

**Posting like a Truocel: Exploring the Role of Online Group Dynamics and Sexual
Expression in Incels.is**

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Abstract

The online Incel community has become a growing concern in technology-facilitated sexual violence. This thesis investigates the role of virtual group dynamics in the expression of sexually violent language (SVL) and positive sexual language (PSL) within the incel community. This study conducted a qualitative Constructivist Grounded Theory (GCT) approach of 24 randomly selected threads from the popular Ince.is forum. The analysis revealed two main interrelated themes: (1) Shared understanding of grievance-black pill archetypes, and (2) the Contradictory sexual expression pathways. The findings indicate that forum interactions function as a filtering and reinforcement system that is founded on Black-pill archetypes and Grievance framing. Three sexual expression pathways emerged: Affective need, Pragmatic neutral, and Instrumentalization of women. Positive sexual expressions were unstable from contamination framing, while sexually violent discourse was normalized, amplified and reframed as masculine. Within (SVL) a hardened enforcer user typology emerged. These findings suggest that the risk posed by incel forums lies within the groups validation structures that normalize harmful scripts and marginalize emotional vulnerability. The findings contribute to sexual violent fantasy research by illuminating how fantasy becomes a site of communal identity regulation. The thesis concludes by highlighting further avenues of research.

Keywords: Sexual Violence, involuntary celibate, sexually violent language, positive sexual language, online extremism

Posting like a Truancel: Exploring the Role of Online Group Dynamics and Sexual Expression in Incels.is

The term “incel”, short for “involuntary celibate,” is the moniker used to refer to a predominantly online subculture consisting mostly of young heterosexual men. Just as the name ‘involuntary’ implies, members desire to engage in sexual relations with women but are unable to do so (Donnelly et al., 2001; Sparks et al., 2022; Speckhard et al., 2021) What unites them is their perception that in the era of dating apps and hookup culture, women are the gatekeepers of intimacy and are responsible for incels’ exclusion from sexual experiences (Kimmel, 2017; Preston et al., 2021).

Whereas the community originated from individuals seeking understanding and support for loneliness and dating difficulties, its membership and ideological structure have changed substantially (Tietjen et al., 2023). Hart and Huber (2023) reflect that incels represent themselves as a wronged group, claiming that women only focus on superficial characteristics, such as financial attributes, physical appearance, and height. Within this worldview, society is ruled by women sexual liberation, while incels suffer and are treated as “subhuman”. This perceived rejection further incites feelings of hostility, resentment and hate towards women. The view of women as gatekeepers of has turned to incels externalization of blame and misogyny. (Hart and Huber, 2023).

Generally, incels believe society conforms to a rigid “Lookist” hierarchy, with desirable women (“Stacys”) and men (“Chads”) at the top, average individuals (“Beckys” or “Normies”) in the middle, and incels at the bottom leaving them permanently rejected due to immutable, undesirable traits (Andersen, 2023; Scaptura & Boyle, 2020).

While “Red-Pillers” believe they can “ascend” through gym, wealth, and self-grooming, its more extreme version, the “Black-Pill,” argues that genetic traits predetermine sexual desirability rendering self-improvement as futile and often stigmatized within the community

(Baele et al., 2019; Halpin, 2022; Kelly & Aunspach, 2020). Despite their shared experiences of rejection, internal status varies significantly. Prior linguistic analyses on incels have researched the coded language that allows users to distinguish between “fake” (referred as fakecels) and “true” incels (denoted as trucels) who have experienced romantic connections (Waśniewska, 2020).

This reflects a complex internal group stratification where online sexual narratives manifest differently among members (Speckhard et al., 2021). Such coded language reinforces in-group identity as well as strengthens shared beliefs. While the opportunities for positive online connections are endless for incels, Ging (2017) states that the internet’s availability and ease of information dissemination has opened the door for progressively more misogynistic, anti-feminist, and violent discourse. Moreover, research has illustrated that users exposure to misogynistic echo chambers intensifies insecurities, mental health concerns and nurtures toxic ideas of masculinity (Solea & Sugiura, 2023; De Roos et al., 2024). Ultimately, these sites provide an echo chamber for such ideologies, supporting the transition from virtual violence to real-world actions (Kelly et al., 2021; Scarlott, 2023)

Additionally, incels report significant emotional vulnerabilities which has been linked to elevated levels of loneliness, depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Speckhard et al., 2021; Hoffman et al., 2020). Moreover, loneliness can serve as a doorway to the incel subculture as users search for comfort and validation in the shared experiences of the community, and in turn adopt their beliefs (Moskalenko, Kates et al., 2022; Sparks et al., 2023). However, rather than mitigating their psychological suffering, consistent engagement and exposure to sexually violent can strengthen an individual’s sense of belonging and further enhance their isolation from the world (Daly & Reed, 2021). Incel forums simultaneously provide emotional validation as well as harmful echo chamber that reinforces biological

determinism, sexual fatalism, and a rejection of self-improvement (Andersen, 2023; Baseline, 2023; Daly & Reed, 2022)

These vulnerabilities provide a fertile ground for grievance as users are offered simplistic -often harmful-explanations for complex emotional experiences (Maxwell et al., 2020). The combination of the forums deeply rooted Misogyny and reinforcement of peer support can aid in driving users to extremist beliefs, where sexual violence can become a means for retribution and control (O'Donnell & Shor, 2022). As previously stated, incels view themselves as victims of modern gender relations and feminism, which falls within what Kimmel (2017) labeled as aggrieved entitlement. This form of entitlement is derived from traditional patriarchal norms, where in a misogynistic worldview, men are assigned the dominant masculine role and are entitled to a wife (Kaisar, 2020). The combination of entitlement and misogynistic attitudes can contribute to sexual violence. Such notions are supported by research that found that men who embodied incel traits, were more likely to report violent fantasizing and rape towards their enemies (Saptura & Boyle, 2020). In turn, a study by Speckhard et al. (2021) found one in ten Incels endorsed the statement, "I would rape if I could get away with it".

Sexual expressions in online Incel communities

Sexual violence against women remains one of the most persistent public health and human rights concerns globally (World Health Organization, 2023). Whilst the majority of incel research has focused on acts of mass violence, less attention has been given to the verbal manifestations of sexual violence within incel forums. This violence affects approximately one in three women globally and has lifelong consequences for victims (Campbell et al., 2009; Henry et al., 2020; WHO, 2023). Although extensive research and prevention efforts have focused on physical forms of interpersonal sexual violence, recent studies have revealed a growing area of concern wherein digital spaces are becoming new terrains in which

technology-facilitated sexual violence (TFSV) occurs, often with similarly devastating impacts (Henry & Powell, 2015; Huiskes et al., 2022).

For example, incel forums exhibit explicit threats of sexual harm, revenge, and domination to implicit yet aggressive and dehumanizing discourse that is indicative of gender-based hate speech (Chan, 2022). Research has previously found incel posts that are filled with sexually derogatory slurs (e.g., “slut,” “whore”) and violent verbs (“choke,” “slaughter,” “rape”), resulting in a hostile digital landscape in which female bodies are dehumanized and subjected to symbolic violence. Incel language mimics heterosexual pornography, which is supported through recent findings by Ging et al. (2025) where incels use meme-imagery to portray of women as sexually submissive, hyper sexualized, or ‘used goods’. This adds to Tranchese and Sugiura’s (2021) claim that violent mainstream pornography and incel discourse mirror the same extreme language of misogyny.

