

# Glorification of martyrs in the incel community

A comprehensive analysis of the incel perception of Elliot Rodger in the incels.co forum



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## **Abstract**

*The advent of the Internet more than two decades ago led to new threats to security: from cyber risks to the creation of online spaces where violent extremist groups gather. The incel community initially emerged in cyberspace as an online support group, but ultimately grew into a security problem after the several mass killings perpetrated by some of its members. However, there is a lack of literature on this particular online subculture. This Master thesis seeks to elucidate the features of the incel community by researching one of its predominant figures, the incel mass murderer Elliot Rodger. While Rodger has been labeled as the incel hero by many incels and mainstream media, he still is a subject of debate on many incel forums. Debates notwithstanding, he remains fundamental to the formation of the incel culture. This study analyzes 747 posts from the incel forum 'incels.co' and examines the main narratives around Rodger's figure. The findings of the study indicate that the incel community is not as homogenous as the media portrays, since 'incels.co' users perceive Rodger's figure almost evenly between those who praise him and those who despise him. Moreover, in order to address the paucity of research on the incel community, this Master thesis conducts an extensive documentary research on this particular online subculture.*

**Key words:** Incel, Elliot Rodger, martyrdom, online misogyny, hate speech

## 1. Introduction

On May 23, 2014, 22 year old Elliot Rodger killed six people and injured fourteen others before killing himself in Isla Vista, California. Shortly before the attack, he disseminated an online manifesto titled “*My Twisted World*” and uploaded a series of videos on Youtube in which he narrated the full story of his life (White, 2017:20). Marked by his difficulties to find women who would like him and continuous rejections, the manifesto and the mentioned videos focus on his hate towards women including the planning of what he called *Day of Retribution*, the day of his murderous rampage (BBC, 2018). Rodger frequented online forums linked to an online subculture which is often accused of conducting hate and misogynistic speech against women, the incel community. Shortly after the attack, Elliot Rodger began to gain notoriety within this particular community. Memes with his face photoshopped onto paintings of famous Christian saints were shared in most incel forums. A slang term, ‘going ER’ - which refers to the act of initiating a rage rampage or mass killing - was even eponymously named after his initials. He became somewhat of a hero for the community, a martyr, framed as such not only by the incel community but also by the mainstream media, and helped bring the incel subculture into the spotlight (Ibid).

Three years later, on April 23, 2018, a 25 year old man called Alek Minassian carried out an attack with a van in Toronto, killing ten people. Before committing the attack, he uploaded a Facebook post in which he praised Elliot Rodger and claimed that the ‘Incel Rebellion’ had begun. Moreover, during the police interrogation Minassian confessed that he was radicalized in the online incel community around the time Elliot Rodger committed his attack, and that he was inspired by Rodger’s acts (Cecco, 2019:14). On November 2, 2018, 40 years old Scott Paul Beierle shot six women at a yoga studio in Florida, killing two of them and committing suicide afterwards. Before those events, he posted a series of videos despising women, identifying himself as an ‘involuntary celibate’, and expressing sympathy for Elliot Rodger. These are just two examples of how the martyrdom of Rodger has influenced and inspired other incels to carry out offline acts of violence.

Nonetheless, despite the efforts of the media to frame Elliot Rodger as the incel hero, a close examination of the main incel forums indicated a different perception regarding his figure. In many threads, he is not considered the martyr hero of the incel community, and in some, he is not even considered an incel at all. Therefore, this Master thesis seeks to assess the current perception of the incel community regarding Elliot Rodger by analyzing threads on the largest incel forum, 'incels.co'. By studying Elliot Roder's standing in the community, this Master thesis aims to understand some features of this almost un-researched subculture. Are its users generally violent? What are the characteristics of the online speech they conduct? Why is Elliot Rodger praised or despised? The resulting narratives of the analysis will answer those and more questions and shed some light on this online subculture.

Moreover, in order to determine the current perception of the incel community regarding the figure of Elliot Rodger, this Master thesis will aim to answer the following research question:

*How does the incel community of 'incels.co' perceive the figure of Elliot Rodger?*

By exposing the features of the incel community this Master thesis aims to facilitate the creation of accurate policies and prevent more acts of offline violence. The incel community has gradually been drawing the attention of security experts and organizations that monitor extremist movements and terrorist groups. Remarkably, several experts such as Alex DiBranco, head of the Institute for Research on Male Supremacism, or Sam Jackson, collaborator of the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, labeled the incel community as "not right-wing, but their own form of extremism" (DiBranco, 2020:5; Jackson, 2019:3). Even the F.B.I. has expressed its concerns about the incel community. In October 2019, the F.B.I stated that it would monitor violent online threats in light of 'Joker' premiere, a movie whose main protagonist is considered an incel by incels themselves. The announcement was made after receiving a warning from the U.S. Army about potential incel mass shootings at the cinemas where the movie was shown (Margolin & Katersky, 2019:2). These are just two examples of how incels have become relevant to security actors and organizations. Consequently, this new form of extremism necessitates further research in order to effectively tackle the problem. Moreover, this Master thesis seeks to draw attention to online misogyny at large, as well as to identify a current security risk such as

the radicalization in the incel forums. The radicalization of incels might not only lead to more attacks targeting women, but may also lead to more harassment and other forms of offline misogynist violence.

Secondly, the academic relevance of this Master thesis resides in the value of descriptive research when a subject is under-researched. In this case, academic relevance comes from the lack of literature on the incel community. Even though it is still an under-research topic, the magnitude of the problem suggests that more literature on the incel community will be written in the short term. Thus, academia can significantly benefit from this Master thesis, which gathers an exhaustive documentary research on the incel subculture throughout the case study section. Key aspects such as the concept of voluntary celibate, the origins of the incel community, its ideology, and the role that Elliot Rodger plays in it, are addressed in the case study of this Master thesis. Therefore, the background provided in the case study section could be used as a starting point in future studies concerning this topic, since it encompasses the most relevant features of the incel subculture.

Lastly, this Master thesis adopts the following structure: in Chapter two, the case study is introduced, in which the origins, characteristics and ideology of the incel community are presented together with several cases of offline incel violence. In Chapter three, the concepts of online hate speech towards women and glorification of martyrs are introduced, with the purpose of composing a solid theoretical framework which assists in the task of analyzing the results of the study. Chapter four introduces the research design of this paper, including its methodology and limitations. Chapter five presents the results of the study, which are divided in separated sections according to the different narratives found. In Chapter six, the results are discussed making use of the concepts of the theoretical framework. Lastly, in Chapter seven the main conclusions of the study are presented.

## 2. The incel community & Elliot Rodger

### 2.1. Origins and evolution

The word ‘incel’ derives from the term ‘involuntary celibate’. In her work *Involuntary Celibacy: A Life Course Analysis*, Denise Donnely and other authors define involuntary celibate as an individual “who desires to have sex, but has been unable to find a willing partner for at least 6 months” (Donnely et. al., 2001:159). According to these authors, involuntary celibates could be “married or partnered persons whose partners no longer desire to have sex with them, unpartnered singles who have never had sex, or unpartnered singles who have had sexual relationships in the past, but are unable to currently find partner” (Ibid). Other scholars define incels as “individuals who see society as fundamentally hierarchized along sex and attractiveness lines that favor women and exclude men who are not good-looking from any romantic or sexual relationship” (Baele et. al. 2019:1). Lastly, the incel community define an involuntary celibate in their own online encyclopedia (*Incel Wiki*) as “someone who would be rejected by the vast majority of the single members of the gender they are attracted to in spaces socially designated for dating if they tried, for at least a few years” (Incel Wiki, 2019).

Upon examination of the main incels forums there seems to be no consensus regarding the status of partnered individuals who no longer have sex even if they want to. Some users consider such individuals as incels, while others do not think so. However, academic scholars have not addressed this issue, and they tend to employ the limited definition of someone unable to find a sexual or romantic partner (see Blommaert, 2017; Ging, 2017; or Ribeiro et. al. 2020). Therefore, this Master thesis adopts Baele’s definition of ‘incel’ as this definition accounts for this controverted aspect.

Despite gaining traction in 2014 after Elliot Rodger attacks, the term incel was coined almost 20 years before those events. The origin of the term goes back to 1997, when a politically progressive queer Canadian woman named Alana Boltwood created an online support forum for people who wanted to date other people but could not find a willing partner (Zimmer, 2018:4).

The website was a plain-text website, hand-coded in HTML. It was called *Alana's Involuntary Celibacy Project*, and it initially had around 100 participants. Alana (as she is known on the internet) describes the website as the following:

The original forum included lots of straight men and also a few women and queer men. People were friendly and supportive to each other, writing at length about struggles in their lives. Mailing list members were often depressed and frustrated, but not at all violent. (Boltwood, 2019:7)

According to Boltwood, she adopted the term *involuntary celibacy* in order to be more neutral than pejoratives like *perpetually single* or *lonely virgin*. Despite coining the term, Boltwood stated that she did not invent the concept of involuntary celibate, since people had been having difficulties with dating for a long time (Ibid). Originally, she chose an abbreviated name to refer to the involuntary celibacy: *invcel*. However, in 1999 a member of the mailing list suggested changing the term to *incel*, since it would be easier to pronounce (Zimmer, 2018:5). Boltwood spent three years monitoring the website, until she started to become disenchanted by the project. What started as an online support group destined to bring people together and achieve progress regarding their incel condition morphed into - in Boltwood's words - "an endless litany of people telling long stories about their difficult lives, without it making a huge difference in the actual problem of people being lonely for love" [sic] (Vogt, 2018). Moreover, sexist remarks began emerging on the forum, reflected in the behavior of some men towards women. Or in Boltwood's words: "...some of the men were clueless about women, lumping us all together as intimidating creatures, looking for simple formulas to 'get a girl'" (Boltwood, 2019:8). Consequently, Boltwood passed off most of her content to a website run by another person, *Incelsite*, and concluded her involvement in the forum around the year 2000.

Thereafter, *Incelsite.com* (which changed its name to *IncelSupport* in 2006), continued with the legacy of Boltwood's previous project. Its moderators developed a content policy which they called the seven "Deadly Sins of Involuntary Celibacy", being those apathy, excuses or justification, overanalysis, naivete, fear, rage, and shame. If a participant of the forum were to commit any of these so-called 'sins' and blamed other people for his/her condition of incel, they



were expelled from the forum. The intended purpose was to make people work on themselves whilst respecting the rest of the participants and members of society. Misogynistic attitudes were not tolerated on this forum, and many members were banned (Vogt, 2018). As a consequence, a great number of banned members migrated to another community, *Love-shy.com*. The young incel community was therefore divided in two: on one side the *IncelSupport* forum, stringently regulated and focused on personality issues and self-improvement; on the other side the *Love-shy* forum, with a less strict moderation wherein men could freely express their rage aimed at women, frequently blaming them for the incels' lack of sex (Beauchamp, 2019:38).

Moreover, the *Love-shy* community began to share members with other online subcultures of racist and homophobic character during the 2000's and early 2010's, such as the alt-right site 4chan (Beauchamp, 2019:41). Consequently, racist and homophobic traits also began to appear in the *Love-shy* community (Ibid, p.42). The most radical incels therefore left *IncelSupport* and *Love-shy* and created their own communities, sharing once again members with other flourishing movements of male-dominant ideologies. One of those communities was the *MRA* (Men's Rights Activists), a movement created in response to feminism which "seeks to establish resources for men in order to elevate their perceived subordinated position in society, based on the argument that men also suffer negative consequences as a result of rigid gender role expectations" (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016:1). Another community that emerged around the same time was the *PUA* (Pick Up Artists), a group of men who give dating advice to other men following what they call "The Game", a series of methodical instructions based on the manipulation of women (Dayter & Rüdiger, 2016:337). And lastly, the *MGTOW* (Men Going Their Own Way), being that a "group of men who vow to stop pursuing romantic relationships with women to focus on self-development and preservation", but whilst perpetrating online harassment towards women (Jones et. al. 2019:2). Although these communities are not considered incels, many incels frequent their forums.

The expansion of these communities together with the creation of other forums began to establish what is broadly known as the *Manosphere*, a loose confederacy of male-dominated interest groups (Ging, 2017:638). The concept of the 'Manosphere' appeared for the first time on a blog in 2009 with the purpose of describing "an online network of men's interest

communities". The term gained popularity around 2013, after the publication of the porn marketer and pseudonymous author Ian Ironwood's book *The Manosphere: A New Hope for Masculinity* (Ibid, p. 639). The incel forums compose another group within the 'Manosphere' known as the *Incelosphere*, with 'incels.co', 'Love-shy.com' or 'Incelistan.net' as the current main forums within that group (Figure 1).

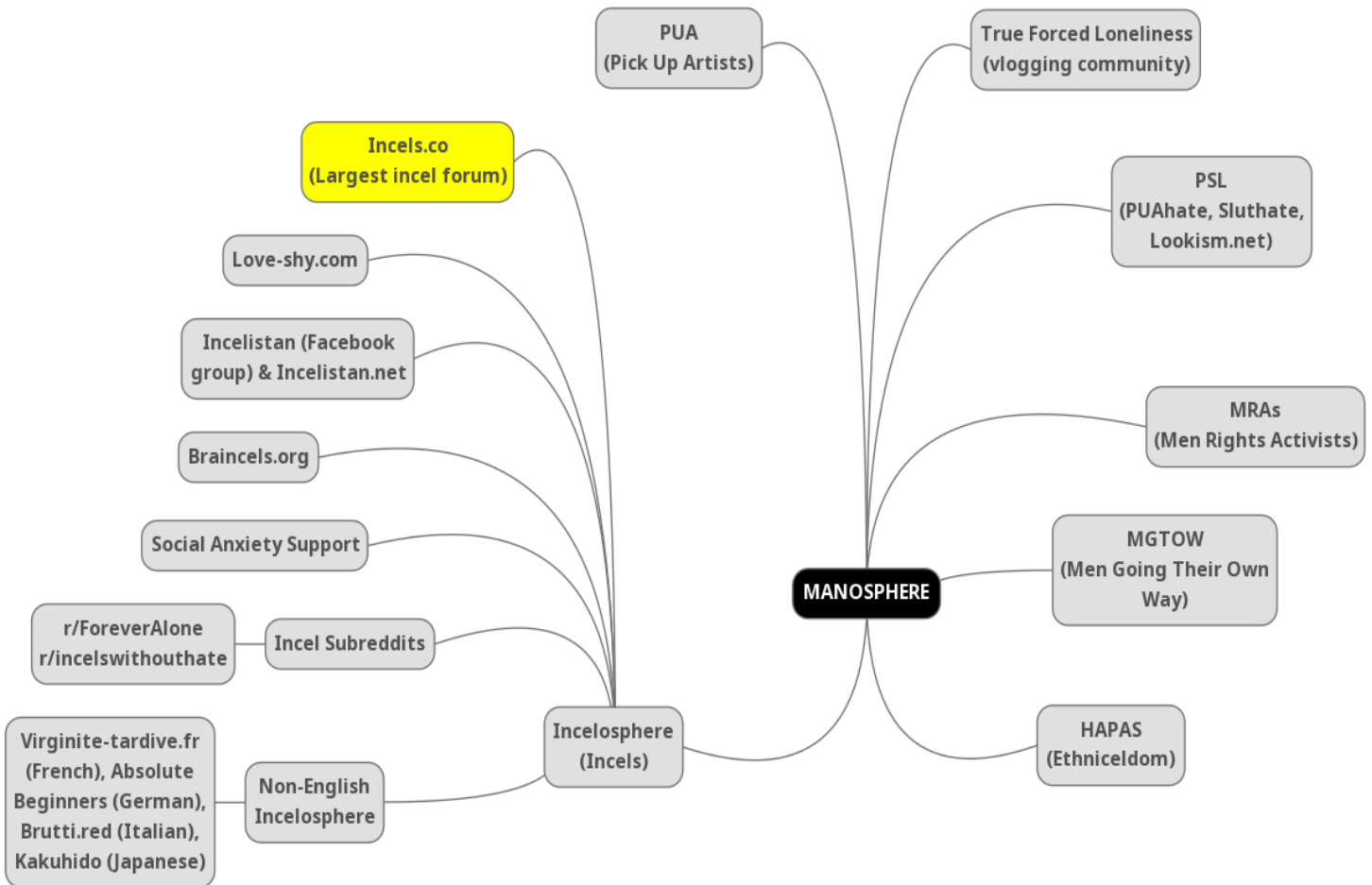


Figure 1. Mind map of the main forums and movements within the Manosphere.

Nonetheless, recent studies have shown that the communities of Men's Right Activists and Pick Up Artists are becoming less popular and active, while other communities such as incels and Men Going Their Own Way are progressively growing (Ribeiro et. al. 2020:10). Additionally, it has been proved that these communities of the 'Manosphere' are still experiencing a substantial

migration of users, from MRA's and PUA sites to incel and MGTOW forums (Ibid, p. 11). In other words, the incel problem is far from being solved, since their numbers are gradually growing. This phenomenon reasserts the need to conduct more research and to publish more academic literature on the incel community, and reiterates the relevance of this Master thesis.

Returning to the evolution of the incel community, the original forum derived from Boltwood's project, *IncelSupport*, began to malfunction and ultimately crashed in 2013. After losing all the threads, efforts to get the forum running again were eventually abandoned (Vogt, 2018). The other main incel forum, *Love-shy*, was also abandoned, replaced by other newer sites. *Wizchan* and *PUAhate* (the last one frequented by Elliot Rodger, and closed after his attack) were two of the main incel forums around that time. It is in 2014 when the presence of incels on Reddit begins, with the creation of several subreddits of anti-feminist and misogynistic character, such as *r/truецels*, *r/incels*, or *r/Brainцels* later in 2015. These forums reached approximately 40,000 participants, but they were eventually banned by Reddit after Alek Minassian put again the incels in the spotlight when he announced an 'Incel Rebellion' before committing his attack (Ibid).

On November 7, 2017, Reddit banned its *r/truецels* and *r/incels* subreddits. Hours later, a user of *r/incels* known as *SergeantIncel* created an independent and exclusively-men forum outside of Reddit which offered the incel community more flexibility and allowed free speech: 'incels.co' (by that time it was registered under another domain, *incels.me*). In September 2019, *r/Brainцels*, the largest forum at that time (20,000 users), was banned accused of promoting rape and violating Reddit's Terms and Conditions, which prohibit content that encourages or incites violence (Reddit, 2019). Afterwards, several forums outside of Reddit such as *incels.co* and *incelistan.net* welcomed *r/Brainцels* refugees. Consequently, 'incels.co' became the largest incel forum on the internet (Beauchamp, 2019:21).

Since its creation, the principal signification of the term involuntary celibate has remained the same: a person who despite seeking a romantic or sexual relationship with other person, is unable to obtain it. However, the social connotations of the term have changed. Before the online incel forums turned into misogynistic places, incel was seen as an empathetic term that could apply to men and women. When the forums became exclusively male, the term 'incel' outside the

community itself came to denote “men who are angry at women because they can’t find someone to date or have sex with” (Boltwood, 2019:2). The reason why the forums became misogynistic could be attributed to the following factor. The users who found a romantic or sexual partner would leave the forums, bypassing the buildup of ‘old guards’ that usually emerge in established movements over time. The users who did not find a partner would therefore be left behind, stuck. Hence, when new users came up with questions they only received answers from embittered old users, who accordingly handed out pessimistic and antagonistic advice (Ibid, p.3). Moreover, after Elliot Rodger and Alek Minassian attacks (among other incel killings), the term gained certain violent connotations, to the extent of raising the question whereby incels and terrorists should be treated alike (Robertson, 2019:5; or Wilson, 2018:24). But who are really the incels? And what do they believe in? The next section explores the main characteristics and ideology of the incel community with the purpose of clarifying these questions.

## **2.2. Characteristics & ideology**

Whilst the media has portrayed the incel as a community or a movement, incels themselves claim that the word incel does not imply a single association or cohesive group. Instead, incels argue that ‘incel’ is a condition, a gender-neutral life circumstance that they call *inceldom*, or not being able to find a romantic or sexual partner (Incel wiki, 2020). However, while this Master thesis is aware of such nonhomogeneous character of the incels, the aggregate of frequent incel forum users will be referred to as “the incel community”.

The factors that potentially cause inceldom are varied. Most of them have to do with physical appearance: high weight, short height, or other physical characteristics which work as obstacles to attracting potential partners (Donnelly et. al., 2001:165). These physical factors have derived in a theory that incels call *Lookism* (explained in detail in p. 16). Moreover, psychological factors also play an important role. Autism, social anxiety (derived from bullying in many cases), depression, Asperger syndrome, or PTSD are some of the psychological conditions that many incels recognize to suffer (Boltwood, 2019:2). In fact, one of the many terms coined by incels is *mentalcel*, defined as “someone whose inceldom can be attributed to some psychological factor”

(Incel wiki, 2020). Lastly, other factors such as the lifestyle (people who live sheltered lives, known as *hikkikomori*), or their location (some incels claim that it is easier to date in Thailand than in California, for instance) are mentioned by incels as also important factors that can lead to incelhood.

Since there are little to none of controlled studies on the incel community, the only sources that allow to shed some light on the incel demographics and the causes of incelhood are the informal surveys that incel themselves carry out sporadically. In October 2019, an informal poll of 546 *incels.co* users requested them to “select all factors that are significantly preventing incels from finding a partner”. The results of that survey are presented in the table below (Table 1).

<b>Cause</b>	<b>Respondents who agree with that cause. N=546</b>
Physical Appearance	473 (86.6%)
Self-confidence, social anxiety, etc.	395 (72.3%)
Lifestyle (e.g., too much time indoors)	366 (67.0%)
Physique (i.e., weight/muscle)	310 (56.8%)
Status (e.g., wealth, job, perceived "power")	306 (56.0%)
Height	281 (51.5%)
Personality	225 (41.2%)
Location	206 (37.7%)
Race	163 (29.9%)
Style (e.g., haircut, fashion)	154 (28.2%)
Hair Loss/Balding	136 (24.9%)
Age	126 (23.1%)
Religion	41 (7.5%)

Table 1. Table of causes of incelhood. Source: ‘Incels.co’ survey results October 2019.

In this particular case the results of that survey only apply to ‘incels.co’ and therefore they may not be representative of all incels. In the same survey, incels were asked about their age and their location. The results show that 31.3% of the respondents were between 18 and 21 years old; 28.2% between 22 and 25 years old; 18.3% between 26 and 30; and 11.2% between 31 and 40 years old, with a smaller presence of underage people and people over 50 years old. Moreover, when asked about their region, 44.9% claimed to be from Europe, 37.8% from North America, and the rest being scattered over South America, Asia, Africa and Oceania. When asked about their ethnicity, 56.1% of the respondents identified as white/caucasian, with significant percentages of users who self-identify as black, East Asian, South Asian, and latino. Lastly, when asked about their social class, 59.0% claimed to belong to the middle class, 33.8% to lower class, and only 7.2% to upper class (Incels.co, 2019).

Regarding the beliefs of the incels, one of the main ideologies of The Manosphere is the *Red Pill*, an analogy derived from the 1999 movie *The Matrix*. In that movie, the main character, Neo, is given the choice of taking one of two pills. If he takes the blue pill, he would happily live a life of delusion, but if he takes the red pill he would become enlightened to life’s ugly truths (Ibid). Therefore, the ‘Red Pill’ philosophy refers to awaken men to “the belief that society is gynocentric and discriminates against men rather than women”, while opposing the ‘Blue Pill’, a dominant banal viewpoint consisting in accepting popular mainstream opinions (Incel Wiki, 2020). However, not all ‘redpillers’ (people who believe in the ‘Red Pill’ philosophy) are incels and not all incels are ‘redpillers’.

In fact, incels developed a pessimistic, nihilistic version of the ‘Red Pill’, known as the *Black Pill*. The ‘Black Pill’ refers to the belief whereby “a man’s sexual success is almost entirely determined by unalterable biological traits” (Beauchamp, 2019:55), and therefore, unattractive men will never find a sexual or romantic partner (Jaki et. al. 2019:7). The most pessimistic incels firmly believe in the ‘Black Pill’, usually portraying a negative image of themselves and alluding to terms such as *roping*, incel term for suicide; the expression *it’s over*, meaning that they will never escape their situation; or the expression *LDAR*, acronym for Lay Down And Rot (Ibid).

In relation to the postulates of the ‘Black Pill’, the second main pillar of the incel ideology is the mentioned *Looks Theory*, also known as *Lookism*. This philosophy consists in a categorization system based on particular facial features such as a broad chin or a normal nose, as well as height, body complexion, or normally-sized genitals (Jaki et. al. 2019:15). According to the ‘Looks Theory’, the looks of a person can be ranked from 1 to 10 in a scale known as the *Decile Scale*. Incels coined a term for every rank of the scale, being at the top ‘Stacys’ (Figure 3), hyperfeminine, attractive, and unattainable women who would only date ‘Chad’, strong, handsome and popular men, or the Chads’ black version, ‘Tyrones’. The Chads and the Stacys compose the segment of population labeled by the incels as Alphas (Figure 2). Below the Stacies are the ‘Beckys’, the average-look women (also known as Betas or Normies), being incels themselves at the bottom part of the scale (Jennings, 2018:5). Only the truecels, very unattractive or deformed men, are placed below the incels. All the other ranks that form the incel *Decile Scale* can be found in the table below (Table 2).

