and has seen wider use in health and fitness communities. The term "NEETs" is often used by incel communities to refer to young men who are 'not in education, employment or training'.

Searches for the name of the suicide forum returned results in which the forum ranked top in UK, and second in the US. This is despite reporting of the forum's role in the suicides of dozens of young people, leading suicide experts to brand the site "extremely dangerous". <sup>20</sup> The incel wiki does not include a page describing the suicide forum.

Location	Search Terms	Topic	Incel Wiki	Forum
New York, US	incel forum	incels	Rank #27	Rank #52
New York, US	looksmaxxing	body image	Rank #1	Rank #7
New York, US	looksmax	body image	Rank #3	Rank #1
New York, US	looksmaxing	body image	Rank #7	Rank #3
New York, US	NEETs forum	unemployment	Rank #3	Rank #1
New York, US	[forum name]	suicide	N/A	Rank #2
London, UK	incel forum	incels	Rank #43	Rank #4
London, UK	looksmax	body image	Rank #3	Rank #1
London, UK	looksmaxxing	body image	Rank #1	Rank #1
London, UK	looksmaxing	body image	Rank #6	Rank #4
London, UK	NEETs forum	unemployment	Rank #2	Rank #1
London, UK	[forum name]	suicide	N/A	Rank #1

<sup>20 &</sup>quot;Where the Despairing Log On, and Learn Ways to Die", New York Times, 9 December 2021, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/09/us/where-the-despairing-log-on.html</a>

## 6 Structure of the incel forum: millions of visits far exceed activity from its members

Comparison of web traffic statistics with posts on the incel forum since January 2021 shows that the number of visits to the site exceeds the number of posts by a ratio of 16:1.

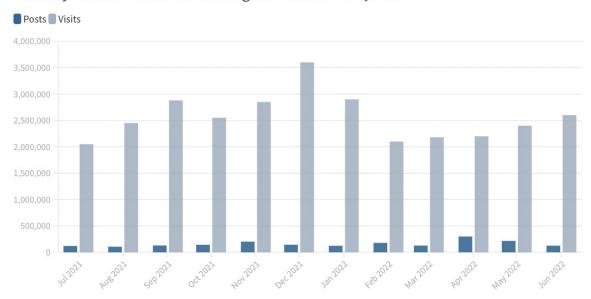
In the year between July 2021 and June 2022, web traffic data from Similarweb shows the forum received an average of 2,563,333 visits per month, with the average visit to the site lasting 13 minutes. During the same time frame, the forum received an average of 160,387 monthly posts, including posts from both its major subforums.

Similarweb defines a "visit" as when one or more pages within a site are accessed in a single session. A new visit is logged if a visitor returns after being inactive for more than 30 minutes or if they are present on the site at midnight.<sup>21</sup>

Given users can contribute more than one post during a single session, it's a reasonable assumption that website visits generated by users who are actively posting will be lower than the number of posts – which average at 160,387 per month. This leaves an average of at least 2.4 million visits per month which didn't result in a post being written. It follows that, for every visit to the site during which someone wrote a post, there were at least 16 visits that did not result in posts. The picture that emerges is of a small subset of individuals driving a discussion that is viewed by an engaged audience of spectators.

## Most visitors to the incel forum leave without writing a post

Monthly website visits far outweigh the number of posts



Source: SimilarWeb; CCDH research based on internet archive of incels.is from the Wayback Machine

<sup>21 &</sup>quot;Monthly Visits", Similarweb, Accessed 27 July 2022, <a href="https://support.similarweb.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000501465-Monthly-Visits">https://support.similarweb.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000501465-Monthly-Visits</a>

## 6.1 Incel forum activity is driven by a small number of 'powerusers'

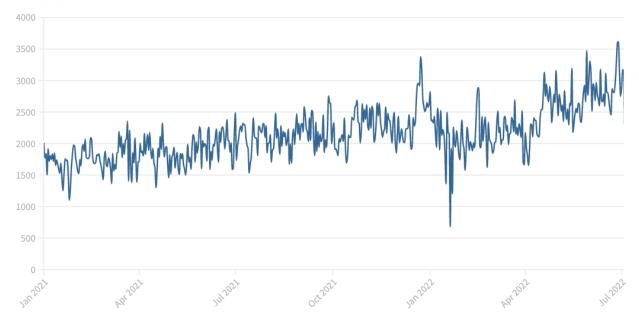
Our analysis showed that posting activity on the incel subforum has grown over time since January 2021, driven in large part by a dedicated core of around 400 highly active 'powerusers' who account for nearly three quarters of all posts.

Posting is carried out by a relatively small community of active members. While the site had 17,118 registered members at the time of data collection, just 4,057 users wrote a post in the subforum during the 18 months covered.

Within this community of active members, the conversation was primarily driven by an even smaller community of 'powerusers'. The top 10% of members, consisting of just 406 individuals, accounted for 74.6% of all posts.

The subforum received a monthly average of 64,843 posts. On an average day, the subforum received 2,133 posts, equivalent to one post every 41 seconds. The number of posts grew over time as the message board attracted more popularity, from 2,025 average daily posts in 2021 to 2,340 average daily posts in 2022.

## The primary English-language incel website has grown in popularity Daily posts



Source: CCDH Research

## 6.2 Top ten 'powerusers' spend eight hours a day logged on to the incel forum

At the extreme end, the subforum's most active users have written thousands of posts each and accumulated an average of 3,731 hours spent online. The top ten most active users in our dataset, profiled below, made an average of 23 posts per day and spent an average of eight hours per day online, where daily time spent online is based on the public tally of the total days, hours and minutes each member has spent on the forum alongside their joining date. Out of these 'powerusers', two were relatively new recruits, having been a member of the site for a year or less. Another, who made on average 293 posts a day, claimed to be only 15 years old.



Number of posts: 18,006

Member since: 07/04/2021 Average time online per day: 10 hours Average posts per day: 40



Number of posts: 13,929

Member since: 17/02/2019 Average time online per day: 7 hours Average posts per day: 11



User 3 Number of posts: 11,945

Member since: 06/07/2020 Average time online per day: 2 hours Average posts per day: 16



User 4 Number of posts: 10,657

Member since: 28/08/2020 Average time online per day: 8 hours Average posts per day: 16



**User 5** Number of posts: 9,464

Member since: 26/08/2021 Average time online per day: 15 hours Average posts per day: 30



**User 6** Number of posts: 9,311

Member since: 21/07/2020 Average time online per day: 3 hours Average posts per day: 13



User 7 Number of posts: 8,779

Member since: 19/01/2021 Average time online per day: 3 hours Average posts per day: 17



User 8 Number of posts: 8,192

Member since: 03/04/2022 Average time online per day: 23 hours Average posts per day: 293



User 9 Number of posts: 8,031

Member since: 20/05/2019 Average time online per day: 3 hours Average posts per day: 7



User 10 Number of posts: 7,519

Member since: 02/09/2020 Average time online per day: 8 hours Average posts per day: 11

Source: CCDH Research

## 6.3 Over half of visits to the incel forum are from the US and UK

Traffic statistics and data analysis show that the forum is global in nature, despite its American roots.

Almost half of the web traffic for the forum originates from the US, with Americans accounting for 43.8% of the site's traffic between April and June 2022, according to Similarweb data. This amounts to an average of 1,060,498 monthly visits.