Discussions in the incel sphere have become more violent and extreme, these discussions include violent sexual fantasies involving rape, revenge, and mass violence; typically directed at women (Baele, Brace and Ging (2023). These expressions, according to researchers, serve not only as a form of emotional venting, but also as mechanisms for social bonding and ideological reinforcement (Baselice, 2023; Scaptura & Boyle, 2020). Arguably, fantasy in this context is far from trivial. Prior research has shown that the rehearsal of violent fantasies can psychologically desensitize individuals, and in some cases serve as cognitive preparation for real-world violence (Johnson, 2023; Murray, 2017; Williams et al., 2021). This becomes particularly dangerous in environments where these expressions are rewarded and echoed by others, decreasing psychological barriers to violence (Scaptura & Boyle, 2020). What is especially troubling is that these violent fantasies are often not treated as significant threats. Yet, fantasy can play a preparatory and motivational role in criminal behavior, particularly when socially reinforced (Murray, 2017; Johnson, 2023). These cases

underscore how individuals may use incel forums to develop, rehearse, and socially reinforce sexually violent fantasies (Blommaert, 2017; Williams et al., 2021).

This becomes particularly dangerous in environments where these expressions are rewarded and echoed by others, decreasing psychological barriers to violence (Caprara et al., 1989; Scaptura & Boyle, 2020). Despite this, research rarely distinguishes between nonviolent and violently expressive incels, nor does it adequately explore how group norms shape this divergence (Lindsay, 2020; Grunau, 2022). This is a significant concern, as research has indicated that tolerance towards violence is a stronger predictor of involvement in violence in comparison to sociological and economic variables (Caprara, Cinanni, & Mazzotti, 1989; Mills, Kroner, & Weekes, 1998; Boduszek and Hyland, 2012). In sum, these online forums have become platforms for the dissemination of sexually violent rhetoric that is embedded within broader cultural and ideological scripts that normalize sexual domination and male entitlement (Lavery, 2023; Waseem et al., 2017).

Repeated exposure to sexually violent language has been shown to desensitize users, lower empathic responses, and increase the acceptance of rape myths and sexually aggressive behavior (Baselice, 2023; Henry & Powell, 2016). Moreover, analyzing the use and reinforcement of sexually violent language within incel forums is vital to understanding the communicative processes that contributes to broader patterns of gender-based violence. Despite its prevalence, sexually violent language has often been shadowed under broader research analyzing sexual harassment (Barak, 2005), toxic language (Pelzer et al., 2021), or gender-based hate speech (Henry & Powell, 2016). In consequence academic definitions lack specificity and often fail to capture their unique characteristics and implications in online environments.

Notably, few studies have focused exclusively on sexually violent expressions as a distinct phenomenon. In order to address this conceptual limitation, this study therefore

conceptualizes Sexually Violent Language (herein referred to as SVL) as either explicit or implicit verbal aggression that merges sexual content with threats of rape, endorsements, humiliation, bodily violation, and other forms of sexualized aggression (whether metaphorical or literal) directed primarily toward women (Davidson et al. 2017; Waseem et al. 2017). While online forums provide the opportunity to incite harm, it is important to note, however, that not all incel-identifying individuals endorse violence. In a study by Speckhard et al. (2021), most incels considered themselves non-violent. Equally overlooked in current incel discourse research is the presence of positive sexual narratives that are characterized by affection, intimacy, and consent.

While most literature emphasize the risks associated with violent sexual fantasies, emerging research suggests the expression of positive, affectionate and consensual sexual fantasies in online communities can provide important psychological and social benefits. Studies in cognitive psychology highlight that fantasizing about affectionate or mutually pleasurable sexual experiences are associated with greater relationship satisfaction, emotional regulation, and reduced hostility (Lehmiller, 2014; Dosch et al., 2016). These non-violent or emotionally driven sexual fantasies (herein referred to as PSL) can mitigate against social isolation; a common feature of the incel identity, and ultimately promote healthier interpersonal narratives (Baselice, 2023). Ultimately, the expression of positive fantasies may offer opportunities for interpersonal bonding, cognitive flexibility, increased empathetic narratives, and possibly soften the nihilistic framing encouraged by the Black Pill ideology (Lehmiller & Jonason, 2015; Whittaker, 2023). However, in incel forums, PSL discourse is frequently met with intra-group rejection, this policing reflects not only a suppression of dissent but also a missed opportunity for collective cognitive reframing that could steer members away from sexually violent ideation (Lindsay, 2020).

External Dynamics of Sexualized Content

In the digital space of incel chat forums, the appraisal of sexually violent content extends far beyond the individual. Communities such as Incel.is introduce a powerful layer of external social reinforcement. These web forums operate as ‘echo chambers’, wherein comments; particularly those including rape, domination or revenge are validated, encouraged, and policed (Scaptura & Boyle, 2020; Lindsay, 2020). As Giles and Maass (2016) note, language in such spaces does more than convey meaning; it shapes identity, regulates group membership, and enforces ideological conformity. As a result, the individual’s internal thought is no longer private but is embedded within a collective identity that reinforces the ‘BlackPill’ worldview. The group sanctioned act of sharing sexually violent narratives serves multiple functions in allowing members to mentally stimulate sexually violent scenarios, collectively weigh the costs and benefits of real-world enactment, and signal in-group dominance and ideological loyalty (Buss & Duntley, 2001; Baselice, 2023).

For instance, a study by de Roos et al.,(2024) found that new members of incels.is exhibited a surge in anger and violent language upon entry, this likely reflected a performative response to the social norms and expectations of the incel community, and the desire for social acceptance within it (de Roos et al., 2024). These findings allude to broader theories of group dynamics and radicalization, which include mimicry, identity regulation, and intra group conformity pressure (Crandall et al., 2002; Harwood, 2020; Salojärvi et al., 2020). Within these forums, SVL discourse is cultivated, ritualized, and in some cases weaponized as signals of dominance, validation and ideological purity (Baele et al., 2021; Ging, 2019; Scaptura, 2019). In summary, to understand pathways toward sexual violence, it is important to examine the larger context within which they took shape.

Psychological Vulnerabilities and Emotional States among Incels

Additionally, incels report significant emotional vulnerabilities which has been linked to elevated levels of loneliness, depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Speckhard et al.,

2021; Hoffman et al., 2020). Moreover, loneliness can serve as a doorway to the incel subculture as users search for comfort and validation in the shared experiences of the community, and in turn adopt their beliefs (Moskalenko, Kates et al., 2022; Sparks et al., 2023). However, rather than mitigating their psychological suffering, consistent engagement and exposure to sexually violent can strengthen an individual's sense of belonging and further enhance their isolation from the world (Daly & Reed, 2021). Incel forums simultaneously provide emotional validation as well as a harmful echo chamber that reinforces biological determinism, sexual fatalism, and a rejection of self-improvement (Andersen, 2023; Baseline, 2023; Daly & Reed, 2022)

In sum, the incel subculture comprises complex interactions among internal beliefs, emotional vulnerabilities, and external social dynamics. The role that fantasy plays in shaping group norms and potentially escalating radicalization has become a significant concern in research on digital extremism (Lindsay, 2020; Gaudette et al., 2020). However, studies have yet to specifically compare violent Incels to nonviolent Incels to identify characteristics that may predict violent behaviour (Lindsay, 2020). In addition, research remains limited in exploring the internal functions of violent sexual fantasy within incel forums, particularly as it relates to group dynamics and the potential for real-world harm (de Roos et al., 2024). Addressing these limitations, the present study seeks to address these gaps by examining how virtual group dynamics within incel communities influence the expression, validation, and escalation of sexually violent and positive sexual content.