<b>Decile</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
10th	Gigachad	Gigastacy
9th	Chad	Stacy
8th	Chadlite	Stacylite
7th	High-tier normie	High-tier Becky
6th	Brad (normie)	Becky
5th	Tanner (normie)	Becky
4th	Melvin (low-tier normie)	Low-tier Becky
3rd	Incelish/Semicel	Femcelish
2nd	Incel	Femcel
1st	Truecel	Truefemcel

Table 2. Lookism’s Decile Scale. Source: Incel Wiki (2020)

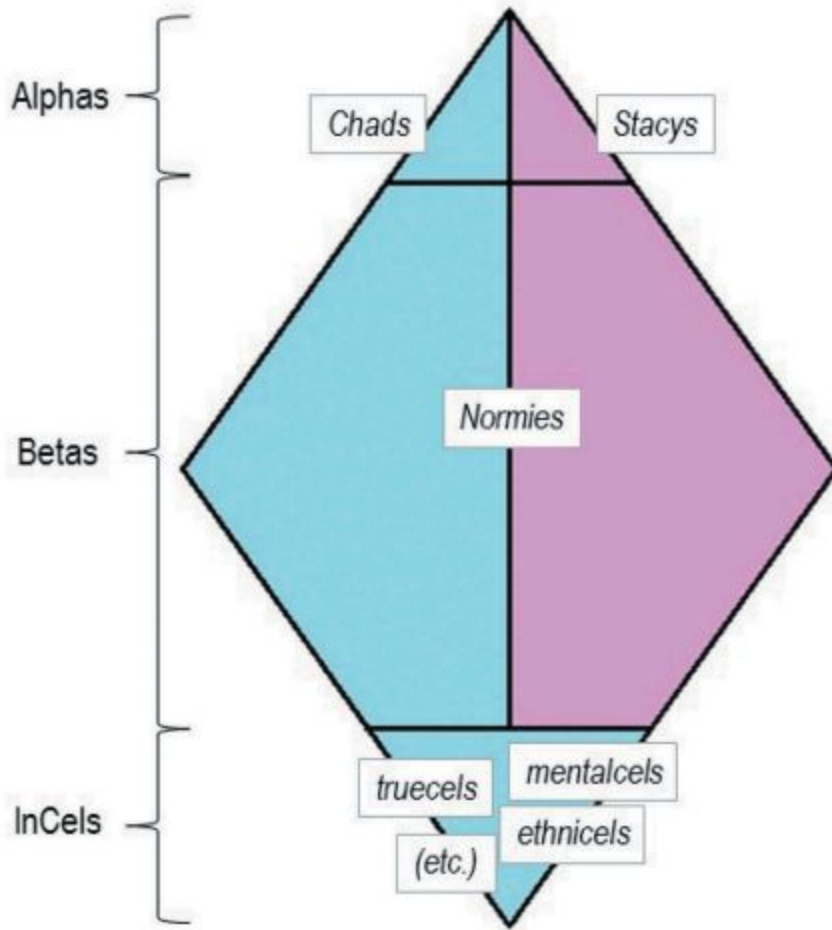


Figure 2. Schematic representation of the categorical structure of the incel worldview. Size of shapes represents population size; color represents gender (blue = men; purple = women). Source: Baele et. al., 2019



## The Becky



## The Stacy



Figure 3. Becky & Stacy attributes according to incels. Source: Incel Wiki (2020)

Incels also employ dehumanizing terms to refer to women, such as 'femoids', frequently found in its short form 'foids', or 'FHOs' (Female Humanoid Organisms). Moreover, incels generally believe that unless a woman is severely deformed, she can have sexual relations whenever she desires to (Jennings, 2018:3). Following that argument, incels believe that sexual and romantic relations in society are structured in a way that only a few men (the Chads) are able to experience them, while the rest (the incels) are not entitled to do that. Therefore, on incel forums it is common to find arguments advocating for a government redistribution of sex that would benefit incels, together with other violent opinions regarding women's rights, such as capital punishment for adultery, stoning, or acid throwing (Jaki et. al. 2019:13). These misogynistic ideas that compose the incel philosophies are reinforced and amplified within the incel forums through the phenomenon of the echo chambers, as it will be explained throughout the theoretical framework and discussion of this Master thesis.

Lastly, incel forums are characterized by a distinct group dynamic. Incels who initiate threads or begin spreading ideas do so not only to start a discussion about a topic, but also with the

intention of receiving some sort of approval by the other members of the forum. Consequently, if a user considers that the argument of a post solid and accurate, he would reward the author of the post with a reply which frequently includes the expression “high IQ” (Blommaert, 2017:16). By contrast, if the user does not agree with the post, he would reply negatively to it, generally including the expression “low IQ”. In that sense, posts that promote misogyny or incite to violence help a user to consolidate his reputation as an ‘alpha’ user, and are usually rewarded with approval expressions like “high IQ” (Ibid, p. 17).

### **2.3. Offline violence**

The idea that incelism can only be overcome by harming the out-groups (mainly Stacys and women in general, but also Chads) is widespread (Jaki et. al. 2019:20) Additionally, that idea is linked to a sentiment of revenge on society, which incels believe to be the root of all their problems (Ibid, p. 21). Consequently, despite being constructed in online spaces, the ‘Black Pill’ philosophy and other similar ideologies that pullulate across the ‘Manosphere’ can ultimately lead to offline violence against certain segments of society. Since the establishment of the incel community on the internet, there have been several cases that prove this claim right.

In the next paragraphs, the case of Elliot Rodger will be introduced, as he is the first mass murderer linked to the incel subculture and arguably the most popular individual within the community. However, before delving into Elliot Rodger’s case, it is imperative to remark that misogynistic violence against women does not only appear in the form of murder. Violent assault or everyday harassment are forms of violence towards women that incels conduct and which receive less attention by the media, who have mainly focused on the risk of more mass killings. An example that illustrates this is the case of *Catfishman*, an incel and former member of ‘incels.co’ who humiliates women on camera as a way to seek revenge. Making use of a mask to cover his face, he records himself insulting and harassing women on the streets, and he is often praised in some incel forums (ABC News, 2019). Therefore, even though incel killings are the most visible incidents, like the tip of an iceberg would be, it is essential to also denounce the presence of other forms of misogynistic violence which compose the submerged but largest part

of the iceberg.

### Elliot Rodger and the massacre of Isla Vista

Elliot Rodger, born in London in 1991 and moved to Southern California when he was five years old, had a long history of mental disorder before committing his mass rampage (White, 2017:22) (for a retrospective diagnosis and psychological assessment, see Langman, 2016; and White, 2017). Ms. Smith, Rodger's headmaster in one of his multiple highschools, alleged that Rodger showed classic symptoms of Asperger's syndrome, such as being socially awkward and very introverted (Nagourney et. al., 2014:23). Rodger's parents also described him as extremely reserved, and even Elliot himself confessed suffering from social anxiety in his 137 pages manifesto:

My social anxiety has always made my life so difficult, and no one ever understood it. I hated how everyone else seemed to have no anxiety at all. I was like a cripple compared to them. Their lives must be so much easier. (Rodger, 2014:72)

His social condition led him to isolation, which rapidly turned into something else. Rodger developed a strong sexual desire in his adolescence. However, women were not attracted to him due to his social awkwardness. As a consequence, the loneliness shifted towards a problem of involuntary celibacy, which he felt as torture (Blommaert, 2017:4). Rodger viewed himself as a smart, good-looking man. He referred to himself on several occasions as a "perfect gentleman", in what psychological reports have considered a case of Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD) (Langman, 2016:5). He considered his celibacy problem an injustice, getting enraged whenever he saw other men being successful with women. Another extract of his manifesto illustrates this idea:

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. I deserve it more. If this is actually true, if this ugly black filth was able to have sex with a blonde white girl at the age of thirteen while I've had to suffer virginity all my life, then this just proves how ridiculous the female gender is.

They would give themselves to this filthy scum, but they reject ME? The injustice!  
(Rodger, 2014:84)

It was in 2013 when he discovered the Manosphere and began to frequent its forums, principally *PUAhate*. This particular forum was founded with the purpose of ridiculing the already mentioned Pick Up Artists movement, and discrediting their theories and guidelines which focused on succeeding in dating women. In his manifesto, Rodger wrote that the discussions on the PUAhate forum had confirmed many of his theories about “how wicked and degenerate women really are” (Woolf, 2014:14). Furthermore, Rodger utilized this site to express his hatred towards women, and he encouraged other incels who were suffering the same situation as him to fight back: “*One day incels will realize their true strength and numbers, and will overthrow this oppressive feminist system. Start envisioning a world where WOMEN FEAR YOU.*” (Nagourney et. al., 2014:39).

Different authors state that frequenting forums where like-minded individuals share pessimistic beliefs can be a catalyst for radicalization (see Colleoni, Rozza, and Arvidsson, 2014). Additionally, if the individual who navigates those forums possesses preconceived ideas that match with the ones of the forum, being those of misogynistic, homophobic and racist character, the radicalization process can develop even faster (Arvidsson, 2014:9). That is the case of Elliot Rodger. On his manifesto he claimed to have found “a forum full of men who are starved of sex, just like me” (Rodger, 2014:117). In other words, a forum where misogyny and violence incitements were commonplace, opening his way for radicalization.

Once radicalized and after suffering a series of social humiliation episodes, he began to prepare what he called the “Day of Retribution”, the day when we would get his revenge against women and society. His vengeance plan had two phases. He described the first phase on his manifesto as the following:

Silently killing as many people as I can around Isla Vista by luring them into my apartment through some form of trickery. The first people I would have to kill are my two housemates, to secure the entire apartment for myself as my personal torture and killing chamber. I will torture some of the good looking people before I kill them, assuming that the good looking ones had the best sex lives. All of that pleasure they had

in life, I will punish them by bringing them pain and suffering. I will cut them, flay them, strip all the skin off their flesh, and pour boiling water all over them while they are still alive, as well as any other form of torture I could possibly think of. When they are dead, I will behead them and keep their heads in a bag. (Rodger, 2014:132)

The second phase, intended to be carried out the day after the first phase, consisted in punishing all females for depriving him of sex, in what he called his “War on Women”. Not only Rodger planned to attack the ‘Alpha Phi’ sorority house in Isla Vista and kill all the women inside it, but also to murder his stepmother and his half-brother before that. Rodger also described on his manifesto how he would culminate his Day of Retribution:

After I have killed all of the sorority girls at the Alpha Phi House, I will quickly get into the SUV before the police arrive. I will then make my way to Del Playa, splattering as many of my enemies as I can with the SUV, and shooting anyone I don’t splatter. I can only imagine how sweet it will be to ram the SUV into all of those groups of popular young people who I’ve always witnessed walking right in the middle of the road as if they are better than everyone else. When they are writhing in pain, their bodies broken and dying after I splatter them, they will fully realize their crimes. (Rodger, 2014:132)

On May 23, 2014, Rodger put his plan into practice, with some variations. He first stabbed to death his two housemates, together with a friend who went to visit them. Then, despite his initial plan was luring people into his apartment and killing them, he emailed his manifesto to his parents, some acquaintances and professors, his life coach, and several others (White, 2017:21). He also uploaded a video titled “Retribution”, in which he explained why he was going to conduct the attack. After that, he drove to the sorority house, but he was unable to gain entry. Therefore, he drove along the street, shooting three young women and killing two. He continued driving around the Isla Vista neighbourhood while shooting and running over people. The police confronted him at two locations, exchanging gunfire and wounding him in the hip. Lastly, he shot himself in the head. He killed six people (two women and four men) and wounded fourteen others before committing suicide (Ibid).

#### Glorification and praise of Elliot Rodger

After the mass rampage, the media granted the deceased Rodger the coverage he was seeking: he was headline news in most U.S. major tv networks. Consequently, his manifesto and Youtube videos spread like fire around the internet shortly after the killings. In a matter of hours, memes of Rodger’s face photoshopped onto old paintings of Christian icons began to proliferate on forums of the ‘Manosphere’ (see Figure 4). Additionally, the expression “going ER” to refer to committing mass violence was coined and started to be broadly utilized by incel users (Blommaert, 2017:11). Not only did Rodger appear to become the hero of the incel subculture, but he even overshadowed Alana Boltwood and began to be considered the true founder of modern inceldom (Beauchamp, 2019:53).

Rodger’s acts therefore redefined the term “incel”. Additionally, scholars like Jan Blommaert state that Rodger also assisted in reshaping the ideologies that the community would stand for, giving it an angrier and more pessimistic tone (Blommaert, 2017:11). Lastly, by putting the incel subculture in the spotlight, a great number of young men who were suffering similar problems than Rodger were drawn into the incel community. This fact is supported by the many posts of incel users who claim to have joined the incel community after Rodger carried out his attack.

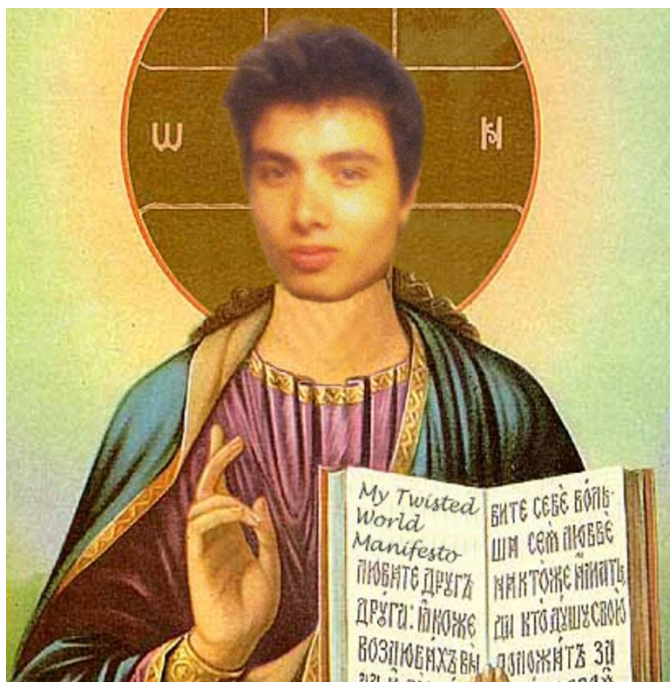


Figure 4. Elliot Rodger portrayed as a Christian Saint. Source: incels.co

Nevertheless, Rodger accomplished more than reshaping the ideology of the incel subculture into a more aggressive one. He shifted the character of the incels from a community that operated within the digital space to one whose members could potentially conduct mass killings and justify them through their ideology (Brown et. al., 2019:9). After Elliot Rodger's attack, three more mass killings were carried out by individuals who praised or identified with the incel community in different ways. Yet, the perception of incel users regarding Elliot Rodger does not seem to be as homogeneous as the media portrays, which reasserts the relevance of this thesis.

### Incel mass killings after Elliot Rodger

On October 1, 2015, 26 year old Chris Harper-Mercer carried out a mass rampage in Oregon, known as the Umpqua Community College Shooting. He killed 9 people and injured 8 others (mostly students), before shooting himself in the head (Tolentino, 2018:7). He was diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome, and like Rodger, he left a manifesto before he died. In the manifesto, he justified his actions and praised Elliot Rodger, among other mass killers:

And here I am, 26, with no friends, no job, no girlfriend, a virgin. I long ago realized that society likes to deny people like me these things. People who are elite, people who stand with the gods. People like Elliot Rodger, Vester Flanagan, the Columbine kids, Adam Lanza and Seung Cho. (Anderson, 2017:20)

On April 23, 2018, Alek Minassian killed 10 people and injured another 16 (eight women, two men) in Toronto, Canada, after driving a rented van into pedestrians in what is known as the Toronto van attack (Jaki et. al 2019:1). The 25 years old Minassian, who was diagnosed with autism, was arrested after the incident. Before the attack, he posted a Facebook message linking himself to the incel community and praising Elliot Rodger:

Private (Recruit) Minassian Infantry 00010, wishing to speak to Sgt 4chan please. C23249161. The Incel Rebellion has already begun! We will overthrow all the Chads and Stacys! All hail the Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger! (Wendling, 2018:3)

During the almost four hour police interrogation, Minassian claimed that he joined the Manosphere, particularly the forum 4chan, on the same day Elliot Rodger carried out his attack

(Alek Minassian - FULL police interrogation, 2019). Moreover, Minassian stated that he began to radicalize and commenced thinking about taking action one month after Rodger's attack, inspired by his actions (Ibid).

Lastly, on November 2, 2018, 40 years old Scott Paul Beierle shot six women at a yoga studio in Florida, killing two of them and committing suicide afterwards, in what is known as the 2018 Tallahassee Shooting (Zaveri et. al. 2018:4). Beierle had been previously charged for battery and accused of sexual harassment. Furthermore, in 2014 he posted a series of misogynistic videos despising women and identifying himself as an involuntary celibate. In one of the videos, he likened and expressed sympathy with Elliot Rodger (Ibid).

This chapter has provided an extensive overview of the origins and evolution of the incel community, its main characteristics and ideologies, and some past cases of offline violence carried out by incels. Moreover, the role of Elliot Rodger in the incel community has proved to be an important pull factor, with a clear influence in later incel attacks. The next section provides the theoretical tools to understand the glorification of Elliot Rodger on incel forums and the misogynistic speech that incels develop online.



### **3. Theoretical framework**

Due to the recency of the mass attacks linked to the incel community which consequently spotlighted the incel ideology, academic literature on this particular online subculture is scant. Consequently, in order to understand the functioning of the incel community and the role that Elliot Rodger plays in it, a different body of literature must be examined. The theoretical framework of this Master thesis relies on two main pillar concepts in order to explain such aspects: the online hate speech towards women and the glorification of martyrs. Firstly, the concept of online hate speech will be presented in order to understand how misogynistic speech in general, and the glorification of Elliot Rodger in particular, are conducted on the online realm. As it will be explained in the following paragraphs, the misogynistic language employed by the incel community is not a new phenomenon. A broad body of literature has been written on online misogyny and its construction. Thus, the following section explores several concepts concerning online misogyny and explains how it is constructed in online communities.

Secondly, the glorification of martyrs as a concept will be introduced in order to provide a theoretical framework that assists in explaining why Elliot Rodger is praised among the incels and what is the role he plays within the community. Consequently, an approach to the conceptualization of martyrdom is presented, followed by a few historical examples of martyrs and the different ways in which they are glorified.

#### **3.1. Online hate speech towards women**

Hate speech is a specific form of offensive language that employs the use of stereotypes to express a hatred-based ideology. Scholar John Nockleby defines hate speech as “any communication that disparages a person or a group on the basis of some characteristic such as race, color, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, or other characteristic” (Nockleby, 2000:1277). Different regulations exist concerning this form of language depending on the country. In Germany, any incitement to hatred against segments of the population is considered a punishable offense following section 130 of the German criminal code, the

*Strafgesetzbuch* (German Law Archive, 1998). Conversely, in the United States the majority of hate speech is protected by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, excluding obscenity, fighting words, or incitement to imminent lawless action, among other categories (Freedom Forum Institute, 2019). Therefore, public institutions in the U.S. do not have the legitimacy to ban sites in which this type of speech is being developed. As a consequence, it is corporations like Facebook, Twitter or Reddit which are in charge of prohibiting this type of speech within their domains, through the terms of service that users must accept in order to utilize those platforms. However, when it comes to a forum like ‘incels.co’, in which the creator and moderators are incels themselves, hate speech and the praise of Elliot Rodger are rarely regulated or prohibited.

This Master thesis addresses a particular type of hate speech, the hate speech towards women or misogynistic speech, conducted by the incel community. Some authors like Karla Mantilla refer to these online interactions of sexist, misogynistic and hateful character as ‘gendertrolling’, a new form of online harassment (Mantilla, 2013:564). According to Mantilla, gendertrolling is used to silence and despise women online through gender-based insults, threats, and other heinous language. Moreover, gendertrolling can be found in two different forms: through male-female interaction, wherein men interact with a woman and conduct misogynistic speech towards her; or through male-male interaction, wherein men despise women in online spaces in which women are not present (Ibid, p.565). Gendertrolling is rarely applicable to the case study of this paper in the sense of male-female interaction, since women users are not allowed in the ‘incels.co’ forum (incels.co, 2017). In fact, sexist and hateful interactions perpetrated by men against women only take place sporadically, when the latter infiltrate the forum pretending to be men and get caught. Instead, ‘incels.co’ users generally conduct a type of gendertrolling that has less to do with obstructing women’s speech online and more with portraying women in a despicable way, as pointed out throughout the case study section.

Other authors like Karen Lumsden refer to this online hate speech towards women as ‘online othering’. The concept of online othering refers to the discrimination and abusive behaviors (such as sexism, racism, Islamophobia, homophobia, or ableism, among others) which are committed in online spaces towards various social groups (Harmer & Lumsden, 2019:2). In the

case study that sustains this thesis, the members of the incel community despise women by the mere fact of being women, blaming them for not having sexual or romantic relations with them, and they applaud the acts committed by Elliot Rodger in 2014. Thus, the hate speech towards women adopts in this case the form of glorification of the figure of Rodger.

Gender trolling and online othering towards women are just two different ways of referring to the misogyny and hate speech perpetrated against women in online spaces. While this practice may seem like a new phenomenon, Lumsden claims that it is merely an extension of traditional patriarchal power relations (Ibid, p. 380). Accordingly, other authors such as Jessica Megarry state that what gender trolls do is perpetuate a long history of violence against women “by adapting misogyny to new contexts and new technologies” (Megarry, 2014:47). After introducing the concepts of hate speech, gender trolling and online othering, the following section examines how hate speech towards women is constructed on the Internet realm.

#### How is online hate speech towards women constructed?

Three different concepts help to understand the construction of hateful and misogynistic speech towards women on the internet: the disinhibition effect, the trolling alibi, and the phenomenon of the echo chambers. The concept of online disinhibition has been broadly utilized by many scholars while theorizing about people’s online behavior and online hate speech (see Brotsky & Giles, 2007; Huang & Chou, 2010; Suler, 2004; or Jaki et. al. 2018). This concept explains why people are prone to say or do things online that they would not say or do in the offline world. Scholars attribute this to the fact that people feel less restrained, and therefore express themselves more openly (Hollenbaugh & Everett, 2013:283).

Moreover, scholars identify several features of cyberspace that lead to the disinhibition effect. This paper picks up two of those features in order to explain how the incels construct their discourse. The first feature is the dissociative anonymity, or a process of dissociation in which the online users do not have to own their behavior since it can not be linked to the offline world (Suler, 2004:321). Different authors claim that this loss of accountability can ultimately lead to higher levels of impulsive, aggressive and abusive behaviors (Christopherson, 2007; Dumont &

Candler, 2005; Kabay, 1998; Suler & Phillips, 1998). Therefore, in the case of hate speech, the user can avoid responsibility for that behavior thanks to the anonymity provided by most of the forums and online platforms, which do not require the real name of the user in order to interact within their domains (Dumont & Candler, 2005:251). In the case of ‘incels.co’, users employ fake usernames while posting, developing the process of dissociation.

The second feature of the disinhibition effect is the minimization of authority. Scholar John Suler claims that authority figures express their status and power through their body language, dress code (e.g. military ribbons) and other tangible factors. The absence of such characteristics in online environments reduces the impact of the potential authority of power and authority figures (Suler, 2004:324). In fact, on certain occasions there is not even an authority that rules over and controls what users post. Other times there is a ‘soft’ authority that generally turns a blind eye to the hateful language posted on the website, like in the case of ‘incels.co’. Therefore, people are more willing to misbehave and construct certain arguments that they would not dare to conduct in the offline world.

Both anonymity and minimization of authority features cause what Suler calls “the unlock of true needs, emotions and self attributes that dwell beneath surface personality presentations” (Ibid). In other words, the mentioned features of online disinhibition can induce people to express parts of themselves that usually hide from society in the offline world. For instance, a man with repressed anger is more likely to unleash it on an online platform if he has anonymity than to unleash it offline.

The second element employed to illustrate the construction of hate speech on the Internet is Phillips & Milner’s concept of ‘trolling alibi’. The trolling alibi, or trolling justification, refers to the strategy that a user generally develops when accused of committing hate speech towards women or any other segment of the population. After the accusation, and facing a potential ban from the site or even legal sanctions, the hate speech perpetrator defends himself by alleging it was all a joke, a trolling attempt. Therefore, the trolling alibi strategy tends to minimize the negative effects of the worst kinds of online behaviors and at the same time normalize extremist ideas by using humor (Phillips & Milner, 2017:8). Here lies the reason why some authors, like

Karla Mantilla through her concept of gendertrolling, began to consider trolling as another form of online harassment.

