The Dangers of Online Radicalization:

A Study of Incels

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Abstract

In recent years, since the invention of the internet, misogyny and anti-woman rhetoric has significantly evolved and changed. Several anti-woman communities have emerged online, including MRAs (Men's Rights Advocates), the PUAs (Pickup Artists), MGTOW (Men Going Their Own Way) and most significantly, incels (involuntary celibates). Incels are the topic of study for this research paper, as they are an understudied online group, as well as the most radical sect of the misogynistic communities. This research explores the history of incels, the ways in which the internet acts as a facilitator for incel ideology and provides a digital space for practicing misogyny, and the ways in which incels navigate the online world as a hate group. This paper reveals the role the internet plays for incels and the ways in which the digital rhetoric has translated into far-reaching and real-world violence.

Keywords

Incels, involuntary celibates, misogyny, social media, Internet, Reddit, hate-group, mass shootings, anti-woman, ideology.

Introduction

Misogyny has gone viral on the internet – occurring across multiple social media platforms, message boards, and websites (Jane, 3). While misogynistic ideology has long been present within human societies, the dogma has significantly evolved throughout the 20th and 21st century, resultant from the invention of the internet (Vickery and Everbach). The internet did not invent misogyny, though "it *is* amplifying it in unprecedented ways" (Jane, 3). This amplification is evident when studying 'incels', a group of individuals who identify themselves as '*involuntary celibates*' (hence the portmanteau 'incel') (Høiland, Ging).

Recently, incels have been making headlines resulting from violent tactics and homicidal acts against women by certain individuals who identify with the group (Beauchamp, Williams, and Tolentino). Although most men online are not incels, and most incels are not going to commit acts of violence (Scaptura and Boyle), it is undeniable that the internet has served as a facilitator and gateway for the development of incel ideology and misogynistic traits. This paper examines the role of the internet in the development and

proliferation of incel traits among men who identify with this ideology, as well as acting as a gateway to share information about the tactics incels are using to further their messaging online. To achieve this understanding, the history of incels in relation to the internet, the digital practice of misogyny and incel ideology, and the effectiveness of navigating the online world to promote incel ideology will be discussed.

For the purposes of this paper, the term **'incel'** shall be defined according to Kostantinos Papadamou's use of the term: individuals who "believe themselves be doomed from birth to suffer in a modern society where women are not only able, but encouraged, to focus on superficial aspects in potential mates; e.g., facial structure, or racial attributes" (Papadamous *et al*., 2). The involuntary nature of their celibacy is intrinsic to incel ideology, as they believe that "society is rigged against them in terms of sexual activity" and believe themselves to be deprived (Papadamous *et al*.). Additionally, this paper will use Jack Bratich and Sarah Banet-Weiser's definition of the **'manosphere'**, a term which refers to a corner of the Internet that supports and amplifies different kinds of masculinities and men's rights groups, including anti-feminists, paleomasculinists (men who believe male domination is natural), incels, and other fringe groups (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). The sites within the manosphere must be understood as interconnected entities within a network of misogynistic ideology. Thus, the manosphere is bound by the notion that men are victims and feminists are the assailants (Bratich and Banet-Weiser).

Finally, **misogyny** will be defined according to the definition proposed by Louse Richardson-Self, a philosopher and scholar. Richardson-Self proposes that misogyny can be characterized by hostility, "which is to say it directs implicit and explicit hostility toward women because they are perceived (in general, or specifically) to subvert patriarchal norms. It is also characterized by coercion (its functional essence), and it is not concerned with shaping people's beliefs, theories, and values— only with compliance" (Richardson-Self, 261).

History

In 1997, a woman in Toronto, Canada began a simple website named 'Alana's Involuntary Celibacy Project', where she posted articles and ran a mailing list on topics relating to involuntary celibacy (Høiland).