The UK accounted for 7.5% of traffic to the site during the same period, amounting to an average of 182,159 visits a month.

Despite the forum being in English, 40% of web traffic comes from countries where English isn't an official language. Some of the highest-placing countries in terms of traffic were Poland, which ranked third with 4.2% of traffic, Ecuador, which ranked fourth with 3.6% of traffic, and the Philippines, which ranked fifth with 3.6%.

Other English-speaking countries ranked lower, with Canada in 11th place, pulling in 1.8% of traffic, and Australia ranking 12th, pulling in 1.8% of traffic.

Country	Website Visits (Share of Total)	
US	1,060,498 (43.8%)	
United Kingdom	182,160 (7.5%)	
Poland	101,011 (4.2%)	
Ecuador	88,173 (3.6%)	
Philippines	86,720 (3.6%)	
Sweden	64,434 (2.7%)	
India	62,981 (2.6%)	
Germany	58,378 (2.4%)	
Spain	55,714 (2.3%)	ı
Brazil	49,900 (2.1%)	l
Canada	42,875 (1.8%)	l
Australia	42,391 (1.8%)	l
Colombia	38,757 (1.6%)	l
Netherlands	36,335 (1.5%)	l
Belgium	27,615 (1.1%)	1
Egypt	24,708 (1%)	1
Jersey	23,012 (1%)	
Indonesia	22,770 (0.9%)	
Hungary	22,285 (0.9%)	
France	20,348 (0.8%)	

Source: SimilarWeb

### 6% of active members use predominantly British spellings

To get an estimate of how many active users might be British, we analyzed usage of British vs American spellings in posts. In total, 6% of members used British spellings in over half of the instances where a word had an alternative American spelling, suggesting that they may be from the UK or a Commonwealth country.

This is likely to be a conservative estimate, given that according to Similarweb data more than 15% of visitors were from these countries. Just under 30% of users did not use words with a variable spelling in their posts, making them uncategorizable.

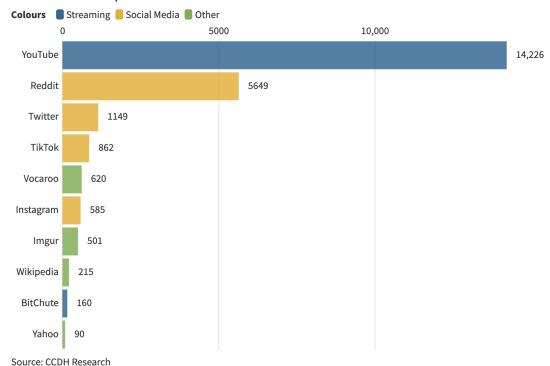
## 7 The Incel Forum has links to mainstream social media platforms

Analysis of posts in the dataset that contain URLs shows that incel forum members most frequently link to content from mainstream social media platforms, particularly YouTube, Reddit, Twitter and TikTok.

In total, there were 28,846 unique links in the dataset. Video hosting platforms were the most popular type of external site, accounting for 49.9% of links. Links to Youtube were by far the most common, featuring 14,226 times, but the alt-tech platform Bitchute was also linked to 160 times.

## YouTube is by far the most linked to site

Number of unique links to each website



Social media sites were also frequently linked to. Taken together, Reddit, Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, Imgur and Facebook accounted for 30.3% of links in the dataset. Reddit was the second most popular site after Youtube, featuring 5,649 times and accounting for 19.6% of links. Facebook received very few links, featuring just 58 times.

The voice recording service Vocaroo also made the top ten sites with 620 links. Members use this site to add voice notes to their comments, often having recorded back and forths, or to rate each other's voices. Having a deeper voice is seen as more attractive, and users will refer to themselves as "voicecels" if they believe their voice contributes to their "inceldom". In one such interaction, a user who claims to be 15 years old asks other members to let him know if his voice is "good or bad", prompted by feedback from users of the body image forum. In another instance, one of the Powerusers shares a recording to demonstrate his "cursed sounding spic voice".

## 7.1 Incel forum members have an adversarial relationship with Reddit

Historically, the incel community has had strong connections to Reddit. For example, before being banned in 2017, the r/Incels community had around 40,000 members and was one of the primary destinations for incels on the internet<sup>22</sup>. This relationship appears to have continued, as Reddit is the second most linked site in our dataset. However, rather than being a resource for the community, it is now primarily a source of content used for mockery, and, in the case of r/IncelTear, out and out hostility.

Number of

**Unique Links** 

## r/IncelTear is the most linked to subreddit

Top 10 subfeduits by	number of unique links
Subreddit	Subreddit Content

Subreddit	Subreddit Content	Members	(Share of total)	
r/IncelTear	Screenshots of content created by incels. Commonly features posts made on Incels.is	103.762	1338 (52.6%)	
r/FemaleDatingStrategy	Dating strategies for women with some redditors claiming to be female incels. Subreddit is mostly dormant and has been replaced by external website	248,083	165 (6.5%)	
r/truerateme	Pictures of Redditors with requests for appearance based ratings	78,666	123 (4.8%)	
r/relationship_advice	Requests for relationship advice	7,122,584	90 (3.5%)	
r/short	Posts discussing anything related to being short. Posters are often male	79,361	90 (3.5%)	
r/IncelExit	Support for those who wish to leave the incel community or are concerned about a friend or loved one	11,434	83 (3.3%)	
r/Tinder	Anything Tinder related - mostly screenshots of conversations or profiles	5,500,839	71 (2.8%)	
r/Cringetopia	Private subreddit - posts of anything deemed "cringeworthy"	N/A	61 (2.4%)	1
r/Incelswithouthate	Banned subreddit - allegedly a subreddit for incels minus the hateful content	N/A	57 (2.2%)	ı
r/dating	Venting and advice posts related to dating	1,458,060	56 (2.2%)	ı
Source: CCDH Research				

<sup>22 &</sup>quot;Reddit Bans 'Incel' Group for Inciting Violence Against Women", Christine Hauser, The New York Times, 9 November 2017, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/09/technology/incels-reddit-banned.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/09/technology/incels-reddit-banned.html</a>

Most of the subreddits in the top ten shown in the table above are featured as objects of ridicule or as evidence in support of a blackpill world view on the forum. For example, in a post linking to a r/truerateme, a user said "THEY RATED THIS FAT SUBHUMAN HAG A 5 JFL". In another post discussing a link to the r/relationship\_advice subreddit, a user comments "the world is a lookism melting pot". Linking to a post made on r/FemaleDatingStrategy, a forum member states "2022 is the year of open and in your face blackpill". r/IncelExit, a forum frequented by Jake Davison, the British man who shot and killed five people and injured two others before fatally shooting himself in Plymouth in August 2021, is another source of amusement for forum users, as they mock redditors trying to "exit" the incel movement.<sup>23</sup>

Even in instances where it might seem users would have common ground with members of a subreddit, posts seemed to be viewed with contempt. Posts containing links to the r/short subreddit again are mocking as are many of posts related to r/jawsurgery. As one user put it "I'm never going to get painful and expensive surgery just to please some fucking foid".

Users reserve the most vitriol for the most commonly linked to subreddit, r/IncelTear. This sub is used to ridicule incels and often features screenshots of comments and posts made on the incels forum. In return, users of the forum track the subreddits moderators and commenters, threatening to doxx them and labeling their misfortunes as 'lifefuel'.

