Personality of Incels and Its Extent as Predictor of Involvement and Activity in The Incel Community

Helena E. Bieselt

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Science

Supervisors:

Dr. Pelin Gül

Dr. Noortje Kloos

THE UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE

Faculty of Behavioural Management and Social Sciences

Department of Positive Psychology & Technology

June 24th, 2020

Abstract

Aims: This research was aimed to explore the Big Five personality characteristics of Incels and the extent to which personality traits predict involvement and activity in the Incel community. It was predicted for Incels to have a certain personality profile where they score lower on extraversion, openness to experience, conscientiousness, and agreeableness and higher on neuroticism than non-Incels. Furthermore, it was hypothesised that a closer fit for this profile would predict more activity and involvement in the Incel community.

Methods: An online survey was conducted using a link that was distributed among several social media platforms. An online Qualtrics survey was used to gather a convenience sample of 22 participants who self-identified as Incels and 193 participants who did not. To measure personality traits the BFI-XS-2 was used, while both the state of being an Incel and activity levels in the community were measured by items developed for this research. Independent samples t-tests were used to compare personality trait differences between self-identifying Incels and non-Incels, and several simple linear regression analyses were performed to explore the relationship between personality traits and activity and involvement in the Incel community.

Results: The predicted differences between Incels and non-Incels in form of Incels scoring lower on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and scoring higher on neuroticism were found to be significant. However, the predicted direction of Incels scoring lower on openness to experience was found to be non-significant. Furthermore, the personality traits of extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness were found to significantly negatively predict activity, while neuroticism was found to have a significant positive influence. Again, openness to experience was found to be a non-significant predictor of activity.

Conclusions: This suggests that interventions aimed at helping Incels or preventing someone to join the Incel community should be tailored to the personality profile. Alternative ways of coping could be designed for members of the Incel community. Consequently, new support groups without the worldviews or attitudes of Inceldom could be created. Moreover, the profile can also be used to predict how active someone is in the Incel community as well as to identify Incels.

Personality of Incels and Its Extend as Predictor of Involvement and

Activity in The Incel Community

On May 23, 2014, a 22-year-old man named Elliot Rodger shot and stabbed six people, injured 14 others, and then killed himself in Isla Vista California (Young, 2019). Before, he had uploaded a video with the title "Elliot Rodger's Retribution" to his YouTube channel in addition to emailing his parents his manifesto titled "My Twisted World". In both of these files, he justified his attacks with his frustration with and hatred towards women for rejecting him and his jealousy of men who were sexually active. His justifications paint a picture of a man whose ideology includes that as a virgin, he deserved no respect. A man who tells a story about his insignificance and loneliness (Høiland, 2019). Cause for his unhappiness was deemed women, who did not notice him – which was their flaw (Young, 2019). Rodgers mentioned being 'forced' to commit these attacks since "the females of the human species were incapable of seeing the value in [him]" (Høiland, 2019, p. 2).

Rogers is thought to be part of an online community that is called "Incel" (Young, 2019). The term Incel is a portmanteau of the two words involuntary celibates (Donnelly, Burgess, Anderson, Davis, & Dillard, 2001; Young, 2019), which captures the notion of wanting sex but lacking a willing partner for it (Donnelly et al., 2001; Høiland, 2019). In recent times, the term has come to stand for a misogynistic online community (Young, 2019; Baele et al., 2019) that is present on platforms like 4chan, 8chan, Reddit, and twitter (Young, 2019). Incels have a distinctive belief system regarding women, men, and sexual relationships. According to a content analysis of Incels' social media posts, Young (2019) found that they seem to see themselves as having a right to sex that women are denying them, which supposedly manifests itself in hatred towards women and the alpha males whom women choose over Incels. In a study that used both qualitative and quantitative analyses to examine the content and trend in posts of Incels on their websites, Incels appear to see society as a fundamental hierarchy characterised by attractiveness and sex, meaning that women are valued and favoured (Baele et al., 2019). At the same time, men who are ugly are disregarded concerning romantic and sexual relationships. They perceive their position as immutable – there is no way to leave their position of not getting sex, being an Incel is definite (Baele et al., 2019; Høiland, 2019).

Incels seem to participate in self-pity and self-hatred. While individuals who wish to have sex but lack a partner see themselves as inadequate or undesirable (Sprecher & Treger, 2015), Incels are described as obsessively rating themselves on pictures (Høiland, 2019; Young, 2019) and constantly reminding themselves that they are ugly (Baele et al., 2019;

Høiland, 2019) and subhuman with physical inferiority (Baele et al., 2019). They hold on to a negative idea where they cannot escape their position in society (Baele et al., 2019; Høiland, 2019) and see themselves as the lowest of the low.