This website was meant for people who had challenges forming relationships; a friendly place where "there was probably a bit of anger and some men were a bit clueless about how women are unique, individual humans, but in general it was a supportive [environment]" (Taylor). Alana, the creator of the website, wanted to create a safe, inclusive community for socially awkward individuals who struggled forming meaningful connections. Eventually, she left the community and years later, she would encounter the term she coined when she read the story of Elliot Rodger (Høiland, 2).

Rodger killed six people and then himself on May 23rd, 2014, marking the first recognized incident of incel violence. He had left a YouTube video and manifesto where he described his perceived "rejection, loneliness, and insignificance" (Høiland). Rodger believed himself to be a victim, condemned to a lonely life without sex, and he wanted to punish everyone he deemed responsible for his lot in life. Moreover, Rodger was part of a larger online community – the incels. Incels had emerged within the manosphere as a reaction against the emergence of feminism in mainstream society, as well as the trends occurring within the online space, most notably the Pickup Artists (PUA). Elliot Rodger's actions redefined the term 'incel', and the group evolved into what it is today, an angry and nihilistic community (Beauchamp). Through message boards, websites, and memes, incels have further practiced and refined their ideology as well as inspired further violence and mass murder (Høiland, Bratich and Banet-Weiser). The violent actions of Elliot Rodger led people outside the incel community to encounter the term and motivated journalistic and academic study of the group (Høiland). But how did a website from 1997 intended for socially awkward people evolve into a community for lonely men who frequently vocalize hatred towards women and sexually successful men?

Discussion

To truly understand the incel movement and its history, we must examine the context in which it emerged online, notably the popularity of Pickup Artists (PUA) within the manosphere. By studying the context in which the incels emerged, the internet's role in enabling the evolution of incel ideology is highlighted. This theme of internet facilitation in creating the movement is recognized by many academics

studying the group (Høiland, Bratich and Banet-Weiser, Ging). Two additional themes emerge in the literature as significant contributors to incel ideology: the incels' use of the internet to practice and perfect their beliefs, as well as the incels' effectiveness in navigating the online world and promoting their ideology.

The Internet as a Facilitator for Incel Ideology

Men's rights advocacy emerged as a reaction to the women's liberation movements in the 1970s (Ging). Importantly, between the 1970s until the late 1990s, the Men's Rights Movement evolved, fractured, and changed significantly, though it was in the early 2000s that "a more hateful culture emerged, under the conditions of anonymity" (Høiland, 11). This new more hateful culture propagated negative caricatures of feminists and expanded across to multiple groups on the internet. This culture eventually became the manosphere, an online space reserved for MRAs (Men's Rights Advocates), the PUAs (Pickup Artists), MGTOW (Men Going Their Own Way) and incels (Høiland). Scholars have identified key underlying motivations for the emergence of the manosphere and the anti-women movements, notably the mainstream recognition of white privilege, recent and consistent destabilization of labor market, the "feminization" of workplace, underemployment, stagnant wages and downward mobility, and the legal and societal recognition of the rights of non-white males (Ging).

Between 2007 and 2014, the PUA community became increasingly popular online and within the manosphere. Pickup Artists and their tactics were found across hundreds of websites, organizations, as well as in seminars and boot camps where men could learn how to seduce women for a fee (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). The PUA industry and community promised transformation for men who were socially awkward and sexually inexperienced. They sought to teach confidence and "instill mastery in men who had been denied this skill mainly by the visibility of popular feminism" (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5012). In the PUA community, women were deemed sexual subjects and sexual confidence was seen as a limited resource. Thus, it was believed that if women had sexual confidence, men did not. Women were thought of as threats to the supply of sexual confidence, and they needed to be made less confident and controlled in order for men to achieve sexual satisfaction (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). Therefore, PUAs undermined

women's confidence through negging (emotional manipulation through backhanded compliments) or "negative comments to get her to seek approval" (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5012).