Lastly, several authors have claimed that incel forums work as online echo chambers (see Zimmerman et. al., 2018:3; Jaki et. al., 2018:2; or Taub, 2018:32). Echo chambers are closed environments where certain beliefs and ideas are reinforced or amplified by communication and repetition (Flaxman et. al. 2016:298). In those spaces, other relevant ideas are excluded and discredited, and the participants are brought to “systematically distrust and isolation from all outside sources” (Nguyen, 2018:1). Other authors define echo chambers as “bounded and enclosed groups that magnify the internal voices and insulate them from rebuttal” (Jamieson and Cappella 2008:76). Moreover, researchers have found that echo chambers participants tend to evaluate ideas positively if they are shared by a trusted group or leader (Taub, 2018:33). Ultimately, this can lead to the legitimization of radical ideas, including calls for violence (Ibid). This has been the case of the incel community, where the misogynistic ideas of the incels have been reinforced and even amplified through the mentioned mechanisms of the echo chamber, to the extent that users are being radicalized at a faster rate than in offline hate groups (Young, 2019:29). Throughout the analysis of this Master thesis, it will be proved that the construction of hate speech towards women in incel forums drinks from the continuous repetition of the postulates of the ‘Black Pill’ philosophy, and the exclusion of other possible counter-narratives which do not blame women for the incels lack of sexual and romantic relationships.

To summarize, new ways of conducting hate speech towards women have appeared in the last two decades through the possibilities offered by the recent online technologies and the introduction of social media. Gendertrolling and online othering are two ways of labeling these online misogynistic practices. However, these new forms of developing hate speech merely continue the pattern of violence against women that takes place in the offline world. Just like other online violent communities and alt-right groups, incels take advantage of certain features of the online world to carry out their misogynistic speech against women. The disinhibition effect, the trolling alibi, and the phenomenon of the echo chambers are three key concepts that help to understand how incels conduct their online hate speech towards women. In Chapter 5, the results of the study are presented together with several examples of gendertrolling/online othering.

Moreover, the phenomenons of the disinhibition effect and the online echo chambers are applied to the incel community in more depth in the discussion of Chapter 6.

### **3.2. Glorification of martyrs**

This Master thesis does not approach the incel problem through the lens of online radicalization. However, it is imperative to state that whilst hate speech and misogyny are not innately linked to radicalization, several studies show that they do play a role in such process (e.g., Jaki et. al. 2018; or Colleoni et. al. 2014). As presented in the case study, the incel community elaborates their misogynistic discourse in several ways: from demonizing women and accusing them of hating every man who is not attractive, to labelling them in different categories (Staceys, Beckys, etc) according to their physical aspect. Moreover, glorifying the figure of Elliot Rodger and his mass shooting is another form of hate speech linked to radicalization. Kaitlyn Regehr, a digital culture expert at the University of Kent, claims: “Before Elliot Rodger, there were a number of online misogynistic communities operating. But Elliot Rodger really flips the switch from a community that is angry online, operating within the digital space, to a community that has the potential to carry out real acts of violence” (Brown et. al., 2019:9). Alek Minassian praising Elliot Rodger before committing the van attack in Toronto is the clearest example of how Elliot Rodger has played a significant role in the radicalization of some members of the incel community.

Consequently, the previous example shows that it is only possible to understand the incel community’s shift from online hate speech to offline violence against women by studying Elliot Roger’s martyrdom and the glorification of his figure. In order to do so, the body of knowledge around the concept of martyrdom must be examined. The next paragraphs will dive on the concept of martyr and examine how and with what purpose martyrs are created.

#### Conceptualization and creation of martyrs

A martyr is commonly understood as “a person who is devoted to a certain belief, principle or

cause, and after getting killed because of it, is often praised or admired” (Wallace & Rusk, 2011:219). However, in the next section it will be argued that the concept of martyr is a contested concept, and therefore, it should be addressed through a different approach rather than by its definition.

The figure of the martyr has always been central to the Christian tradition. During the first stages of Christianity, martyrs were not necessarily those who were persecuted to the point of death. A martyr could also be an individual “who led a good, charitable life” (Janes & Houen, 2014:2). In fact, even in those early days of Christianity a contested concept of martyrdom can be found. For instance, the leader of the Church in the late second century Clement of Alexandria believed that those who died for the faith but who actively seek death to become martyrs were demonstrating hatred to the Creator, and therefore could not be considered martyrs (Middleton, 2014:123). This conception of martyrdom is in contradiction with the traditional conception of the Christian Church, who usually did not differentiate between “those who gave themselves up voluntarily, those arrested after a spell in hiding, or even those who took their own lives” (Ibid, p. 124).

Furthermore, ideologies of martyrdom, particularly in the Islamic world, have been gradually concentrating the attention of scholars since the 11th September 2001 attacks in New York (Cook, 2007:37). Before the attacks, the predominant idea of a martyr was someone who displayed exceptional courage in defiance of oppression or persecution. Conversely, after the attacks the figure of the martyr began to be understood as those who are prepared to die for their convictions, changing the default perception of a martyr from admiration to fear (Ibid, p. 38). Other scholars like Craig Hovey, however, still defend Clement of Alexandria’s conceptualization of martyrdom. In that line, Hovey claims that “it is not possible to become a martyr by directly seeking it or in some way killing oneself” (Hovey, 2008:51).

In other words, martyrdom continues being a contested concept. There was never a stable category of martyr, not even in the earliest Church. Therefore, this paper adopts scholar Paul Middleton’s approach on martyrdom, whereby martyrs are not defined, but made, and the question to be asked is not what is martyrdom but who makes martyrdom and with what purpose (Middleton, 2006:11). According to Middleton, martyrologies work as a way of creating and

reinforcing group identity. This is made through sympathy or rejection of particular martyrs, since martyrology forces people to take sides. Moreover, Middleton claims that martyrs can be appropriated or even created with the purpose of legitimizing religious or political causes (Middleton, 2014:128). Scholar David Andress offers an example of this in the figure of Maximilien Robespierre, the leading spokesman for the radical republican Jacobinism. Through his essays, Robespierre crafted heroic identities for himself as a martyr of the revolutionary cause, and constructed martyr heroism around the victims of the conflict and the cause for which they suffered (Andress, in Janes & Houen, 2014:134). The ultimate purpose of Robespierre by carrying out such actions was reinforcing the group identity of the revolutionaries and drawing more people to the cause (Ibid, p. 135).

Author Stephen Hopkins presents a more recent example of creation of martyrs for political purposes, whilst acknowledging the importance of written legacies and manifestos in such process. Hopkins refers to Bobby Sands, a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and one of the ten Irish republican hunger strikers who died in 1981 protesting against the removal of Special Category Status. As Robespierre did, Bobby Sands left behind a body of writing that was published by the republican movement, inspiring IRA recruitment and activity. In fact, Hopkins claims that Bobby Sands overshadows his nine comrades, who also died for the same cause but are not as glorified as him, due to his writing legacy (Hopkins, 2018:263).

Considering the theories of Middleton and Hopkins, it could be argued that martyrdom consists of composing a narrative that reinforces or creates group identity, by upholding an individual who represents the community and was killed for its values, generally leaving a written legacy behind. But how do martyrologies work? Some authors explain the phenomenon of martyrdom through the strong emotional reactions that people who share the same cause than the martyr experience after his or her death (Mitchell, 2012:43). Once a martyr is identified as such, his or her figure becomes a symbol of the belief system, and it is incorporated into a tradition that is employed to console, unite and inspire the followers of the movement, as well as to draw more members to it by spotlighting the cause (Shepardson, 2007:147). Inspired by the actions of the martyr, the believers of the cause might conduct a series of new deeds: from confessing their



beliefs in public to carrying out similar acts to the martyr's (Ibid, p. 58).

Prior to becoming a symbol, the identity of the martyr must go through two posthumous stages. Firstly, a confirmation of the subject's beliefs and ideology to the movement takes place, often assisted by the martyr's oral or written legacy. And secondly, the construction of a narrative that distinguishes the martyr from a criminal or a simple individual's death (Ibid). History has shown that in order to create martyrdom, stories about the martyr must be produced and subsequently spread. This process has been conducted through different elements such as songs, speeches, written documents, or from mouth to mouth storytelling (Mitchell, 2012:112). Paintings and graphic representations have also played an important role in the process of glorification of martyrs. An example of this is the depiction of Ayatollah Khomeini in a mural close to the main entrance of the University of Tehran. In the mural, Khomeini is watching over a boy with several tanks pointing to a single larger tank in the background, commemorating the soldiers who were killed during the Iran-Iraq War (Ibid, p. 56). In the incel community, pictures of Elliot Rodger's face replacing the face of saints, as well as posts praising his rage rampage and manifesto are the main forms of glorification of his figure, as it has been shown in the case study section.

In conclusion, in this section it has been stated that martyrdom plays a crucial role in the creation and reinforcement of ideologies and movements. However, it has been argued that martyrdom cannot be addressed by looking into the concept itself, since it is still a contested concept. Instead, the query needs to go further and include the questions of who creates martyrs and with what purpose. Moreover, it has been stated that manifestos and other sorts of written documents have a great influence in the creation of martyrs and the reinforcement of group identity. Throughout the discussion of this Master thesis, the aforementioned theories regarding martyrdom will be employed to examine who created the martyr of Elliot Rodger, how the martyr was created, and with what purpose.

## 4. Research design

### 4.1. Methodology

The research design of this study utilizes the method of qualitative content analysis to examine the data material and answer the research question ‘*How does the incel community of ‘incels.co’ perceive the figure of Elliot Rodger?’*

The data gathered for this paper is composed of posts extracted from the online forum ‘incels.co’, with the purpose of examining the main narratives regarding the incel perception of the figure of Elliot Rodger. There are several reasons for the selection of this specific forum to conduct the inductive research of this paper. The main reason lies in the fact that ‘incels.co’ is currently the largest incel forum within the incel community after the banning of other sites such as the subreddits *r/incels* in November 2017, and *r/Braincels* in September 2019. After the banning of the aforementioned sites, a considerable number of incels migrated to ‘incels.co’. What lends ‘incels.co’ its resilience is that it is not part of the Reddit community. ‘Incels.co’ has a different content policy from that of Reddit. Even though it also has moderators who regulate the content that is posted, the rules of the site are less strict than in Reddit forums. In Reddit’s Terms and Conditions it is clearly specified that content that “encourages or incites violence” is prohibited (Reddit, 2019). However, such distinction is not included in the Rules, Terminology and FAQ section of the ‘incels.co’ forum. The only stipulation regarding online behavior in the ‘incels.co’ forum is “no trolling, baiting or misinformation” (incels.co, 2017), in what seems to be vague rules compared with other online platforms. Consequently, a process of observation on the ‘incels.co’ forum has shown that in most of the cases the users do not tone down their speech, and they dare to express certain opinions that they would not talk about on Reddit forums due to fear of being banned.

The final reason why this forum was selected to be the object of study is the rule of ‘no low effort’ implemented by his creator *Sergeantincel*. This rule states that the user has to “put an effort to justify an intervention in the forum” (Incels.co, 2019). In other words, a user can not

simply reply to a post with simple statements such as “I do not agree” or “That is stupid”. The ‘no low effort’ rule pushes users to properly develop their arguments. Thus, this rule ultimately improves the quality of the discussion and generally drives away short trolling attempts. Consequently, an elaborated discussion provides rich qualitative data and indicates to what extent the topic of the thread is important for the incels. It is these aspects of ‘incels.co’ that facilitate access to certain ideas, beliefs and opinions that are not registered in any other forum, being the main reason whereby this forum was selected for the purpose of the study.

To collect and analyze data, samples were extracted from a simple search in Google with the parameter *Elliot Rodger site:incels.co*, which shows the threads posted on the ‘incels.co’ forum containing the words Elliot Rodger. Most of the threads include titles with direct statements such as “Why Elliot Rodger is not the hero of incels” or “Elliot Rodger was a truecel”. At the same time, several threads with questions regarding the role of Elliot Rodger can also be found, such as “Why is Elliot Rodger worshipped?” or “Is Elliot Rodger taken seriously among the incel community?”

Moreover, Google’s tool of *custom range* was employed, which allows to show only threads that were posted in a specific range of time. The range selected for the case of study is 1 May 2018 to 30 November 30th 2019, for a total period of time of a year and a half. In that interval, sixteen different threads containing the words *Elliot Rodger* in their titles were found, for 747 total posts which compose the sample of this study. In the sixteen threads selected, incel users express their opinions and beliefs regarding Elliot Rodger, allowing to distinguish several narratives. Each thread was coded using a Google Sheets table (see appendix), in order to present the different narratives extracted from the data in an organized way. After that, the findings are presented utilizing different diagrams and infographics for a better understanding of the reader.

The coding sheet divides the posts under four main categories. The first category corresponds with a positive perception of the figure of Elliot Rodger. All posts which support or praise Elliot Rodger, his manifesto, or his actions, fall into this category. It must be stated that incel users praise Elliot Rodger in a varied way: from admiring his actions and manifesto through the elaboration of a full discourse, to simply expressing their adoration for him with short statements

such as “*All hail ER our Saint!*”. Moreover, incel users often utilize the *Repost* option of the website. This option consists in posting again a user’s post without adding further content, in order to express agreement with the post of the other user. These reposts were classified in the same category as the original posts, since they are expressing the same perception.

The second category refers to a negative perception of the figure of Elliot Rodger. Following the dynamics of the previous category, all posts that contain posts speaking unfavourably of Elliot Rodger or his actions fall into the category of negative perception. Here again, incel users despise Elliot Rodger in many different ways. Elaborating different narratives with the purpose of delegitimizing Elliot Rodger as a hero or even as an incel are the most common forms of despising his figure. However, there are also users who solely express their dissatisfaction through insults.

In most cases, ‘incels.co’ users firmly state their opinion regarding Elliot Rodger and take a clear stance regarding the perception of his figure. This means that users typically conceive Elliot Rodger either in a positive or a negative way, making it easier to classify their perception into the first (positive perception) or second (negative perception) categories. However, some users express mixed opinions about Elliot Rodger that would fit in both positive and negative categories. Those posts include on the one hand a praise to Elliot Rodger and on the other hand a critique to his actions or his persona (e.g. “*He killed 4 ricecels for no reason. And his plan failed miserably. However, I admire how he expressed his hatred in his manifesto.*”). Therefore, a third category, named mixed perception, collects posts which contain features of both positive and negative categories, since it is not possible to assess which narrative of the post corresponds with the user’s most representative perception of Elliot Rodger.

Lastly, a fourth category gathers all posts that do not express a perception about Rodger, despite being posted in a thread created with the purpose of developing a debate around his figure. Even though Elliot Rodger can be mentioned in those posts, in most of them incels mainly digress and discuss other incel regular topics, such as ‘Lookism’, the Black Pill or even praising other mass murderers (e.g. “*Seung Hui Cho is very relatable tbh*”). This fourth category is therefore referred to as Not Applicable posts (N/A).

After classifying the posts in the four mentioned categories, the Google Sheets table collects the main narratives that emanate from the positive-negative-mixed categories. Furthermore, the table includes three columns in which cases of hateful speech, idolization of other mass killers and misogynistic speech are compiled. The purpose of these three categories is to illustrate with examples the concepts of hateful speech, gendertrolling and online othering explained throughout the theoretical framework. Moreover, the category ‘other idolizations’ is meant to shed some light on who incels pray besides Elliot Rodger and why they do so.

## **4.2. Limitations**

Like any other academic study, this project has its own limitations. Firstly, the scant literature on the incel community leads to a great utilization of media documents for the construction of the case study. Therefore, certain arguments which are analyzed in this paper can be to some extent politicized or lacking academic rigor. Secondly, concerning the study on the perception of the figure of Elliot Rodger, three main limitations arise. The first limitation would be that the study exclusively focuses on the online community of ‘incels.co’, leaving other incel forums aside. Consequently, the generalizability of the findings of the study lies in the fact that it can only be extrapolated to the ‘incels.co’ community (here lies again the reason why this forum was chosen as a case study, since it is the largest). Moreover, this study can only measure how Elliot Rodger is perceived by the users who post something about his figure. It is not possible to measure the perceptions of the users who do not produce any posts concerning Rodger. Therefore, the findings of this study only represent the active users who discuss this topic in the ‘incels.co’ forum. Lastly, another limitation is the fear of F.B.I. presence in the forum, stated by some incels in several threads. This particular fact makes some incels decide not to take the risk of expressing their beliefs about Elliot Rodger, limiting the sample.

Nonetheless, the selection of the largest incel forum for this study together with the ‘no low effort rule’ compensates for the mentioned limitations and reasserts the validity of the study. Furthermore, posts which do not refer to Elliot Rodger have also been proved useful, since they

include narratives that accurately analyzed elucidate certain characteristics of the incel community that were unknown until now.

## **5. Results**

### **5.1. General results**

The coding of the 747 posts from the sixteen selected threads produced the following results, which are collected in the chart below (Figure 5). Whilst analyzing the perception of ‘incels.co’ users regarding Elliot Rodger, 222 posts presented a positive perception of Rodger’s figure (29.7% of the total, 48.68% if Not Applicable posts are excluded considering only the perceptions about Elliot Rodger). Incel users expressed such perception through four main narratives, which are collected in the following section.

On the other hand, 210 posts expressed a negative perception of Elliot Rodger (28.1% of the total posts, 46.05% if Not Applicable posts are excluded). In this case, nine main narratives are employed to express the negative perception of Elliot Rodger. Regarding the mixed perception posts, 24 posts were found in which their authors had a mixed perception of Rodger’s figure (3.2% of the total posts, 5.26% if Not Applicable posts are excluded). Lastly, 291 posts presented statements that had nothing to do with Elliot Rodger or did not express a perception about him, and therefore were coded within the Not Applicable category (39.0% of the total posts).

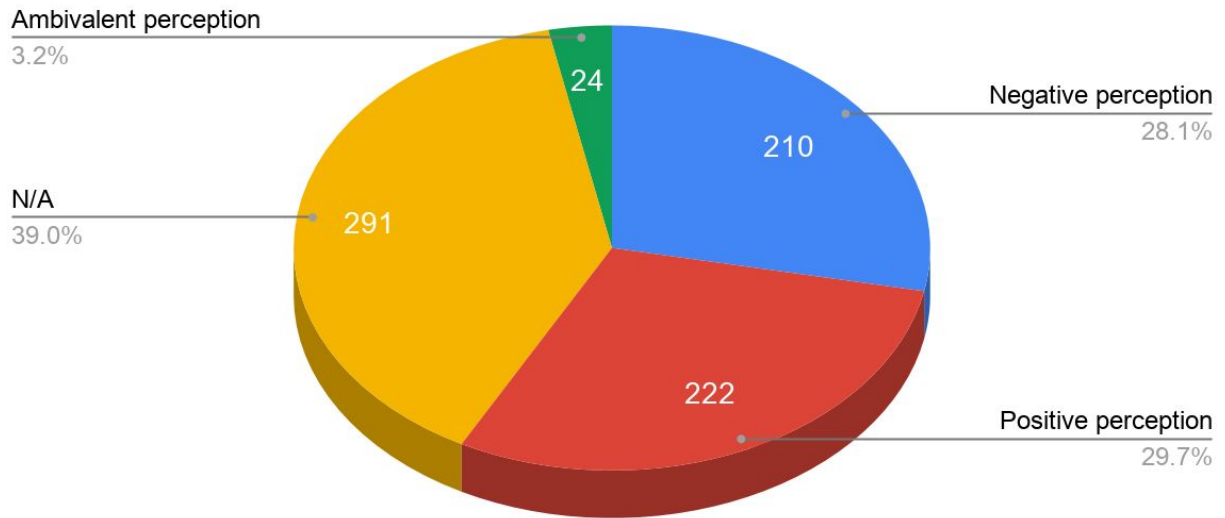


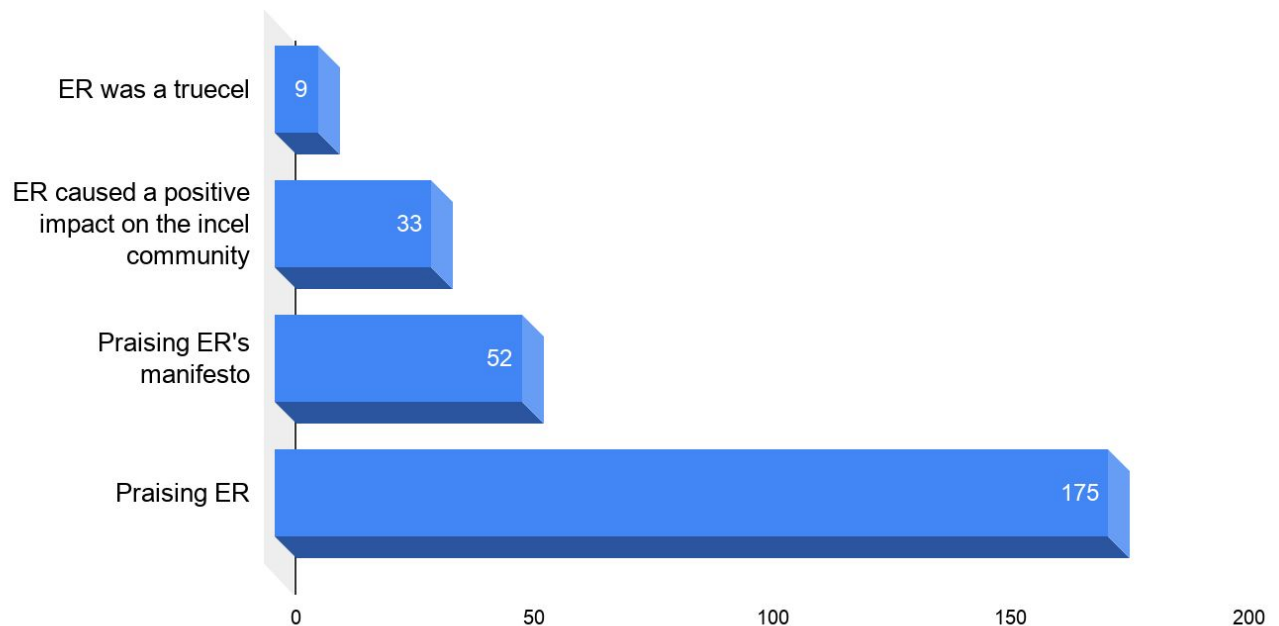
Figure 5. Posts regarding incels.co users perception of Elliot Rodger. Total posts: 747

## 5.2. Positive perception narratives of Elliot Rodger

Four dominant narratives appear while studying the positive perception of ‘incels.co’ users about Elliot Rodger. These four narratives are collected in the graphic below (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Incels.co positive perception narratives of Elliot Rodger



### Elliot Rodger was a truecel

A total of 9 posts present the narrative of Elliot Rodger being a truecel, defined by incels as “a man so incredibly unattractive, deformed and/or neurodivergent, that no woman would even consider dating him” (Incels.wiki, 2019). Some users criticise Elliot Rodger by stating he was not bad-looking, and therefore he was a voluntary celibate (volcel) since he could have found a girl who wanted to be with him. Incels who claim that Elliot Rodger was a truecel are opposing the volcel narrative and legitimizing his figure as a real incel (e.g. “*ER was legit ugly. And manlet. And low T. And autistic. A Truecel!*”). Therefore, the truecel narrative restates the incel status of Rodger, often appearing as a counter-narrative to the volcel narrative.

### Elliot Rodger caused a positive impact on the incel community

Another narrative, found in 33 posts, is the one that considers that Elliot Rodger caused a positive impact on the incel community through his actions (e.g. “*ER inspired a few men to accept that they were incel. In fact I didn't even consider myself incel or even really know about the term till his mass shooting event and after reading his manifesto is when I truly started to be black pilld*” or “*He let the world know that there are men who struggle socially and*

*romantically and they need help. I'm sure before Elliot there was a lot of incels but they couldn't speak about it to anyone. But he definitely set the standards for the incel community and helped evolve it.*"). Even though it is expressed in different ways, the core idea of this narrative is always the same one: Rodger helped expanding the incel community and visualizing the social problems of the incels.

### Praising Elliot Rodger's manifesto

In 52 incel posts Rodger's manifesto is praised. After short expressions of glorification of Elliot Rodger's figure (*"He was a true Saint"* or *"He is the hero of the incels"*), the most common form to praise Elliot Rodger is via his manifesto. The 137 pages text is frequently quoted by the users of 'incels.co', especially in those threads dedicated to praise Rodger's quotes (e.g. *"The holy Rodger quotes thread"*). However, it is more common that incels praise Rodger's manifesto by stating their admiration for it (e.g. *"You all are also forgetting his manifesto, a magnificent piece of literature authored by the supreme gentleman Himself"*). When debating about his manifesto, user *Saun-Hui Cho* (who adopts that username as a reference to the mass killer Seung-Hui Cho) states that *"St. Elliot wrote some groundbreaking ideas about the way society should actually operate. It sounds cheesy, but I believe he was truly a genius"*. This narrative proves the importance of Rodger's manifesto in the incel community, as well as the importance of written legacies in the process of creation of martyrdom.

### Praising Elliot Rodger

A total of 175 posts praise Elliot Rodger with other minor narratives (e.g. *"Elliot oozed charisma"*) and short statements in which he is presented as a Saint, a hero, a prophet, etc (e.g. *"All hail ER our Saint!"*). Moreover, a great deal of incels also praise him by standing up for him when other users criticise his figure (e.g. *"Blasphemy. How dare you bring the good name of ER into disrepute you stupid cuck"*). The employment of pictures and gifs of Elliot Rodger by the users in order to reassert their claims is also common, as well as the use of the 'ER' terminology between words to reference Rodger (e.g. *"the blasphemERs who slandER St. Elliot should be punished sevERely"*). In conclusion, all these ways of glorifying Elliot Rodger have been coded under the umbrella term 'Praising Elliot Rodger', being the most utilized narrative among the positive perception narratives.