Present study

The present study will aim to explore the linguistic dynamics of the incel subculture by examining: "What is the role of virtual group dynamics in the expression of sexually violent and positive sexual narratives within Incel chat forums?" By combining SVL and PSL narratives, this research will serve to outline whether incels experience pressures in their

sexual expressions involving women, and if so, how this influences their views on the use of violence. Understanding these patterns is essential to informing prevention strategies; particularly in distinguishing between ideological expression and emergent threats of offline sexual violence. In following this approach, this research sought to contribute to broader efforts in understanding technology-facilitated sexual violence (TFSV). The use of incels own narratives provided rich data that allowed for the exploration of internal group dynamics in sexual language expressions. Furthermore these findings may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the incel phenomenon, and its potential implications for offline violence.

Method

The aim of this research was to explore the role of incel group dynamics in regard to two types of sexual expression. To provide a solid base for individual level comparison, the incel web forum Incel.is will offer a rich dataset, as it is currently one of the more popular English language incel discussion boards that are still online. Being an unexplored area, this study emphasized the natural development of theory through data, instead of positivistic testing of hypotheses against findings (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Here, a Qualitative Research Design was deemed most advantageous for its flexibility in exploring new phenomena, whilst allowing for individual insights to supply rich and detailed narratives (Chesebro & Borisoff, 2007; Harris, 2015). Due to the exploratory nature of this study, this method will not only prove useful in the development of new theoretical explanations grounded in empirical evidence but will also facilitate an exploration of the complex phenomena of sexually violent and sexually non-violent incels and their group dynamics where little research and pre-existing theoretical explanations exist.

Data Collection and Preparation

The data consisted of user comments from threads obtained from web forum incels.is. Currently one of the more popular web forums, this site has amassed 25,719 members, and

includes more than 12 million posts (Incels.is, 2024). The exact demographics of members such as age, gender, ethnicity, education, and mental health symptoms are unknown as the website utilizes a pseudonymized account system. Previous self-reported surveys on this forum suggest that its core users consist predominantly of young middle-class white males, with around 80% of users reporting residence in North America or Europe (Hoffman, Ware, and Shapiro 2020). For these reasons, it will be assumed that unless otherwise stated, the comments analyzed will be from participants who identify as male and as involuntary celibates.

The data collection process of this study required extracting publicly accessible threads and comments from the incel.is web forum (<https://www.incels.is>). Initially, a large-scale web scrape of the forum was conducted, which was part of a larger study. Utilizing the programming software BeautifulSoup and Requests in Python, 132,417 forum posts dating from 2017 to 2023, captured all thread data such as usernames, timestamp of comment and the original title of the thread the comment was made in. Following this, pre-written scripts were used to categorize and filter threads containing targeted keywords into two datasets. Only threads consisting of more than 10 posts were selected. All threads and posts were organized to maintain the narrative chronology of each thread.

Operational Definitions and Criteria

The first dataset extracted all posts from threads where pornography-related words appeared at least 5 times per message. keywords used to screen non-violent threads included (but were not limited to) : “porn, erotic, softcore, nudity, vibrator”. The resulting dataset included 86,000 comments selected to encapsulate a spectrum of sexually non-violent content. The second dataset pulled all posts from threads in which sexually violent words appeared at least five times per message.. Keywords included (but were not limited to): “rape, molest, forced sex, genital mutilation, sadomasochism”, among other predefined words in the

coding criteria. This dataset comprised approximately 45,000 comments intended to represent sexually violent discussions. Remaining threads and comments were similarly organized to preserve narrative chronology. Finally, each dataset was then imported into a combined master folder labelled 'Violent' and 'Non-Violent' for later combined analysis. This organizational strategy facilitated a clear distinction between different comment types, enabling later exploration of potential changes in group dynamics across these subsamples (Byerly, 2020).

Sample Selection

The aim of this study required combining two equal data sets in order to compare and analyse discourse patterns within PSL and SVL comments. While manually verifying the data and comments, additional threads had to be removed as comments centered around themes such as Bestiality, Grooming, Hebophilia, and Pedophilia (i.e., Loli). These comments had to be removed as they did not align within the research goal or coding criteria; which sought to analyze sexual expressions of women. After 5642 threads were removed, 1142 remained. The master folder was then imported into Excel where 12 threads were randomly selected under the titled 'violent' and 12 similarly for the 'non-violent' group. A random sampling approach complements this research purpose by ensuring the sample is representative of the broader population, whilst minimizing sampling bias and enhancing the generalizability of finding

Results

This research aimed to provide a nuanced understanding of the underlying social processes and internal sexual expressions of involuntary celibates as they communicate and navigate online forums. The study seeks to contribute to the broader understanding of group dynamics and sexual expressions through online contexts. It offers insight into how women were sexually framed throughout three main sexual pathways, and argued for the central role of the Black-pill archetype and grievance reframing of sexual scripts. The guiding question was: "What is the role of virtual group dynamics in the expression of sexually violent and positive sexual language within Incel chat forums?". To explore this, a

constructivist grounded theory methodology was employed to 24 threads from the web forum Incels.is. In the following sections, the two core themes of this study will be explored: (1) the shared understanding of grievance-black pill archetypes, and (2) the contradictory sexual expression pathways

The Shared Understanding of Grievance-Black Pill Archetypes

A main theme in this research was the shared understanding of grievance-Black pill Archetypes, this was the core foundation across all categories, as it provided the initial framing of women and sexual expressions that were later grounded in subsequent sexual pathways. Comments consistently revealed a shared Black pill deterministic understanding of women and sexual expectations, highlighting a cynical perspective of women and sexuality.

Black Pill archetypes emerged through the combined gender and Black Pill stereotypes that portrayed women in negative connotations, as reflected: *“Women can't love and they will always dump you for a better deal- Sexbots/dolls will however never : -Cheat on you -Annoy you -Dump you -Give you STD's -Divorce rape you -Accuse you of violence”* (User 165). Such discourse reflected a recurring motif that women were; incapable of love, promiscuous, hypergamous and morally corrupt. These archetype were reinforced through personal narratives and justifications that evidenced women's ‘true nature’: *“Let me tell you a little story. Before I got any interaction with women, acquaintances or otherwise, I told my friend I was looking forward to getting to know women so I wouldn't hate them so much. His reply was, "Really? I think you'll hate them when you get to know them." This... was absolutely true. Women won't validate you. They'll tear you down using games you can't even fathom. This is their nature”* (User 152). Such tones reflected a bitterness and naturalizing belief that mirrors Black pill fatalism, where all women are reduced to these fixed archetypes. Online dynamics further amplified these beliefs by reinforcing ideological conformity when users expressions did not align with these generalizations and shifted sexual expressions along a continuum.

Shared narratives collectively positioned women as adversaries. Statements depicting women as manipulative or sadistic in their as manipulative or sadistic in their “games” (User 631) and constructed women as moral antagonists who *“love torturing undesirable men”* (User 639). This dehumanization reframed women as predatory in their interaction with incels. Importantly, black pill

archetypes functioned not just as a belief system but as an explanatory and justificatory framework. They explained perceived suffering, validated grievance and structured group interactions and sexual discourse. Shared grievances, which overlapped with archetypes, framed incels as victims of women, as depicted in: *“imagine how many ugly men were victims of unjustified sexual charges”* (User 631). Discourse framed women as uncompassionate towards incels reinforcing a reversal of victim-perpetrator roles, with women as aggressors and incels as victims. These coded narratives fuelled a collective grievance throughout threads, and when combined with archetypes provided justification for all sexual expression theme pathways.