<sup>23 &</sup>quot;Inside incel death cult of Plymouth killer", Chris Kitching, The Mirror, 14 August 2021, https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/inside-incel-death-cult-plymouth-24759416

## 7.2 Forum members share content from incel YouTube channels

Analysis of links to YouTube videos embedded in incel forum posts shows that five of the top ten most referenced channels are dedicated to incel content and have over 136,000 subscribers. Videos posted by these channels have been viewed a total of 24.2 million times.

The majority of these channels posted informational content such as blackpill or looksmaxxing guides. We found that many of them were mentioned by name by users of the forum as good sources of information on the incel mindset. One, Wheat Waffles, was lauded by forum members for tailoring content so that it was accessible for "normies" and the creator was described as a "hero" alongside the Incel TV channel which serves a similar purpose.

There is a small but thriving community of incel content creators on YouTube Top 10 YouTube channels by number of unique links

Channel Name	Overview	Number of Subscribers	Number of Unique Links
Movieclips	Clips taken from films. Often used as reactions on the forum	57.6m	94
truly	Reality TV style channel. Content is posted to be mocked and critiqued	9.99m	66
Just Random \$h!t 🛨	An incel channel. Claims to offer viewers a "premiere black pill channel"	1.54k	65
Inside Edition	A news channel. Videos shared for discusison	11m	55
Incel TV	An incel channel with videos covering topics like the blackpill, JBW and Elliot Rodger	24.5k	47
itsRucka	Comedic and parody songs	1.47m	33
CNN	A news channel. Videos shared for discusison	14.1m	33
Wheat Waffles	An incel/looksmaxxing channel. Offers content on the blackpill and "looks theory"	94.8k	33
Sluthate Creeps	An incel channel run by a forum member. Content includes covert videos of women filmed in London	225	29
tails	An incel and looksmaxxing channel. Features content with titles such as "Is It Over? - A Beginner's Guide To Inceldom And Looksmaxxing"	15.1k	27

Source: CCDH Research

### Women are covertly filmed by YouTube channel Sluthate Creeps

Examination of the "Sluthate Creeps" channel shows that it posts covertly filmed videos of women and couples in London. In one example, entitled "Girls on tube after night out", five women are shown sitting on a tube train, apparently unaware they are being recorded.<sup>24</sup>

This user also has multiple shorts of interracial couples which appear to have been filmed secretly. One such clip, which shows a woman with her baby in a fast food restaurant and is titled "Blackcels I offer you beautiful white woman", was shared by a user who wrote "sometimes I do witness black ascension. . . I took footage". This refers to the commonly held belief on the forum that men from non-white backgrounds must "date-down".

The research team found a video titled "The white race is the most beautiful" by this channel, which has 1,174 views, was also shared on the body image forum that is part of the wider "incelosphere" network identified in Section 5 earlier in this report.

### YouTube continues to offer Incel TV a platform

The research team also examined content shared from the YouTube channel Incel TV, which counted Jake Davison among its subscriber base. Referred to as one of the "saints of the incel community" alongside figures such as incel mass murderer Elliot Rodger, the channel describes itself as being about "the importance of looks, genetic determinism and human nature". Content ranges from the "Blackpill 101" series, which includes videos about facial attractiveness, 'BBC' and race in general, to coverage of crimes such as the killing of Gabby Petito, which is offered as a real-world example of the blackpill.

The channel was referred to 325 times by name in the dataset, in addition to video links and was named as a top incel YouTube channel in a thread. We also found a thread created by a forum administrator in August 2021, that discusses an effort to "preserve" Incel TV's content on mgtow.tv (men going their own way) in an effort to protect it from censorship.

<sup>24</sup> Sluthate Creeps, YouTube, 6 May 2018, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/shorts/8vXA4BQRRsc">https://www.youtube.com/shorts/8vXA4BQRRsc</a>

<sup>25</sup> Sluthate Creeps, YouTube, 1 July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPL7tPUuBoM

<sup>26 &</sup>quot;YouTube channel 'spreads incel hate'", Tom Knowles, The Times, 24 August 2021, <a href="https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/youtube-chan-nel-spreads-incel-hate-lhk3p350m">https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/youtube-chan-nel-spreads-incel-hate-lhk3p350m</a>

<sup>27</sup> Channel Description, Incel TV, accessed on 16 August 2022, https://www.youtube.com/c/IncelTV/about

## 8 Over a fifth of incel forum posts feature misogynist, racist and homophobic language

Over a fifth of posts in the incel forum feature a misogynist, racist or homophobic slur, showing that the use of hateful and dehumanizing language is a key feature of the community.

This is based on a detailed analysis of keywords relating to each of these categories of hate, showing that 21% of all posts feature a hateful slur of some kind. Our research shows that:

### 16% of posts include a misogynist slur

More often than not when referring to women, incels opt for a slur like "whore" or "bitch". Many of the most popular words for women, such as "foid", "hole" and "toilet" have been made up by incels specifically to dehumanize them.

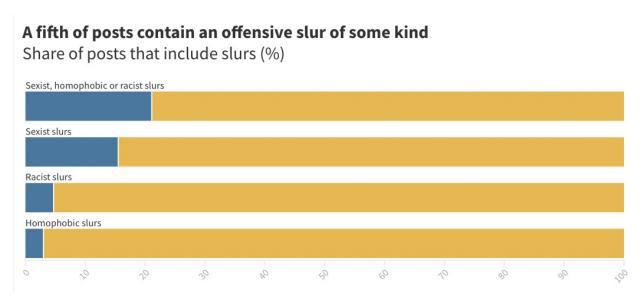
### 5% of posts contain a racist or antisemitic slur

This fondness for deeply offensive terms equally applies to discussions about race, with the word "n\*\*\*\*\*r" and variations of it appearing in 2.6% of posts. Hateful slurs to describe Asian people, most notably "noodle", "noodlewhore" and "curry" appear in 2.3% of posts.

Antisemitism drives references to Jewish people in 1.2% of all posts, with incels using conspiracy theories to blame Jewish people for their inceldom.

### 3% of posts contain an offensive homophobic slur

LGBTQ+ content is banned on the forum, reinforcing the notion that the incel movement is exclusively for hereosexual men. Hateful homophobic slurs like "f\*\*\*\*t" are used by incels as insults to fling at one another or those they disagree with.



## 8.1 16% of posts contain a misogynist slur

The subforum hosts a constant stream of misogynistic language about women. A sexist slur is present in 16% of posts, equivalent to once every 4 minutes.

Some of the most frequently-used slurs were those that incels have themselves developed, with 10% of posts featuring the slur "foid", a word that stems from "feminoid" and is used to paint women as less than human.

After "foid", the most common slurs used to describe women were "whore", "bitch" and "hole".

Beyond outright slurs, incels frequently used the word "female" to refer to women, with the word featuring in 2.6% of posts. Terms 'Stacey/Stacy' or 'Becky' were also a constant feature of the forum, together used in 1.4% of posts.

Overall, the data reflects the fact that conversation on the subforum centers primarily around the discussion of women, with 27% of posts referring to women in some way, either by mentioning "women", "girls", "Staceys", "Beckys", "females" or one of 20 pejorative slurs used to describe women, counting both the plural and singular of each word.