### 5.3. Negative perception narratives of Elliot Rodger

Nine main narratives emerge while researching the negative perception of the ‘incels.co’ users of Elliot Rodger, as indicated in Figure 7. The following paragraphs present those narratives in ascending order, starting with the less common narratives.

#### Elliot Rodger was racist

In 5 posts Elliot Rodger is accused of being racist and despising non-caucasian people (e.g. *“He even killed some ricecels and viewed all non-whites as subhuman (many incel are ethnic). He's the anti incel”* or *“Also add to the fact that ER was a racist too.”*). The users who employ this narrative base their arguments on Elliot Rodger’s manifesto, where he repudiates an afro-american man for being able to date a girl, among other racist cases which appear throughout the 137 pages text.

#### Elliot Rodger caused a negative impact on the incel community

A total of 11 posts contain the narrative of Elliot Rodger negatively affecting the incel community with his actions. Some incels blame him for being the cause of the closing of several incel forums (e.g. *“Fuck him, delusional idiot who expected blonde Baywatch-tier women to approach him and caused my favorite site to be taken down.”*). Other users, on the other hand, accuse him of damaging the image of the incel community with his mass murdering, which led people to develop a wrong perception of the incels (e.g. *“A hero for what? All he did was make people hate incels”* or *“He set us back by killing people, because now people don't take us seriously, and don't realise we are not violent”*). This narrative is the only narrative that laments the killings of people who were not incels, indicating how little incels care about mass murder of non-incel people.

#### Elliot Rodger is just a meme

Another narrative frames the figure of Elliot Rodger as a simple meme, an individual who is not taken seriously and only serves the purpose of making jokes and trolling (e.g. *“He's just a meme and an inside joke”* or *“He's a good meme but as I person I wouldn't be able to stand him”*). This

narrative appears in 17 posts, and it begins to appear more often after the ABC News Interview to the former incel Jack Peterson in August 2019. In that interview, Peterson stated: “people think he's perceived as some sort of a hero figure, but I think he is more kind of just made fun of for the most part” (Brown et. al., 2019:23). Lately, ‘incels.co’ users refer to the interview on several occasions (e.g. “*Jack Peterson aka "Mr forum mod" legit states that Elliot Rodger will always be a meme and not taken seriously*”), restating the growth of this narrative.

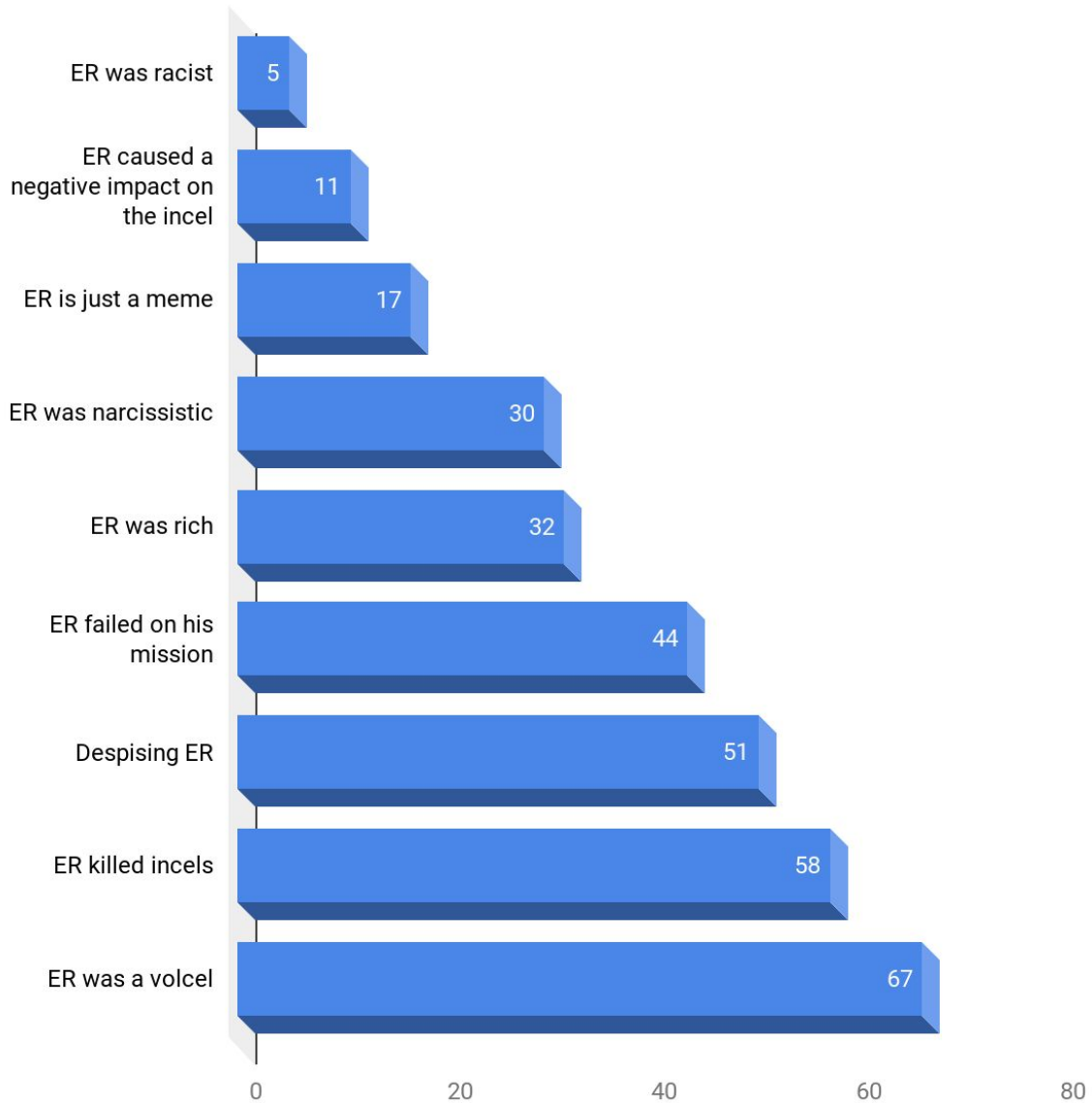
### Elliot Rodger was narcissistic

A total of 30 posts contain the narrative that Elliot Rodger was narcissistic. Often combined with other accusations like being spoiled or racist, the narcissistic narrative focus on the selfishness traits that Elliot Rodger left behind in his videos and manifesto (e.g. “*His actions were the result of a toxic combination of extreme narcissism, autism, psychopathy and a victim complex*” or “*The guy was very autistic, psychotic and narcissistic. If he was more sane he could have used his privileged status to get women.*”). Attributes such as ‘arrogant’ and ‘pretentious’ are usually combined with this narrative.

### Elliot Rodger was rich

In 32 posts ‘incels.co’ users accuse Elliot Rodger of belonging to a wealthy family who granted him everything he wanted, like his high-end BMW. The incel users who defend this narrative state that with his money and connections Elliot Rodger could have done better than most incels, and therefore it is difficult to empathise with him (e.g. “*He was a rich spoilt whinny little bitch. Half of us here would of ascended if we had his life, opportunities and even the way he looks*” or “*His money and connections would've allowed him to cope better than most*”). This narrative is often found together with words that refer to the link between him and his family’s economic status, such as ‘spoiled’ or ‘brat’.

Figure 7. Incels.co negative perception narratives of Elliot Rodger



### Elliot Rodger failed on his mission

Another narrative claims that Elliot Rodger did not complete his ‘Day of Retribution’ successfully. His ‘Day of Retribution’ originally consisted of entering a sorority house and shooting all the women who were living there. However, he found the main door locked, so he desisted and drove to a crowded street nearby. The fact that his plan was stopped by a door makes many incels accuse him of ‘incompetent’. In the end, Rodger ended up shooting till death

two women and one man, all of them students (besides injuring 14 others). Before the shooting, he had murdered his three male housemates with a knife. A great number of ‘incels.co’ users believe that Rodger failed on his mission since he could not get into the sorority house as he had planned and he killed the ‘wrong people’, more men (four) than women (two) (e.g. *“I would respect him if he actually managed to kill that entire sorority like he planned. He knocked on the front door JFL”* or *“He didn't plan anything at all, he didn't come prepared, didn't select high density targets, picked a night when everyone was gone, and instead ended up taking his anger out on whoever he encountered. His whole master plan he talked about in his videos went right out the door”*). A total of 44 posts include this narrative, which this Master thesis identifies as a form of incitement to violence and misogynistic speech.

### Despising ER

In 51 posts Elliot Rodger is despised by ‘incels.co’ users, who repudiate him by using short statements (e.g. *“He was a bit retarded”*), and more developed arguments defending ideas like Rodger thinking himself above everyone else (e.g. *“Im question the worship of him. He'd probably spit on incels for being subhumans. He viewed himself as gorgeous and above many”*). Other posts describe him as autistic or with low IQ (*“He was an unfortunate mix of aspergers, and a very low IQ”* or *“Elliot was autistitic and low iq. Only fellow low iq edgelords worship him”*); while others criticise him and praise other shooters instead (*“The Virginia Tech shooter is more closer to an incel shooter than Elliot "ethnics are subhuman, foids should worship my beauty" Rodger”* or *“If anyone deserves wide praise from incels, it should be Lépine.”*). All these minor negative narratives were coded within the umbrella term ‘Despising ER’.

### Elliot Rodger killed incels

A total of 58 posts contain the narrative whereby Elliot Rodger is accused of killing three incels: his two housemates and a friend of theirs. Even though there is no proof of a link between Rodger’s housemates and the incel subculture, ‘incels.co’ users tend to consider them part of the community, basing their argument on Rodger’s manifesto. In the manifesto, Rodger describes his housemates as *“two foreign Asian students who attended UCSB, the biggest nerds I had ever seen, and they were both very ugly with annoying voices”* (Rodger, 2014:128). Incels identify these traits as those possessed by those in the community, and therefore identify Rodger’s

housemates as incels. Rodger murdered his housemates with a knife in order to carry out his 'Day of Retribution', previously writing his intentions on his manifesto: "I knew that when the Day of Retribution came, I would have to kill my housemates to get them out of the way. If they were pleasant to live with, I would regret having to kill them, but due to their behavior I now had no regrets about such a prospect. In fact, I'd even enjoy stabbing them both to death while they slept" (Ibid). This attitude is highly criticised by 'incels.co' users, who consider the killings as an attack to the incel community (e.g. "*ER was a fucking fakecel idiot, fuck off anyone who thinks he was a hero. Some of those he killed were just fellow incels trying to get through life*" or "*He killed other incels (the most heinous crime) and barely killed any Stacies*"). Nonetheless, whilst many incels blame Rodger for killing incels, almost no users lament the loss of the other 11 lives.

#### Elliot Rodger was a volcel

Lastly, the most common narrative within the negative perception of Elliot Rodger in the 'incels.co' forum is the one that identifies him as a volcel. In 67 posts, Rodger is accused of being a voluntary celibate. According to these users, Rodger was not bad-looking and he could have found a woman who wanted to date him if he had approached and talked to one. (e.g. "*ER is a fucking volcel who didn't even make an effort unlike us. Seriously he complains and cries out so much about not getting laid and he didn't even try to*" or "*Elliot Rodger was a volcel. He wasn't even ugly af, 5'9, which wasn't even too short, and maybe he couldn't land the 10/10 blonde girl he wanted, but there are definitely some girls who would have been attracted to him, but he most likely ignored them*"). The last example illustrates the frustration of some incels who claim that Rodger could have dated a woman if he lowered his standards, instead of expecting that good-looking blond women would date him.

#### **5.4. Keywords cloud infographic**

After presenting the findings of the positive and negative perceptions, another practical method to shed some light on how 'incels.co' users perceive Elliot Rodger is to study the frequency of certain keywords that surround his figure. In order to do so, this study has selected 10 words for

each category that ‘incels.co’ users employ to praise or despise Rodger: 10 words found in the positive perception category and 10 words found in the negative perception category. Out of 747 posts, Rodger is directly described as an incel in 32 occasions, he is called a Saint 19 times, and 14 times a hero. On the other hand, Rodger is scornfully called a ‘volcel’ 67 times, and ‘retarded’ and ‘narcissistic’ in 30 occasions, among others. The results of the study are visually presented below in the form of a keyword infographic (Figure 8), and also collected in a table (Table 3) together with their frequency.

Word	Count		Word	Count
Manifesto	52	10 most used words to praise (left) AND despise (right) Elliot Rodger in incels.co forum	Volcel	67
Incel	32		Rich	32
Mentalcel	26		Retarded	30
Saint	19		Narcissistic	30
Supreme Gentleman	17		Spoiled	17
Hero	14		Meme	17
Truecel	9		Fakecel	6
Prophet	9		Normie	4
Visionary	3		Racist	5
Martyr	2		False Prophet	3

Figure 8. Keywords cloud infographic. In red, negative perception keywords. In blue, positive perception keywords.

Table 3. Keywords to describe ER and frequency.

### 5.5. Mixed perceptions

As presented in the general results, mixed perceptions were found in a total of 24 posts (3.2% of the total posts), meaning that in those posts features of both positive and negative categories



concur. The narrative that features most frequently within the mixed perception category is the one that identifies Elliot Rodger as an incel but not as a hero (7 times). Some examples of this narrative are: *“I wouldn't say he was a hero. I would say he was an incel. How wasn't he? He never had a gf and was a virgin at 22. He was involuntarily celibate, simple as that.”* or *“he was an incel, but he wasn't a hero by any means”*. Other narratives coded within the category of mixed perception focus on praising Rodger’s manifesto while despising Rodger (e.g. *“His manifesto was great. However, he was a mentalcel and a volcel because he had only wanted blondes. It was over for him because he did not ever try.”* or *“If there was an in between option, I'd choose that. I'm not fond of how he killed his roommates and how picky he was, but I was seriously enlightened by My Twisted World.”*). The complete list of posts coded within the mixed perception category can be found in the appendix under the title of Total Results.

## **5.6. Not Applicable posts**

On the other hand, in 291 posts (39.0% of total posts) ‘incels.co’ users present arguments which refer to Elliot Rodger but do not express a perception about his figure. For instance, in several threads incels debate about Elliot Rodger looks, trying to determine if he was an incel or a volcel. This generally derives in a debate within the incel ‘Looks Theory’, with questions such as up to what height is considered being short, or what kind of features one must have in order to be considered ugly or handsome (e.g. *“-These days it's 6'2 or forget about it, friendo.”*, and other user replies *“- Bullshit I see couples everywhere where the guys are less than 5'11. I went to a shop this morning and there were many couples around with men who weren't 6'2.”*).

Furthermore, in a great number of posts users initiate debates which are not specifically related to Rodger, like the potential presence of F.B.I. investigators in the forum after Rodger’s killings in 2014 (e.g. *“Your username: stelliotrodger. First posts: about Elliot Rodger. Joined: yesterday. Yeah, just go ahead and post a pic of your badge fbicel”*). Like in the previous example, in three different threads the creator of the thread was accused of being an undercover F.B.I. agent, whose intention would be to initiate debate around the figure of Elliot Rodger in order to expose the most radical incels who eventually could carry out an offline act of violence.

## Other idolizations

Lastly, even though most threads have Elliot Rodger as the main subject of debate, he is not the only mass killer that ‘incels.co’ users debate about. Throughout the sixteen selected threads for this study, different mass murderers were also praised in a total of 62 occasions. A few of them carried out their attacks even before the incel community was created. Some others conducted their mass rampages after the emergence of the online incel community, but they did not identify themselves as incels. However, that does not stop incels to adopt their motives and frame them within the incel values.

For instance, Mutsuo Toi carried out a killing spree before committing suicide in 1938. Toi was a 21 year old Japanese who, suffering from a condition of a lack of social skills, and being consistently rejected by women (especially after he was diagnosed with tuberculosis), beheaded his grandmother with an axe and killed 30 more people in his village with a shotgun and a katana (Torres, 2016:43). Moreover, the study shows that ‘incels.co’ users also praise Canadian mass murderer Marc Lépine, who killed 14 women at the École Polytechnique de Montréal in 1989. In his suicide note, he claimed that feminism had ruined his life and that he committed his rampage in order to fight it (Eglin & Hester, 2003:30). Lépine is in fact praised 17 times in the threads selected (e.g. *“If anyone deserves wide praise from incels, it should be Lépine”* or *“St. Marc Lepine is the true incel idol”*).

In both cases, incels frame the acts of Lépine and Toi as incel killings, despite occurring before the incel culture was created. In the extract below, two ‘incels.co’ users discuss the acts carried out by Mutsuo Toi and the legitimacy to frame him as an incel killer. Here again, the presence of written documents like manifestos or suicide notes turns to be decisive in order to classify them as incel killers.

*“ - Mutsuo Toi is the first incel killer I can recall.*

*- Does he have a manifesto which was a prophecy against feminism?*

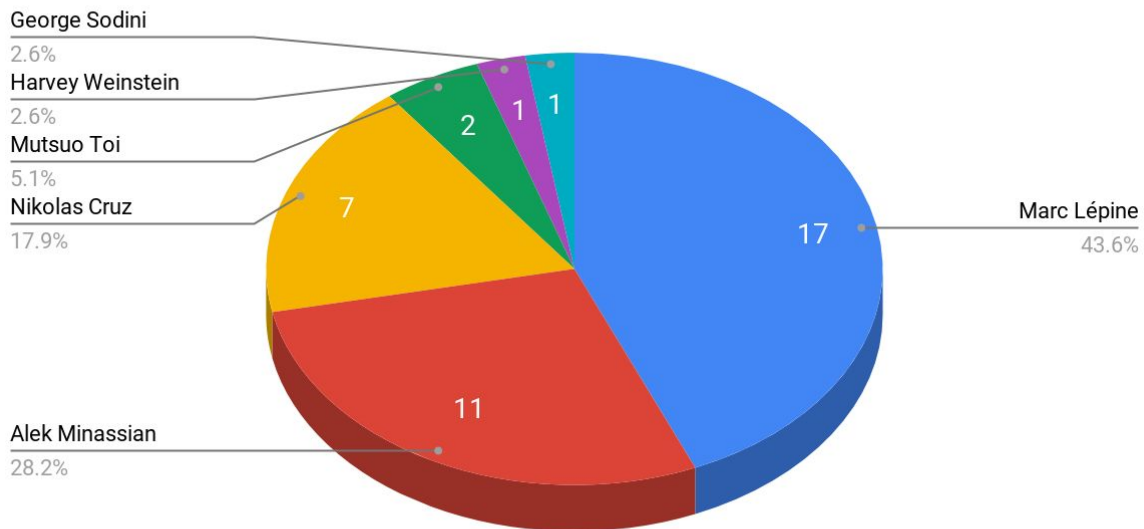
*- No, but he had one of the clearest motives ever. He had tuberculosis, and that turned off women, so he went on a door-to-door killing spree as revenge. He also left behind several notes about his social troubles.”*

Extract from Thread n. 7 “[Serious] Elliot Rodger was the founder of the Black Pill”

There are four more mass murderers who are praised in the ‘incels.co’ forum. Seung-Hui Cho, the Korean-American who carried out the Virginia Tech Shooting killing 32 people in 2007, is praised on 23 occasions. Alek Minassian, perpetrator of the Toronto van attack in 2018 leaving 10 people dead, is praised 11 times. Nikolas Cruz, responsible for the Stoneman Douglas High School shooting and the killing of 17 people in 2018, is praised 7 times. Other killers such as George Sodini or the perpetrators of the Columbine High School massacre are praised on one occasion. Lastly, despite not being a mass murderer, the former film producer Harvey Weinstein, arrested and charged of rape, and accused of sexual abuse by over 80 women (Joseph & Waldrop, 2019), was praised twice by different users of the forum.

Of all the figures apart from Elliot Rodger adulated by the incels, Alek Minassian was the only one who identified himself with the incel subculture. The chart below (Figure 9) collects the main individuals besides Elliot Rodger who are praised by ‘incels.co’ users. Almost all the mentioned mass killers suffered from different sorts of mental conditions. Mutsuo Toi suffered from ‘hikkikomori’, a mental disorder whereby an individual socially withdraws from society seeking extreme degrees of isolation and confinement (Kremmer & Hammond, 2013:8); Seung-Hui Cho was diagnosed with a severe anxiety disorder, selective mutism and depressive disorder, while Marc Lépine suffered from personality disorder and psychosis (Eglin & Hester, 2003:31). Lastly, according to law enforcement officials, Alek Minassian and Nikolas Cruz’s presented mental illness as the motivating factor behind their attacks (Conley, 2018:19).

Figure 9. Other idolizations. Total: 62



### 5.7. Violence incitement, hateful speech & misogyny

In 81 posts, violence incitement, hateful speech and different forms of misogyny were explicitly employed by ‘incels.co’ users. The forms in which these two concepts can be found vary: from posting racist, homophobic, sexist or other statements inciting violence (e.g. “*Death is quick, Elliot should have shot his victims faces or stabbed the faces of the victims instead of killing them, being ugly is the worst pain, worse than dying*” or “*He should have run around town throwing acid at people’s faces*”), to the utilization of usernames or user status with those characteristics. For instance, profile pictures with portraits of Nazi Generals abound; Nazi symbols can be found in the user status (in 5 occasions), or the presence of the word faggot in posts (11 times).

Furthermore, taking a closer look into the hateful speech ‘incels.co’ users elaborate, it is not hard to find clear examples of misogyny. Posts that include comments such as “*Elliot Rodger should have at least raped some Stacies*”, or “*Imagine the epicness if the sorority door was open, dozens of high status stacies slaughtered*” are common. In addition to these violent posts, other users

debate about the rights and role of women in society while criticising feminism (e.g. “*Women should not have the right to choose who to mate and breed with*”, “*average looking men are going to have it hard getting sex and relationships with female hypergamy left unregulated and out of control*”, or “*Feminism gave women the power over the future of human species Feminism is evil*”). Here again, the usage of sexist and misogynistic usernames is extended (“*FoidsDeserveCancer*”, “*Wifebeater*”, or “*HarveyIsAHero*”), as well as user status of the same characteristics (“*Make your local feminist eat pavement*”, “*Make Foids Afraid Again*”, or “*One man's trash is another man's wife*”). Furthermore, ‘incels.co’ users often refer to women using the following pejorative terms: Foid/Femoid (appears in 51 occasions), Slut (12 times), Bitch (20 times), Cunt (7 times) and Whore (11 times). Lastly, in some cases misogynistic terms are even mixed with racist tones, like in the word *noodlewhore*, a derogatory term employed by incels to refer to asian women (appears on 4 occasions).

## 6. Discussion

The following paragraphs will analyze the implications of the presented results and frame them within the broad theoretical discussion. Firstly, with regard to the ‘incels.co’ users perception of Elliot Rodger, it is worth noting that a previous glimpse at the titles of the selected threads already showed two different attitudes towards Rodger’s figure. Some of the threads include firm statements as titles, considering Rodger an incel (e.g. “*Elliot Rodger was a truecel*”) or praising him (e.g. “*My tribute to our Saint. RIP Elliot Rodger*”). On the other hand, other threads contain titles in which Rodger is criticized (“*Why Elliot Rodger is not hero of incels*”) or discredited (“*Elliot Rodger was a volcel*”). A clear segmentation regarding the perception of Rodger can therefore be found in the thread’s titles, in opposition to the media’s argument whereby Rodger was the incel hero of the whole community.

The final results of the analysis on the perception of Rodger confirm that previous assessment. As introduced in the preceding section, 29.7% of the posts presented a positive perception of his figure, while 28.1% presented a negative perception. These findings correspond partly to how incels have been portrayed by the media, with a great number of them praising the figure of Elliot Rodger. However, the analysis also reveals that the incel perception of Elliot Rodger is a lot more heterogeneous than initially described by the media, with almost the same amount of posts presenting a negative perception.

Following Paul Middleton’s approach to the concept of martyrdom, whereby the question to be asked is ‘who creates martyrdom and with what purpose’, two main parties can be held accountable for the creation of the martyr of Elliot Rodger. The first party is the incels, and the reason lies in two main motives: either to truly praise Rodger or with the purpose of trolling. Even though incels are reticent to be labeled as a community, the finding of several narratives indicates that the creation of the martyr could have been conducted by the incels as a way of reinforcing their group identity. For instance, a narrative states that Rodger caused a positive impact on the incel community, inspiring other people to join it, while other narrative claims that Rodger brought to light the problems of people who are socially and romantically struggling and in need of help. Consequently, by praising Rodger incels are crafting and reinforcing their group

identity as a community, even if they do it unknowingly. These findings are in line with Middleton and Shepardson's conceptualization of martyrdom, which identify the reinforcement of group identity as one of the main reasons for the creation of martyrdom. Moreover, there is a strong body of evidence in favour of the argument that the presence of documents such as written manifestos or videos play a crucial role in the creation of martyrs and the reinforcement of group identity. In fact, Rodger's manifesto was one of the main narratives whereby 'incels.co' users praise his figure, appearing in 52 occasions. These findings are in agreement with the postulates of the authors whose works guide the theoretical framework of this Master thesis.