In sum, this core category was evident across all three pathways of sexual expression; affective need (PSL), pragmatic adaption (Neutral), and instrumentalization of women (SVL).

Contradictory Sexual Expression Pathways

The second core theme was contradictory sexual expression pathways. In sum there were three sexual expression pathways: (1) affective need, (2) pragmatic adaption, and (3) instrumentalization of women. Each pathway was linked with a subcategory that shaped the expression of women and provided a point of policing for users.

Affective need : Idealizing Validation from the ‘right’ women (PSL)

The first pathway revealed relational and affective longing that diverged from dominant sexually violent discourse. Comments coded as PSL emphasized intimacy, companionship, and validation. For instance, users described wanting a gf to cuddle with” (User 162). Similar sentiment, framed such longing through the collective ‘we’ as seen in: *“We all desire those things. We desire love, we wish a girl, just one girl had feelings for us, loved us, wanted to be with us, wanted to accompany our life adventure”* (User 367).” Positive idealization extended to touch, fantasies, and physical attributes, specifically feminine qualities over purely sexual gratification. These findings revealed a complex emotional landscape that challenged the simplification of incel sexual desires as purely sexual.

From a group dynamics perspective, PSL introduced emotional vulnerability into a space dominated by grievance and rigid masculinity. However this discourse was often followed by self-policing or ideological correction. PSL comments reflected high internal transitions where users comments combined both PSL longing with narrative transition into resignation and self-deprecation.

Expressions of longing were quickly undermined by deterministic claims and self-blame: “*WE ARE NOT LOVED BECAUSE WE ARE UGLY*” (User 377). Shared suffering further externalized blame onto women, framing them as the cause of denied intimacy: “*I can fall in love, and still have a desire to be in some sort of a companionship and emotional connection, cuddling, hugging or even kissing a girl, which of course have been denied to me*” (User 367).

At group level, PSL was permitted but also reabsorbed into black pill realism, expressions of wanting a meaningful relationship was shared and reframed by User 336: “*I do too but you’re never going to get one if you’ve found yourself here. It’s time to face reality*”. In some cases, this escalation was more aggressive, as romantic fantasies were weaponized to reinforce black pill archetypes of women as disloyal. Thus, PSL discourse was often filtered through Black Pill archetypes and grievance, diminishing its stability. Therefore PSL was rarely sustained as it was destabilized internally through pessimism and externally through ideological policing, often recasting it as a naïve weakness.

Conditionalizing PSL and empathy through purity and contamination narratives

A key mechanism shaping PSL was conditionalization, within this contamination was key in dehumanizing women, gatekeeping affection, and discriminating against certain women. This subtheme revealed that PSL and intimacy rely on strict group set criteria. Intimacy was restricted by purity rules, contamination and girlfriend status. Woman worth desiring according to PSL users must be the ‘right’ kind of woman. Higher group enforcement of PSL ideation relied on expressions centring around: “*Having a virgin bride*” (User 332), “*beloved virgin GF*” (User 075) and reserving specific sexual acts only for virgin women, whereas non virgins were described in degrading contamination narratives. Virginity idealization revealed a deep internal sexual moralism and misogynistic disgust towards sexually experienced women, as exhibited in User 139 comment: “*If she was a virgin just the thought alone of being her first would send me over the edge. I’d probably cum in my pants if she started to say, ‘I’m a virg-’ *INSTANT CUM* Any other girls? No. I can’t with a non-virgin. I would only be thinking about all the whoring she has done and go limp*”.

The transition of PSL narratives reflected a broader discomfort of intimacy when concerning the perceived ‘dirtiness’ of female sexuality. These contamination narratives extend beyond preference into collective reinforcement, which was echoed via a grotesque one upmanship of other users, such as:

“If a guy fucks a girl his cum is probably lingering inside her for week” (User 075). Discourse centred around kissing was significantly reframed through a lens of disgust: *“Females take 500 dicks in their mouth and u wanna kiss that?”* (User 058). Contamination discourse was a key strategy in dehumanizing women, gatekeeping affection, and discriminating against certain women

Consequently, PSL frequently transitioned into sexually violent language (SVL) when women were associated with impurity or transactional sex. Sex workers and non-virgins were stripped of PSL eligibility and subjected to extreme dehumanization. repetitive lexical choices reinforced the divide between: *“whore”*, *“slut”*, and *“roaches”* with idealized virgin descriptions of *“beloved”* and *“goddess”*. This lexical categorization categorized and policed which women were deserving of certain sexual acts, as seen in: *“I’m not interested in calling my lover a “slut” and choking her; now, maybe to a whore (but let’s not confuse whore and lover)”* (User 004).

Purity and contamination frameworks framed women’s desirability as well as their moral worth. Sexual violence against virgin women was condemned as a “horrible act” (user 194), whereas women who do not conform to traditional standards were underserving of users empathy or incapable of victimhood, as seen collective rape minimizations: *“If the hymen has been broken already then it’s used up, what is the point in caring about it being penetrated one more time?”* (User 392). This illustrated the emergence of rape myths, including denial of harm and victim-blaming, even in PSL oriented discourse.

Overall, this pathway reveals how sexual discourse was reshaped through detachment, objectification, and peer enforcement. Emotional desires are suppressed or reframed, women are reduced to functional objects, and conformity to a narrow, hardened sexual ideology is maintained through continuous internal policing. In sum, this theme revealed that PSL discourse introduced the value of mutual affection and validation for incel users. However, these positive sexual expressions were conditionalized for specific women (virgins). This subtheme in turn provided PSL discourse with conditionalized criteria which members used to police one another, positive sexual ideation was therefore dependant on criteria of which women was allowed to be idealized (virgins) and who deserved dehumanization and no empathy.

Pragmatic Neutral Sexual Adaption

The second pathway of pragmatic adaption involved the reduction of sex to physical relief, wherein sexual expression was framed in neutral, functional terms. Within this, sex was treated as a primal and biological function, regardless of emotional connection. This reflects a shift from earlier affective longing (PSL) to black pill acceptance, where users either suppress relational desires in favour of deterministic acceptance, or intentionally abandoned in defiance. For example (User 001) advises “*killing these romantic ideals*” and pursuing “*realistic opportunities*” such as transactional sex, while others acknowledge: “*I know that I’m likely not gonna ever fuck a chick any other way consensually*” (User 336). This revealed a cognitive split between the desire for intimacy and intentional emotional detachment.

Objectification of Women

Within this pathway, sex, particularly with escorts, was reframed as a tool rather than emotional connection. This transition was enforced through objectification, which was a second dehumanizing strategy; in which women are reduced to sexual functions and sexual organs. Phrases such as “*pay toilet*”, “*cum dumpster*” and “*hole*” stripped women of their subjectivity, while reinforcing black pill archetypes and contamination narratives by portraying women as toilets to further depict their bodies as filthy and greedy. Such discourse aligns with the concept of instrumentality (Orehek & Weaverling, 2017), where women were reduced to their physical attributes. The objectification of women sustained a sense of sexual entitlement, which constructed sex as a transactional right and emotional detachment from sex was collectively demanded, as seen in: “*She’s just a lowly whore. I literally would give zero fucks how disgusted she would be. :feelshaha: You need to stop viewing women as these divine beings above you and start looking at them as the objects they are, far below you. :blackpill: :blackpill: :blackpill:*” (User 226). This served as a defence mechanism, as users emotionally distanced themselves from ‘contaminated’ women, and as a form of ideological signalling that justified emotional detachment as an incel strength.