There appears to be a real-life, negative impact of the Incel community on society. Similar to the attacks of Elliot Rodger, who is idealised by Incels, there have been several attacks and mass killings that have been associated with Incels (Young, 2019). Even apart from the violence, this group dehumanises women using hateful speech and seems to advocate aggression and harassment (Young, 2019). On the other side, the posts of Incels often paint a picture of a community of people who are lonely and depressed and see themselves as apart from society and who engage in self-loathing (Young, 2019).

Taken together, Incels seem to be a group that poses a threat not only to society but also themselves. Hence, it is unfortunate that there appears to be a lack of psychological research on Incels, which sparked this scientific examination. It focused on the personality to see if a particular personality profile can predict if someone becomes an Incel. This way, people who are likely to be in the Incel community or at risk of joining the community could be identified by their fit into the personality profile. This could further help in tailoring interventions for Incels, designing and tailoring preventive measures so that people do not join the community, or generally gaining more knowledge.

Personality of Incels

Personality can be conceptualised and measured in a variety of ways. One of them is the theory of the Big Five personality traits. Here, personality is captured through five personality constructs: extraversion, neuroticism, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (Groth-Marnat & Wright, 2016). Someone high in extraversion is more outgoing, assertive, friendly, warm, sociable, and upbeat compared to someone low in extraversion. Neuroticism, however, encapsulates distress, turmoil, and emotional stability. Individuals high in neuroticism often experience impulsivity, anger, depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. Curiosity about the world, others, and oneself are captured with openness to experience. Being high in this construct is related to being curious and imaginative, being able to attune to personal emotions, and having a preference for thinking abstractly. Regarding agreeableness, high scores in this construct are considered to indicate respect and empathy for others. Being high in agreeableness incorporates thinking of others as good and trustworthy. Lastly, conscientiousness describes a tendency to be determined and organised. Individuals high in this construct orient themselves towards success and purpose and plan and execute these plans (Growth-Marnat & Wright, 2016).

Despite a lack of research and knowledge about the personality of Incels, there are descriptions about their moods and feelings as well as research on personality of men with prejudices or misogynistic attitudes that can be used to infer Incels' personality characteristics. Incels often report feeling left out and having no friends (Høiland, 2019) and loneliness (Donnelly et al., 2001). People who feel lonely tend to score rather low on extraversion (Cheng & Furnham, 2002; Hojat, 1982; Levin & Stokes, 1986). Furthermore, Incels appear to be avoiding social interactions (Donnelly et al., 2001), which is related to low extraversion (Cheng & Furnham, 2002). Extraversion predicts happiness (Cheng & Furnham, 2002), while Incels report feeling unhappy and depressed (Donnelly et al., 2001), which suggests lower scores on extraversion. A negative body image, that Incels appear to have (Donnelly et al., 2001) is also associated with low extraversion (Allen & Walter, 2016). Consequently, it can be inferred that Incels score lower on extraversion than the general non-Incel population.

Neuroticism also appears to be related to the characteristics and moods of Incels. High scores on neuroticism for Incels are suggested seeing as neuroticism negatively predicts peer-acceptance (Andrei, Mancini, Mazzoni, Russo, & Baldaro, 2015) and happiness (Cheng & Furnham, 2002) while positively predicting loneliness (Cheng & Furnham, 2002). Loneliness is predicted by anxiety and depression (Hojat, 1982), which are related to neuroticism (Muris, Roelofs, Rassin, Franken, & Mayer, 2005). In turn, loneliness seems to be related to self-derogating attitudes (Levin & Stokes, 1986) and negative body image (Allan & Walter, 2016). Individuals high in neuroticism are more likely to write about body-related topics in texts (Hirsh & Peterson, 2009). Lastly, Goldberg (1972) found a positive relationship between misogyny in men and neuroticism. Based on these findings, it can be hypothesised that Incels score higher on neuroticism than the general population/non-Incels.

Next, agreeableness can be associated with loneliness. When analysing used language in texts, inclusiveness is related to high agreeableness (Hirsh & Peterson, 2009). Since Incels describe themselves as lonely, they should be rather low on agreeableness. When researching personality of individuals with prejudices, prejudices have a negative relationship with agreeableness (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004; Ekehammar & Akrami, 2007). Similarly, agreeableness has a negative relationship with sexism (Akrami, Ekehammar, & Yang-Wallentin, 2011). Subsequently, it can be predicted that Incels score lower on agreeableness than the general population/non-Incels.

Next, conscientiousness appears to be related to characteristics and moods of Incels. Low conscientiousness appears to be associated with a low body image (Allen & Walter,

2016). When analysing used language in written texts, people high in conscientiousness appear to write significantly more about achievements and work (Hirsh & Peterson, 2009), which offers the interpretation that Incels, who see themselves as low in status and wealth (Baele et al., 2019), are low in this characteristic. Based on these findings, it can be proposed that Incels score lower on conscientiousness than the general population/non-Incels.