The second reason for the incels' adulation of Rodger is trolling. As stated, trolling is a common practice in the 'Manosphere' forums, frequently deriving in its gendertrolling form. The results show that in 17 posts incels admit that Elliot Rodger is just a meme, and used for trolling as a form of joke. However, the number of incels who believe this narrative is likely even larger, since the whole purpose of trolling is to continue with the joke and creating controversy, but without admitting that a trolling attempt is being conducted. Additionally, the practice of trolling can follow a purpose of self-enhancement: in order to get accepted and be recognized in the forum, a new user can adopt the narratives that older users convey, such as praising Elliot Rodger.

The other party responsible for presenting Elliot Rodger as a martyr is the media. In the majority of articles and newspapers analysed for the production of the case study, it is claimed that Elliot Rodger is the Saint and the hero of the incel community. Scarce are the documents which acknowledge those in the community that have their qualms about Rodger. This Master thesis contests such preconceived assumption by asserting that Elliot Rodger is almost as repudiated as he is praised on the largest incel forum on the internet. Furthermore, the small number of mixed posts (3.2% of the total) reasserts the conceptualization of martyrdom employed in this Master thesis. Whilst introducing the concept of martyrdom in the theoretical framework, it was stated that martyrology forces people to take sides, making people either sympathize with, or reject, a martyr. The results obtained concur with this premise. 'Incels.co' users either idolize or despise Elliot Rodger, with an almost nonexistent minority who present mixed feelings about his figure.

Additionally, the theoretical framework employed in this Master thesis has shown that in order to create martyrdom, stories about the martyr must be produced and spread through songs, speeches, written documents, etc. The results have proved this claim right, as can be seen in the incel practice of sharing pictures, memes, and gifs of Rodger that contribute to the creation of his martyr figure. Coining the expression “*going ER*” to refer to mass murder, or utilizing words such as saint, supreme gentleman, hero, prophet, or visionary to describe him, are also forms of contributing to the building of his martyr figure.

Examples of the dissociative anonymity theory, which leads to the disinhibition effect, have also been found during the analysis of the posts. When protected by an anonymous account or a fake username, incels are able to praise Elliot Rodger without fearing serious repercussions since their behavior cannot be linked to the offline world. During the police interrogation after his attack, Alek Minassian confirmed this theory when asked about incel forums: “*That’s why they are so popular, it makes it very easy that you can hide behind a computer screen*” (Alek Minassian - FULL police interrogation, 2019). The second factor that causes the disinhibition effect, the minimization of authority, has also proven to play an important role in the elaboration of the incel speech. The analysis has shown that a lack of a clear authority figure in the incel forums ultimately causes a more violent discussion. Despite having several moderators in the forum, they seem to be rather permissive toward the praise of mass murderers like Rodger or Lépine, or even direct violence incitements. However, the analysis has also revealed that in some cases incels indeed tone down their speech while discussing about Rodger due to a fear of F.B.I. presence in the forum. This does not discredit the disinhibition effect theory but reinforces it, with the identification of the potential presence of F.B.I. as the power authority figure.

Furthermore, the assertion that identifies incel forums with online echo chambers has been proved accurate. In that sense, ‘incels.co’ has proved to be not only an enclosed group that magnifies the internal voices following a common (and misogynistic) ideology, but also a group that silences narratives that do not see women as the cause of the incels lack of sexual and romantic relationships. Consequently, the construction of hate speech towards women in the forum is supported by a continuous repetition of the ideas of the ‘Black Pill’ philosophy, and a common rejection of other outside ideologies, which incels refer as the ‘Blue Pill’. Violent



incitement and hateful speech are normalized through the mechanisms of the echo chamber, and the few users who voice that women are not the problem are often ridiculed and insulted (e.g. “*you bluepilled cuck swallow the Black Pill or gtfoh*”). In other words, the ideas of the ‘Black Pill’ philosophy are reinforced and amplified when communicated and repeated in a close system like the ‘incels.co’ forum, leading to a faster radicalization of its users.

Regarding the negative perception narratives, the results allow not only to measure the perception of Elliot Rodger, but also to elucidate some features of the incel community. Firstly, posts accusing Elliot Rodger of being racist are scant (5 posts). The significance is that perhaps this is the less extended narrative due to the crossover of users between incel forums and other alt-right forums of racist character. Consequently, ‘incels.co’ user base can also be catalogued as racist, a fact that is also reflected in their speech, generally characterized by the employment of words of racist character (e.g. noodlewhore, ricecel, etc). Secondly, the narrative that accuses Rodger of being a spoiled rich guy reasserts the results of the informal poll conducted on ‘incels.co’, which suggests that most ‘incels.co’ users belong to a middle-lower class. Thirdly, the narrative accusing Rodger of causing a negative impact on the incels by making people believe they are violent, speaks of an awareness among at least some incels that they are part of a community. Moreover, the narrative that accuses him of killing fellow incels can also be understood as an empathetic sentiment of belonging to the incel community. Fourthly, the preoccupations of incels with their physical appearance, which compose the aforementioned ‘Looks Theory’, are reflected in the narrative that accuses Rodger of being a volcel, as well as in the large number of Not Applicable posts dedicated to the discussion of ‘Lookism’. Lastly, the narrative that accuses Rodger of failing on his mission reveals the misogynistic character of the majority of the incel community, appearing this time in the form of implicit misogyny. By accusing Rodger of failing on his mission, incels are regretting that he did not manage to get in the sorority house and murder all the women inside it. Therefore, this narrative corresponds with another form of online violent misogyny, a form which does not despise women explicitly but instead does it in a more implicit way.

Clear examples of online othering and gendertrolling have also been found and presented in the ‘Results’ chapter. In fact, the results have shown that in 81 posts violence incitement and hateful

misogynistic speech were explicitly employed by ‘incels.co’ users. This means that in 81 posts ‘incels.co’ have used fighting words, sexist and racist insults, offensive usernames, and other kind of statements advocating for rape or murder. Out of 747, 81 posts do not seem to be a lot. Nonetheless, this paper also considers implicit hateful speech as a form of online violence. Consequently, posts in which Rodger and other mass murderers are idolized, or posts with narratives such as the one lamenting Rodger’s failure on his mission, are also considered hateful and misogynistic speech. Therefore, the total number of posts that contain violence incitement, misogynistic and hateful speech is in fact higher than if only insults and direct threats are taken into account.

Moreover, it is worth noting that all the threads selected for this study are focused on Elliot Rodger. If the threads selected were some of the many threads dedicated to women, the presence of misogynistic speech would be a lot higher, according to other academic studies which have researched the linguistics of incels forums (Jaki et. al. 2019, or Ribeiro et. al 2020). For all of the above, it can be stated that the users of ‘incels.co’ forum are generally sexist, racist and they usually incite violence against other segments of society, particularly women.

Despite Rodger being the first incel who committed mass murder, the targeting of women long precedes the debut of the incel community as we know it today. The killings committed by Marc Lépine, Seung-Hui Cho, or Mutsuo Toi are just some examples of misogynistic violence against women. Therefore, this Master thesis agrees with scholar Karen Lumsden’s belief whereby even though the recent incel killings may seem like a new phenomenon, they are a continuation of traditional patriarchal power relations. However, it has been proved that the incel ideologies can lead to radicalization of individuals, especially those who suffered some sort of mental health illness, and, ultimately, lead to more attacks against women. By making use of the internet, the incel subculture has managed to spread its misogyny and reach segments of the population that were isolated two decades ago. The range of attraction to the incel community was extended even more when Rodger carried out his attacks, not only drawing people to the incel subculture but also inspiring others to conduct mass rampages. Therefore, this new phenomenon can not be treated as the traditional and patriarchal misogyny that Lumsden talks about. Instead, it should be treated as a more dangerous form of misogyny which is supported not only by new sexist

narratives but also by the creation of a new informal vocabulary. Furthermore, this new form of misogyny is supported by the insulation and groupthink that result from echo chambers, which can draw more people into the community and, eventually, to new acts of offline violence.

Taking this into account, this Master thesis advocates for considering incels as a violent extremist movement, as do organizations such as the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (Ware, 2019:4) or the Anti-Defamation League (ADL, 2018:1). Furthermore, the analysis of the case study points to the need for a more lasting solution than banning online sites. After a ban of an incel site, the community does not disappear. Instead, other forums are created with a subsequent migration of users to the new sites. Hence, a close monitoring of the main incel forums is advised, with the possibility of intervention of the authorities in case of explicit threats. Lastly, involving former incels in de-radicalization programs where they explain how they overcame their adversities and why they left the incel community could be a starting point in order to reduce the size of the subculture.

## 7. Conclusion

The descriptive research of this Master thesis has assisted in shedding light and adding to the body of academic literature on the incel community. Several conclusions can be drawn from the case study section. Firstly, it can be argued that a hijack of the term ‘incel’ began to occur when misogynistic attitudes flourished in the first incel forums. The hijack of the term proliferated and overwhelmed the original meaning of ‘incel’ after Elliot Rodger’s killings and other later attacks carried out by incels. Consequently, incels stopped being seen as people struggling and in need of help, and started being identified with violent, frustrated and dangerous men. Secondly, it has been proved that incels have shaped their own subculture by creating and making use of different nihilistic philosophies such as ‘The Black Pill’ or ‘Lookism’, together with the utilization of a lingo which reinforces their identity and beliefs, and helped by the mechanisms of online echo chambers. Thirdly, the figure of Elliot Rodger has emerged as the key to understand certain features of the incel community, such as the online radicalization of young men inspired by Rodger’s actions.

In order to answer the research question ‘*How does the incel community of ‘incels.co’ perceive the figure of Elliot Rodger?*’, this Master thesis has found that the incel community is not as homogenous as the media portrays, since the incel perception of Rodger’s figure is divided almost evenly between those who praise him and those who view him unfavourably. The consequence of a more complex and heterogeneous community is that more research and attention to male supremacism and misogyny is required if the problem of online misogyny and offline violence against women is meant to be solved. Moreover, the content analysis conducted of the 747 posts of ‘incels.co’ has demonstrated the existence of different narratives that expound other characteristics of the incel subculture. For instance, certain feelings of community can be perceived in the arguments that incels employ while debating, despite the incels’ claim that the label denotes a condition and not a community. Additionally, the quantifiable presence of explicit and implicit misogynistic speech, hateful speech, incitements to violence, or the praise of different mass murderers in most of the posts, provides an evidential basis for the argument that incels are prone to violence, and therefore should be considered as a violent extremist group.

Therefore, raising awareness about the incel community and its violent tendencies is vital to assist society and law enforcement in developing effective counternarratives and counter-radicalization strategies. Lastly, past incel attacks suggest that incels diagnosed with psychological conditions are prone to radicalize online and eventually might conduct acts of offline violence. Consequently, further research on the radicalization of incels with psychological conditions could be greatly beneficial in order to find realistic and effective solutions to the incels threat to security.



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**10. Appendix**





Date	User	User status	User joining dat	User messa	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence inciten	Other idolizator	Misogynistic speech
5 May 2018	Cam The Angel	23 year old living	7 Feb 2018	845	Call me a cuck all you want but Elliot roger failed tren	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	and failed to kill a lot of sluts
5 May 2018	Hunter	Banned	28 Nov 2017	13,466	its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa	Positive	Praising his actio	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Gremlincel	a	1 May 2018	6,218	"Hunter said: its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa	Positive	Praising his actio	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Cam The Angel	23 year old living	7 Feb 2018	845	its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa in my opinion he sent it very poorly he killed random	Negative	He killed random	He killed random	-	He killed random people and not the people were are against like sluts and chads
5 May 2018	Asianmanletcel	overcel	25 Feb 2018	2,466	its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa	Positive	Praising his actio	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Virginp0wers	23yr Wageslave	5 Dec 2017	8,317	he was a rich fuck who could have just got an asian g	Negative	He was rich & he	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Cleftcel	genetic determin	4 Mar 2018	3,070	how dare you take St.Elliots name in vain in this four	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Wasteland	Recruit	20 Nov 2017	308	Glad he's dead. Fucking idiot	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	BlkPillPress	I'm not a monster	28 Feb 2018	8,459	"Cam The Angel said: in my opinion he sent it very poorly he killed random 1. I think this "mistake" ironically made the message c 2. "Hunter said: its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa He wrote a detailed manifesto that was spread across	Positive	His manifesto & i	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Mainlander	Coping till the end	2 May 2018	20,595	There's an hilarious Mumkey Jones video about how But he was the first person to do a massacre in the n I feel bad for the men he killed though. Three Asian/h	Mixed	He was the first g	-	-	-
5 May 2018	VST	Banned	9 Dec 2017	5,790	Lepine ER mugged Elliot Rodger	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	Lepine's massacre was better than ER's
5 May 2018	Hunter	Banned	28 Nov 2017	13,466	BlkPillPres said: 1. I think this "mistake" ironically made the message c 2. He wrote a detailed manifesto that was spread across: being rich means quite literally nothing when you hav NIA	-	-	-	-	-
5 May 2018	deathgreetmesl	Captain	18 Nov 2017	1,793	denying ER is cope	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Americanpyscho	Nothing Matters	1 Mar 2018	790	those hapas he killed were annoying and most probab	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
5 May 2018	cbavos	Recruit	5 May 2018	13	Its the thought that counts but I'll admit his plan was e	Negative	He failed on his r	I'm sure he's m	-	...in a house full of helpless sluts
5 May 2018	L5xddd	Banned	29 Mar 2018	593	Had the right intentions, awful execution	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Weirdcel	Banned	29 Jan 2018	8,681	"Cleftcel said: how dare you take St.Elliots name in vain in this four Burn the heretics (PIC OF SAINT ER) "VST said: Lepine ER mugged Elliot Rodger."	Positive	Praising ER with	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Weirdcel	Banned	29 Jan 2018	8,861	St. Marc was on another level for sure but no reason	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	St. Marc was on
5 May 2018	Weed	ded srs	8 Nov 2017	12,648	The true heroes are in my signature	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Newbite	Banned	25 Nov 2017	1,881	He was deviant	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	SaintMarcLepine	Thot Exterminat	8 Nov 2017	1,643	MARC LEPINE IS STILL THE GOAT	N/A	-	-	-	Praising Marc Le
5 May 2018	Weirdcel	Banned	29 Jan 2018	8,681	"Weed said: The true heroes are in my signature" lol they didn't even do anything other than take selfe	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Profligate	Rank: Experienc	24 Mar 2018	1,346	He's a fucking traitor for slaughtering fellow incels. I h	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Weed	ded srs	8 Nov 2017	12,648	"Weirdcel said: lol they didn't even do anything other than take selfe: Yeah but they're the truest and inceldom's biggest pa	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Letmego	Officer	7 Nov 2017	774	"Cam The Angel said: Call me a cuck all you want but Elliot roger failed tren He could have done better, but the courage to act is	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	misfitmarx	Recruit	4 May 2018	1	Cam the Angel is right. I did not know Elliot Rogers ki	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	George Sodini
5 May 2018	Call_Incel	IT OVER!	27 Mar 2018	1,321	Elliot was mentalcel and come from a rich family and	Negative	He was rich and	-	-	-
5 May 2018	NormieKiller	Banned	15 Apr 2018	780	Elliot was mentalcel and come from a rich family and What's wrong with that ? I do agree that the fact that	Negative	He was mentally	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Nautica1983	-	8 Nov 2017	6,290	JFL at people who worship human beings, especially	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	HARDONTHOTS	-	3 Jan 2018	621	ER is just as overrated as joole, fuck that bitch	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Evil Genius	Hiiii	7 Nov 2017	5,099	Blasphemy. How dare you bring the good name of Ef	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	VLO	-	12 Nov 2017	4,592	"Virginp0wers said: he was a rich fuck who could have just got an asian g >all western asians only go for white men >he could have easily gotten an asian gf think: Hmm...	Negative	He could have g	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Evil Genius	Hiiii	7 Nov 2017	5,099	"Nautica1983 said: JFL at people who worship human beings, especially "HARDONTHOTS said: ER is just as overrated as joole, fuck that bitch." Look in the mirror and both of you slap yourselves in	Positive	Praising ER & us	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Kointo	27 y/o khvh neec	19 Nov 2017	22,524	BlkPillPres said: 1. I think this "mistake" ironically made the message c 2. He wrote a detailed manifesto that was spread across: being rich means quite literally nothing when you hav	Positive	His manifesto & i	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Calli_Incel	IT OVER!	27 Mar 2018	1,321	"NormieKiller said: What's wrong with that ? I do agree that the fact that Nothing wrong with it but he could've got girlfriend if v	Negative	He could have g	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Topkekketus	Recruit	8 Nov 2017	112	its not about the kill count, its about sending a messa	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 May 2018	IronMike	Overlord	2 Dec 2017	6,615	"Virginp0wers said: he was a rich fuck who could have just got an asian g He wrote his manifesto, his opus magnus. He made e	Negative	He was rich and	-	-	-
5 May 2018	NekoStance	Banned	16 Nov 2017	4,761	What the fuck have you ever done OP you faggot? K	Positive	He wrote a good	-	-	-
5 May 2018	Givingup20	ENGLANDCEL	10 Apr 2018	1,052	He put the 3 Asian dudes out of their misery I agree with previous posts awful execution but who k	Positive	Praising ER	a much better pla	-	-
5 May 2018	Raiden	Banned	5 Feb 2018	11,015	"Virginp0wers said: he was a rich fuck." That alone could have solved a lot not to mention he	Negative	He was rich & he	-	-	-
6 May 2018	Cleftcel	genetic determin	4 Mar 2018	-	"SaintMarcLepine said: MARC LEPINE IS STILL THE GOAT" just googled him, how the fuck did I not know about h ER's failure solidifies him as incel.	N/A	-	-	-	Praising Marc Le
6 May 2018	SuperPerfectCel	Officer	2 May 2018	605	Every other virgin incel spree killer managed a higher	N/A	-	-	-	-
6 May 2018	Sneepsyqar	Not as Ugly on th	13 Nov 2017	452	"Raiden said: That alone could have solved a lot not to mention he He wasn't rich. All he did was drive an old BMW. "Cleftcel said: just googled him, how the fuck did I not know about h We really don't about him enough here. It's not what he did, it's what he wanted to do.	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	Praising Marc Le
6 May 2018	Reddit_is_for_cu	Overlord	10 Nov 2017	6,343	I have a theory on 3 cels he killed in dorm. He probat	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
6 May 2018	Indari	Shitcunt!!Ass wh	7 Nov 2017	16,023	discussion about ER is always low iq as fuck	N/A	-	-	-	-
6 May 2018	Vainflorior	Recruit	2 May 2017	441	"Indari said: discussion about ER is always low iq as fuck" REPOX	N/A	-	-	-	-



Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incited	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
20 May 2018	nauten788	Banned	21 Apr 2018	128	He wasn't even u EDIT: Apparently	Negative	He was a volcel l	-	Alek Minassian a	-
20 May 2018	unistall	Banned	10 Jan 2018	3,613	"nauten788 said: He wasn't even u	Negative	He was a volcel l	-	Alek Minassian a	-
20 May 2018	Facade	Banned	12 Dec 2017	15,443	He was way too ;	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	Not_Important	Gamer Rights Ac	1 May 2018	2,094	"nauten788 said: 5'9, which wasn't These days it's 6	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	TheRealChincel	Voidcel: Friendle	13 Jan 2018	12,376	He was a grade-	Negative	Despising ER for	-	-	-
20 May 2018	nauten788	Banned	21 Apr 2018	128	"Not_Important s These days it's 6 Bullshit I see cou	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	Templarcel421	Gambler fan acc	7 Feb 2018	4,361	High IQ post	Negative	He was a volcel l	-	Alek Minassian a	-
20 May 2018	Jockcel	go AB	1 Dec 2017	10,769	Guy only wanted	Negative	He could have gc	-	-	-
20 May 2018	rafaelvicuna3	Commander	27 Dec 2017	3,057	"Templarcel421 s High IQ post" Exactly, also add	Negative	He was a volcel l	-	Alek Minassian a	-
20 May 2018	nauten788	Banned	21 Apr 2018	128	"rafaelvicuna3 sa Exactly, also add True he shat on ;	Negative	He was racist wh	-	-	-
20 May 2018	The GoodGuy	Childhood was P	2 May 2018	5,171	"nauten788 said: Bullshit I see cou Go on Tinder, the "nauten788 said: Alek minassian a Why do you guys	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	nauten788	Banned	21 Apr 2018	128	"TheGoodGuy sa Go on Tinder, the Why do you guys Yeah girls write tl Also Nikolaus Cr	Positive	Nikolas Cruz and	-	Nikolas Cruz and	-
20 May 2018	rafaelvicuna3	Commander	27 Dec 2017	3,057	"nauten788 said: Yeah girls write tl Also Nikolaus Cr The thing with th Also yes, Alek mi	N/A	-	-	Alek Minassian w	-
20 May 2018	knajjd	-	7 Nov 2017	3,023	"nauten788 said: Yeah girls write tl Also Nikolaus Cr Yeah but I am as "knajjd said: that "argument" i "you can't tell me Also remember tl Women rate an 8	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	TheGoodGuy	Childhood was P	2 May 2018	5,171	"nauten788 said: Yeah girls write tl Also Nikolaus Cr Yeah but I am as "knajjd said: that "argument" i "you can't tell me Also remember tl Women rate an 8	N/A	-	-	Alek Minassian	-
20 May 2018	rafaelvicuna3	Commander	27 Dec 2017	3,057	Seriously it's funn	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	Not_Important	Gamer Rights Ac	1 May 2018	2,094	NC got more kills	Positive	He published a g	-	Nicolas Cruz got	-
20 May 2018	nauten788	Banned	21 Apr 2018	128	"TheGoodGuy sa Yeah but I am as He did have a gf Also, Nikolas cru https://www.thed "Not_Important s NC got more kills That's not the poi	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
20 May 2018	fuckitall76	Banned	18 May 2018	88	ER was incompe If I ever go ER I v "fuckitall76 said: ER was incompe If I ever go ER I v His plan was sto	Mixed	He failed on his r	-	-	-
20 May 2018	rafaelvicuna3	Commander	27 Dec 2017	3,057	ER fanboys need	Negative	Despising ER an	-	-	-
20 May 2018	ArtoriasWolf	Undercover FBI /	20 Dec 2017	7,668	Everything about	N/A	-	-	-	-
20 May 2018	VLÖ	-	12 Nov 2017	4,592	I suppose one of	Positive	Defending ER, his	-	-	-
20 May 2018	_incelinside	-	Jan 13 2018	12,451	ER fanboys need	Negative	Despising ER an	-	-	-







Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incitement	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
21 Aug 2018	IncelsOutcome	Banned	16 Aug 2018	86	Elliot Rodger was I knew friends ug Does anyone kno	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	SlayerSlayer	Major	10 July 2018	2,433	"IncelsOutcome said Elliot Rodger was I knew friends ug Does anyone kno	AUTISMCEL N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	EternalDarkness	This will be my la	11 Feb 2018	1,360	Besides being au	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	NeibolStreet	Officer	10 Aug 2018	634	"IncelsOutcome said Elliot Rodger was I knew friends ug Does anyone kno He wasn't Chad, "I knew friends ug	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Hunter	Banned	28 Nov 2017	13,466	:soy::soy::soy::sc	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	DoomedCel	Recruit	21 Aug 2018	44	Not to mention hi	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	VincentVanCope	Mentally ill Truec	8 Nov 2017	3,350	The guy was a vi	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	foids
21 Aug 2018	PersonalityChad	Overlord	15 Apr 2018	5,610	Personality	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	SlayerSlayer	Major	10 Jul 2018	2,433	he's also kind of You sound like a	N/A	-	-	-	Cunts that are within ER's height and weight match are UBERCHAD tier
21 Aug 2018	builderseed	crazyrussianporn	5 May 2018	3,493	Also, read his me http://abclocal.go He was Asian. He was short.	Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Limerencel	Major	2 May 2018	2,106	He lived in Califo "Limerencel said: He lived in Califo	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Life Wasted	Mexicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	It's over for sub 7	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Konon	Captain	9 Apr 2018	1,622	He was a narciss	Negative	He was narcissis	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	f0reVER	-	8 July 2018	4,139	Take into accoun	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	MasterKD	Banned	21 Aug 2018	36	He was a very bl	Negative	Fakecel and volc	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	_wifebeater_	Felt cute, might n	13 May 2018	2,879	It's all foids fault.	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	Foids
21 Aug 2018	Cuyen	Everything hurts	13 August 2018	37,242	Seriously guys,E	Negative	He wasn't an incl	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Sadness	Remember Sodo	8 Nov 2017	8,201	"Hunter said: "I knew friends ug	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Spite	Commander	29 Jun 2018	3,032	"_wifebeater_ sai It's all foids fault. (Pic of ER) He w	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	EternalDarkness	This will be my la	11 Feb 2018	1,360	Positive	Positive	Praising ER with	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	DeepSea	Recruit	29 Jun 2018	203	"Cuyen said: Seriously guys,E ER did approach She was a typica It's clear that he f	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	caudino	Recruit	5 Aug 2018	318	Cuyen said: Elliot wasn't a inc my thoughts exam maybe in Califor	Negative	He wasn't an incl	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	FoidsDeserveCa	Banned	14 Jul 2018	814	"SlayerSlayer sai AUTISMCEL" What is this bluej	N/A	-	-	-	FoidsDeserveCancer
21 Aug 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	"VincentVanCope The guy was a vi	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Gyros_Pretcel	Wizard	4 Jul 2018	4,120	"FoidsDeserveCa What is this bluej	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	metal	Captain	11 Jun 2018	1,950	He was ugly	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Darthmat	Captain	8 Nov 2017	1,589	Look up mumkey	Negative	His manifesto wa	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	AmeriCel64	Officer	6 July 2018	848	"IncelsOutcome said Elliot Rodger was I knew friends ug Does anyone kno m e n t a l c e l	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	Crazy high stand	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Mavenes	21 y/o khhv	29 Mar 2018	685	Limerencel said: He was Asian. He was short. He lived in Califo This.	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	landocalarisian	Banned	10 Jun 2018	247	ER was textbook	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	Mavenes	21 y/o khhv	29 Mar 2018	685	"andocalarisian s ER was textbook Users of Italian ir	N/A	-	-	-	-
21 Aug 2018	TheGoodGuy	Childhoov was F	2 May 2018	5,171	"Cuyen said: Seriously guys,E Makes me wondr	N/A	-	-	-	-
<b>Thread: Elliot Rodger</b>										
Posts: 33										
Perceptions: Negative 10 & Positive 6, N/A: 17										
<b>Positive</b>										
Praising his manifesto: 1										
Praising ER: 5 (1 image)										
<b>Negative</b>										
He was a volcel: 8										
He was a narcissistic: 1										
Despising ER: 1										
Violence incitement/hateful speech										



Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incited	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
					I think many peop 1. Time - He just 2. Sincerity - in h 3. Prominence - I Elliotts manifesto I don't think anybo His good looks is He's just a "really Like I said and I l If he wasn't so hc To go on a tange					
30 Dec 2018	BikPillPres	I'm not a monste	28 Feb 2018	8,459	You can't even ci	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	average or slightly above average looking men are going to have it hard getting sex and relationships with female hypergamy left unregulated and out of control
30 Dec 2018	Cuyen	Everything hurts	13 Aug 2018	37,242	Sorry I'm too low	N/A	-	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	jeffuicel	-	23 Nov 2018	497	Rodger was inspi	N/A	-	-	Cho	-
30 Dec 2018	Ritalincel	Banned	25 Nov 2017	23,864	[QUOTE] REPC	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	Mik_TFL	Such a lonely da	23 May 2018	1459	I think your analy	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"BikPillPres said: Cho's speech is i	N/A	-	-	Defending Cho	-
30 Dec 2018	Anonymous MG	-	28 May 2018	2,274	"I've read Rodger" I can't help but fe	Positive	He caused a goo	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	rahlumnt	Blackpillconnois	21 Aug 2018	1,172	"Cuyen said: Sorry I'm too low im borderline relat	N/A	-	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	PPEcel	-	1 Oct 2018	2,923	However good EI					
30 Dec 2018	PPEcel	-	28 Dec 2017	1,888	Cho's K/D ratio is	Mixed	ER was a good s	-	Praising Cho	-
30 Dec 2018	Involutionarily	-	28 Dec 2017	1,888	The sincerity was	Mixed	Praising his man	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	EthnicaiNL	Never began tbt	2 May 2018	9,159	"BikPillPres said: Elliott came off as	Negative	Despising ER, ht	Faggot, hapa	-	-
30 Dec 2018	Romello Gaghan	Wizard	6 Aug 2018	4,024	Idk man Cho sou	N/A	-	-	Praising Cho	-
30 Dec 2018	Twinkcel	Veteran	15 Oct 2018	1,304	Elliott Rodger was					
30 Dec 2018	Grotesque	38 year old virgin	8 Nov 2017	7,884	I'm sure before E Having a growing	Positive	He caused a goo	-	-	-
30 Dec 2018	Grotesque	38 year old virgin	8 Nov 2017	7,884	Cho sent his vide					
30 Dec 2018	Weston404	Admiral	6 May 2018	2,893	Elliott cozed chari This I can agree	Positive	Praising ER's chi	-	Praising Marc Le	-
30 Dec 2018	Weston404	Admiral	6 May 2018	2,893	High IQ post.					
31 Dec 2018	ordinaryotaku	Make your local f	7 Nov 2017	8,706	I'm the same as	Positive	ER influenced th	-	-	Make your local feminist eat pavement
31 Dec 2018	NeelSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sep 2018	3,762	Manifesto of Elio	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	incelkingkong	sleep forever	8 Nov 2017	9,520	cope, your primar	Negative	Despising ER, he	-	Praising Cho	-
31 Dec 2018	incelkingkong	sleep forever	8 Nov 2017	9,520	Elliott was sufferi Although many p					
31 Dec 2018	ColdLightofDay	Serge's alt	18 Apr 2018	4,139	He is a very bad	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	Innomiac	SS Autism SS	4 Oct 2018	36,313	Elliott is just so fa	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	(Image) "LittleBoy said: Cho vs Rodgers"	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	View attachment Rodgers vs down					
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	View attachment My take?, I've res					
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	This right here is					
31 Dec 2018	BikPillPres	I'm not a monste	28 Feb 2018	8,459	You're asking for	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	"BikPillPres said: My take?, I've res Click to expand	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	PersonalityChad	Overlord of the Ir	15 Apr 2018	5,610	ColdLightofDay i Although many p Agreed	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	BikPillPres	I'm not a monste	28 Feb 2018	8,459	"LittleBoy said: Do you take into Yeah he could ju	Positive	He made a value	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	BikPillPres	I'm not a monste	28 Feb 2018	8,459	Pin worthy post. To me it almost k "You vandalized" "I die like Jesus C Marc Lepine is w Some shooters li					
31 Dec 2018	blamemyself	Blackpill illumina	19 Nov 2017	5,269	Most shooters jut	Positive	Praising his man	-	Worshipping Mar	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	"BikPillPres said: Yeah he could ju So you're an indc	N/A	-	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	Detro	Recruit	19 Mar 2018	342	It is apparently ar He's below avera					
31 Dec 2018	ICanOnlyFapTo	tanzen und tanze	10 Nov 2017	7,196	Nose is weird, lip	N/A	-	-	-	Women should not have the right to choose who to mate and breed with
31 Dec 2018	ICanOnlyFapTo	tanzen und tanze	10 Nov 2017	7,196	(Image of ER's m	Positive	Praising ER's me	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	"ICanOnlyFapTo View attachment: Great Philosophi	Positive	Praising ER's me	-	-	-
31 Dec 2018	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,500	"Detro said: It is apparently ar He's below avera Nose is weird, lip As a mixed white					
31 Dec 2018	Of Maniets and h	Getting wristmog	26 Aug	2,238	Racemixing is do	N/A	-	-	-	-
8 Jan 2019	Cleftcel	genetic determin	4 Mar 2018	3,070	I really need to g	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
8 Jan 2019	KilluminoidBR	Bracel	8 Nov 2017	5,712	Cho was a REAL ER was a mental	Negative	ER was a mental	-	Praising Cho	-
<b>Thread: Here's Why Elliot Rodger Is Celebrated By Incels Over Others Who More Appropriately Fit The Label</b>										
Posts: 33										
Perceptions: 7 Negative & 15 Positive, N/A 8, Mixed 2										
<b>Positive</b>										
Praising his manifesto: 9										
Positively influenced incel community: 8										
Praising ER: 5										
<b>Negative</b>										
He failed on his mission: 1										
He was a volcel: 5										
He was a narcissistic: 7										
He was a racist: 1										
He was rich: 1										
<b>Mixed</b>										
ER was a good spokesman but a bad killer										
Praising his manifesto but he was a volcel										







Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incite	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
22 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolution	Sept 5 2018	3,762	I truly believe that Elliot Rodger was a truecel. Yes, Elliot was a truecel. The mental state of Elliot Rodger was a truecel. Everyone who has a truecel. Elliot Rodger was a truecel. You fucking idiot.	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	But these sluts themselves have too high standards
22 Feb 2019	AsiaCel	Temp. Banned	24 Nov 2017	6,752	ER still mogs mo	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Adolf_Hitler	Racial Cosmopol	14 Feb 2019	718	Elliot Rodger rerr	Positive	Identifying with E	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	I wouldn't say truecel	Positive	He was mentalce	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"Mainländer said: I wouldn't say truecel. He looked feminine. Average looking truecel"	Positive	He was truecel	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	ovrload	Wizard	11 Nov 2017	4,326	"NeetSupremacis said: Women HATE feminism depends. most men"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	"NeetSupremacis said: Women HATE feminism I'm not so sure about"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	That's a trap? Lol	N/A	-	Faggot	-	
22 Feb 2019	ovrload	Wizard	11 Nov 2017	4,326	"NeetSupremacis said: That's a trap? Lol yeah only young men"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	"NeetSupremacis said: That's a trap? Lol Not a full trap but I doubt he could"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	anon	babyfaced subhu	15 Apr 2018	3,684	"NeetSupremacis said: but not being represented. This is what copium. You don't have to"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	"ovrload said: yeah only young men. B-but I thought people"	N/A	-	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Of Manlets and M	Getting wristmog	26 Aug 2018	2,238	Exactly. It didn't r	Positive	He was a truecel	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	SoyUnPerdedor	-	6 Oct 2018	11,060	Also, as a hapa r	Positive	He was undesira	Positive	Praising ER	
22 Feb 2019	Michael15651	Destined Virgin	4 Nov 2018	23,941	He was undesira	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
22 Feb 2019	Mavenes	21 y/o khhv	29 Mar 2018	685	"AsiaCel said: ER still mogs mo. Agreed, I'd take it"	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Imsoniac	SS Autisim SS	4 Oct 2018	36,313	Elliot Rodger for i	Positive	Legitimizing ER	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Oblivion	Recruit	22 May 2018	301	High IQ. Never u	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Oblivion	Recruit	22 May 2018	301	"Insomniac said: High IQ. Never understood he could've esco"	Negative	He was rich	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Imsoniac	SS Autisim SS	4 Oct 2018	36,313	"Oblivion said: he could've esco. Sex wasn't all he"	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"Oblivion said: he could've esco. I've spoken to me"	N/A	-	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Life Wasted	Mexicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	Well put, lets not	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Oblivion	Recruit	22 May 2018	301	"NeetSupremacis said: I've spoken to me. Insomniac said: Sex wasn't all he may be true, but"	Negative	He was a rich vo	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	anon2719	Someone wake r	8 Nov 2017	734	Some guys think I think Elliot Rodg	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	happiless	trash	2 May 2018	4,273	Pewdiepie shows	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	
23 Feb 2019	Spite	Commander	29 Jun 2018	3,032	A truecel might b	Positive	He was an incel ;	-	-	foids not wanting his small dick
24 Feb 2019	Indari	Shitcunt!! Ass wh	7 Nov 2017	16,023	You wrote a man	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	
24 Feb 2019	suigin	schizoidcel	24 Feb 2019	139	His parents set h	N/A	-	-	-	Shitcunt!! Ass whore!! Bitch!!
24 Feb 2019	heroinfather	Admiral	12 Jan 2018	2,932	"NeetSupremacis said: TLDR: Elliot Rodg. Don't forget that i"	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	
24 Feb 2019	Blacktarpill	Beta "male" - "m	28 Sept 2018	25,018	The amount of m	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	
24 Feb 2019	Gabe	Recruit	8 Jan 2018	388	"Mainländer said: I wouldn't say truecel"	Positive	He was a mental	-	-	
24 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"Spite said: You wrote a man. I think that criteri	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	
24 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	That takes me ba Autism. Unlike many auti. Looks Obviously Elliot v Standards. As stated before	Negative	His looks weren't	-	-	Foids
24 Feb 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,595	Some other peop	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	





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26 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"I'm gonna use thi Keep in mind tha	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	Life Wasted	Mexican in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	He truly was a he	Positive	Praising ER, he v	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	NEETAndTidy	Strike First. Stri	20 May 2018	16,023	That mentalcel is	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"NEETAndTidy s That mentalcel is Dude, he was a f	Positive	Praising ER, he v	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	Weeb25	Clowns roll out	27 May 2018	5,349	"NeetSupremacis Dude, he was a f wasn't he 5'9? no	N/A	-	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"Weeb25 said: wasn't he 5'9? no He was frauding	N/A	-	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	Angryatsociety	Joker fan	24 Jul 2018	575	"A man wearing t with a beautiful g world that he is v	Positive	Praising ER's ma	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	SouthMerican	Everyone is ugly,	3 Dec 2018	33	Dude, he was a f	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	Blacktarpill	Beta "male" - "m	28 Sept 2018	25,087	Elliot Rodger her That guy with a f	N/A	-	-	-	-
26 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	(Image of ER's p	Positive	Praising ER post	-	-	Feminism gave women the power over the future of human species Feminism is evil.
26 Feb 2019	ManletHalfCurry	5'6 Manlet Half C	3 Nov 2018	5,106	"I have a nice cai	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	SchrodingersDicl	Skeletal Volume	7 Aug 2018	6,193	"NeetSupremacis Dude, he was a f Don't forget he w	Positive	Legitimizing ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Azaylias	ಫಫ ಫಫ ಫಫ	3 Aug 2018	4,841	"SchrodingersDic Don't forget he w How do you know	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	SchrodingersDicl	Skeletal Volume	7 Aug 2018	6,193	"Azaylias said: How do you know (Image)	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	SchrodingersDicl Don't forget he w Yeah, imagine: Elliot Rodger wa	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	LastGerman	Urbemenschel	2 Nov 2018	9,932	Manlet Dicket Framelet Hapa Living in Santa B	Positive	Legitimizing ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	MarriedAndLook	Late stage LDAR	8 Nov 2017	10,214	It was fucking ov	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	GowkBird	I'm just want to b	19 Feb 2019	1,554	Here, this is som	Positive	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Azaylias	ಫಫ ಫಫ ಫಫ	3 Aug 2018	4,841	Honestly he shou	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Insomniac	ಫಫ A U T I S M ಫಫ	4 Oct 2018	36,313	First quote is goc	N/A	-	-	-	Foids are very cruel, it is we can change it if we will raise them properly
27 Feb 2019	Nothingless	Overlord	1 Oct 2018	6,927	"SchrodingersDic View attachment: tfw> im 4.7 ince	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Michael15651	Destined Virgin	4 Nov 2018	23,940	"it's an injustice"	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"im magnificent"	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Michael15651	Destined Virgin	4 Nov 2018	23,940	Shoes won't help ER dropping the	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Weeb25	Clowns roll out	27 May 2018	5,349	"Michael15651 s Shoes won't help ER dropping the Brutal..."	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"NeetSupremacis Brutal..."	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	HighTGymcel	CHOsen to be a	1 Jan 2019	7,625	I wonder whethe	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	outherebrothers	"The Pessimist M	8 Nov 2017	3,022	"MarriedAndLook Honestly he shou i dont think he w	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	ihaveno1	Paragon	11 Nov 2018	16,356	"As the phrase th Elliot Rodger	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Inceldo	Banned	26 Nov 2018	5,235	"Hi elliot eodger l	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	Cho, Alek Minass
27 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incels Revolution	Sept 2018	3,762	"NEETAndTidy s That mentalcel is	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	DeformAsperger	radical times den	11 Aug 2018	8,110	"That's a crime th	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Eskimocel	Mogged from Pei	13 Nov 2018	22,064	I heard he was a	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Inceldo	Banned	26 Nov 2018	5,235	"Inceldo said: I heard he was a Thats bullshit."	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"NeetSupremacis He was frauding he was 5'9 bro..."	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Blacktarpill	Beta "male" - "m	28 Sept 2018	25,087	"ManletHalfCurry I have a nice cai	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	_wifebeater_	Felt cute, might n	13 May 2018	2,879	"NeetSupremacis Thats bullshit." We don't know bi	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	voiceofreason	Why the long mic	29 Jan 2019	882	"NEETAndTidy s That mentalcel is By the power inv	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	IncelsGenocide	Banned	20 Feb 2019	858	"NeetSupremacis Yeah, imagine: Elliot Rodger wa	N/A	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Cuyen	Everyone is ugly,	13 Aug 2018	37,242	Manlet Dicket Framelet Hapa Living in Santa B It was fucking ov	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	Click to expand..	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"If I had it in my p	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	wifebeater
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"A beautiful envir -Elliot Rodger	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	ER, praise be his	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"HighTGymcel s "Hi elliot eodger l i miss it..."	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"Humanity has n "Humanity struck - Elliot Rodger	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-

27 Feb 2019	IncelGenocide	Banned	20 Feb 2019	858	MANLET FRAMECEL GAYFACECEL DICKCEL (HE H HAPA MENTALCEL O-V-A-H	Positive	Legitimizing ER (-	-	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	AlwaysLawRoute	No showers, no f	24 Aug 2018	2,225	(Video of ER)	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
27 Feb 2019	Initum	Recruit	20 Aug 2018	371	He was a visiona And instead of be	Positive	He was a visiona-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Life Wasted	Mexicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	"Humanity is a di Elliot Rodger	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	BilkPillPres	I'm not a monster	28 Feb 2018	8,485	"NeetSupremacis I'm gonna use thi Keep in mind tha Click to expand..	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	lifeisbullshit95	Blessed by the ni	17 Oct 2018	1,746	"NeetSupremacis "As the phrase th Elliot Rodger" IQ BEYOND THI	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Cuyen	Everything hurts	13 Aug 2018	37,242	"Life Wasted saic "Humanity is a di Elliot Rodger" What a wise wor	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Insomniac	4 A U T I S M 4	4 Oct 2018	36,313	"Life Wasted saic "Humanity is a di Elliot Rodger" Based. He had such a w	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Mavenes	21 y/o khhv	29 Mar 2018	686	"NEETAndTidy s That mentalcel is He was not a me	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	nice_try	Chad always win	26 Oct 2018	3,148	"Life Wasted saic He truly was ahe High iq, good tas	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Mavenes	21 y/o khhv	29 Mar 2018	686	NeetSupremacis I'm gonna use thi Keep in mind tha Click to expand..	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolutionz	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"Mavenes said: In which forum h puahate.com doesnt exist anyr	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Life Wasted	MExicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	(Emoji)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	NeetSupremacis	Incel Revolutionz	5 Sept 2018	3,762	"Life Wasted saic Based Elliot	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Sans	Survivor of the In	8 Feb 2019	7,219	"HighTGymcel s "Hi elliot eodger l Go EE	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	TheRealChincel	Voidcel: Friendle	13 Jan 2018	12,376	Fuck him, delusik I sincerely hope t	Negative	Volcel, he cause-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Lubricure	Catgirl Bioengine	18 Feb 2018	1,477	While Elliot could Story time from tl	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	LifeWasted	MExicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	Life Wasted said Story time from tl	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	TheRealChincel	Voidcel: Friendle	13 Jan 2018	12,376	"My two housem: Chance. He was vile incident occu started bragging them all if they w ago. I felt so infer named Chance s he lost his virginii orange juice. I ini and cried and cri  How could an infi half white myself more. I tried not t mind. If this is ac of thirteen while I gender is. They v Females truly ha my life I was beg  Elliot Rodger, My Click to expand..	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	ShyManlet	Officer	19 December 20	874	"IncelGenocide s MANLET FRAMECEL GAYFACECEL DICKCEL (HE H HAPA MENTALCEL O-V-A-H Click to expand.. hes a massive fri	Positive	Legitimizing ER	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Chr	5 Apr 2018	10,325	"NeetSupremacis Dude, he was a f His face was non	Negative	He was rich and	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Blacktarpill	Beta "male" - "m	28 Sept 2018	25,087	"BikPillPres said: Wealth and statu Subjectively spee As far as i know l	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	Life Wasted	MExicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	"TheRealChincel Too bad for Elliot Yeah he didn't fu	Positive	Praising ER by q	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	rahlumnt	Blackpill connois:	21 Aug 2018	1,178	a prophet ahead Blacktarpill said: Damn, he framer :ha..feels: im sor he legit look 14 ir I think being fram 2nd is his height, back then on my the average 22yc	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-	-	-
28 Feb 2019	ShyManlet	Officer	19 Dec 2018	874	why am I not gett	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-



Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence inciten	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
9 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a ladder	7 Jan 2019	1,070	Without ER, incel Later it spread to Thanks to the int This forum which You cannot hate While it should be	Positive	He brought atten	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	SoyUnPerdedor	-	6 Oct 2018	11,060	elliott rodger didn't	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	RegisterUserNan	Discord	5 Sept 2018	16,307	ER didn't have ar It's not akin to sa	Negative	He negatively aff	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	ihaveno1	Paragon	11 Nov 2018	16,262	high iq, ppl will al	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Ritalincel	Banned	25 Nov 2017	23,864	(Pic of ER)	Positive	Praising ER with	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	angrycurrycel	Untermensch	30 Dec 2018	17,862	"ihaveno1 said: high iq, ppl will al same tbh	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Insomniac	ಫ಼಼ A U T I S M ಫ಼಼	4 Oct 2018	36,313	high iq, the blasp	Positive	Praising ER with	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Barry	Veteran	2 May 2018	1,029	low IQ ER was a fucking spoiled rich boy v fuck ER and all y	Negative	He was rich, volc	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Bangkok or bust	A face that doesr	22 Mar 2018	2,334	He never approa	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Napoleon de Ges	searching for old	9 Apr 2019	11,268	Love Elliot, but hi	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Grotesque	38 Year Old Virgi	8 Nov 2017	7,884	I don't hate Elliot, "SoyUnPerdedor elliott rodger didn't	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	RollID20	Wizard	10 Jan 2019	4,454	He would probab	Negative	He was never an	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Pigman	Let's All Riot	14 Mar 2019	1,678	"RegisterUserNa why would they fi It's better to be f	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	SoyUnPerdedor	-	6 Oct 2018	11,060	"RegisterUserNa ER didn't have ar It's not akin to sa on a higher plane "Bangkok or bust At 5ft7 mixed rac This. As I said in "Barry said: spoiled rich boy v another good poi	Negative	He was narcissis	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	PowerLevelCel	Autistic Nazi Gyn	18 Mar 2019	3,071	All hail ER our S	Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	DeformAsperger	radical times den	11 Aug 2018	8,110	"RegisterUserNa It's one of the rea lol no. Nothing w	N/A	-	Ironically, the onl	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Involuntary	-	28 Dec 2017	1,888	He was a huge f	Negative	Despising eR	Faggot	-	-
9 Apr 2019	RegisterUserNan	Discord	5 Sept 2018	16,307	The point is, we c I think that what i	Negative	He negatively aff	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Mad Baron	Life is a scam	30 Mar 2019	352	He killed 4 ricee	Mixed	He failed on his r	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	BrettyBoy	Coital cephalagia	14 Feb 2019	7,171	I heard he killed	Negative	He killed other in	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	DeformAsperger	radical times den	11 Aug 2018	8,110	While I do agree	Positive	He sets the grou	and inspire more	-	-
9 Apr 2019	RegisterUserNan	Discord	5 Sept 2018	16,307	"DeformAsperger (effectively radica I don't think that	N/A	-	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	DeformAsperger	radical times den	11 Aug 2018	8,110	"RegisterUserNa View attachment Only won 2%" he wasn't kosher	N/A	-	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Chris_Jones	An outcast amon	1 Mar 2018	9,973	I wouldn't have fc	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Michael15651	Destined Virgin	4 Nov 2018	23,941	This post just ma	N/A	-	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	Nautica1983	-	8 Nov 2017	6,290	Because -He hates incels -He killed his asi -He didnt kill any -The way he carr -He didnt want hi He was a low IQ	Negative	He killed incels, f	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	HostileWaters	Recruit	18 Feb 2019	166	Because he was	Negative	He negatively aff	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	TheRealChincel	Voidcel: Friendle	13 Jan 2018	12,376	He was deluded,	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	Tbh I have no ide	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	HarveyIsAHero	Recruit	16 Feb 2018	91	Have you read hi	Negative	Despising ER	-	Harvey	Harvey is a hero
9 Apr 2019	FinnCel	Alcoholcel	13 Dec 2018	15,378	Elliot Rodger wer	N/A	-	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	YungCell	Niggas iffy	27 Jul 2018	4,475	"HarveyIsAHero : Have you read hi Exactly this, a w	Negative	He killed other in	-	-	-
9 Apr 2019	TigerFestival	Weebcel, Gamer	4 Oct 2018	3,344	"Barry said: low IQ ER was a fucking spoiled rich boy v fuck ER and all y Astronomical IQ. In conclusion Elli	Negative	He was rich, volc	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Pigman	Let's All Riot	14 Mar 2019	1,678	"YungCell said: Exactly this, a w I agree! I mainly	Negative	He killed incels, f	-	I mainly look up t	-
10 Apr 2019	Smallondick	Banned	27 Nov 2018	4,321	Ritalincel said: View attachment	N/A	-	-	-	-