Slur	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
Foid	6,334 (9.8%)	
Whore	1,695 (2.6%)	
Bitch	916 (1.4%)	
Hole	551 (0.9%)	
Toilet	379 (0.6%)	
Cunt	378 (0.6%)	
Slut	332 (0.5%)	
Roastie	328 (0.5%)	
Landwhale	289 (0.4%)	
Femoid	217 (0.3%)	1
Но	71 (0.1%)	
Thot	63 (0.1%)	
Hag	43 (0.07%)	
Witch	38 (0.06%)	
Goblina	28 (0.04%)	
Gold digger	28 (0.04%)	
Cum dumpster	26 (0.04%)	
Skank	21 (0.03%)	
Bimbo	15 (0.02%)	
Slag	6 (0.009%)	

Source: CCDH Research

## 8.2 5% of posts contain a racist slur

Hateful language around race takes on various shapes including the frequent use of offensive racist slurs as insults. A hateful racist slur is present in 5% of posts, amounting to one every 14 minutes.

Racism frequently intersects with sexism on the forum, with many racist slurs targeted towards women. The term "noodlewhore", for example, meaning a woman of East Asian descent, is mentioned 273 times a month, while "sheboon", meaning an overweight black woman, is mentioned 123 times a month.

3% of posts included racist slurs against black people, with 2.6% of posts using the term "n\*\*\*\*r" or derivations of it. The forum also hosts mentions of extremely violent terms relating specifically to black people, including "lynch" and "curb stomp", mentioned 176 and 27 times respectively.

2.3% of posts include racist slurs against Asian people, driven by the term "curry", which is used to refer to South Asian people, and the term "noodle", which is used to refer to East Asian people.

Slur	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
N****r	975 (1.5%)	
Curry	843 (1.3%)	
Noodlewhore	273 (0.4%)	
Kike	200 (0.3%)	
Noodle	1923(0.3%)	
Currycel	149 (0.2%)	
Monkey	134 (0.2%)	
Chink	127 (0.2%)	
Sheboon	123 (0.2%)	
Ape	76 (0.1%)	)II
Sand N****r	70 (0.1%)	ji .
Spic	64 (0.1%)	)I
Paki	53 (0.08%)	).
Negroid	51 (0.08%)	)
Ethnicel	43 (0.07%)	)
Negro	43 (0.07%)	)
Abo	42 (0.06%)	1
N*g	41 (0.06%)	J
Mongoloid	30 (0.05%)	
Zog	15 (0.02%)	

Source: CCDH Research

These terms are used by white incels to insult people based on their ethnicity, but they can also be self-directed. For example, one incel wrote: "Living as a curry is living life on nightmare mode! We're playing life on the most difficult level in the west... No human being with feelings can not become depressed from shit treatment/discrimination." Similarly, a substantial number of incels identify as a "currycels", meaning someone who believes they can't achieve intimacy with a woman due to their own race. The term "currycel" was mentioned 149 times a month, while the same phraseology was applied to a lesser extent to other ethnicities, with "blackcel", for example, mentioned 65 times a month.

### Antisemitism drives references to Jewish people in 1.2% of all posts

While antisemitic slurs appear less frequently, antisemitism more broadly is rife on the forum, with posts mentioning the words "jew", "jews" or "jewish" appearing 779 times a month, accounting for 1.2% of all posts. The word "jew" is often used as a pejorative term to belittle someone or something.

Many discussions about Jewish people promote antisemitic tropes and conspiracies, such as the "new world order" conspiracy that Jewish business leaders have a secret agenda to control

Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
28 (0.04%)	
16 (0.03%)	
14 (0.02%)	
12 (0.02%)	
9 (0.01%)	
5 (0.007%)	
2 (0.003%)	
2 (0.003%)	
	(Share of Total) 28 (0.04%) 16 (0.03%) 14 (0.02%) 12 (0.02%) 9 (0.01%) 5 (0.007%) 2 (0.003%)

Source: CCDH Research

the world. Incels also stretch this conspiracy to blame their own "inceldom" on Jews, falsely claiming that dominant ideologies dictated by Jewish people such as women's liberation have had the knock-on effect of depriving some men of sex. One incel, for example, states that "the biggest thing which created inceldom was the jewish led sexual revolution of 60/70s".

Another antisemitic conspiracy theory is that psychiatric medicine is part of a Jewish agenda to pacify white men. Based on this belief, the term "jewpills" is used as slang for antidepressants.

Commenting on the scale of antisemitism on the site, one Jewish incel posted saying: "As a kikecel everybody fucking hates you even on this site half of the members want to kill me because they think Jews made them incel (which I agree with)".

## 8.3 3% of posts contain homophobic or transphobic slurs

One of the official rules of the forum is that there should be "no gay or LGBT content, unless you're criticising it". Against this backdrop, hateful language around the LGBTQ+ community is an ever-present feature of the site. A hateful homophobic or transphobic slur is mentioned every 23 minutes.

Members commonly use anti-LGBTQ+ slurs as insults to attack those they dislike, rather than necessarily to refer to LGBTQ+ people. The most frequently-used homophobic slur is "f\*\*\*\*t", often shortened to "f\*g", mentioned 1,359 times a month combined. Similarly, the term "gay" is often used as an insult, appearing in 554 posts a month.

When users discuss the LGBTQ+ community, the tone is almost exclusively demeaning. In a discussion about Pride, for instance, one user said: "If gay people celebrate their mental illness why can't we celebrate our inceldom".

Slur	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
F***t	954 (1.5%)	
F*g	405 (0.6%)	
Tranny	248 (0.4%)	
Trannie	203 (0.3%)	
Queen	101 (0.2%)	
Homo	77 (0.1%)	
Dyke	47 (0.07%)	
Fairy	19 (0.03%)	1
Queer	15 (0.02%)	1
Groomer	8 (0.01%)	
Lesbo	7 (0.01%)	
Les	5 (0.01%)	
Sodomite	4 (0.01%)	
Nancy	2 (0.004%)	
Poof	2 (0.003%	
Pansy	2 (0.003%)	
Dike	1 (0.002%)	
Poofter	0.3 (0.001%)	
Fudgepacker	0.2 (0.0003%)	
Genderbender	0.1 (0.0002%)	

Monthly Docto

Source: CCDH Research

### Third of incel forum posts promote rage and despair

Some commentators have suggested that incel communities are a place for young men who have not had sex to receive mutual support. However, analysis of the stated topics of threads in the incel forum shows that most discussions lean towards expressions of rage and despair.

The incel forum allows posters of new discussion threads to assign it one of a set list of tags, allowing other members to see the theme or topic of a thread at a glance.

Analysis of these thread tags show that threads promoting rage and despair are some of the most popular on the site. A third of posts are on threads tagged with the either "Blackpill", "RageFuel, "SuicideFuel" or "It's Over", all of which promote expressions of anger or despair over members' incel status.

Tags promoting a more optimistic outlook, such as "LifeFuel" or "Cope", meaning "coping mechanism", represented just 5.8% of posts.