Regarding openness to experience, there seems to be a consensus in research that prejudices have a negative relationship with openness (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Ekehammar et al., 2004; Ekehammar & Akrami, 2007). The same connection has been established between openness and sexism (Akrami et al., 2011). Consequently, Incels may score lower on openness to experience than the general population/non-Incels.

Considering the mentioned research findings and predictions that can be made, there may be a certain personality profile that could be present among the Incel community. It is fair to assume that people who fit this personality profile might be more active in the Incel community. In the current research, activity is conceptualised as reading posts on their forums or websites or creating posts since the Incel community is an online community. Consequently, the closer an individual's personality profile fits the mentioned predictions, the more active and involved he/she would be in the Incel community in the form of reading other Incels' posts or creating posts themselves.

The Current Research

To summarise, the current research focuses on the personality of Incels to see if compared to non-Incels, there is a certain personality profile for Incels and if the said profile can predict if someone is more active in the Incel community. Activity is captured by reading posts that other Incels created on their websites or forums or creating their own posts.

Inferences about the personality traits of Incels have been made using research about men with prejudices or misogynistic attitudes as well as research about moods and characteristics of Incels. This way, the following two sets of hypotheses have been created: It is expected that *compared to non-Incels, Incels should score lower on extraversion* (H1a), *higher on neuroticism* (H1b), *lower on openness to experience* (H1c), *lower on agreeableness* (H1d), and *lower on conscientiousness* (H1e). Furthermore, it is expected that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups should negatively relate to extraversion* (H2a), *positively to neuroticism* (H2b), *negatively to openness to experience* (H2c), *negatively to agreeableness* (H2d), and *negatively to conscientiousness* (H2e).

Method

Participants

The overall sample encompassed 315 participants (59.1% female, 38.1% male, 2.8% prefer not to say) aged 18 to 69 years old (M_{age} = 24.98, SD_{age} = 7.55). The sample of Incels consisted out of 22 participants (13.6% female, 86.4% male) and can, therefore, be considered to be small. The age of the Incel participants ranged from 18 to 37 years old (M_{age} = 24.10, SD_{age} = 5.50). The following nationalities were reported: American, English, Dutch, Chinese, Indian, and others. The control group of non-Incels consisted of 193 participants (64.2% female, 23.6% male, 3.1% prefer not to say) with an age range of 18 to 69 years old (M_{age} = 25.07, SD_{age} = 7.74). These participants reported the following nationalities: American, Canadian, English, German, Dutch, and others. The inclusion criteria for participants encompassed that they are 18 years old or older and that they are proficient in the English language. Exclusion criteria encompass a refusal to provide informed consent (0 excluded), not answering the majority of items of the used personality scale (87 excluded), and being under 18 years old (13 excluded). Furthermore, when a participant failed to pass the attention checks, that participant was excluded from the analysis. However, all participants passed the attention checks.

Design & Procedure

This is a cross-sectional study. Convenience sampling (Forshaw, 2013) was used by posting the link of the survey on several forums that are visited and used by members of the Incel community to collect participants that identify themselves as Incels, like forums on the websites of Incels.net, Reddit, MGTOW, and Facebook groups dedicated to Incels. To obtain ollect participants that do not consider themselves to be an Incel for the control group the link was posted on forums on the same websites that Incels do not participate in, like different non-Incel related forums on Reddit, or on social media like Instagram or Facebook. As compensation for filling out the questionnaire, they were rewarded with 0.5 credits if the survey was filled out using the SONA system of the University of Twente or the possibility to win an Amazon voucher of 50 Euros. Data was collected over the course of five weeks.

Following the guidelines of the BMS Ethics Committee of the University of Twente, all participants signed a written consent form at the beginning of the survey (see Appendix A). They first completed the demographic questions followed by questions about their Incel status, including the amount of activity in Incel forums as well as the level of Inceldom, and the personality questions. When the participants concluded the survey, they were debriefed

about the actual aim of the study, e.g. that the study was performed as research about Incels (see Appendix B). The survey was created with voluntary answers, meaning that participants did not have to indicate a response if they did not want to. They were given the contact information of the lead researcher and the University in case they had questions or felt emotionally distressed. Furthermore, they were given the opportunity to enter their email to participate in the contest to win the Amazon voucher. After, they were dismissed from the survey.

Measurements

This study was part of a larger project investigating motives and mental health characteristics of Incels. Thus, the survey included a variety of other measures and instruments that are not relevant to this study. Here, only the measures and scales that are relevant to the current study are presented.

Demographic questions. Nine demographic questions were focusing on age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, level of education, employment status, socioeconomic status, and relationship status (see Appendix C).

Incel Status. The question was designed to indicate one's Incel status. The participate could answer whether they identify as an Incel with 'yes' or 'no' (see Appendix D).