10 Apr 2019	YungCell	Niggas iffy	27 Jul 2018	4,475	"Pigman said: I agree! I mainly I St. Marc Lepine i N/A	-	-	St. Marc Lepine i	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,070	"Barry said: low IQ ER was a fucking spoiled rich boy v fuck ER and all y Elliot Rodger's ro	Positive	Defending ER's ε	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Atavistic Autist	Neurodivergent it	28 Mar 2018	1,715	Virtue signalling: Purity Spiraling: "	N/A	-	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Dregster777	Wizard	26 Aug 2018	4,067	Tbh He's no incel, jus That shitty plan tl "Nautica 1983 sai -He didnt kill any -The way he carr -He didnt want hi He was a low IQ This what pisses he didnt get the j	An absolute failu	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,070	"Insomniac said: high iq, the blasp View attachment	Saint ER lives on	Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	ScornedStoic	Cozycel	5 Apr 2018	9,918	Elliot Rodger, wh	Negative	He was a fakecel	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,070	"ScornedStoic sa Elliot Rodger, wh	"Fakeceles dont t	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Cuyen	Everything hurts	13 Aug 2018	37,242	Moon light uhh sj	N/A	-	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	ScornedStoic	Cozycel	5 Apr 2018	9,918	"IncelKing said: just to LARP and No, but they do a	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Heroic Crusader	Recruit	2 Apr 2019	475	he wasnt a voice	Positive	He was an incel	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	happiless	trash	2 May 2018	4,273	"PowerLevelCel : All hail ER our Sz	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Wonder	Disordercel	8 Sept 2018	2,032	I don't know, eve	Negative	He was narcissis	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,070	"Wonder said: I don't know, eve And yet you have	N/A	-	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Wonder	Disordercel	8 Sept 2018	2,032	"IncelKing said: And yet you have	I'm playfully encc	Negative	Despising ER	I'm playfully encc	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Anonymous26	Over in a Flash	26 Sept 2018	2,233	All hail the supre	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-	-
10 Apr 2019	Honeypot	PacifistERcel	11 Oct 2018	3,352	imagine all the sc Still 0 because w Have you heard i	N/A	-	-	-	-	foids
<b>Thread: How can any incel hate Elliot Rodger, who was responsible for bringing inceldom to the spotlight.</b>											
Total posts: 51											
Perceptions: Negative 22 & Positive 17, N/A 11, Mixed 1											
<b>Positive</b>											
Praising ER: 15 (1 image and 1 tERminology)											
Praising his manifesto: 3											
He caused a positive impact on the incel community: 2											
<b>Negative</b>											
Despising ER: 6											
He negatively affected the incel community: 5											
He failed on his mission: 6											
He was a narcissistic: 3											
He was rich: 3											
He was a voice: 9											
He killed incels: 8											
<b>Mixed</b>											
He failed on his mission and killed incels BUT his manifesto was good											
<b>Violence incitement/hateful speech</b>											
Total: 4											
<b>Other idolizations</b>											
Harvey											
Cho: 1											
Marc Lepine: 1											
<b>Misogynistic speech</b>											
Harvey is a hero, foids											

Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incited	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
					He is considered					
15 Apr 2019	tehgymcel420	Living Monstrosity	10 Nov 2017	10,791	This is your true	Negative	He killed incels	-	St. BlackOps2cel	-
15 Apr 2019	Angry_runt	Cursed OGcel	7 Nov 2017	5,178	I was confused b	Positive	His manifesto wa	-	-	-
15 Apr 2019	Hikage-best-knai	Recruit	7 Nov 2017	396	I just want the wc	Negative	He killed incels	I just want the wc	-	-
15 Apr 2019	Pigman	Let's All Riot	14 Mar 2019	1,681	I mainly look up t	N/A	-	-	I mainly look up t	-
15 Apr 2019	Azaylias	ಫಫ ಫಫ ಫಫ	3 Aug 2018	4,841	first post from yo	Negative	He killed incels	ಫಫ ಫಫ ಫಫ	-	-
					Tbh he took them					
15 Apr 2019	Bourbon	5'7 Hugless, Kisk	6 Apr 2019	1,055	also almost killed	Positive	Defending ER	Also almost killed	-	Foids
15 Apr 2019	PotatoTomato	Banned	23 Jul 2018	3,009	I read his manife	Mixed	Good manifesto	-	-	-
					"tehgymcel420 sa					
					He is considered					
15 Apr 2019	GermanCel27	Crusader-neet24	12 Nov 2018	572	This is your true	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
					Click to expand...					
15 Apr 2019	tehgymcel420	Living Monstrosity	10 Nov 2017	10,791	"GermanCel27 sa					
					shut the fuck up	N/A	-	-	St. BlackOps2cel	-
15 Apr 2019	Insomniac	ಫಫ A U T I S M ಫಫ	4 Oct 2018	36,313	blackops2cel=for	N/A	-	-	-	-
15 Apr 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,447	His manifesto is	Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
15 Apr 2019	acnescarcel	Luminary	3 May 2018	14,676	black ops dos ce	N/A	-	-	-	-
					"Insomniac said:					
					blackops2cel = fc					
15 Apr 2019	TEhgymcel420	Living Monstrosity	10 Nov 2017	10,791	Father, forgive th	N/A	-	-	St. BlackOps2cel	-
					Saintcucko2cels					
15 Apr 2019	Italcel	bad englishcel	7 Apr 2018	410	Maybe he's not e	Positive	Praising ER	-	Alek Minassian a	-
					"tehgymcel420 sa					
					He is considered					
15 Apr 2019	maskedman	FBcel	24 Nov 2017	3,204	This is your true	Negative	Despising ER	-	If anyone deserv	-
					Click to expand...					
15 Apr 2019	Joelossus	21 y/o kv, NEETc	25 Mar 2019	6,706	"Angry_runt said:					
					I was confused b					
					This is true he w	Positive	His manifesto wa	-	-	-
					"Pigman said:					
					I mainly look up t					
15 Apr 2019	VirtueSignaller	Looksmatch plea	24 Jul 2018	3,580	'Yet in spite of thi	N/A	-	-	-	-
					"Pigman said:					
					Hes not that bad					
15 Apr 2019	TEhgymcel420	Living Monstrosity	10 Nov 2017	10,791	Blasphemy!	N/A	-	-	St. BlackOps2cel	-
15 Apr 2019	Michael15651	Destined Virgin	4 Nov 2018	23,940	I think it's more o	Positive	Incels relate to hi	-	-	-
					"tehgymcel420 sa					
					He is considered					
15 Apr 2019	Honeypot	PacifistERcel	11 Oct 2018	3,352	This is your true	N/A	-	-	-	-
					Click to expand...					
15 Apr 2019	Dionysus	Paragon	17 Feb 2019	15,627	Hes a meme tbh	Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
15 Apr 2019	Life Wasted	Mexicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	St Blackops2cel	Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
15 Apr 2019	Weed	ded srs	8 Nov 2017	12,687	I agree with you	Negative	He was rich, narc	-	-	-
					"Life Wasted saic					
					St Blackops2cel					
15 Apr 2019	tehgymcel420	Living Monstrosity	10 Nov 2017	10,791	Blackops2cel is t	Negative	Despising ER	-	St. BlackOps2cel	-
					"VirtueSignaller s					
					'Yet in spite of thi					
16 Apr 2019	Weed	ded srs	8 Nov 2017	12,687	Again proves his	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
16 Apr 2019	RollD20	Mythic	10 Jan 2019	4,503	I am not even sui	Negative	He was not an in	-	-	-
16 Apr 2019	Heroic Crisader	Recruit	2 Apr 2019	475	He made incel do	Positive	He promoted the	-	-	-
16 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,077	He didnt kill his r	Positive	Defeding ER	-	-	-
16 Apr 2019	Napoleon de Ges	searching for old	9 Apr 2019	11,284	Or maybe his vic	N/A	-	-	-	-
					"maskedman saic					
					If anyone deserv					
16 Apr 2019	YungCell	Niggas iffy	27 Jul 2018	4,476	Thankyou for givi	Negative	ER is not the true	-	Marc Lepine is th	-
					Elliot was a turni					
16 Apr 2019	Shower_Taker	Recruit	8 Nov 2017	441	The rest is histor	Positive	He positively imp	-	-	-
16 Apr 2019	Darth Cialis	NoFap since 01/	13 Dec 2018	4,209	They say bo2cel	N/A	-	-	-	-
					"Angry_runt said:					
					I was confused b					
					This					
					"ThirdWorldcel sa					
16 Apr 2019	EyesAreSoCold	Wizard	23 Feb 2018	4,111	His manifesto is	Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
					high iq					
16 Apr 2019	Cleftcel	genetic determini	4 Mar 2018	3,070	Cho should be ot	N/A	-	-	Cho should be ot	-
					"Life Wasted saic					
					St Blackops2cel					
16 Apr 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	I don't worship ei	N/A	-	-	-	-
					Er hated us. He h					
16 Apr 2019	GeneticFilth	Legend	7 Nov 2017	3,945	Er hated us. He h	Negative	He hated incels,	-	-	-
					"GeneticFilth saic					
					Er hated us. He h					
16 Apr 2019	tooth monster	monstre des den	21 Apr 2018	3,407	His excellency he	N/A	-	-	-	-
					t. soy cuck					
16 Apr 2019	Italcel	bad englishcel	7 Apr 2018	410	.forcedsmile:	N/A	-	-	-	-
					"GeneticFilth saic					
					Er hated us. He h					
					High iq					
16 Apr 2019	Weed	ded srs	8 Nov 2017	12,687	Joined Nov 8, 20	Negative	He hated incels	-	-	-
					Also sometimes					

17 Apr 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,447	RollD20 said: I am not even sui ER = Normie	No, no, no, no...ji	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	Life Wasted	Mexicancel in An	17 Aug 2018	4,694	"tehgymcel420 si Blackops2cel is t That's a false Go	tehgymcel420 si Blackops2cel is t That's a false Go	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	FuckingDed	Officer	20 Oct 2018	514	Elliot had dope ja I dunno how low	Elliot had dope ja I dunno how low	Negative	He was never an	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	SaintElliotreeeee	0.00001/10	7 May 2018	1,312	his manifesto is a	his manifesto is a	Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	XerxesAzrael	Tallcel living in C	20 Dec 2018	656	"Heroic Crusader He made incel do	"Heroic Crusader He made incel do	Positive	He promoted the	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,077	"GermanCel27 si shut the fuck up OP is so retardec	"GermanCel27 si shut the fuck up OP is so retardec	Positive	He promoted the	-	-	-
17 Apr 2019	tehgymcel420	Living Monstrosit	10 Nov 2017	10,791	"IncelKing said: OP is so retardec He also killed his	"IncelKing said: OP is so retardec He also killed his	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	St. BlackOps2cel-
18 Apr 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,077	You're literally tot	You're literally tot	Positive	He promoted the	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	tehgymcel420	Living Monstrosit	10 Nov 2018	10,791	Also, I think Eura	Also, I think Eura	N/A	-	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	RollD20	Mythic	10 Jan 2019	4,503	"ThirdWorldcel sa ER = Normie	No, no, no, no...ji Are you saying h	N/A	-	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	MayorOfKekville	Toxic Misogynist	9 Nov 2017	8,124	"Azaylias said: first post from yo	"Azaylias said: first post from yo	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Blue Squirtle	Banned	7 May 2018	1,600	ER was a chadlit	ER was a chadlit	Negative	He was not an in	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	UglyScotsman	Recruit	17 Apr	322	Elliot is a martyr It should be a bai	Elliot is a martyr It should be a bai	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Marquis de Sade	Captain	25 Aug 2018	1,660	Blue Squirtle saic ER was a chadlit Plus he was a na	Blue Squirtle saic ER was a chadlit Plus he was a na	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	fellofix	incelecn	15 Jul 2018	1,852	"Azaylias said: first post from yo	"Azaylias said: first post from yo	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Vigil	Officer	17 Jan 2019	809	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na This but his mani	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na This but his mani	Mixed	He was a narciss	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	CrookedOzCel	I slit foids throats	3 Apr 2019	472	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na Being associated	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na Being associated	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	I slit foids throats for entertainment
18 Apr 2019	HumanTrash	Moobcel	15 May 2018	1,677	ER made a big in	ER made a big in	Negative	He negatively aff	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	blockhead24	Banned	3 Apr 2019	339	"Angry_runt said: I was confused b This His legacy wont t He may have kill He paved our wa ER made a big in	"Angry_runt said: I was confused b This His legacy wont t He may have kill He paved our wa ER made a big in	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	20,919	It's a shame inde Is that any ER int	It's a shame inde Is that any ER int	N/A	-	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Blue Squirtle	Banned	7 May 2018	1,600	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na True	"Marquis de Sadr Plus he was a na True	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
18 Apr 2019	Gangsta Rape	Recruit	8 Nov 2017	92	Blackops2cel is ji	Blackops2cel is ji	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
<b>Thread: I don't understand incels who worship Elliot Rodger</b>											
<b>Total posts: 61</b>											
<b>Perceptions: Negative 21 &amp; Positive 21, N/A 22, Mixed 2</b>											
<b>Positive</b>											
Praising ER: 9 (1 meme)											
Praising his manifesto: 11											
He caused a positive impact on the incel community: 6											
<b>Negative</b>											
Despising ER: 5											
He negatively affected the incel community: 1											
He failed on his mission:											
He was a narcissistic: 7											
He was rich: 5											
He was a volcel: 5											
He killed incels: 6											
He is just a meme: 2											
<b>Mixed</b>											
Good manifesto but he is no hero											
He was a narcissistic, a volcel and rich spoiled kid BUT his manifesto was good and he inspired people											

						<b>Violence incitement/hateful speech</b>					
						Total: 3					
						<b>Other idolizations</b>					
						Cho: 2					
						Marc Lepine: 3					
						St BlackOps2cel: 6					
						Alek Minassian: 1					
						<b>Misogynistic speech</b>					
						Total: 2					







Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incitment	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
4 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	I MIGHT be wron	Negative	He is the anti inc	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	rope2cope	National Socialis	30 May 2019	255	How dare you qu	Positive	Praisin ER	National Socialis	-	-
4 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	"rope2cope said: How dare you qu Not questioning f	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	KanashiiOtokon	20 y/o tourettece	29 Mar 2019	841	He's a forced me	Negative	He is a forced me	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	rope2cope	National Socialis	30 May 2019	255	He was never tru He was just in his	N/A	-	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	KanashiiOtokon	20 y/o tourettece	29 Mar 2019	841	"rope2cope said: How dare you qu NPC	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	Insomniac	44 A U T I S M 44	4 Oct 2018	36,313	Because he's ma	Positive	Praisin ER with g	44 A U T I S M 44	-	-
4 Jun 2019	SoyUnPerdedor	Banned	6 Oct 2018	11,134	He did call himse	N/A	-	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	The Virginia Tect	Negative	Despising ER	-	Virgina Tech sho	-
4 Jun 2019	Hikikomore	Schizophrenia &	21 Jan 2018	1,518	I don't worship ar	Negative	Not praising ER	-	-	-
4 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	17 May 2019	1,998	The ricecels he k	N/A	-	Ricecels	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Dionysus	Paragon	17 Feb 2019	15,694	He was a volcel	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	Now i realize he i	N/A	He was racist	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	copetillrope	Recruit	12 Nov 2018	291	No one else to w	Positive	There is no one e	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Dregster666	Wizard	26 Aug 2018	4,152	"KanashiiOtokon He was never tru No, no he wasn't	Negative	He was a fakecel	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	RegisterUserNar	Discord	5 Sept 2018	16,306	He's a good men	Negative	Good meme but	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Saun-Hui Cho	Officer	18 Apr 2019	874	I would read his r St, Elliot truly hac "gigacel123 said: The Virginia Tect	Positive	Praising ER and	-	General Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	YewTree	Recruit	20 Nov 2018	105	Saung-Hui Cho s I would read his r I agree. You shot	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	happiless	trash	2 May 2018	4,352	Because he was "gigacel123 said: He even killed so He did them a fav	Positive	He was an incel	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Eugesnicist	The Purifier	1 Jan 2018	3,641	"KanashiiOtokon He's a forced me He was never tru what would you s	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Napoleon de Ges	searching for ugh	9 Apr 2019	11,284	He was not perfe	Positive	Praising ER calli	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"gigacel123 said: The Virginia Tect If only Cho left be "Hikikomori said: I don't worship ar This, Elliot's exp	Negative	Not praising ER	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	Algeriancel	COOM to the dar	6 Apr 2019	2,853	"KanashiiOtokon It's easy to hate" r/Incelswithoutha	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	mybodyisrotting	Rotting corpse	28 Dec 2018	1,992	Many find his ma	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	IncelKing	Chaos is a laddE	7 Jan 2019	1,082	Because he was My problem is th	Positive	He created awar	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Chi	5 Apr 2018	10,367	"IncelKing said: Because he was This. Granted some pe Elliot had obvious	Negative	He killed incels a	Zero chads or st	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Hate_my_life	Genetic Failure -	30 Dec 2018	6,472	"gigacel123 said: I MIGHT be wron We need Social (	Positive	He created awar	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Valiant Virgin	Just a face in the	7 Nov 2018	5,630	"StaroRavager s If only Cho left be He did leave a ov	N/A	-	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	TheGoodGuy	Childhood was P	2 May 2018	5,242	"Insomniac said: Because he's ma	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	seija	Autistcel & Ment	27 Apr 2019	7,678	"TheGoodGuy sa He did leave a ov	N/A	-	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	No matter how m	N/A	-	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	Eskimocel	Mogged from Pei	13 Nov 2018	22,064	He is a meme	Negative	He is a meme	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	TheLastSorrow	The End of The E	7 May 2019	2,233	"Hikikomori said: I don't worship ar	Negative	Not praising ER	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	HighTGymcel	CHOs	1 Jan 2019	7,625	"Eskimocel said: He is a meme." cope	Positive	Defending ER	-	Cho, Alek Minass	-
5 Jun 2019	Ghost	Veteran	2 May 2018	1,065	I dunno. Elliot is	Negative	He was not an in	-	-	-

5 Jun 2019	Insomniac	4/4 A U T I S M 4/4	4 Oct 2018	36,313	Ghost said: I dunno. Elliot is He was a 4/10. N	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	"Insomniac said: He was a 4/10. N If he's a 4/10 wh	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	TheGoodGuy	Childhood was P	2 May 2018	5,242	"StaroRavager sa No matter how m Yup and people s	N/A	-	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	BlkPillPres	I'm Not A Monste	28 Feb 2018	8,488	@gigacel123	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	nxdismycope	Its not over - its j	13 Aug 2018	2,808	"Insomniac said: Because he's ma	Positive	Praising ER calli	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	anon	babyfaced subhu	15 Apr 2018	3,684	Because he's a n	Negative	Despising ER an	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	WawelDragon16	Dead by 20	17 Apr 2019	5,086	Mainly because c	Mixed	Great manifesto	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	blackcel	BBC	17 Nov 2017	5,031	Elliot was autisti	Negative	Despising ER cal	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	gigacel123	IncelTears: A Bu	16 May 2019	1,998	All the sperging r	Negative	He killed incels a	They never man	-	-
5 Jun 2019	KanashiiOtokon	20 y/o tourettece	29 Mar 2019	841	"Eugenecist said: what would you s Many things, but	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	mental_out	Facel mod	7 Nov 2017	5,140	I always felt Cho Elliot was a bit of	Negative	He wasn't an inc	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	Eugenecist	The Purifier	1 Jan 2018	3,641	"mental_out said I always felt Cho Elliot was a bit of you think he dese	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	DeformAsperger	radical times den	11 Aug 2018	8,110	"KanashiiOtokon He was never tru Why not?	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	PowerLevelCel	Autistic Nazi Gyn	18 Mar 2019	3,701	He was based fo Also, JFL at the c	Positive	Praising his man	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	mental_out	Facel mod	7 Nov 2017	5,140	"Eugenecist said: you think he dese He just seemed c Cho fit the bill m	Negative	Despising ER	-	Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	angrycurrycel	Untermensch	30 Dec 2018	17,861	because we have	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	Foids
5 Jun 2019	Marquis de Sade	Captain	25 Aug 2018	1,662	He was a rich spr	Negative	He was a rich vol	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Ghost	Veteran	2 May 2018	1,065	"Insomniac said: He was a 4/10. N Elliot is 6/10... He Elliot = :chad: in	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	!TheGoodGuy sa "I will die like Jes One of the great	N/A	-	-	Praising Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	TheGoodGuy	Childhood was P	2 May 2018	5,242	"StaroRavager sa One of the great Definitely the mo	N/A	-	-	Praising Cho	-
5 Jun 2019	GetFucked	Gruntcel	4 Sept 2018	2,053	ER was a arroga	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	2340922	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,085	rope2cope said: How dare you qu "ScornedStoic sa My problem is th Maybe they were	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Ch	5 Apr 2018	10,367	"2340922 said: Maybe they were They were short	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	2340922	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,085	ScornedStoic sai They were short 120022120023 lil	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Ch	5 Apr 2018	10,367	"2340922 said: View attachment No bro They were incel	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	2340922	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,086	"ScornedStoic sa No bro They were incel" How do u know? at the end he kills	N/A	-	at the end he kills	-	-
5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Ch	5 Apr 2018	10,369	"2340922 said: at the end he kills That's not true, it	Negative	He killed incels a	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	234092	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,086	ScornedStoic sai That's not true, it all people need t	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Ch	5 Apr 2018	10,369	"2340922 said: Well I see your p	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	234092	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,086	"ScornedStoic sa Well I see your p im glad	N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Pareg	Inaction only allo	1 Aug 2018	1,613	I will have to agre @ScornedStoic: @2340922: ... hc	Negative	He killed incels a	it should have be	-	-

5 Jun 2019	ScornedStoic	The Ghost of Chr	5 Apr 2018	10,369	"Pareg said: I will have to agre  @ScornedStoic: @2340922: ... hc Glad to see we r N/A	-	-	-	-
5 Jun 2019	2340922	Luminary	5 Dec 2018	11,086	Pareg said: I will have to agre  @ScornedStoic:  @2340922: ... hc Thank you. Im gl	Positive	Praising ER with	-	-
5 Jun 2019	soulartemis	Veteran	25 Nov 2017	1,342	"Hikikomori said: I don't worship ar You all are also f	Positive	Praising his man	-	-
5 Jun 2019	CelticTruecel	Captain	27 Mar 2019	1,532	I've always prefer	N/A	-	-	columbine two
5 Jun 2019	Intellectual	feminae stultae s	19 May 2018	8,783	"Hate_my_life sa This. Granted some pe Elliot had obvious I agree with most	Positive	He was an incel	-	-
5 Jun 2019	Mugcuck	Recruit	26 Dec 2018	301	It's mostly a mem	Negative	He is a meme	-	-
5 Jun 2019	StaroRavager	Hateful, Disguste	18 Aug 2018	14,132	"TheGoodGuy sa Definitely the mo I wonder how thir	N/A	-	-	Cho
5 Jun 2019	Incelibateman	Constantly bullie	24 May 2018	283	Because he did s	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-
<b>Thread: Why is Elliot Rodger worshipped?</b>									
Total posts: 74									
Perceptions: Negative 24 & Positive 20, N/A 29, Mixed 1									
<b>Positive</b>									
Praising ER: 15 (1 image & 1 tERminology)									
Praising his manifesto: 6									
He caused a positive impact on the incel community: 3									
<b>Negative</b>									
Despising ER: 12									
He negatively affected the incel community:									
He failed on his mission: 5									
He was a narcissistic:									
He was rich: 2									
He was a volcel: 3									
He killed incels: 5									
He was racist: 2									
He is just a meme: 6									
<b>Mixed</b>									
Great manifesto BUT failed on his mission									
<b>Violence incitement/hateful speech</b>									
Total: 7 nazi content									
<b>Other idolizations</b>									
Cho: 11									
Marc Lepine:									
Virginia Tech: 1									
Alek Minassian: 1									
Columbine guys: 1									
<b>Misogynistic speech</b>									
Total: 1 foids									