Tag	Post content	Monthly posts (Share of total)	
Serious	Posts about "serious" topics, often including theories about the ways in which men and women interact.	9,793 (15.1%)	
Blackpill	Posts about the "black pill", meaning the realisation that incels have no chance of ever establishing sexual relationships with women.	8,463 (13.1%)	
JFL	Acronym for "just fucking lol", a state of being unable or unwilling to believe something.	6,223 (9.5%)	
RageFuel	Posts which are designed to increase an incel's anger at the world, often being held up as 'evidence' for the incel ideology.	5,496 (8.5%)	
Discussion	Used in posts to refer to a range of topics discussed by the incel community.	5,405 (8.3%)	
SuicideFuel	Posts or topics that fuel suicidal or depressive ideation. Also known as 'Ropefuel', a reference to suicide by hanging.	4,920 (7.6%)	
Venting	Used as a cue to signpost when members are about to express annoyance and/or anger, particularly at their personal situation or towards women.	3,416 (5.3%)	
It's Over	A common expression used in incel communities to express hopelessness.	3,120 (4.8%)	
LifeFuel	Posts that are positive and restore an incel's hope in humanity. Often discussed in conjunction with taking the 'whitepill', which is an acceptance of current circumstances and focusing on life improvements.	3,018 (4.7%)	
Experiment	Members often discuss "experiments", predominantly conducted on dating apps, that allegedly "prove" the credibility of the black pill ideology.	2,240 (3.5%)	
Brutal	Term used in posts to emphasise and/or heighten the negative impact of something.	2,076 (3.2%)	
Theory	Members discuss various theories such as black pill and the "Oofy Doofy" theories (theory that women prefer to date men who are conventially not good looking).	1,943 (3%)	
Based	A slang term which can either be used to describe something as right/cool, or to indicate that something is anti-woke.	1,434 (2.2%)	
News	Generic term used by members often to discuss current affairs, but also events taking place in their personal lives.	1,380 (2.1%)	
Story	Generic term used by members to share personal experiences and anecdotes, often of distress and anger.	1,189 (1.8%)	
ТееНее	Used to mock women when they are allegedly being coy or disingenuous.	776 (1.2%)	
Cope	Short hand for "coping mechanism". Members use this term to discuss strategies that make them feel better about their situation, such as going to the gym ('gymcope'). The term is also used as an insult in response to people who are deemed to be out of touch with reality.	732 (1.1%)	•
Soy	A term used to insult someone for not being masculine enough. It implies a person has been feminised by the consumption of soy products. It is also used as 'soyboy' or 'soi-boi'.	726 (1.1%)	
Hypocrisy	Posts including this term often contend the alleged hypocrisy of society, women and users of the subreddit $r/$ inceltears.	707 (1.1%)	I
Toxic Femininity	Posts surrounding this concept accuse women of manipulating typically "feminine" traits and needs (such as an alleged desire to "feel protected"), in order to exploit men.	670 (1%)	ji .

## 9 Incel communities pose rape and child abuse threats, as well as shootings

The violent threat posed by extremist incels is clear. We know that at least 59 people have been killed by individuals linked to incel ideology in news reports, police statements and legal records.

However, our research suggests that other threats posed by incel communities may be underestimated. Analysis of threads and posts in our dataset shows that discussions of rape and child abuse are common, and that a majority of forum members engaging on these topics not only tolerate them, but support them.

This support extends all the way to the incel forum's leadership, which explicitly changed its rules in early 2022 to permit members to sexualize "pubescent" minors on the forum.

Our analysis also shows that monthly references to mass murderers increased 59% between 2021 and 2022, suggesting that incel communities could be increasingly focused on violence. Forum members regularly use coded language to call for violent attacks, most commonly invoking the example of incel mass murderer Elliot Rodger.

## Incel communities are conscious their posts could be illegal

The following pages show that discussion of rape, pedophilia and mass shootings are common topics of discssion on the incel forum. While forum members often seek to present discussions of these topics as ironic, it is clear that this is in part an attempt to avoid posting content that is straightforwardly illegal and may attract unwanted attention from authorities.

The forum's rules advise members that "celebrating... a mass shooting" is "legal" and therefore acceptable, but that "saying you will go ER against our actual or perceived enemies" is not permitted precisely because it would constitute an illegal threat of violence.

Members of the incel forum have developed techniques for presenting potentially illegal content as ironic. One of the most popular ways of doing so is to add the phrase "in a video game" or "in minecraft" to an otherwise extreme statement, with examples of such phrases appearing in 3,005 separate posts.

For example, in a thread about the 2022 Copenhagen mall shooting, one poster wrote: "Normf\*gs can't stand the thought that one man with a weapon can disrupt their fragile existence and delusional fantasies. We need more brothERs to plunge Soyciety Into chaos Let it all burn (In a video game)".

## 9.1 Incel forum members post about "rape" every 29 minutes

Perhaps unsurprisingly, sexual violence against women is a common theme in the dataset.

We found that the word "rape" and variations on it were used every 29 minutes in the posts we collected.<sup>28</sup> These words appeared in 18,530 posts made by 1,583 users, representing 39% of the users in our dataset.

There were 550 threads that contained one of these variations of the word "rape" in the title. Of these threads, many discussed violence against women and had titles such as "women are designed to be raped" or "rape is fucking awesome".

Term	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
Rape	1,015 (1.6%)	
Force	301 (0.5%)	
Abuse	211 (0.3%)	
Choke	36 (0.06%)	1
Molest	25 (0.04%)	1
Violate	22 (0.03%)	1
Pillage	6 (0.01%)	
Ravage	5 (0.008%)	
Gang Rape	5 (0.007%)	
Roofy(ie)	2 (0.004%)	

Source: CCDH Research • Includes verb variations e.g. rape, raping, rapist etc.

### Discussions of rape show that 89% of posters are supportive

Analysis of the comments on two of these threads revealed that 89% of those who had a stance on the issue were in support of the original poster, with 5% against. A further 5% of users disagreed with rape on non-moral grounds, for example, one user found rape to be be "unimaginative" and instead talked about their desire to "reduce a woman to nothing".

We also found several users who account for a large proportion of posts in the dataset expressed a desire to commit rape, justified rape, or in one case claimed they had raped in the past, suggesting a culture of sexual assult set by influential members of the community.

## Users were supportive of rape in threads discussing it

Stance on rape (% of users)

For Against (moral reasoning) Against (non-moral reasoning)



Source: CCDH Research

<sup>28</sup> Words used were rape, rapist, raping, raped and raper

## Online rape discussion translates into offline rape threats

Some users showed a particular obsession with rape in their posts to the forum. One user who mentioned variations on the word rape in just over 7% of their posts posted the following:

"She cried out helplessly again
I ripped her limb from fucking limb
Just one less slut to walk this fucking earth
I will spit right in your fucking face
How does it taste after the lips are sealed below your waist
You will never fuck again (in a video game)"
Posted 3 July 2022

The same user posts about making rape threats in reponse to a road rage incident:

"He had his foidlet slut daughter in the backseat so i yelled back at him with rage "i am going to rape your slut daughter one day"

Posted 7 June 2022

#### 9.2 Pedophilia is tolerated and even promoted in incel communities

Previous studies have shown that pedophilia is present in incel communities, but have differed on the extent to which it is tolerated or even promoted.<sup>29</sup>

However, our own research shows that this is a much more common topic of conversation amongst incels than may have previously been appreciated. There are also particularly concerning signs that pedophilia is tolerated by the community's leaders and supported by a majority of incels who express a view about it.