Given the popularity across the internet and the manosphere, the PUAs "shared cultural space with a different online community, that of 'incels', who create homosocial bonds over their *inability* to become a PUA" (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5004). PUA websites attracted incels as they attempted to seduce women and form relationships, but it became clear to many incels that the "game was rigged from the start" (Beau Medium.com). Therefore, it can be argued that the incel movement evolved from the Pickup Artists community and its popularity, as frustrated young men became more aggressive and violent in their attempts of accessing women and sex (Bratich and Banet-Weiser).

By 2009, a fully formed subculture of the manosphere emerged – heterosexual men were labelling and calling themselves incels. The subculture was centered around online discussion boards and acted as a support community for men with failures in seduction and pickup artistry (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, Mountford). In that same year, George Sodini shot and killed three women in an LA Fitness gym in a suburb of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Sodini claimed that he had been rejected by 30 million women throughout his life and left notes inside a gym bag detailing his hatred for women. Beginning in November 2008, he regularly uploaded violent text posts detailing his ideological views, his plans for the attack, and his other thwarted violent attempts. Sodoni's last words on the blog were "Death lives!", posted August 3rd, 2009, with the attack taking place the next day ('Gym gunmen revealed plans in blog' IOL.co.za). Importantly, Sodoni had previously attended PUA seminars and consumed the online "pedagogy". Two years later, another dissatisfied PUA, Allen Robert Reyes, shot a woman for declining his attempts to seduce her (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5014-15). Importantly, the shootings by Sodini and Reyes were not identified as incel violence when the incidents occurred. Three years later, the aforementioned Rodger's 2014 shootings triggered the popular usage of the term incel and begun a national and international conversation of incel violence. Prior to the attack, Rodger had frequently posted to the website PUAHate and wrote misogynistic posts online (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). In fact, Bratich and Banet-Weiser have characterized Rodger's killings as a "'frustrated pick-up artists' rampage" and scholars have argued this incident marks

the first evident occurrence of incel violence (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5015, Hoffman, Ware, and Shapiro, 569). In his final video uploaded to YouTube before the killings, Rodger vocalized his transition from failed PUA to incel by stating; "If I can't have you, girls, I will destroy you" (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5015).

Incel ideology and failed PUA frustrations have infiltrated other forms of mass violence and mass shootings in the United States. One of the most significant mass shootings in recent years was that of Mary Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. On February 14th, 2018, a 19-year old former student, Nikolas Cruz, killed 17 people and injured 17 others. Cruz had reportedly been physically abusive towards his ex-girlfriend and her mother, had threatened the girl's new boyfriend, and had engaged in racist, homophobic, antisemitic, and xenophobic rhetoric online (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5015). A month later, Austin Rollins opened fire in Great Mills High School in Maryland. He shot two of his classmates, one of the victims, who later died of her injuries, was his ex-girlfriend. In May 2018, 17-year-old Dimitrios Pagourtzis shot and killed 10 people, including a female student who rejected the shooter's repeated advances (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). Furthermore, several European far-right attackers have demonstrated incel ideologies, such as the perpetrator of a July 2016 mass shooting in Munich, Germany who was friends with an American mass-shooter and incel, as well as the shooter of an October 2019 attack at a synagogue in Halle, Germany who claimed immigrants "had stopped him getting a girlfriend" (Hoffman *et al.*, 574). These attacks in American high schools and in Europe evidently demonstrate mixed motives, combining personal grievances with far-right, anti-immigrant, antisemitic, and incel ideologies. While incel ideology may not have been central to these shootings, the incidents illustrate the influential nature of incel and anti-woman ideology within violent shootings and hateful online spaces (Hoffman *et al.*, 571).