Date	User	User status	User joining dat	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence inciten	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	Jack Peterson aka loneliness and de	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	rightfulcel	Legend	24 Apr 2019	3,988	Hi fbi	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	taurazi	Banned	30 Sept 2019	145	Just a meme. His lips look like i He also killed his	Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"rightfulcel said: Hi fbi"	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	taurazi	Banned	30 Sept 2019	145	"rightfulcel said: Hi fbi" REPOST	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ThisLifeKillsMe	Admiral	3 Mar 2018	2,979	He surely felt hor Hes a great sour	Negative	His actions were	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,481	He was a 22 yea Very few people	Positive	He was an incel,	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"ThisLifeKillsMe : He surely felt hor Hes a great sour post the best mei	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Player	Wizar NEET Bel	19 Apr 2019	2,724	make me laugh Incel ""commu	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ReallyRice	fuck	21 Jan 2018	5,554	"stelliotrodger99 not fbi" 1507068436460s	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Monk of Failure	Nobody escapes	14 Jul 2019	4,623	Elliot made the w	Positive	He promoted the	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Inkwell	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	39	The guy basically	Negative	His was good loo	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Rassimov	Veteran	29 July 2018	1,146	I find it hard to be N/A	-	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	acnescarcel	Luminary	3 May 2018	14,674	"rightfulcel said: Hi fbi" REPOST	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	MarriedAndLooki	Late stage LDAR	8 Nov 2017	10,214	No bro he's just t	Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	TheSecondComin	no looks no life	1 Oct 2018	10,382	meme, big retard	Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Ugly_equals_De	Banned	23 Mar 2019	2,611	No	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Barnacle	Officer	8 Sept 2019	987	The guy was ven	Negative	He was narcissis	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Big Yikes	We live in a soci	30 Sept 2019	364	He was a rich spi	Negative	He was spoiled ri	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"ReallyRice said: View attachment not cia either	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	IIIIIIII	Janitor Wagecel	9 Jun 2018	3,211	This is very unse	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Tempus Edax Re29 y/o KHHV		11 Nov 2017	1,513	Joined Yesterday	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	HonklerTheConq	Make Foids Afrai	16 Jul 2019	3,145	I don't think wER	Positive	Use of ETERminok	-	Alek Minassian	Make Foids Afraid Again
2 Oct 2019	turbocuckcel_70	-	2 May 2018	9,382	Well, bye. He's cool, fbi.	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	yeshuallah	Mythic	25 Jun 2019	4,691	Your vote will be You guys never l	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Antorian	Recruit	30 Sep 2019	147	I like him. He was	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	mental_out	Facel mod	7 Nov 2017	5,140	killing his ricecel	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	LastGerman	Urbenschel	2 Nov 2018	9,995	"Big Yikes said: He was a rich spi Moggs me.	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"yeshuallah said: Your vote will be You guys never l you don't have to	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	gymletethnicel	When it never be	8 May 2019	2,659	Nice try ABC Nev	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Mprvolts	Mangacel	30 Sept 2019	1,047	"ThirdWorldcel s He was a 22 yea Very few people	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Gyros_Pretcel	Wizard	4 Jul 2018	4,215	He was never inc	Positive	He was an incel	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	OverBeforelBeg	One man's trash	26 Jul 2018	3,924	"Inkwell said: The guy basically imao	N/A	-	-	-	One man's trash is another man's wife
2 Oct 2019	matrix	REEEEEEE	30 Sept 2019	110	I wouldn't say he I would say he w: The only thing I 'i	Mixed	He was an incel l	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Arthars93	Always remembe	16 Apr 2018	2,005	C'mon CIA, I kno Put a little more e	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	RemoveNormalfs	Rotmaxxing	8 Jul 2019	4,105	(Pic mocking CIA	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Purveyoroftruth	Recruit	8 Sept 2019	413	"ThirdWorldcel s He was a 22 yea Very few people He's basically me	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Reize	Your Pianocel, Fi	25 May 2018	670	Im not awnsering Elliot Rodger was	Mixed	He was not a her	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	tujavie	Recruit	1 Oct 2019	87	He was definitely	N/A	Mentalcel	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	MidnightMetro	Banned	1 Oct 2019	83	He served as an He killed other in Elliot has a very l	Mixed	He promoted the	-	-	I would respect him more if he actually managed to kill that entire sorority like he planned
2 Oct 2019	Reize	Your Pianocel, Fi	25 May 2018	670	"matrix said: I wouldn't say he I would say he w: The only thing I 'i	Mixed	He was an incel l	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,481	"Gyros_Pretcel s He was never inc His standards we	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	DieselPunk	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	18	He was an unfort	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	MaxZM98	Socially construc	2 May 2018	1,879	there are too few also why do u thi	N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	wide_eyed_optim	Just pass me the	2 Oct 2019	690	"matrix said: I wouldn't say he I would say he w: The only thing I 'i Best comment	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"MaxZM98 said: there are too few also why do u thi because I'm entit	Positive	Praising ER usin	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,481	"MidnightMetro s He served as an He killed other in Elliot has a very l He had to compe	N/A	-	-	-	-

2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	ThirdWorldcel sa His standards we she's one ugly ST N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Cheezecel	Banned	30 Sept 2019	214	hes a good exam N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Apati	DSBMcEl	12 Sept 2019	361	He is the reason Hurr durr if i car That kid is also v Negative	He was a rich na	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	jerek	Bitches and whor	7 Oct 2018	527	His looks doesn't Positive	Praising ER	-	-	Bitches and whores
2 Oct 2019	zangan01	The trust of cels	8 Nov 2017	12,109	All those cucks w N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Incelestal	Recruit	2 Oct 2019	5	He mas a massiv Negative	He was not a true	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	wide_eyed_optim	Just pass me the	2 Oct 2019	690	"Incelestal said: He mas a massiv What about you : Positive	Praising his mani	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"zangan01 said: All those cucks w do it! release you N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	zangan01	The trust of cels	8 Nov 2017	12,109	"stelliotrodger99 do it! release you I'll do it :woke:wc N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Incelestal	Recruit	2 Oct 2019	5	"wide_eyed_optim What about you : From what I rem Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	TheMinimalist	Gamer cel, weeb	12 Aug 2019	878	He looks hotter tt N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Fat Link	The Holy Emissa	31 Jul 2019	823	While I don't con: Mixed	Not a hero but ar	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	wide_eyed_optim	Just pass me the	2 Oct 2019	690	"Incelestal said: From what I rem He also smiled at N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ERadiator	Clowncel	3 Apr 2019	3,031	"taurazi said: Just a meme. His lips look like i He also killed his Wrath can make Positive	He was a hero	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Fabio	Monogataricel	13 Apr 2018	2,468	Hapa dude who v Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ordinaryotaku	Make your local f	7 Nov 2017	8,755	If there was an in Mixed	Great manifesto	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ionycopenow	waiting around to	31 Jul 2019	3,140	On one hand it's I remember in a ( Mixed	He killed incels b	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Alfeo	my own life dont	25 Aug 2019	151	"ReallyRice said: View attachment N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Anoncel123	Calisthenicscel	22 Dec 2018	1,488	ER's manifesto b Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Valiant Virgin	Just a face in the	7 Nov 2018	5,630	In all honesty, it's As for the idea of His manifesto m Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	XerxesAzrael	Telcel living in C	20 Dec 2018	655	He's not an Incel Negative	He is a volcel	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	wide_eyed_optim	Just pass me the	2 Oct 2019	690	"XerxesAzrael sa He's not an Incel thats not true acc N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	lightskin2thousar	do the right CHO	2 Sept 2019	2,541	I respect the thou "MidnightMetro s He served as an He killed other in Elliot has a very f girls these days : Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Feces	Rise and Rot	18 Mar 2019	924	He brought light l Mixed	He promoted the	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Uggo Mongo	L-S-T-E-R	17 Jun 2018	2,994	"RemoveNormal View attachment Find one in every N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Kent	Major	11 Mar 2018	2,477	On a serious not Cliffs: It's Over N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	GreaseCel	Perma Failure	19 May 2019	3,330	"rightfulcel said: Hi fb" Username: stellc First posts about Joined yesterday Yeah, just go ahe N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ThirdWorldcel	Hapa-looking sex	16 Aug 2018	1,490	"lightskin2thousa I respect the thou girls these days : Feminine traits oi N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	TheCrock	Jawcel	9 Mar 2018	1,247	What a dumb pol Mixed	He was an incel	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	MayorOfKekville	Toxic Misogynist	9 Nov 2017	8,125	THE FINAL CoNs >> Joined yester N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	dyellow	It's over for FBIct	10 Jul 2019	1,607	Both answers tbf Mixed	He was not an in	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	pp183	imouto enthusias	15 Jun 2019	9,841	"taurazi said: Just a meme. His lips look like i He also killed his Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	BraincelsRefugee	Victime of Reddit	30 Sept 2019	263	he may have bee Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	greybeardcel	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	29	"rightfulcel said: Hi fb" REPOST N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Fiddlesticks03	Recruit	30 Jul 2019	355	A hero for what? Negative	He negatively im	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Chris.Jones	An outcast amon	1 Mar 2018	9,973	Elliot was a stanc Negative	He was rich, he f	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	TheSecondComi	no looks no life	1 Oct 2018	10,382	"Chris_Jones sai Elliot would've dc muh blonde stacj N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Chris.Jones	An outcast amon	1 Mar 2018	9,973	"TheSecondCom muh blonde stacj I like dark haired N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Bleachcel	FBIncel	13 Aug 2019	2,575	"rightfulcel said: Hi fb" REPOST N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Speed	Officer	12 Feb 2019	664	He's more of a m Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	omnilet	ricecel natsoc go	9 Nov 2017	517	most ricecels vot Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	"omnilet said: most ricecels vot your coping this f N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Alfen	Captain	19 Mar 2018	1,731	his life state was his opportunities with all that mone Mentalcel mos de N/A	-	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	Azaylias	ㄣ ㄣ ㄣ	3 Aug 2018	4,841	both options are : Mixed	Not a hero but ar ㄣ ㄣ ㄣ	-	-	-
2 Oct 2019	ObitoCel	Recruit	9 Nov 2017	170	The dude worshij Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	noodlewhore
2 Oct 2019	nazianime	Unironically A Vir	16 Apr 2019	566	If I had to weigh l Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	-

3 Oct 2019	omni1et	ricecel natsoc go	9 Nov 2017	517	*stelliotrodger99 your coping this f Why are you brai I've seen more th incels.co incels.c	if reddit wasn't sc ER was a fucking fuck off anyone w ER had money, f then he offed a b the guys who wo	Negative	He wasn't an inci -	-	-										
3 Oct 2019	Barry	Veteran	2 May 2018	1,029	fuck ER how that "Barry said: ER was a fucking fuck off anyone w ER had money, f then he offed a b the guys who wo fuck ER how that	Negative	He was rich, volc -	-	-											
3 Oct 2019	stelliotrodger99	Banned	1 Oct 2019	119	Click to expand... "rightfulcel said: Hi fbi" REPOST	N/A		-	-											
3 Oct 2019	FinnCel	Alcoholcel	13 Dec 2018	16,074	Hi fbi" REPOST	N/A		-	-											
3 Oct 2019	Mainländer	Coping till the en	2 May 2018	21,001	He was incel, but	Mixed	He was not a her -	-	-											
3 Oct 2019	oldcel75	Veteran	19 Jun 2018	1,417	We are now look	Negative	He caused a neg -	-	-											
POLL: how do you feel about elliot? he was a hero Votes: 52 56.5% he was never incel Votes: 40 43.5% Total voters 92																				
<p><b>Thread:[Discussion] is elliot Rodger taken seriously among the incel community? *THE FINAL CONSENSUS*</b></p> Total posts: 99 Perceptions: 28 Negative & 17 Positive, N/A: 49, Mixed 11																				
<p><b>Positive</b></p> Praising ER: 15 (2 IERminology) Praising his manifesto: 5 He caused a positive impact on the incel community: 3																				
<p><b>Negative</b></p> Despising ER: 5 He negatively affected the incel community: 3 He failed on his mission: 5 He was a narcissistic: 3 He was rich: 5 He was a volcel: 7 He killed incels: 7 He is just a meme: 7																				
<p><b>Mixed</b></p> He was an incel but not a hero (x5) He was not an incel but a hero He was not a hero, although a mentalcel (x2) He promoted the incel community BUT he failed on his mission, killed incels and none Stacies He killed incels but he was an incel He promoted the incel community, wrote a good manifesto BUT killing is bad																				
<p><b>Violence incitement/hateful speech</b></p> Total: 1 (nazi symbols)																				
<p><b>Other idolizations</b></p> Alek Minassian: 1																				
<p><b>Misogynistic speech</b></p> Total: 5																				



Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incitement	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech	
23 Nov 2019	wide_eyed_optim	Just pass me the	2 Oct 2019	617	I used to be most But to be honest Not only this, but His family sucked In the manifesto, He very bravely v I was never going And also, the ver Why do things ha of Retribution is c everyone through worthlessness w/ Why do things ha	Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	He should've killed his fucking cuck of a father's wife, that would've been so epic	
23 Nov 2019	Virgin0wers	23yr Wageslave	5 Dec 2017	8,317	he had some unc But he was also I	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	HidekiTojota	Conquistadorcel	21 Jul 2019	6,436	I think highly of M Considering Ellio	Negative	He killed incels	-	Praising Marc Le	-	
23 Nov 2019	ihaveno1	Paragon	11 Nov 2018	16,262	he's misundersto "HidekiTojota sai I think highly of M Considering Ellio	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	ordinaryotaku	Make your local f	7 Nov 2017	8,706	Marc was a true c He was the last t	Negative	He killed incels	-	Praising Marc Le	-	
23 Nov 2019	zangano1	The truest of cels	8 Nov 2017	11,374	He was the last t	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	TheLastSorrow	The End Of The I	7 May 2019	2,179	2wide_eyed_opti Why do things ha of Retribution is c everyone through worthlessness w/ Why do things ha As someone whc	Positive	Praising ER and	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	Dionysus	Paragon	17 Feb 2019	15,295	"ihaveno1 said: he's misundersto	N/A	-	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGr	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,169	Such a supreme	Positive	Praising ER callir	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	Wizard32	Recruit	20 May 2018	319	Just to nitpick thc "ihaveno1 said: he's misundersto he was a mental	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	RedKings	Recruit	3 Sept 2019	172	"Wizard32 said: Just to nitpick thc He did it to increz	N/A	-	-	-	-	
23 Nov 2019	Theresastickinm	MayoCurry	22 Apr 2018	714	He did it to increz	N/A	-	-	-	-	
24 Nov 2019	Vermilioncore	permavirgin failu	19 Apr 2019	10,820	Seung Hui Cho is	N/A	-	-	Praising Seung H	-	
24 Nov 2019	Ping And Pong	Sensible angryc	16 Nov 2019	292	He mogged most He even expecte	Negative	He was rich and	-	-	-	
24 Nov 2019	what is happenin	Recruit	8 Oct 2019	305	"Wizard32 said: Just to nitpick thc "After going throu On the day befor After that, I will s All of that pleasu This First Phase	N/A	-	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	Wizard32	Recruit	20 May 2018	319	Ah okay, I think I They were simpl Hell, I'm black-pil It sounds scumm That said, I gues	N/A	-	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	BummerDrumme	Andy milonakis b	11 Oct 2018	1,926	this is gonna get Jannies here dor	N/A	-	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	gdmorninghatea	Recruit	1 Nov 2019	26	I relate to him in	Positive	He inspire	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	Edmund_Kempe	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,336	Beware this is be "Wizard32 said: Just to nitpick thc He forgot to turn	N/A	-	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	PassTheRope/C	Recruit	20 Jul 2019	78	"Virgin0wers sa But he was also I	N/A	-	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	Teutonic Knight	Religious Volcel	2 May 2019	3,724	Ethnics who wan	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-	
25 Nov 2019	Fearofeight	Wristcel 6.25"	11 Jul 2019	699	Don't rope, if you	N/A	-	-	-	-	
						<b>Thread: I look up to Elliot Rodger more the more I know about him, and the more I think about roping</b>					
						Total posts: 22					
						Perceptions:Negative 7 & Positive 6, N/A 9					
						<b>Positive</b>					
						Praising ER: 6					
						Praising his manifesto: 2					
						He caused a positive impact on the incel community:					
						<b>Negative</b>					
						Despising ER: 2					
						He negatively affected the incel community:					
						He failed on his mission:					
						He was a narcissistic: 1					
						He was rich: 1					
						He was a volcel:					
						He killed incels: 3					
						<b>Mixed</b>					
						<b>Violence incitement/hateful speech</b>					
						Total: 0					
						<b>Other idolizations</b>					
						Seung Hui Cho: 1					



Date	User	User status	User joining date	User messages	Post	Perception	Narrative	Violence incited	Other idolization	Misogynistic speech
24 Nov 2019	theundeadburg	slarkcel	4 Jun 2018	925	Why did he kill 4	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	tooth monster	monstre des den	21 Apr 2018	3,469	He was a bit reta	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	loserkarthusplaa	Patience is key t	11 Nov 2018	800	He tried to get inl	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Theresastickinm	MayoCurry	22 Apr 2018	735	He tried to kill as	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Capable_Onion	Neet Demon	15 Nov 2019	407	Chads are easier	N/A	-	-	-	foids
24 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGri	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,825	At the time he we 3 Asians and 3 w !Capable_Onion Chads are easier he killed as many	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Capable_Onion	Neet Demon	15 Nov 2019	407	"AlexanderTheGri he killed as many That's probably c	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	nihilily	Officer	26 Jul 2019	792	no one immune t	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	ChinaCurry	Veteran	15 Jan 2019	1,236	"AlexanderTheGri At the time he we 3 Asians and 3 w he killed as many Which incels did	Negative	Negatively affect	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	AAAAAAAcel	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	29	the best would br	N/A	-	the best would	-	-
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	Elliot Rodger wat	Negative	He was a volcel r	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGri	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,825	"ChinaCurry said Which incels did The 3 Asians he "speedtypingince Elliot Rodger wat Being obsessed i	Negative	He killed incels a	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	"AlexanderTheGri He also was a dir How small was h	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	nihilily	Officer	26 Jul 2019	792	"speedtypingince How small was h 4 inch	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	CelticTruecel	Captain	27 Mar 2019	1,537	He was a misant "AlexanderTheGri At the time he we 3 Asians and 3 w he killed as many Those room matt	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 Mar 2019	2,185	"nihilily said: 4 inch" For real?	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,558	He was cleaning A degenerate ho A fat, Femistazi. 1 Collateral damag Spoller Joke. Not defend	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGri	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,825	"speedtypingince For real?" 79dcccc3-83df-4	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,558	"speedtypingince Elliot Rodger wat Based	Negative	He was a volcel r	-	-	Foid
24 Nov 2019	BummerDrumme	Andy milonakis b	11 Oct 2018	2,124	"loserkarthusplay He tried to get inl	Negative	He failed on his r	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	"AlexanderTheGri View attachment That's not enough	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	LittleBoy	Overlord of the Ir	8 Jul 2018	7,558	Inihility said: 4 inch" Over. Get bath r	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	IIIIII	Janitor Wagecel	9 Jun 2018	3,211	He was a narciss "they have some It wasn't women	Negative	He was a narciss	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	manicel	5'10 retardcel 2/1	4 Oct 2019	1,556	He was a retard I	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	He was a retard that killed more incels than whores lmao
24 Nov 2019	nihilily	Officer	26 Jul 2019	792	"speedtypingince That's not enough but it is obvious t	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Monk of Failure	Nobody escapes	14 Jul 2019	4,653	He was a retarde	Negative	He was narcissis	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Capable_Onion	Neet Demon	15 Nov 2019	407	"tooth monster s He was a bit reta	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Murdoch89	Anarcho nihilist	24 Feb 2018	4,082	"CelticTruecel sa He was a misant Those room matt One of them stol	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	CrackinYs	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	246	Lepine > ER	Negative	Despising ER	-	Lepine	-
24 Nov 2019	nihilily	Officer	26 Jul 2019	792	"LittleBoy said: Over. Get bath r i meant er had a	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Ecstasy	Eat the Chads	5 Apr 2018	2,043	ER was and still i	Negative	He is just a mem	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Carotel	Just rope	12 Jul 2019	1,452	"speedtypingince Elliot Rodger wat Yeah I totally agr	Negative	He was a volcel,	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	Italcel	bad englishcel	7 Apr 2018	410	because obvious He failed to get ir Most ERs never	Positive	Defending ER	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGri	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,825	"nihilily said: i meant er had a He's saying it wa	N/A	-	-	-	-
24 Nov 2019	esoteric	not a fucking gre	7 Nov 2019	437	"AAAAAAAAAAA the best would br	N/A	-	-	-	-

24 Nov 2019	Uglychincel	Recruit	7 Nov 2017	246	ER was a cuck tt	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	esoteric	not a fucking gre	7 Nov 2019	437	"Carotel said: Yeah I totally agr "JUST LOWER Y	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Carotel	Just rope	12 Jul 2019	1,452	"esoteric said: "JUST LOWER Y	Negative	He was a volcel v-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	zangano1	The truest of cels	8 Nov 2017	12,147	No man. He legit	Negative	He failed on his r-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	AlexanderTheGri	Youngcel	13 Oct 2019	4,825	Because his plan	Negative	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Glokta	Inquisitor	3 Sept 2019	604	(ER gif)	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Saddam	Recruit	9 Nov 2019	71	ER was retarded	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Forum_User_234	Recruit	17 Oct 2019	413	Apparently he stz But yeah it is pre	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	Because he was	Negative	He failed on his r-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	"speedtypingince Elliot Rodger wat I lost you there, fi	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	"based_meme sz I lost you there, fi	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	???"	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	HidekiTojota	Conquistadorel, I	21 Jul 2019	6,757	"speedtypingince ???"	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Legendarywristc	Major	30 Sept 2019	2,158	He was, at best, He was, at best, NO 6/10 guy has	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	3c900bf7-315b-4 Marc Lepine look	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-	Marc Lepine		
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	"speedtypingince Elliot Rodger wat	Negative	He was rich, volc-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	"speedtypingince NO 6/10 guy has www.youtube.co ElliotSupremeLa "People need to : www.youtube.cc Low IQ.	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	Those are virtue	N/A	-	-	-	-	Those are virtue signaling cunts		
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	"based_meme sz ER and gained n	Negative	He was a volcel	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	All the more reas	Negative	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	"speedtypingince All the more reas Right, I do agree	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Iwanttolive	Recruit	13 Oct 2018	286	There was a Cha	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	speedtypingincel	height > x	17 May 2019	2,185	Retard or not, wf * virtue signalling	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	BrapZilian	Hello IT	4 Nov 2019	586	"based_meme sz Right, I do agree There was a Cha	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	theson	Umm no, sweaty	17 Nov 2017	1,278	You need to mee	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	based_meme	I.N.C.E.L. Operat	11 Oct 2019	575	He wasn't even t	Negative	Despising ER	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Edmun_Kemper	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,683	"theundeadburg : Why did he kill 4 He liberated his r	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Edmun_Kemper	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,683	"theson said: He liberated his r Being hapa hims	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Edmun_Kemper	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,683	his planned mani	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Edmun_Kemper	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,683	"Glokta said: ER was retarded I really think he it	N/A	-	-	-	-			
24 Nov 2019	Edmun_Kemper	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,683	or who would go	N/A	-	-	-	-			
29 Nov 2019	DarkSoul99	Lonewolf99	20 May 2018	263	He hated the guy	N/A	-	-	-	-	femoids		
29 Nov 2019	GreaseCel	Perma Failure	19 May 2019	3,337	He was a sperg z	Negative	He killed incels	-	-	-			
29 Nov 2019	Homoculus	Officer	11 Jan 2019	573	"theundeadburg : Why did he kill 4 Because he was	Negative	He was narcissis-	-	-	-			
29 Nov 2019	FinnCel	Alcoholcel	13 Dec 2018	16,138	I would be happy	Positive	Praising ER	-	-	-			
29 Nov 2019	freakinasuit	Misogynist	2 Apr 2019	1,361	"speedtypingince NO 6/10 guy has www.youtube.co ElliotSupremeLa "People need to : www.youtube.cc fuck off. that bitcl	N/A	-	-	-	-	cos I'm a quirky teehee sut, bitch		
29 Nov 2019	CrackingYs	Recruit	30 Sept 2019	246	"Edmund_Kempe his planned mani He didn't plan an	Negative	He failed on his r-	-	-	-			
29 Nov 2019	Edmund_Kempe	When I wake up,	26 Sept 2019	1,639	"CrackingYs said He didn't plan an his master plan v	N/A	-	-	-	-			
										Total: Negative 30 & Positive 5			
										N/A:31			
										<b>Thread: [JFL] Why did Elliot Rodger kill 4 guys and 2 girls?</b>			
										Total posts: 66			
										Perceptions: Negative 30 & Positive 5, N/A 31			
										<b>Positive</b>			
										Praising ER: 5			



<b>TOTAL RESULTS</b>				
Total posts: 747				
Total threads: 16				
Perceptions: 210 Negative & 222 Positive , N/A 291 , Mixed 24				
<b>Positive</b>				
Praising ER: 175 (7 imag, 6 terminology,)				
Praising his manifesto: 52				
ER was a truecel: 9				
ER caused a positive impact on the incel community: 33				
<b>Negative</b>				
Despising ER: 51				
ER negatively affected the incel community: 11				
ER failed on his mission: 44				
ER was a narcissistic: 30				
ER was rich: 32				
ER was a volcel: 67				
ER killed incels: 58				
ER is just a meme: 17				
ER was a racist: 5				
<b>Mixed</b>				
ER was the first person to do a massacre in the name of incels BUT he killed incels				
ER failed on his mission and killed incels BUT his manifesto was good				
ER was a good spokesman but a bad killer				
Praising his manifesto but he was a volcel				
ER was good looking and rich family BUT he was a mentalcel and mixed				
ER failed on his mission and killed incels BUT his manifesto was good				
ER wrote a good manifesto but he is no hero				
ER was narcissistic, a volcel and rich spoiled kid BUT his manifesto was good and he inspired people				
Despising ER but praising the idea he represents				
ER failed on his mission, killed incels BUT promoted blackpill				
Praising ER but he killed incels				
ER wrote a great manifesto BUT failed on his mission				
ER was an incel but not a hero (x5)				
ER was not an incel but a hero				
ER was not a hero, but a mentalcel (x2)				
ER promoted the incel community BUT he failed on his mission, killed incels and no Stacies				
ER killed incels but he was an incel				
ER promoted the incel community, wrote a good manifesto BUT killing is wrong				



	Foid/Femoid: 51				
	Slut: 12				
	Bitch: 20				
	Cunt: 7				
	Whore: 11				
	Faggot: 11				