Aligning with black pill ideology and rejecting love: “*It’s not love (which doesn’t exist), it’s sex. We do need sex. We DO NOT NEED love, because it never existed*” (User 355) further reinforced this pathway by positioning sex as the only legitimate need, while situating incels as a group above love

through lexical “we” framing. Although some users express interest in more intimate transactional experiences, such as a “*girlfriend experience*” (GFE) were heavily policed by others for not aligning to either pill, as seen in: “*Its you who is delusional, you haven't accepted what women are (irredeemable whores) and what you are (an unattractive man who will never be "loved")*. Again, stop playing around with the black pill in your mouth, swallow or spit it out and head back to blue pill land” (User 008). Group members actively police these deviations, demanding full adherence to black pill ideology. Other members competed in demonstrating their adherence to the ideology by enforcing the use of derogatory terms, such as: “*PROSTITUTE (escort is too nice of a term)*” (User 336). This linguistic policing further reinforced ideological alignment within the in group by teaching other users what transactional workers should be called, further entrenching group expected norms.

This policing of language ensured that the groups discourse remained consistently negative. By labelling positive or emotional sexual desires as “*blue pill*”, “*cope*” and “*cucked*”, the group pressured users to conform to a hardened incel black pill worldview; making it difficult for alternative perspectives to gain traction. The constant policing from all sides revealed a strong internal pressure to conform to a narrow definition of acceptable male sexual behaviour and sexual behaviours. In sum, group dynamic and objectification acted as a filter in suppressing expressions that did not align with the pathways shared negative perceptions of women. Once women were reduced to instruments for male pleasure (pathway 2), intimacy was further destabilized and opened an opportunity for grievance and entitlement. Neutral language demonstrated a conversion point and was strongly linked to SVL. Once women are framed in terms of their sexual function of men’s pleasure, intimacy becomes harder to sustain and allows members to move from grievance to entitlement.

Instrumentalization of women: Monsters they made us, so monsters well be (SVL)

The third pathway was directly grounded in Users 173 “monsters” comment which hinted at the normalization and hardened acceptance, as well as amplification and ideological masculinity reframing of sexually violent language (SVL). Within this pathway, sexual expressions of women were constructed through domination-submission narratives, sexual violence reframing, and retribution. Techniques such as: normalization of sexual violence, masculinity reframing, reinforced risk taking and

hardened users demonstrated how SVL was sustained and amplified throughout threads. In suppressing PSL and neutral narratives, users adopted ideological justifications that both denied women of their bodily autonomy and framed sexual violence as deserving.

Reframing and Normalizing Sexual Violence

Findings revealed that sexual violence was normalized through incels leveraging of gender stereotypes, framing women as naturally submissive and desiring rape, and pseudo scientific claims around biological and evolutionary processes. Members constructed a narrative where sexual violence reflected a women's 'true' sexual desires, mirrored in: "*Women are aroused by fear, pain and loss of control*" (User 128). Within this discourse, consensual sex is framed as unsatisfying for women and unmasculine for men, as referenced in: "*your GF will leave you once she realizes you are a "pussy in bed" and you only have "boring sex" to offer*" (User 008). This discourse reflected rape myths, which users further legitimized as 'factual', such as: "*Here's another black pill, women are more likely to orgasm and get pregnant during rape than consensual sex*" (User 523).

These statements were reinforced though peer validation were further escalated by other users supporting such statements with scientific backing phrases such as: "*a documented phenomenon*" (User 663) and "*numerous studies*" (User 645) which were utilized to present their collective worldview as factual and real. These rape myths were perpetrated significantly throughout threads, suggesting a collective belief system that reframes sexual violence as natural and desirable amongst men and women.

In similar findings, gendered narratives and rape normalization were not only targeted at women, but incels were also the mark of discourse centred on traditionally masculine roles of dominance. SVL discourse revealed a masculine reframing that positioned sexual violence as 'real' masculinity, whereas intimacy, consent and emotional connection was marked weak and feminine, which was collectively validated and echoed by other members, such as: "*High IQ everything associated with 'romance' is made up from low t beta soyduck mentality*" (User 060). The term "soy" was frequently used as a pejorative to describe anything perceived as effeminate, overly emotional or weak, and was often directed at any positive or romantic views surrounding sex or women. One user labels another's perspective as "*literally;soy tier*" (User 033), effectively categorizing the comment in

a tier that is undesirable and unmanly within the incel framework. Discussions of “*kiss cucks*” further illustrated how group norms dictated acceptable behaviours and expressions, and the out grouping of PSL discourse. This was reflected in users suggestions of sexual violence: “*Also, you can rape in minecraft, or fuck a corpse rather than kiss and have consensual sex which is literally making love and therefore girly*” (User 677). The placement of sexual violence in a video game, revealed lexical concealments that disguised sexual violence while making it linguistically possible. In sum, within this subtheme and SVL discourse, masculinity was collectively reconstructed by users, and was cyclically reinforced and fuelled through competitive one upmanship in performing extreme masculine behaviours.

The combination of the dehumanization of women from previous pathways, and Grievance-based blackpill archetypes created a foundation for the weaponization of women’s bodies. Within this pathway, SVL functioned as both symbolic and physical sexual gratification; allowing users to convert their perceived victimization into imagined dominance. A central insight was that SVL discourse served an emotional outlet for members, sentiments such as: “*UNLEASH YEARS OF LONELINESS AND ANGER ONTO HER PUSSY RIP*” (User 134), this thematic trajectory was linked to the memo category “rage compensation,” wherein members utilized SVL as a conversion for their grievance into imagined dominance. Sexual violence also formed a cathartic exhilaration wherein fantasies, or graphic scenarios of women suffering could be imagined: “*To be quite honest, I’ve fantasized about raping women sometimes too. It would be nice to overpower a girl while I’m fucking her in the ass, and then she turns around all red faced looking at me*” (User 521). The phrase “*#Metoo*” by User 646 in response to a another user fantasizing about kidnapping a girl and keeping her as a sex slave (User 533), while potentially ironic, emphasized shared group ideation and alignment in these ideations.

In cases, sexually violent fetishes or fantasies were explicitly tied to the resignation of the Black pill ideology, as illustrated: “*once I realized that foids hate me and that my chances of a relationships were near to zero I began getting dark and violent fantasies. I get excited of women in pantyhose getting choked by somebody like Jason Vorhees and wetting themselves in fear. I also like the idea of them drooling and vomiting a little when being choked*” (User 692), which was similarly

echoed by other users. Fantasies within SVL discourse serve as micro-validations that signal in group bonding through sexually violent fantasy exchanges, and encouragement of further SVL fantasies

Sexually violent discourse was also tied to repressed entitlement. Members frame women as responsible for their suffering: *“Because ugly men are condemned to incelism in societies where female promiscuity is rampant, every slut bears a degree of responsibility for their suffering”* (User 625), and in turn, sexually violent rhetoric and harms were viewed as justified retaliation. Users entitlement based rationalizations can be linked to the combined effect of grievance narratives and generalized Black pill archetypes (theme 1) in constructing sexual violence as morally justified and emotionally satisfying, as reflected in: *“LMAO Rape is nothing. Bitches over exaggerate because of their 'sense of entitlement' and high standards. With how bitter I'm feeling, they deserve to be fucked in the ass with a flaming hot rod :fire: :fire: :fire:, all day everyday”* (User732). Group dynamics intensified this process, as members often validated and escalated justifications, therefore framing sexual violence towards women as a legitimate coping mechanism.