Incel Activity. Two questions adressed how often one posts on the Incel forums and how often one reads the posts on the Incel forums (see Appendix E). They were tested with a filtering question where they indicated if they are a member on an Incel forum, followed by two 10-point Likert scales where they indicated both how often they check/read the forums and how often they post something on the forums. This way, two kind of activities that form two different kinds of involvement were captured. This also enables the analysis of both items separately. The 10-point Likert scale is as follows: "I never read the forums/ groups" or "I never post on the forums/groups" (1), "less than once a year" (2), "Once or twice a year" (3), "about 6 times a year" (4), "about once or twice a month" (5), "about once a week" (6), "about 2-5 times a week" (7), "about once a day" (8), "about 2-5 times a day" (9), and "more than 5 times a day" (10).

Level of Inceldom. Due to the possibility of many participants who may not self-identify as an Incel, a scale was created to divide the sample into 'high scoring Incels' and 'low scoring Incels'. A median split (*Mdn* = 1.25) can be used to compensate for a low sample size of Incels (see Appendix F). It consists of 12 items rated on a five-point scale,

ranging from "does not describe me" (1) to "describes me extremely well" (5). Exploratory factor analysis showed that the items loaded as expected under the respective personality trait scale. An example of an item is "I want to find a romantic/sexual partner, but I am too physically unattractive". These 12 items were averaged to create the composite score (α = .92).

Big-Five Personality Traits. To measure personality the 15 item short form of the Big Five Inventory (BFI-XS-2) is used, which includes 15 items rated on a five-point scale, ranging from "disagree strongly" (1) to "agree strongly" (5) (Soto & John, 2017). The measurement consists of the five core dimensions of personality extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness to experience. A previous study indicated that the BFI-XS-2 has acceptable psychometric properties, with the original BFI-2 having a high predictive power (mean $R^2 = 0.25$) (Soto & John, 2017). The BFI-2-XS is recommended for usage when time is limited, and user fatigue is of concern (Soto & John, 2017). Since this study is part of broader research that uses a larger test battery, it was decided to use this short form to compensate for the time limit and mental strain of the participants.

Examples of questions are "I am someone who is dominant, acts as a leader" for extraversion, "I am someone who tends to feel depressed, blue" for neuroticism, "I am someone who is compassionate, has a soft heart" for agreeableness, "I am someone who is reliable, can always be counted on" for conscientiousness, and "I am someone who is fascinated by art, music, or literature" for openness to experience (see Appendix G). For each personality construct respective items were reverse coded before the consecutive three items were averaged to create the composite score of extraversion (α = .67), neuroticism (α = .72), agreeableness (α = .52), conscientiousness (α = .61), and openness to experience (α = .59).

Data Analysis

The program IBM SPSS Statistics 24 was used to analyse the data. As the first step, to examine the sample characteristics, descriptive statistics and frequencies were computed on the demographic variables.

To test hypothesis 1a-1e each, two independent samples t-tests were conducted, one with self-identified Incels and one with high and low Incels based on the Level of Inceldom scale that was created. These were used as the independent variable and the respective personality traits of the BFI-XS-2 as the dependent variable to see if there are significant differences between the means of the scores on the personality traits of both groups. The chosen significance level for this analysis is a marginally significant p-value below .05.

Furthermore, to further indicate significance, confidence intervals were examined to see if they contain the value 0. This means that a p-value below .05 and a confidence interval that does not include the value 0 indicate that the null hypothesis can be rejected. Furthermore, the effect sizes of the t-tests were computed using Cohen's d to examine the magnitudes of the effects. Here, $d > 0.4$ was taken as a criterium for a desired effect.

Hypothesis 2a-2e were tested in two ways. First, bivariate correlations were conducted using the two conceptualisations of activity (reading posts and posting) as well as each personality trait to check the relationship. Second, simple linear regression analyses were conducted for each predictor separately with both conceptualisations of activity. These two types were done to check the depth of evidence. Since the sample size of the activity items is rather low, it was decided against multiple regression analyses where all personality traits are used as predictor. For all analyses, the significance level of $p < .05$ was chosen again in addition to a confidence interval that does not contain the value 0, meaning that a p-value below .05 and a confidence interval that does not contain the value 0 indicates that a predictor can be considered significant. Additionally, the standardised coefficient beta was examined for the magnitude of the effect size.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Demographics. To get a clear overview of the sample characteristics, descriptive statistics and frequencies were computed on the demographic variables (see Table 1). It is noteworthy that most self-identifying Incels were male, while most non-Incels were female. Moreover, most Incels were from the United States, while most non-Incels were from Germany. While most Incels came from a poor or middle SES, the majority of non-Incels came from a middle SES.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants at Baseline

Incel Status	Incel		Non-Incel	
	n	%	n	%
Gender				
Male	19	86.4	63	32.6
Female	3	13.6	124	64.2
Other/Prefer not to say	-	-	6	3.1
Age				