Importantly, Elliot Rodger has become a hero among the incel community after his violent killings (Beauchamp, Bratich and Banet-Weiser). The 2014 killings also became a turning point for the incel community as the "hostile reactions to women as a way to regain masculine capacity" became popularized and idealized on incel message boards, websites, and YouTube videos (Bratich and Banet-Weiser, 5015). In fact, since Rodger's rampage, violence following women's rejections of men have dramatically increased

throughout North America and incel ideology has a far-reach worldwide (Bratich and Banet-Weiser). This digital influence is evident when examining Alek Minassian's van attack in Toronto and Scott Beierle's attack in Florida. Minassian's attack injured fifteen people and killed ten on April 23rd, 2018. Before the attack, Minassian had posted on Facebook referring to Rodger as the "supreme gentleman" and stating that "[t]he Incel Rebellion has already begun! We will overthrow all the Chads and Stacys![1]" (Høiland, 3). In November 2018, the third incident identified as incel terrorism occurred when Scott Beierle killed two women at Tallahassee Hot Yoga in Florida. Beierle, who was 40 years old, had long subscribed to incel ideologies and posted his views to SoundCloud and YouTube, touting support for the incels that came before him (Hoffman *et al.*, 570). Therefore, the internet has undeniably fueled the proliferation of incel ideology helping to radicalize individuals and leading to increased attacks. Thus, the internet has served as a facilitator for the development of incels and their ideology.

A Digital Space for Practicing Misogyny

Evidently, the internet has played a significant role in the emergence and development of incels. Moreover, the internet is instrumental in providing a "free space" for incels to practice and refine their ideology and behaviors. Robert Futrell and Pete Simi explored the concept of 'free spaces' in their study of white power activism in the United States. They defined free spaces as "environments where participants nurture oppositional identities that challenge prevailing social arrangements and cultural codes" (Futrell and Simi 20). Additionally, Futrell and Simi found that free spaces were essential for the creation and maintenance of social networks, "as participants feel safer to openly express and enact their beliefs than in other settings" (Futrell and Simi 20). It can be argued that the manosphere, specifically sites and message boards frequented by incels (i.e. Redditt, 4/chan, YouTube, and more) form a digital free space for incels, wherein they can practice their beliefs and misogyny; beliefs which otherwise would not be accepted in

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[1] The terms *Chads* and *Stacys* will be defined on page 10.

everyday society (Høiland, Bratich and Banet-Weiser, Ging, Papadamous *et al.*). It is through these online 'free spaces' that prominent incel ideology has emerged, most notably the black/blue/red pill philosophy.

There are three key 'pill' philosophies within the manosphere, all of which draw on the 1999 film *The Matrix*. In order to understand the 'pill' philosophies, we must examine the movie scene after which they are inspired. The scene follows Neo, the protagonist, as he is faced with the choice to swallow the blue pill, which will disconnect him from reality and allow him to live in a delusional yet pleasant world, or he can take the red pill, waking him to the harsh reality (Baele *et al.*). Men's Rights Activists have appropriated this idea to develop the 'red pill' philosophy, which states that when a man takes the red pill, he will awaken to the reality of feminism's misandry and brainwashing (Ging, Ganesh, Mountford, Baele *et al.*). The red pill philosophy unites groups across the manosphere and has become a key sub-movement of Men's Rights Activism. Herein lies the key difference between incels and their less extreme misogynistic counterparts in the manosphere. While the red pill philosophy acts as a "common spirit" uniting groups within the manosphere, incels subscribe to the 'black pill' philosophy.

The incels have created a third "black pill" that, if one symbolically swallows, "makes him aware of the immutability of reality ... [making] it impossible to escape the social hierarchy that supposedly excludes [incels]" (Baele *et al.*, 9). While those who subscribe to the blue/red pill philosophy can capitalize upon knowing the reality of society (i.e., becoming Pickup Artists, going to the gym, or having cosmetic surgery), the black pill philosophy "closes [incels to society] and only produces nihilistic despair" (Baele *et al.*). Thus, the 'black pill' promotes hopelessness and disassociation of individuals from mainstream society. The term 'black pill' first emerged in 2012 but became highly popularized in 2016 on Reddit, primarily on the subreddit r/Incels (Sonnad and Squirrell). Since the widespread emergence of the philosophy in 2016, incels have continued to use online spaces to practice and perfect their 'black pill' beliefs. Currently, 'black pill' also encompasses beliefs of biological determinism, meaning a man's sexual success "is almost entirely determined by unalterable biological traits: things like his jawline, cheekbones, or eye socket shape" (Beauchamp). Biological determinism results in a sexual hierarchy that dominates Western civilization, according to the incel ideology (Beauchamp).