Members collectively viewed women as the “problem” (user 188) , therefore when perpetrators of real world sexual violence were discussed amongst users, they were applauded for *“doing God's work”* (User 459). Acts of sexual violence against women were in-vivo coded as *“life fuel”*, suggesting users received fulfilling gratification from such acts.

SVL discourse moved beyond expression into operationalization; wherein members discussed and normalized opportunities for offline sexual harms. Group dynamics played a central role within this discourse. Expressions that rationalize and normalize sexual assaults were often affirmed though positive encouraged and approval from other users. Shared stories describing stalking and non consensual touching (groping) of women, were linguistically met with admiration, humour and encouragement. These interactions reframed barrier breaking behaviour as a skill or *“low inhibition”*, which was coded as a valued trait associated with users overcoming social and moral constraint, as depicted in : *“fucking atomic life fuel. i wish i was low inhib enough to do this LOL”* (User 723). The reframing and rewarding of SVL discourse creates a feedback loop where extreme ideas and stories are shared and rewarded. The combination of self-depreciation and aspiration revealed a paradox where users express inadequacy or self doubt to real life sexually harmful behaviours also contributed to

escalation as users would share tactical or situational suggestions, as seen in “*So if you ever want to grope, dark night clubs are where to do it*” (User 734). This revealed a shift from online tantalization to real world sexual offence perpetration.

Out grouping the cucks from the Truecels: The Hardened Enforcer

Group dynamics illustrated a sexual expression based hierarchy that defined itself through clear out grouped individuals: women are automatically outgripped though black pill archetypes, “*normies*” and “*Blue piller*” individuals adhere to normative and intimate sexuality, and “*escortcels*” were out grouped as “*simps*” and “*fakecels*”. This out grouping aimed at identifying the “*truecels*”.

While some users expressed moral reservations to certain SVL discourse, other members would out group them as a “*virtue signaller*” (User 050). Overall, interactions revealed a strong pressure for users to act in accordance with the forms outlined norms. Building on grievance-black piller theme, a distinct typology of user emerged as the ‘hardened enforcer’. These individuals strongly adhered to extremist interpretations of the Black pill and actively policed other members who deviated. Rather than aligning themselves as victims, they repositioned themselves and other similar members as “*enlighted*” ‘true’ black piller users. This typology of user exhibited higher normalizations of extreme attitudes. Within this dynamic, it can be surmised that extremity functions as a performance signalling and a ‘race to the bottom’ in terms of emotional vulnerability and extremity. Members compete to demonstrate their ‘true’ black pill purity by showing how little they care about women while expressing increasing rigid and hostile views. These users would often publicly police and shame other members, such as: “*Reminder to users of incels.co: User 173 regularly makes posts on reddit, OPENLY admitting that he's a fucking simp, and begging them for help like the backstabbing late middle aged cunt he is: JUST FUCKING LMAO HOW FUCKING LOW CAN YOU SINK YOU PATHETIC BITCH*” (User 170). Therefore, the introduction of alternative scripts created a risk of being dismissed throughout the forum entirely by these hardened enforcers.

Discussion

Black pill reframing revealed distinctive archetypes of women as promiscuous, manipulative, and untrustworthy which formed the basis in which subsequent sexual expressions became meaningful. The

collective re-echoing of black pill archetypes and grievance solidified and amplified further negative perceptions of women and sex, which ultimately overshadowed neutral and positive expressions. The combined effect of grievance along with archetypes formed the psychological scaffold for moral disengagement, which was later used throughout sexual expressions to bypass guilt, empathy, and provide justification.

Here, Black pill archetypes and grievances form a motivational theme- they form the basis of generalizations wherein incels conceptualize and forcefully reiterate these harmful archetypes of women. Ging et al., (2025) refers to as gendered archetypes', where women are visualized as promiscuous, immoral, and subhuman, whereas incels are framed as victims of a hypergamous and gynocentric order. This research builds on this term and instead suggests a Black Pill archetype, because although this indeed highly gendered, it is built off of the pessimistic, and deterministic stereotypes of women that are characteristic of the Black pill ideology. Nevertheless aligning with Ging et al., (2025) imagery analysis of incel posts, the function is similar in that it constructs a pervasive vision of women in such a stereotypical manner that it consolidates in-group cohesion (Ging et al., 2025), Thus, the primary function of Black Pill archetypes is threefold: to signal and consolidate collective emotions, construct a binary in and out group worldview, and finally to evidence ideological heterogeneity.

Black pill archetypes represent a key social dimension that constrains members possibilities for making sense of themselves and the world, and instead are modeled by predefined justifications of black pill archetypes that in their eyes explain women's sexual choices. (Sizoo, B., Strijbos, D., & Glas, G. 2022). Through the process of participatory sense-making (De Jaegher and Di Paolo, 2007), incel forums, with their black pill ideology and archetypes provide individuals with protection, a way to understand themselves and the world, as well as a remedy. Pre-existing personal grievances are recognized and reframed into a new narrative of personal victimhood in the face of a misandrist, lookist society. Affiliation with this narratives provides incels with new ways of self regulating feeling of frustration, disconnectedness, and insignificance. . The utilization of various black pill archetypes are aimed to vent strong emotions (i.e., grievance, frustration, anger, and despair) thought to be commonly

valued – and held – by the group. The combination of grievance and black pill archetypes of women hint towards a remedy, the retaliation against women- wherein this research shows can happen in all three sexual pathways.

Members sexual expressions revealed that PSL, neutral, and SVL function as performances of ideological loyalty. While PSL is used to signal alignment with the core tenets of Black-pill including gender hierarchy, fatalisms and negative stereotypes women, SVL encompassed new themes building off on the same tenets but extended to rape myth stereotypes of women, and being incapable of love. The sharing of negative reframing surrounding women served not only to express personal grievance, but rather as a means to collectively construct and maintain incel identity. The group reinforces distorted cognitions surrounding sex and women.

The conditionality of PSL evinces a renewed salience of problematic purity myth discourse regarding the virtues of women's purity. Even positive romantic framing contributes to a atmosphere that reduces the value of women to their virginity/chastity, and crafts a 'social policy' of conditional empathy towards preserving a woman's virginity (Kelly, 2024). The idealization of virgins fits within Klement et al., (2022) definition of purity beliefs, wherein "pure women" are idealized and ascribed more innocence, better morality, and greater worth. These beliefs set the stage for incel categorization of women and criteria for which deserve intimacy

The conditionalization of empathy showed a benevolent sexism towards virgin women where incels evaluate them positively with lower contamination rhetoric, and underserving of rape. Lending from ambivalent sexism theory (Glick and Fiske, 1996), incels conditionalize acceptability in paternalism, and heterosexual intimacy towards these "beloved" women as they abide by incels internalized gender roles of 'true womanhood' which emphasize passivity, natural submissiveness and loyalty. On the other hand non-virgins, in particular sex workers invite degradation, such grievance over women's autonomy is framed as an attack on incels as it reflects a loss of control for incels pining for an idealized traditionalized past, and any loss of control is considered as a loss of their masculinity. (Kelly, C. R. 2014). Hostile sexism emerges as incels try to reclaim this power through rape minimization, heterosexual hostility centring on domination of women, and grotesque one-upmanship where increasingly visceral imagery is spread to reinforce cognitive distortions of disgust and

contamination fears towards sexually experienced women. These distortions create a psychological buffer that allow PSL members to disconnect their empathetic understanding towards non virgins and sex workers (Morrow, 2020; Klement et al., 2022).