#### Over a quarter of incel forum users have posted pedophilia keywords

We explored keyword frequency and found that terms such as "loli", which is commonly used by those in the movement to refer to mid-pubescent or pre-pubescent teenage girls were used in 3,117 posts in the dataset. In addition, the acronym "jb", which stands for jailbait, and other related terms featured in 1,716 posts.

Taken together, pedophilia keywords occured in posts made by 1,143 unique users, or 28% of the active users in our dataset.

"Any straight normal human will lust over minifoids, all the normies will deny it though" Posted 11 June 2021

#### Discussions of pedophilia show 53% of posters are supportive

We explored these posts to establish whether discussion was in favour of or against pedophilia, and found discussion of pedophilia as a way to "ascend", meaning to lose your virginity and exit 'inceldom'.

In a highly commented thread, titled "As an incel, there is literally no reason to be against pedophilia", a user makes the case that the community should support pedophilia because "an enemy of an enemy is a friend", noting that if the age of consent was lowered members would be free to engage in sexual activity with 12 year olds.

Analysis of 392 posts made in response to the thread found that 53% of commenters who had a clear position on the issue were in agreement with the original poster. In addition, 13% of those that were against gave reasons that were unrelated to morality, such as the risk of being rejected "even by underage foids", or only being anti-pedophilia if the perpetrators were "leftist soycucks".

<sup>29</sup> Sylvia Jaki, Tom De Smedt, Maja Gwóźdź, Rudresh Panchal, Alexander Rossa, Guy De Pauw, Online hatred of women in the Incels.me forum: Linguistic analysis and automatic detection, Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict, 2019, SSN 2213-1272, DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00026.jak">https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00026.jak</a>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Understanding and Preventing Incel Violence in Canada", Moonshot, 1 September 2021, <a href="https://moonshotteam.com/resource/understanding-and-preventing-incel-violence-in-canada/">https://moonshotteam.com/resource/understanding-and-preventing-incel-violence-in-canada/</a>

#### Users were supportive of pedophilia in a thread discussing it

Stance on pedophilia (% of users)





Source: CCDH Research

Examination of posts from self-confessed pedophilia advocates revealed examples of users defending alleged murderer and child abuser Peter Scully, concluding that his only sin was to commit murder as it was "a waste of a loli".<sup>30</sup>

In another example, a user congratulated a fellow member on showing "restraint" in not assaulting a 13 year old girl who made a delivery to his house, adding that he would "be in jail right now" if that had happened to him.

One thread created by a regular contributor with almost 7,000 posts in the dataset contained an image of a then 12-year-old child was shared, with the comment "who in their right mind would prefer a 22 year old roasty to this?".

#### Incel forum rules were changed to accommodate pedophilia

Tolerance of posts that promote pedophilia appears to extend to the administrators of the incel forum, according to a recent change to the site's rules.

On March 5, 2022 one of the site's administrators announced an amendment to the forum's rules which previously stated "do not sexualize minors in any way, shape or form." Instead, the site's rules now state "do not sexualize **pre-pubescent** minors in any way, shape, or form", giving forum members a green light to sexualize pubescent minors.

Administrators did not state a reason for the rule change.

Mar 5, 2022

Minor rule change:

• Do not sexualize minors in any way, shape, or form.

The above rule has been changed to the following to better reflect what we were going for:

• Do not sexualize pre-pubescent minors in any way, shape, or form.

<sup>30 &</sup>quot;Australian man Gerard Peter Scully formally charged with murder, child sexual abuse in the Philippines", Shirley Escalante, ABC News Australia, 6 March 2015, <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-03-07/australian-man-charged-with-murder-11yo-girl-in-philippines/628">https://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-03-07/australian-man-charged-with-murder-11yo-girl-in-philippines/628</a>

### 9.3 Incel forum interest in incel mass murderers is rising

Monthly posts mentioning or referencing incel mass murderers have increased 59% between 2021 and 2022, driven by coded references to Elliot Rodger, the man responsible for the Isla Vista shootings of 2014.

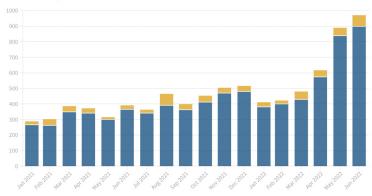
Incels have developed an increasingly popular lexicon around Rodger, who is idolized by many on the forum, where he is referenced within words via the capitalization of his initials, "ER". The word "BrothER", for example, is used to refer to a fellow incel whose mindset may reflect that of Rodger's, while "ovER" is used to express that a given situation is so bad that following Rodger's example is the only option. The same coded language is used to a lesser extent to refer to other killers, for example the capitalization of "CHO" in "CHOice" refers to Seung Hui Cho, the murderer responsible for the Virginia Tech shooting of 2007.31 In total, this capitalization technique was used 8,513 times on 493 separate words and was also used in at least 4 members' usernames. Other common phrases including "going ER" or to "go ER" more overtly use Rodger's initials to refer to violent acts.

Often, this act of adding a killer's capitalized initials to a word is used to encourage others on the forum to commit violence. One post, for example, says "Foids and tallf\*gs will get what they desERve" – apparently referring to the idea that women and tall men deserve to be killed. Another calls for an incel shooting by saying: "Tis the season for the great incel summER".

#### **Increasing interest in murderers**

Monthly posts mentioning or referencing mass murderers





Source: CCDH Research

Term	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
Go(ing) ER	154 (0.2%)	
Rodger	62 (0.01%)	
ovER	51 (0.08%)	
Supreme Gentleman	19 (0.03%)	)
ERs	14 (0.02%)	)
bettER	14 (0.02%)	)
ERfuel	11 (0.02%)	)
Isla Vista	10 (0.02%)	)
thERe	9 (0.02%)	1
CHOice	8 (0.01%)	J
Saint Elliot	8 (0.01%)	1
Alek Minassian	7 (0.01%)	1
hERo	7 (0.01%)	1
nevER	7 (0.01%)	1
othER	6 (0.01%)	1
Jake Davison	5(0.01%)	1
CHOose	4 (0.01%)	
Marc Lepine	4 (0.01%)	]
brothER	4 (0.01%)	I
anothER	4 (0.01%)	

Source: CCDH Research

<sup>31 &</sup>quot;Virginia Tech Shooting Leaves 33 Dead", Christine Hauser and Anahad O'Connor, The New York Times, 16 April 2007, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/16/us/16cnd-shooting.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/16/us/16cnd-shooting.html</a>

More broadly, extremely violent terms are mentioned regularly on the subforum, with the word "kill" mentioned 1,181 times a month, equivalent to once every 37 minutes. "shoot" and "murder" were also frequently mentioned, while discussions about an incel "revolution" were often violent in nature.

Within the posts mentioning these words, several explicitly stated a desire to commit a violent act. One user, for example, posted: "I'm not doing it because I think it'll make my life or problems any better whatsoever, I'm committing evil for the sake of being evil." Later, the same user said: "We need an incel revolution to get revenge for being made inferior...The clown show is inevitable and everyone will be an audience member whether they want to or not".

Term	Monthly Posts (Share of Total)	
Kill	1,181 (1.8%)	
Shoot	255 (0.4%)	
Murder	209 (0.3%)	
Punch	115 (0.2%)	
Revolution	115 (0.2%)	
Stab	51 (0.08%)	l
Uprising	32 (0.05%)	l

Source: CCDH Research • Includes verb variations e.g. kills, killer, killing etc.