18-25	13	61.9	134	70.2
26-35	7	33.6	41	21.7
36-45	1	4.5	11	5.6
46- 55	-	-	2	1.0
56-70	-	-	3	1.5
Country of Birth				
United States	6	27.3	48	24.9
Canada	-	-	8	4.1
China	1	4.5	-	-
United Kingdom	3	13.6	12	6.2
India	1	4.5	-	-
Netherlands	2	9.1	29	15.0
Germany	-	-	68	35.2
Other	8	36.4	27	14.0
Sexual Orientation				
Heterosexual	18	81.8	119	61.7
Homosexual	-	-	13	6.7
Bisexual	2	9.1	54	28.0
Other	2	9.1	7	3.7
Education Level				
Less than High School	1	4.5	5	2.6
High School	8	36.4	95	49.2
College graduate	7	31.8	30	15.5
Undergraduate degree	5	22.7	43	22.3
Master's degree	1	4.5	18	9.3
PhD or higher	-	-	2	1.0
Employment Status				
Student	10	45.5	107	55.4
Employed	6	27.2	64	33.2
Unemployed	6	27.2	21	11.0
Retired	-	-	1	.5
SES				
Poor	10	45.5	21	10.9
Middle	11	49.9	167	86.5
Rich	1	4.5	5	2.6
Relationship status				
No Relationship / No dating	20	90.9	69	35.8
Casually dating	2	9.1	20	10.4
Exclusively Dating	-	-	57	29.4
Living together/ Engaged	-	-	47	24.4

Inferential statistics

The means and standard deviations of both Incels vs non-Incels and high vs low Incels for each personality trait can be seen in table 2 below.

Hypothesis 1a. Self-identified Incels did significantly score lower on extraversion than non-Incels; $t(213) = 2.46$, $p = .011$, 95% *CI* [-.98, -.13], $d = -.58$. To compensate for the small sample of self-identifying Incels, the same t-test was performed using high and low Incels, where individuals scoring higher on Inceldom did not score significantly lower on extraversion than individuals scoring lower; $t(213) = 1.09$, $p = .276$, 95% *CI* [-.12, .41], $d = .15$. Consequently, it is supported that *compared to non-Incels, Incels score lower on extraversion*.

Hypothesis 1b. Self-identified Incels scored significantly higher on neuroticism than non-Incels; $t(213) = 2.05$, $p = .042$, 95% *CI* [.02, .91], $d = .46$. In comparison, individuals scoring high on Inceldom did not score significantly higher than individuals scoring lower; $t(213) = .04$, $p = .971$, 95% *CI* [-.27, .28], $d = .01$. Consequently, it is supported that *compared to non-Incels, Incels score higher on neuroticism*.

Hypothesis 1c. Self-identified Incels did not significantly score lower on openness to experience than non-Incels; $t(213) = -.28$, $p = .778$, 95% *CI* [-.39, 29], $d = -.06$. Similarly, individuals scoring higher on Inceldom did not score significantly less than individuals scoring lower; $t(213) = .74$, $p = .460$, 95% *CI* [-.13, .28], $d = .10$. Consequently, it is not supported that *compared to non-Incels, Incels score lower on openness to experience*.

Hypothesis 1d. Self-identified Incels scored significantly lower on agreeableness of Incels than non-Incels; $t(213) = -3.35$, $p = .001$, 95% *CI* [-.96, -.25], $d = -.75$. However, individuals with higher scores on Inceldom did not score significantly lower than individuals scoring lower; $t(213) = 1.13$, $p = .261$, 95% *CI* [-.09, .35], $d = .15$. Consequently, it is supported that *compared to non-Incels, Incels score lower on agreeableness*.

Hypothesis 1e. Self-identified Incels did not score significantly lower on conscientiousness than non-Incels; $t(213) = -1.61$, $p = .108$, 95% *CI* [-.72, .72], $d = -.36$. Similarly, individuals with higher scores on Inceldom did not score significantly lower than individuals with lower scores; $t(213) = .94$, $p = .346$, 95% *CI* [-.13, .36], $d = .13$. Considering the closeness to the significance criteria and the expected direction of the means, it is supported that *compared to non-Incels, Incels score lower on conscientiousness*.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for each Personality Trait for both Analyses

Logistic Parameter	Incel		Non-Incel		High Incel		Low Incel	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Extraversion	2.45	.99	3.01	.96	2.88	.98	3.02	.97
Neuroticism	3.64	.96	3.17	1.02	3.22	1.04	3.22	.99
Openness to experience	3.95	.71	4.00	.77	3.96	.81	4.04	.72
Agreeableness	2.98	.92	3.59	.79	3.46	.81	3.59	.82
Conscientiousness	2.80	.94	3.13	.89	3.04	.94	3.15	.08

Bivariate correlations. Regarding hypothesis 2a-e, bivariate correlation tables were created using all five personality characteristics with both forms of activity, reading posts and posting, to investigate the relationship between the personality sub-scales and activity in the Incel forums (see Table 3).