Indeed, Valenti (2010) emphasized that under purity myth beliefs, only chaste women can be raped; incels further conditionalize their empathy only for virgins because women who are not committed to abstinence prior to marriage are incapable of being raped. This extends to prior research that has linked purity culture to holding false beliefs about sexual violence (Owens et al., 2021; Klement et al., 2022) and further correlated the formation of ideas that may perpetuate rape culture and in extreme cases, contribute to the perpetuation of sexual violence (Cooke et al., 2022)

As Costello et al., (2022) contends there is a mismatch between incels desires for uncommitted sexual relationships (sociosexual desire) and their ability to engage in such relationships (sociosexual behaviour). This research adds that the desire for validation should also be included to exemplify the split between pursuing transactional sex versus waiting for “meaningful” relationships. While incels may use transactional sex as a loophole to satisfy their sexual urges, this discrepancy is still apparent in incels resentful attitudes and harmful beliefs towards women. Un met sexual desires have been linked to feelings of frustration and hostility (Costello et al., 2023), the reality of having to pay for sex as well as constant group mocking for engaging in transactional sex can increase these negative feelings twofold.

This pathway illustrates a psychological split between sexual behaviour and emotional vulnerability. Members crave emotional intimacy, but through grievance and black pill archetypes perpetrating women’s incapability for love result in rejecting its feasibility and turning away from emotional connection entirely. Indeed prior research demonstrated higher sociosexual desire among incels (Costello et al., 2022). The repression of vulnerability, when paired with an environment that mocks emotional expression encourages dissociation from empathy, fostering desensitized and distorted sexual schemas wherein women’s bodies are a tool for sexual release. The advocacy of casual sex devoid of emotion is conceptualized by Cosetllo et al., (2023) as “impersonal sex”, wherein high levels of such displays of sociosexuality have been associated with a range of problematic attitudes,

beliefs and harmful behaviours such as sexual harassment. (Thomas et al 2021, Freyth and Jonason, 2023).

Various researchers have considered impersonal sex as a risk factor for perpetration because it enables more opportunities for engaging in sexually aggressive behaviour (Costello et al., 2025). This is emphasized by users advocating for using transactional sex as a means to vent their frustrations as exhibited by: *“I’d advised people here to just bang that frustration on escort girls tbh”* (User 576) and in extreme cases vicariously using sex workers to live out their dark fantasies without legal repercussion: *“Why do I have to rape when I can almost rape a prostitute? Well, fucking a prostitute, is more degenerate than rape itself, when you know that she is disgusted by you and you are turned on by this feeling, this is waaay better than rape, because you pay and you can do it without consequences”* (user 535).

Ultimately, impersonal sex is a key component of the Confluence Model of sexual aggression (Malamuth, 1996), which posits that high levels of socio sexuality which is depicted in the neutral language pathway, coupled with risk factors such as hostile sexism which is depicted in incels conditional PSL and empathy align with predictions of sexual aggression. This details how the forum normalized sexually violent ideologies under the guise of realism or pragmatism, and in turn, the erosion of empathy and increasing tolerance for harmful sexual attitudes. ‘Neutral-pragmatic language’ presented a conversion point that was strongly linked to SVL. Once women were framed in terms of their sexual function of men’s pleasure, intimacy became unsustainable and allowed members to move from grievance to entitlement. Research on comparisons of sexually objectified women (versus non-objectified) found when exposed men show more acceptance of interpersonal violence against women in sexual relationships, as well as more sexually harassing behaviours (Aubrey et al., 2011).

A central insight from this pathway was that SVL functioned as a form of affective regulation for members. For many users, the use of SVL provided a mechanism for transforming feelings of rejection, shame, and powerlessness into narratives of control and symbolic retribution. By flipping rejection into sexual dominance, incels accept perceived hatred from women and use it to enhance sexual gratification, which reflects cognitive script distortions and maladaptive arousal patterns. In

combination, the view of female sexuality built on women's inherent masochism, transforms the myth that all women secretly want to be raped into a accepted reality and sexual script for incels. Such offense-supportive attitudes infer rape is harmless and even enjoyable for women (Ward & Casey, 2010; Weldon, 2016). Incels fantasies further reflected underlying desires for revenge, power and sadistic feedback, all of which are reoccurring themes in incel-related acts of violence (Murray, 2017; Capellan et al., 2019).

One underlying explanation for this is identity fusion theory, wherein individual personal identities became inseparably fused and committed to more extreme endorsements as the SVL comments progressed (Rouiss et al., 2023; Costello et al., 2025). Meaning, members integrate external dialogs by other users into their own personal narratives. This is a self- sustaining cycle; sexually violent threads attract individuals who agree and their participation within the community generates more sexually violent content that suits their tastes (Cockerill, M. (2019).

It is evident through the findings, that incel forum discourse uses repetition as a method to correct members behaviour and identity formation, where emotional states like longing, anger and frustration are molded through discursive patterns and group dynamics. Repeated collective endorsement and pseudo scientific rationalizations contribute to rape myth normalization, endorsement, and reflect further cognitive distortions that externalize blame onto women. The interplay of Black pill archetypes with pseudo-biological determinism allows members to frame their ideation as natural rather than pathological. Prior research by Caruso et al. (2021) referenced Alfred Banduras premise of "Moral justification" to explain similar manoeuvres used by incels to deflect ownership of their actions, and in this case justify sexual violence through rape myth perpetuation: *"Foids are more likely to orgasm during rape than during regular consensual sex. Therefore, rapists are doing a foid a favour by raping them. By enacting rape laws, policymakers are deny foids an orgasm"* (User 571).

Majority of SVL users echo similar rape myths an build on them with more extreme examples. An underlying explanation is that individuals affiliated with peers who condone rape myths, are more likely to internalize these schemas into their cognitive sexual scripts (Dunn & Orchowski, 2021). Members in turn, continuously frame sexual violence as desirable, good for incels health, and even necessary: *"Women do not fear us, they are disgusted by us. They are not disgusted by REAL rapists,*

they fear them ... and that makes these little whores wet. We have to MAKE WOMEN AFRAID AGAIN. They have to fear us" (User 128), which sustains a dangerous ideological scaffold for radicalization. In sum, rape myths and sexual violence plays an important role in reaffirming status between members and group-boundaries when it is perpetrated on a collective level (Kirby 2013).