These perceived sexual classes and hierarchies have been detailed and outlined on message boards and websites dedicated to incels, especially Reddit and 4/chan. According to incel ideology, all women seek "Alpha" men, whom incels have labelled as *Chads* (Baele *et al*., Høiland). *Chads* are successful sexually as they are handsome, tall, and muscular (see figure 1).

Women are believed to be irrational, promiscuous, and hardwired to lust after Alpha males (Ging), which "consequently [pressures] 'Betas' to look fit" (Baele *et al*., 15). "Betas", also referred to as the "normies", are considered to be in the middle of the sexual hierarchy. These men are considered by incels to be subordinated and marginalized (Beauchamp, Ging). Then, at the bottom are the incels, men who believe themselves to be unfairly marginalized by this system which deems them "so innately unappealing that they can never convince a woman to sleep with them" (Beauchamp). According to incel lore, women will seek relationships with Betas for financial security while the small number of *Chads* attract the majority of the women seeking sexual pleasure. This hierarchy leaves only the unattractive women for the 'normies'/Betas, and none whatsoever for the incels (Hoffman *et al.*, Baele *et al*.). Incels distinguish themselves from the 'normies' by claiming to be physically inferior but holding insights into the sexual hierarchy and the preferences of women. These beliefs and the perceived sexual classes are intrinsic to incel ideology and their 'black pill' philosophy.
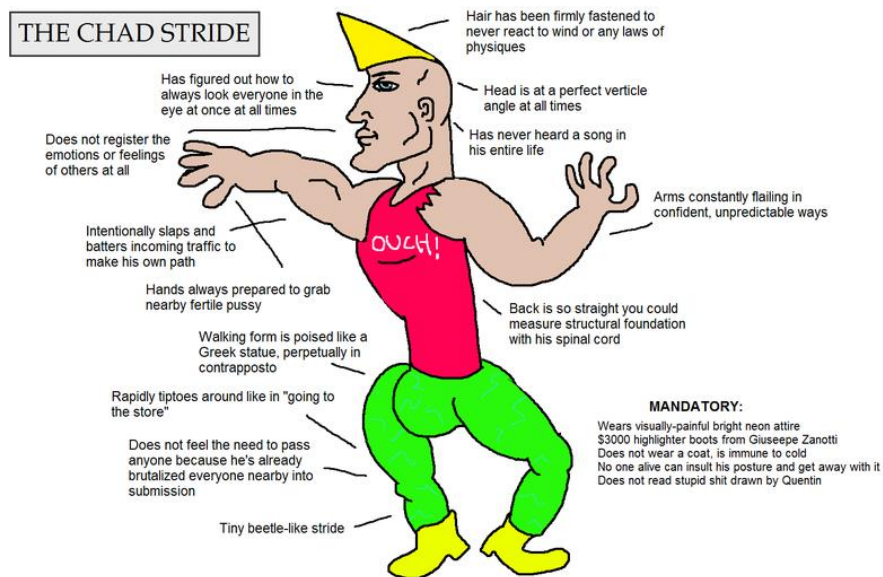

Figure 1. Chads, as imagined by incels. Retrieved from https://incels.wiki/w/Chad.