Table 3

Bivariate Correlations between Personality Traits and Activity in the Incel Community

Personality	Activity in Incel Community	
	Reading Posts on Forums	Posting on Forums
Extraversion	-.30	-.31
Neuroticism	.32	-.01
Openness to experience	.03	-.02
Agreeableness	-.24	-.56*
Conscientiousness	-.08	-.40**

Note. * Correlation is significant below the .05 level. ** Correlation is significant below the .1 level.

For hypothesis 2a-2e, the standardised beta coefficients and their respective p-values, confidence intervals, and t-values for both Incels vs non-Incels and high vs low Incels for each personality trait can be seen in table 4 below.

Hypothesis 2a. The results of the first regression indicated that the model explained 8.9% of the variance in how often one reads posts on the forums, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = 2.05$, $p = .167$. The second simple regression, where activity was conceptualised by how often one posts on the forums, suggested that the model explains 9.5% of the variance. Still, it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = 2.20$, $p = .153$. The analysis

showed that individuals with higher extraversion were not significantly less likely to read posts on forums and that they were not significantly less likely to post on forums. Considering the limited data available and the relative closeness to the significance criteria, it is supported that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups negatively relates to extraversion.*

Hypothesis 2b. The results of the first regression indicated that the model explained 10.3% of the variance, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = 2.41$, $p = .136$. The second simple regression suggested that the model explains 4.8% of the variance, but was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = .01$, $p = .966$. The analysis showed that people high in neuroticism were not significantly more likely to read posts on forums as well as posting on forums. Considering the relative closeness to the significance criteria, it is supported only by the conceptualisation of activity as reading posts on forums that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups positively relates to neuroticism.*

Hypothesis 2c. The results of the first regression indicated that the model explained .1% of the variance, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = .02$, $p = .901$. The second simple regression suggested that the model explains < .0% of the variance, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = .01$, $p =.947$. The analysis showed that individuals higher in openness to experience were not significantly less likely to read posts, as well as post on forums. Consequently, it is not supported that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups negatively relates to openness to experience.*

Hypothesis 2d. The results of the first regression indicated that the model explained 5.7% of the variance, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = 1.27$, $p = .273$. The second simple regression suggested that the model explains 27.6% of the variance. Moreover, it was a significant model, $F(1,21) = 9.38$, $p = .006$. The analysis showed that individuals higher in agreeableness were not significantly less likely to read posts on forums; however, that they were significantly less likely to post on forums. Consequently, it is supported only by the conceptualisation of activity as posting of forums that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups negatively relates to agreeableness.*

Hypothesis 2e. The results of the first regression indicated that the model explained .7% of the variance, but it was not a significant model, $F(1,21) = .15$, $p = .704$. The second simple regression suggested that the model explains 12.0% of the variance, but it was a marginally significant model, $F(1,21) = 3.99$, $p = .059$. The analysis showed that individuals with higher scores in conscientiousness were not significantly less likely to read posts on

forums, but that they were marginally significantly less likely to post on forums. Consequently, it is supported only by the conceptualisation of activity as posting of forums that *the amount of involvement in the Incel forums and groups negatively relates to conscientiousness.*

Table 4

Results of both Simple Regression Analyses for each Personality Trait

Effect	Standardised Beta	p	95% CI		t(21)
			LL	UL	
Fixed effects					
Incels vs non-Incels					
Extraversion	-.29	.167	-1.43	.26	-1.43
Neuroticism	.32	.136	-.22	1.49	1.55
Openness to experience	.023	.901	-1.10	1.25	.13
Agreeableness	-.24	.273	-1.77	.53	-1.13
Conscientiousness	-.08	.704	-1.41	.97	-.39
High vs Low Incels					
Extraversion	-.31	.153	-2.18	.37	-1.48
Neuroticism	-.01	.966	-1.38	1.33	-.04
Openness to experience	-.02	.947	1.83	1.71	-.07
Agreeableness	-.56	.006	-3.67	-.70	-3.06
Conscientiousness	-.40	.059	-3.24	.06	-1.99

Discussion

The research examined personality differences between Incels and non-Incels, and whether a specific personality profile predicts people's activity in Incel forums. Therefore, the first research question was as follows: "To what extent do the personalities of Incels and the personality of the general population differ?". The second research question was: "To what extent can personality predict the involvement and activity in the Incel community?"

Considering the predicted personality profile, it can be said that Incels seem to score higher on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and lower on neuroticism than non-Incels. On the other hand, there does not appear to be a significant difference between Incels and non-Incels on openness to experience scores, which excludes this trait from the personality profile. An explanation for these findings could be that openness to experience is a broad personality trait. It encompasses curiosity in three broad areas - the world, others, and

oneself (Groth-Marnat & Wright, 2016). It is possible that openness of experience might be a valid personality trait for Incels, but only in a certain area. This way, the broad measurement of this personality trait could have led to the rather small and non-significant differences in means.