# 10 Incel forum members as young as fifteen express violent and extremist views

Examination of our dataset revealed a number of incel forum members who claim to be below the age of 18, some of whom are amongst the forum's most active and extreme users.

While incel forum rules state that members must be aged 15, users do not need to complete even basic age checks such as providing a date of birth. As a result, it is possible that the forum has members below the age of 15 who will not admit their age for fear of being banned.

The following examples use invented names to preserve the anonymity of posters.

Adam: 17-year-old member logged on for ten hours a day

Adam is a forum 'poweruser' who claimed to be 17 years old after joining the forum in March 2021 and was recorded as being online for an average of 10 hours a day during the period we studied, making an average of 40 posts a day in that time. Their posts demonstrate an adherence to extreme antisemitic and racist views.

"This 'BBC' shit is just f\*\*gy Jewish propaganda meant to push racemixing"

Ben: 15-year-old member discussed desire to commit a mass shooting

Ben is another 'poweruser' who claimed to be 15 on joining the site in March 2021 and was recorded as being online for an average of 5 hours a day online, making 5 posts a day in that time.

This user has discussed wanting to "go ER" in one post, a phrase that refers to emulating notorious member of the incel community Elliot Rodger in committing a mass shooting. The user claimed to be motivated in part by a desire to take advantage of "hybristophilia", which is sexual interest in criminals, as a means of attracting a partner and having sex.

"Hybristophilia was something i've known about for a while since I want to go ER, but hearing females talk about this irl is a completely different thing"

Carl: school student discussed evading UK anti-extremism programme

Carl asked for help from other forum members after claiming to have been flagged to Prevent, the UK anti-extremism programme, for carrying a knife in his school bag. In response, forum members offered him advice on how to avoid scrutiny, such as using a different virtual private network (VPN) to upgrade his online privacy, and congratulated him on his decision to stop taking psychiatric medication. Throughout the thread, Carl refers to prescribed psychiatric medicine as "jewpills", itself a reference to an incel conspiracy theory that psychiatric medicine is part of a Jewish conspiracy to pacify white men.

"I nearly went ER at a young age. Anger, resentment, suicidalness, pain, unresolved trauma."

#### 11 Recommendations

The incelosphere network identified by our research has a small active membership at risk of suffering harm and harming others, but poses a threat to a wider audience of visitors as well. This poses difficult questions about how these harms can be reduced.

Where social media platforms afford spreaders of hate and disinformation access to enormous audiences, deplatforming can be an effective way of reducing the real harm that they cause.<sup>32</sup> Our calls to deplatform the Disinformation Dozen, twelve leading online anti-vaxxers, cut them off from accounts reaching 7.7 million followers, reducing the harm they can cause.

That is not the case for the incel communities studied by this report. They are deliberately constructed so that their direct access to young male users is not mediated by social media platforms, allowing them to cultivate a small and extreme base of active users.

Nor are attempts to withdraw hosting from incelosphere sites likely to be successful. All four of the sites studied by this report are hosted by Cloudflare, a business that has previously faced criticism for "protecting" sites hosting images of child abuse.<sup>33</sup> The main incel forum studied even moved hosts in March 2021 while retaining its existing database of posts and members.

But despite existing outside of mainstream tech platforms, our research shows that those platforms do play an important role in directing new users towards incelosphere forums that match their concerns and interests. YouTube channels are hosting incel channels with over 136,000 subscribers and Google search surfaces incelosphere sites on searches related to key incel concerns, like improving physical appearance.

Interventions must therefore be focused on tackling these pathways into the incelosphere. For tech companies, that means closing connections between mainstream platforms and incel forums, and addressing harmful body image and mental health content that helps create an audience of young men receptive to incelosphere ideas.

This will help to disrupt the flow of a mainstream and vulnerable audience, including children, to these harmful forums and reduce the economic incentives for this content to be generated and shared, for example by advertising revenue collected by YouTube and bad actors.

#### **Deplatform incel YouTube channels**

With an audience of more than 136,000 subscribers, incel YouTube channels identified by this report represent a significant pathway through which young men can encounter incel ideas and

<sup>32</sup> Shagun Jhaver, Christian Boylston, Diyi Yang, and Amy Bruckman. 2021. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Deplatforming as a Moderation Strategy on Twitter. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 5, CSCW2, Article 381 (October 2021), 30 pages <a href="https://doi.org/10.1145/3479525">https://doi.org/10.1145/3479525</a>

Rauchfleisch, Adrian and Kaiser, Jonas and Kaiser, Jonas, Deplatforming the Far-right: An Analysis of YouTube and BitChute (June 15, 2021). Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3867818 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3867818

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;Cloudflare embroiled in child abuse row", BBC News, 22 October 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-50138970

take further steps towards joining incel communities. Videos posted by these channels have been viewed 24.2 million times.

We know that subscribers to these channels can develop a deeper involvement with incel ideology. Jake Davison, the British man who shot and killed five people and injured two others before fatally shooting himself in Plymouth in August 2021, was a subscriber to the Incel TV channel which YouTube has refused to deplatform despite public pressure.

We also know that these channels appear to be causing offline harm. The Sluthate Creeps channel identified by this report is covertly filming women and couples in London, UK.

YouTube can help prevent young men from both being harmed and causing harm as a result of joining incel communities by removing these incel channels. In future, it should remove incel channels and content under its existing hate speech and violent extremism policies.<sup>34</sup>

#### Derank incelosphere sites in Google search

At present, incelosphere sites are frequently listed on the first page Google results for searches related with key pathways into the incelosphere, such as mental health issues or concerns about physical appearance.

Google should downrank results from incelosphere sites, including the four forums examined by this report and the main incel wikipedia site, in order to stem the flow of users into incel communities which could harm those users and those around them. Instead it should direct users to mental health and anti-extremism resources.

Our research shows that Google already appears to downrank the main incel forum in search results. This approach should be extended to other incelosphere sites too.

#### Address digital harms to children that drive users into incelosphere communities

There is a growing consensus that social media platforms must do more to keep children safe online. Leaked documents show that Meta was privately aware of the harmful effects that Instagram was having on teenagers, but did little to address the problem.

This is reinforced by research carried out by CCDH that shows 46% of accounts and 22% of posts recommended to users following eating disorder accounts promote further eating disorder content, something that psychiatrists have warned is a growing problem.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34 &</sup>quot;Hate speech policy", YouTube, retrieved 23 August 2022, <a href="https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/2801939">https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/2801939</a> "Featured Policies: Violent Extremism", Google, retrieved 23 August 2022, <a href="https://transparencyreport.google.com/youtube-policy/featured-policies/violent-extremism">https://transparencyreport.google.com/youtube-policy/featured-policies/violent-extremism</a>

<sup>35 &</sup>quot;Instagram eating disorder content 'out of control", BBC News, 20 March 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-47637377

Our research shows that poor mental health and concerns about appearance, in some cases amounting to body dysmorphia, are key pathways into the incelosphere. Those users who go on to become regular visitors or active users in incel communities risk further harm to their mental health and potentially harm to those around them, something evidenced by the case studies of young, highly active users identified in our dataset.