The final feature of 'black pill' philosophy is racial dualism, meaning "outgroups ("Alphas" and "Betas," chiefly women) are extremely negatively depicted while the ingroup is positively talked about" (Baele *et al.*, 9). Outgroups may also include people of colour or racialized individuals, as racial themes are "inextricable from the incel narrative" (Hoffman *et al.*, 572). For example, Elliot Rodger's manifesto is extremely racist, saying ""how could an inferior, ugly black boy be able to get a white girl and not me? I am beautiful, and I am half white myself. I am descended from British aristocracy. He is descended from slaves" (Hoffman *et al.*, 573). Similar discourse appears on message boards, with East Asian incels being referred to as "ricecel" and Indian incels named "currycel". Antisemitic sentiments are also found in incel ideology, with incels attributing social degeneration to Jewish people. Additionally, many incels who have perpetrated extreme violence demonstrated extreme antisemitic ideologies, such as Nikolas Cruz carving swastikas into the guns he used for his killings, and Scott Beierle being nicknamed "Nazi Scott" among his friends (Hoffman *et al.*).

The language used among incels surrounding outgroups is further evidenced with the use of derogatory terms and negative adjectives surrounding women, such as women being dehumanized as "femoids" (Baele *et al*.). Women are also dehumanized by being presented as childlike, unintelligent, or guided by emotions (notably, sexual desire). Additionally, there is focus on physical traits for women, as shown in the invented character named *Stacy*, which is frequently used in incel message boards, websites, and memes (Høiland).

Figure 2. Stacys (also spelled Stacies) as imagined by incels. Retrieved from https://incels.wiki/w/Stacy.

Similar to *Chads, Stacys* were invented by incels to represent the ideal body that they cannot obtain (see figure 2). Stacy is the embodiment of the depravity plaguing women, chiefly vanity, promiscuity, and superficiality (Høiland). Importantly, there are other caricatures used by the incel community, such as *Beckies* ('normal' looking women) and *Brads* (moderately attractive males), though the characters of *Chads* and *Stacys* are dominantly used within the incel message boards and their memes (Høiland, Jennings). These derogatory terms and caricatures of outgroups allow for frequent dehumanization across the incel community. For example, one member wrote that women "are disgusting parasites whose only purpose is to leech as much as possible and get pleasure," while another declared that "these cunts don't even acknowledge different personality traits, they only want good looking chads" (Baele *et al*., 9). In short, the 'black pill' philosophy allows for the separation of outgroups from ingroups, thus permitting dehumanization, misogyny, and online abuse. Incel worldview may not be inherently political but it does revolve "around the subjugation and repression of a group", resulting in far-reaching effects in society and incel violence (Hoffman *et al.,* 568). The 'black pill' philosophy, coupled with incel terminology and

misogynistic beliefs, shape the messaging of incels across the internet, which has been promoted with moderate success online and in society.

Navigating the Online World as a Hate Group

While incels represent the extreme edges of the manosphere, the group and its members have been able to utilize the internet to their benefit, notably by expanding their network and spreading their ideology. At its peak, the subreddit r/Incels had over 41,000 subscribers, before it was banned in November 2017 (Baele *et al.*). Subsequently, r/Braincells became the most popular subreddit for incels, with more than 17,000 followers before being banned in 2019 (Lamoureaux, Robertson). The website *Incels.me* served as an online space where incels could express their ideology and in its one-year lifespan, it accumulated 5,172 members who posted 769,854 messages and contributed to 41,752 threads (Baele *et al.*). However, similar to the subreddits, *Incels.me* was suspended from the *.me* domain on November 20th, 2018 (Baele *et al.*). This is a dominant theme found within the literature surrounding incels; the group achieves success in attracting members and followers on their online forums/websites and then they are subsequently banned by the domain (Baele *et al.*, Høiland).