It is notable that the supports of the hypotheses are only based on participants' self-identification as Incels and non-Incels, but not on researcher-assigned high and low Incel status. All analyses that used the Level of Inceldom scale to categorise the sample into high and low Incels had results that were not significant, even though they showed the predicted differences in the means. These non-significant results may be due to the fact that individuals from the original control group joined Incels in both scoring categorisations. Putting self-identified and non-self-identified individuals together into one category of 'high scoring Incels' could have distorted the results. Therefore, the original set up of comparing self-identifying Incels to non-Incels was weighted more.

Interestingly, the personality profile seems to predict indeed how active someone is in the Incel community. Respectively, lower scores on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and higher scores on neuroticism predicted more activity in either the form of reading posts or posting on forums. Concerning agreeableness and conscientiousness, individuals that scored lower on these traits were less likely to post on the Incel forums. For agreeableness, this might be explained by the fact that individuals high in agreeableness have more positive interactions when they engage in instant messaging (Swickert, Hittner, Harris, & Herring, 2002), which may lead these individuals keeping their distance to these forums and not engaging with them. Similarly, for conscientiousness, seeing as individuals high in conscientiousness are determined and efficient (Groth-Marnat & Wright, 2016) and non-Incels seem to score higher on it, that these individuals might not see it as efficient to engage with a community they are not a part of. This way, personality would affect not only activity but also the kind of activity that individuals engage in.

Neuroticism appears to only predict activity in the form of reading posts on Incel forums. Concerning activity in the form of posting, the analysis even pointed into the direction opposite of what was expected with high scores on neuroticism, leading to a decreased likelihood of posting. This might be explained by the findings that individuals high in neuroticism put value on online communities, but due to anxiety may be more prone to disliking online discussions (Orchard & Fullwood, 2010).

For extraversion, both analyses showed the direction that was predicted but slightly missed the significance criteria. Since individuals high in extraversion tend to be sociable and

assertive (Groth-Marnat & Wright, 2016), they likely prefer to spend their time more in real-life contact with people than online. This notion is not unrealistic, seeing as introverts compared to extraverts seem to prefer online communication while extraverts engage more in social activities that reflect themselves (Orchard & Fullwood, 2010). Since non-Incels seem to score higher on extraversion than Incels, it makes sense that they do not engage a lot on Incel community sites, which would explain the near significant results. There may not be enough individuals high in extraversion that engage in Incel websites for it to have a drastic effect.

Apart from the personality profile, lower scores on openness to experience do not predict higher activity levels in the Incel community. This might, again, be explained by the broadness of this trait.

Implications of the Research

This research has several implications. First, according to what has been found out, it can be said that Incels seem to fit a certain personality profile consisting out of four traits from the Big Five. Accordingly, Incels seem to score lower than the general population on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, while scoring higher on neuroticism. This way, interventions that aim at preventing that an individual enters the community as well as interventions that aim at helping individuals within the community exit could be tailored to these personality traits. On another note, since being part of the Incel community could be a way of coping for its members, alternative forms of coping could be designed for Incels to prevent them from turning towards this group. New support groups could be created that offer a way of coping apart from the Incel community using the personality profile to match individuals with the best fit.

Furthermore, it seems that the personality profile predicts how active an individual is in the Incel community and with that if someone is an Incel. While lower scores on extraversion predict activity in the form of both reading posts on Incel forums as well as posting oneself, high scores on neuroticism seem to predict reading posts. In contrast, low scores in conscientiousness and agreeableness seem to predict activity in terms of creating posts. This way, these forms of activity can be used to identify if someone is an Incel or possible personality variables that an individual might have to sort them to the respectively tailored intervention.

Interventions could be designed similarly to the one of Conrod, Castellanos-Ryan and Mackie (2011) that focused on a personality-guided approach for alcohol use reduction in adolescents. Here, the disadvantages of coping through substance abuse were discussed as well as offering alternatives of coping, all connected to their respective personality traits.

Besides, all exercises, including for example the use of a cognitive behavioural model to analyse a personal experience, were personality specific. Participants also identified and challenged cognitive distortions related to their personality that lead to maladaptive behaviour (Conrod et al., 2011). Similarly, being part of the Incel community could be explained as maladaptive coping behaviour to deal with the situation of wanting a partner and not having one. Explanations about the link between personality and Inceldom could be given, and new forms of coping could be offered. Cognitive distortions in the form of adapted ideas of the Incel community could be analysed and confronted while linking them to the personality traits.

Strengths, Limitations, & Further Research

There are several strengths of this research. First, the survey managed to be very inclusive of different nationalities and had a wide global span. This is advantageous since the Incel community seems to be spread through the internet and not only present in one geographical area. Furthermore, the survey managed to gather self-identifying Incels, who belong to a relatively recent and sensitive online group and are consequently harder to reach. Next, the overall design of the study can be noted as strength. Using a survey that was distributed via a link enabled the gathering of large amounts of data in the forums that Incels are present in as well as quick analyses. It allowed for completely standardised instructions, which makes this study easier to replicate. Besides, the researchers themselves were not able to influence the participants in their response.