The emphasis on "REAL", reflects a return to feminist conceptualizations of patriarchy, where sexual violence provides a 'compensatory mechanism' for incels to solidify their commitment to a gendered social order and prove their dominant status within it (Vallerga & Zurbriggen, 2022). In this context, SVL discourse is a mixture of perceived inadequacy and masculine framing, sexual violence therefore offers a mechanism for members to reaffirm their sense of power, security, and 'real' masculine identity (Fahlberg & Pepper, 2016). Prior research on masculine insecurity highlights these feelings of inadequacy and emasculation are key contributors in the perpetration of sexual violence (Kroeper et al., 2014). Although this does not suggest a straight line to real life offending, repeated exposure to such language has indeed shown the effect in desensitizing users, lowering empathic responses and increasing acceptance of sexually aggressive behaviours and rape myths behaviour (Powell, 2016; Baselice, 2023). The analysis further confirms both the structural and symbolic dimensions of sexual violence.

While most comments exhibit SVL through degrading Black pill archetypes, insults, and metaphors, other threads illustrate the discursive encouragement of direct sexual violence. These statements or fantasies, reveal broader discursive dynamics that situate violence as a logical ~~and just~~ response. Sexual violence is legitimized as 'deserving' against the perceived injustices of a powerful group (women) ~~as expressed~~. Endorsements of SVL are exacerbated through repressed entitlement, viewing violence as a valid justification because sex and a traditionalist society of female submission, which incels are supposedly entitled to, have been denied. The forum primes members to view rape as a form of revenge against women who intentionally create incels by having high standards (O'Donnell & Shor, 2022). Therefore incels comments reflect little to no empathy towards women, who in their mind have committed actions considered amoral, and are thus cast out as an outgroup (Molenberghs et al., 2016; Molenberghs and Louis, 2018), as seen in comments such as: "Every foid who wears those yoga pants in public deserves to be anally raped on the spot, in GTA 5" (User479).

Any action that is taken to defy or gain retribution is received as a courageous, and deserving of the ingroup ‘true’ black-pill status. Hidden euphemisms such as “going out in a blaze of glory by ER”, “we decide to go Fritzl” (User 151, USER 086) a reference to the 2014 mass murderer Elliot Roger, and the 2009 case of Josef Fritzl convicted of enslavement, incest and rape of his own daughter over 24 years.

Themes move beyond symbolic violence and into celebration of real-world harm. Other discussions of sexual violence through games “Minecraft” “GTA” underscores how violence is celebrated as revenge and identity while offering protection against moderation and banning. Additionally, this normalization is often formed through lexical policing, exaggerated rants and genre conventions, which present SVL statements as satirical or humorous. These observable patterns within retaliatory positing are what Daly and Reed (2022) refers to as “shit posting”, in which hegemonic, violent and objectified claims are used as a tool to diminish the dignity of women. The nature of this type of positing is instrumental in three ways: it allows users to express sentiments (such as hostility, anger, frustration) in keeping with the norms of the forum, minimize serious sexual offenses by positioning them as humorous or ordinary (Vera-gray et al 2021), and lastly, users are afforded the ability to remain detached from their actual impact or effect (Massanari, A. L., & Chess, S. (2018).

This theme, which explores Blackpill Archetypes framing grievance and the pathway of SVL, in part echoes the findings of Costello et al., (2025) they observed incels scored higher on both rape myth acceptance and hostile masculinity, and in turn, exhibited elevated levels of revenge planning and angry rumination when compared to a general population samples. The present findings build on Costello et al (2025) by elucidating the “how” behind these occurrences. Additionally, this research adds that the typology of hardened enforcers are enabled by normalization processes (deservingness, justification, rape myth acceptance) and masculinity recovery.

Such forums act as an echo chamber by amplifying SVL viewpoints while constricting constructive feedback or gentle reframing, and fosters extremist attitudes within threads (O’Hara & Stevens, 2015). While not all individuals express violent intent, this research aligns with Habib et al., (2022) comparative analysis of the manosphere, where experienced commenters were found to be highly skilled in manipulating members to take on radical ideals. While it is not possible to show if

members succumb to manipulation, hardened enforcers are commonly revered as superior, and their statements show little to no dismissal. Correspondingly, the discursive sexual construction of women in incel forums is explicitly sexually violent, and this is justified as women are reduced to the lowest degree - and unanimously held there by Black Pill archetypes and grievance. Either by passively viewing or participating in this regime of 'truth', Black Pill archetypes of women go unchallenged, become normalized, and over time, are weaponized as justifications by hardened users (Chaves & Del Prado, 2023).

In sum the role of group dynamics was grounded in grievance-black pill archetypes, users sexual expressions through each sexual expression pathway revealed the perpetration and policing of these archetypes, the corresponding grievance was most occurring in sexually violent discourse. The role of group dynamics on sexual expressions lead to amplification of violence, and resulted in the garden enforcer typology which was prevalent in policing discourse towards extremist attitudes. Each pathway built on one another and revealed that users sexual expressions were highly policed within each pathway.

Conclusion

This study provides insight into how sexual expressions are collectively reinforced through virtual group dynamics. Across the analysis, incel group dynamics operate as a conversion engine. Individual expressions of affection (PSL), pragmatic neutral sexual adaptations (Neutral) and instrumentalization of women (SVL) are reframed and rescripted through policing and ideological reinforcement. Across threads, this process shifts sexual expressions along a Black Pill continuum. In sum, the findings of the current study are relevant from a preventative perspective as it provides a grounded account of how sexual expressions- ranging from positive to violent- are co-produced and policed within the incel.is web forum. In addition, rather than simplifying sexually violent discourse and users engaging in it as radicalized extremists, the findings provide a critical understanding into the central role of group validation, ideological conformity, and affective suppression in sustaining violent sexual discourse.

The flexibility offered by a CGT approach allowed for the development of an initial theoretical framework to guide early coding. This is crucial given the colloquialisms, idioms and terminology

prevalent in incel forums, which are context dependent and often overlooked. As previously mentioned, research on online sexual violence is still in its adolescence. Applying the concept of participatory sense-making to online sexual discourse is critical when taking into account that intentions leading up to real-world violence often cannot be understood without considering the larger context within which they took shape (De Jaegher and Di Paolo, 2007; Sizoo, B., Strijbos, D., & Glas, G. 2022)

This research is distinctive in its analysis of three forms of sexual language as well as the group processes within them. The current findings further encourages digital intervention strategies to not only address overtly violent content, but also the social validation structures that underpin its proliferation. Since PSL discourse was systematically invalidated by community Black pill norms, efforts to counteract sexually violent rhetoric from bleeding into positive narratives must go beyond just moderation. A possible intervention may include developing alternative platforms or subcommunities that enable emotionally honest dialogue, remove Black pill archetype portrayals and promote prosocial fantasy scripts. Moreover, interventions should focus on promoting protective narratives, prevention of harmful pseudo rationalization regarding rape myths, and addressing emotional vulnerabilities that drive conformity to sexually violent norms.

Additionally, the explicit discussions regarding virgin idealization may encourage ‘loop hole thinking’ that was exhibited in deviant sexual interests which included explicit references of sexual intent with minors (“loli”). In addition, the code “locationmaxxing” where incels discuss traveling to regions, particularly Southeast Asia (SEA) although was not included in the results, can be a significant contributor in risk due to incels perceptions of less stringent enforcement of laws protecting minors from sexual exploitation in such locations. Further research into incel forums regarding child sexual abuse and sex tourism exploitation is called for. In conclusion, this research contribution is threefold, firstly it contributes to building typologies of incel posters, secondly it outlined policing strategies present within each sexual expression pathway, and lastly presented the conditioning of sexually violent discourse and amplification of risk behaviours. These findings further emphasize the importance in monitoring and development of targeted interventions for incel web forums in order to prevent the translation of online sexually violent discourse into real-world sexual crimes..

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