However, academics and journalists delving into the world of incels have found that incels are able to adapt to the bans and find other methods of gathering online and practicing their ideology (Connery, Papadamous *et al.*, Ganesh, Baele *et al.*). A quick search on Reddit reveals multiple subreddits where members discuss and practice incel ideology, such as r/TruestCel with 254 members, r/PeopleThatDontExist with 149 members, r/BlackPillScience with 10, 800 members, and r/failed_Normies with 2,400 members. Recent surveys, specifically one done in March 2020 of *incels.co* users, reveal the online users who are at the core of these incel community. According to the self-reported surveys, the community members are "predominantly young males, many of whom live with their parents and have never been intimate with or had any kind of a meaningful relationship with a woman" (Hoffman *et al.*, 568). Importantly, Europeans and North Americans made up over 80% of the respondents, with most self-identifying as white/Caucasian. Additionally, nearly 70% of the respondents claimed to suffer from mental

illness. These statistics are valuable insights into the people that form this online community and shape incel ideology, as well as provide information into understanding the potential harm the beliefs may propagate (Hoffman *et al.*, 568).

Furthermore, incels must be understood as a fluid structure, "a swarm brought together by its shared mentality, [which] connects a set of agents with a collective identity and sense of community" (Ganesh, 36). Bharath Ganesh argues that online hate is ungovernable given three key components; its decentralized structure, its adaptability and ability to migrate across websites, and its use of coded language (Ganesh, 36-37). Thus, by focusing on banning and censorship, online platforms and websites hosting incels do not address the "connective infrastructure that brings the swarm together" and they will simply migrate to a different domain (Ganesh, 44). The adaptability of incels and their ability to migrate to other online spaces has led to further expansion of their network and spread of their messaging.

Papadamou and his colleagues' (2020) study of incels on YouTube demonstrates the utility of the internet in spreading incel ideology. The researchers found a significant growth in incel-related activity on YouTube, specifically a rise of incel- related videos published and comments posted by incels. This research "suggests members gravitating around the Incel community are increasingly using YouTube to disseminate their views" (Papadamous *et al.*, 9). Additionally, the study revealed that YouTube's recommended algorithm benefits videos promoting incel beliefs, as there was a 6% chance that an individual watching a video not related to incel ideology would "end up watching an Incel-related video if they randomly follow one of the top ten recommended videos" (Papadamous *et al.*, 9). Furthermore, Papadamou and his fellow researchers estimated that there is a 20.9% chance of a user who began by watching a non-incel video will be recommended an incel-related one within five recommendations (Papadamous *et al.*, 9).

Evidently, incels are very active online despite frequent bans and attempts to govern their hate. As evidenced by Ganesh, incels adapt to the bans and migrate to other online spaces. In fact, as discovered by Papadamou *et al* (2020), some online spaces such as YouTube directly benefit incels and the promotion of their ideology. Clearly, incels are an active group online and "much remains to be understood in terms of their influence in leading discussions and shaping the underlying worldview" (Baele *et al.,* 20). Evidently,

further academic studies are needed, specifically studies into the ways in which incels migrate from one site to another after being banned. These studies would be helpful in revealing patterns of migration and the tactics incels use to disguise their ideology from websites and regulators. It is only by researching incels and their tactics in navigating the online world that the threat they may pose can be understood.

Conclusion

This research paper sought to understand the role of the internet in the development of incels and their ideology. How did a website created in 1997 intended for socially awkward people looking for relationships evolve into a community of men who vocalize violent hatred towards women? To answer this inquiry, the context of the emergence of incels online was evaluated. It was revealed that the incels began to form within the manosphere as a reaction against Pickup Artists and men who were sexually successful. The internet served as an enabler for incel ideology, as it connected disgruntled PUAs and allowed for the unmonitored vocalization of misogynistic and violent beliefs. Furthermore, the internet provided 'free spaces' for incels to practice and refine their beliefs, which led to the emergence of 'black pill' philosophy and other beliefs intrinsic to incel ideology. Finally, incels have shown great effectiveness in their ability to navigate the online world despite frequent bans from websites and online forums. Incels are able to quickly migrate across websites and their decentralized structure as well as use of coded language allows them to elude regulations. Thus, it is evident that the internet played an instrumental role in the development and maintenance of incel ideology. Considering that the internet has become an essential commodity in our modern world, it seems unlikely that external forces will be able to slow the growth of the incel community and their ideology.

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