Platforms should listen to organizations like the 5Rights Foundation that have set out in detail how platform design can change to keep children safe.<sup>36</sup> If they fail to do so, legislation will be required to ensure platforms are designed and operated with the safety of children in mind.

#### Design and implement anti-extremism interventions for incels

Counter violent extremism (CVE) organizations have used studies of incel communities to design anti-extremism interventions that could address the risk of incel-related violence.

Moonshot, an organization that provides solutions on digital violent extremism, proposed the following interventions in its 2021 report on incels:

- Create an online-offline referral mechanism to offer support services and resources directly to at-risk individuals, offering reassurances on privacy.
- Promote support services, positive messages and events through influential personalities online.
- Initiate one-to-one interventions through direct messaging and relationship building.
- Create alternative spaces for at-risk users to share grievances in a healthy environment.
- Invest significant time and resources in outreach and offer aftercare.
- Incorporate incel awareness into existing programming.
- Create a practitioner network for knowledge sharing and intervention support.<sup>37</sup>

## Infrastructure providers should withdraw their services from the incelosphere network

The network of incelosphere forums identified by this report has been linked to dozens of suicides and at least one mass shooting. Despite this, big businesses are continuing to supply the incelosphere network with the services and infrastructure that it needs to operate, creating an ongoing risk of future suicides, violent attacks and abuse.

These businesses should make a principled decision to withdraw their services from sites causing such significant harm. Foremost amongst these is Cloudflare, which is profiting from its role as an

<sup>36 5</sup>Rights Foundation, retrieved 23 August 2022, https://5rightsfoundation.com/

<sup>37 &</sup>quot;Understanding and Preventing Incel Violence in Canada", Moonshot, 1 September 2021, <a href="https://moonshotteam.com/resource/understanding-and-preventing-incel-violence-in-canada/">https://moonshotteam.com/resource/understanding-and-preventing-incel-violence-in-canada/</a>

infrastructure provider to all four incelosphere forums and has been praised by the incel forum's official Twitter account. Advertising platforms including Clever Advertising and Infolinks should stop profiting from ads placed on the body image forum.

Our research also shows that incelosphere sites use Discord to organize private communities and Twitter to attack critics, both of which should consider deplatforming these accounts.

## Support the effectiveness of the interventions above by adopting the STAR Framework for legislative design

The recommended interventions above will be enhanced and embedded if supported by a robust regulatory framework. CCDH has designed the STAR framework to support global efforts to regulate social media and search engine companies, and ensure consistency, effectiveness and connectedness for global problems, like Incels and other forms of violent extremism.

The STAR framework has four key components:

- Safety by Design
- Transparency of Algorithms, Rules Enforcement and Economics
- Accountability to Independent and Democratic Bodies
- Responsibility of Technology Companies and their Senior Executives.

This report shows the utility of a legislative framework that will enhance transparency and change the incentives for technology companies: to design their systems with safety – including child safety – in mind, so that users are not directed by algorithms or design into this toxic content and community, leading to significant offline harm. This should not be left to the goodwill of Big Tech, who profit from the creation and spread of this content and are not properly incentivised or required to be proactively transparent on the key metrics or to invest in the desired safety outcomes. For this reason, the STAR framework includes:

- Transparency and enforcement of a platform or search engine's rules with easy complaint pathways and responsiveness; and
- Independent / democratic accountability structures with real world consequences for both the companies and the senior executives in order to sustainably change corporate behavior.

The information from transparency reports will also support an evidence-based and whole system response to identified harms and ensure that interventions are both targeted and effective.

### **Appendix: Glossary of incel terminology**

The incel community has developed its own intricate and extensive in-group language. Members regularly use this terminology when interacting with each other and also employ it as a gatekeeping method that allows them to quickly identify who is welcome into the community.<sup>38</sup>

The following terms are some of the most frequently encountered in incelosphere content.

Term	Definition		
ascend	To escape inceldom by having sexual relations with someone.		
blackpill	Theory alleging that the ability of an individual to establish romantic relationships is determined by appearance and therefore genetics.		
bluepill	Used to describe society that subscribes to conventional and mainstream beliefs, as opposed to the incel ideology.		
chad	Term used to designate men who are presumed to be sexually desirable and therefore popular amongst women.		
femoid; foid	Derogatory term used by incels to refer to women. A portmanteau of 'female' and 'humanoid'.		
go ER	To 'go Elliot Rodger' is a phrase used by the incel community to encourage each other to punsih women and society by committing mass murder.		
incel	Shorthand for 'involuntarily celibate', used to denote individuals who believe they are unable to establish romantic relationships.		
incelosphere	A collection of communities identifying as incel.		
it's over	Common expression used by incels to express a lack of hope.		
JB	Shorthand for 'jailbait', used to refer to young girls under the age of consent. 'Minifoid' and 'loli' (from the character 'Lolita') are also used synonymously.		
JFL	Shorthand for 'just fucking lol', used to mock and disapprove of 'normie' behaviour.		
Idar	Acronym for 'lay down and rot'. Used to denote one's hopelessness in being able to overcome inceldom and thus 'ascend'.		
lookism	Theory that claims discrimination is based predominantly on physical appearance.		
looksmax	Using methods and strategies to improve one's appearance.		
manosphere	Loose network of misogynistic communities driven by anti-feminist sentiment.		
NEET	Acronym for 'Not in Education, Employment or Training'.		
ragefuel	Material that heightens an incel's anger towards society.		
redpill	Used to describe those who have 'woken up' and acknowledge that women are allegedly superior to men.		

<sup>38</sup> Understanding and Preventing Incel Violence in Canada, Moonshot, 1 September 2021, <a href="https://i49736141.v2.pressablecdn.com/wp-content/uploads/Public-Report\_Understanding-and-Preventing-Incel-Violence-in-Canada\_Moonshot-2.pdf">https://i49736141.v2.pressablecdn.com/wp-content/uploads/Public-Report\_Understanding-and-Preventing-Incel-Violence-in-Canada\_Moonshot-2.pdf</a>

# Appendix: Total posts over time on the primary English-language incel website

The following table provides the underlying data for the counts of posts appearing across the entire primary English-language incel website, including all subforums. This covers a larger number of posts than the main dataset analyzed in this report, which solely covers the largest subforum on the site.

The data was collected using the Wayback Machine, an Internet Archive providing snapshots of the site at the start of each month between July 2021 and July 2022. See the methodology section for more detail.

Month	Monthly Posts	Date of Web Archive	Total Posts as of Date of Web Archive
July 2021	120,875	2 July 2021	6,589,260
August 2021	107,091	2 August 2021	6,710,135
September 2021	130,125	1 September 2021	6,817,226
October 2021	142,864	3 October 2021	6,947,351
November 2021	203,264	1 November 2021	7,090,215
December 2021	144,016	4 December 2021	7,293,479
January 2022	124,583	1 Jan 2022	7,437,495
February 2022*	179,401	2 Feb 2022	7,562,078
March 2022	128,027	1 March 2022	7,420,810
April 2022	300,564	2 April 2022	7,548,837
May 2022	217,212	1 May 2022	7,849,401
June 2022	126,621	4 June 2022	8,066,613
July 2022**		26 June 2022	8,193,234

<sup>\*</sup>An annual average was taken for February 2022 due to a batch of posts being deleted in that month

<sup>\*\*</sup>An observation was made at the end of June because there was no archive at the start of July