However, there are also some limitations and respective recommendations for further research. Certain Incel websites like Incel.net could not be accessed due to necessary verifications through moderators on the websites that are not passable for researchers without telling the exact aim and research questions. The websites ask for an introduction of the person and reasons for the desire to join the website, which have to be validated by a moderator. Here, researchers are immediately denied access. Hence, it may be recommendable to use deception in the study design. This way, fake profiles can be created to that do not result in being banned but enable entering other Incel websites like Incel.net.

Next, there was an unequal distribution of the Incels and the control group. There is a noticeable difference in sample size between self-identified Incels and the control group of non-Incels. As a result, the sample suffers from low power which results in unstable p-values. The results taken from this sample should be taken with caution, and next to the p-values, attention should also be paid towards the direction of the means. A possible solution for this limitation is to replicate the results with larger and balanced sample sizes.

Another limitation is the measurement of activity. Since this research was part of a bigger setup, several scales were included that deal with sensitive information. Therefore, answering questions was voluntary and not mandatory. As a result, the questions regarding the level of activity were only filled out by 23 people of the whole sample. This small amount of data may be the reason why a majority of results that concern these variables were not within the significance criterion that was set. To not lose too much valuable data, it can be recommended to make answering items mandatory as long as the research does not deal with sensitive information.

Similarly, the Level of Inceldom scale should be considered as a limitation. Since it was newly created, there has not been any research done to examine the validity of this scale and well as throughout research concerning its reliability. It was notable that when using the median split to indicate high vs low Incels in the sample, the results seemed distorted. It is likely that several individuals were misplaced into categories, meaning that individuals who did not identify as an Incel were then sorted into the high Incel category.

Nevertheless, recommendations for further research can be made. Interventions for Incels to exit the community or to prevent the joining into the community could be designed and tailored to the personality profile. Furthermore, this research could be repeated with another measure apart from activity in the Incel community to predict if someone is an Incel. Another possibility to modify the current study is to focus on the facets of the personality traits. Every trait of the Big Five consists of different facets. It could be useful to specify the current research more and examine which facets are important and how Incels score on them. This way, personality traits like openness to experience could be relevant as opposed to this research where it did not lead to significant results.

Conclusion

This study examined personality differences between Incels and non-Incels. Furthermore, it focused on whether individuals with the predicted personality traits are more likely to be active in the Incel community and with that are more likely to be or become an Incel. It was hypothesised that Incels generally score lower on extraversion, openness to experience, conscientiousness, and agreeableness and higher on neuroticism than non-Incels. Consequently, the found-out personality profile for Incels consists of lower scores on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and higher scores on neuroticism. Furthermore, it was hypothesised that a closer fit for this profile would predict more activity and involvement in the Incel community. Here, individuals with higher scores on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and higher scores on neuroticism seem to

be more likely to be active in the Incel community. However, neuroticism only predicted activity in the form of reading posts while agreeableness and conscientiousness only predicted activity in the form of posting. Therefore, it seems like there are differences in personality that tell apart Incels from non-Incels and that a closer fit to this Incel personality profile predicts more activity in the Incel community, making the individual to likely be an Incel.

References

Akrami, N., Ekehammar, B., & Yang-Wallentin, F. (2011). Personality and social psychology factors explaining sexism. *Journal of Individual Differences, 32*(3), 153-160. doi:10.1027/1614-0001/a000043

Allen, M., & Walter, E. (2016). Personality and body image: A systematic review. *Body Image, 19*, 79-88. doi:10.1016/j.bodyim.2016.08.012

Andrei, F., Mancini, G., Mazzoni, E., Russo, P., & Baldaro, B. (2015). Social status and its link with personality dimensions, trait emotional intelligence, and scholastic achievement in children and early adolescents. *Learning and Individual Differences, 42*, 97-105. doi:10.1016/j.lindif.2015.07.014

Baele, S., Brace, L., & Coan, T. (2019). From "incel" to "saint": Analyzing the violent worldview behind the 2018 toronto attack. *Terrorism and Political Violence, (2019)*. doi:10.1080/09546553.2019.1638256

Cheng, H., & Furnham, A. (2002). Personality, peer relations, and self-confidence as predictors of happiness and loneliness. *Journal of Adolescence, 25*(3), 327-39. doi:10.1006/yjado.475

Conrod, P. J., Castellanos-Ryan, N., & Mackie, C. (2011). Long-term effects of a personality-targeted intervention to reduce alcohol use in adolescents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 79*(3), 296–306. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022997

Donnelly, D., Burgess, E., Anderson, S., Davis, R., & Dillard, J. (2001). Involuntary celibacy: A life course analysis. *Journal of Sex Research, 38*, 159-169. doi:10.1080/00224490109552083

Ekehammar, B., & Akrami, N. (2007). Personality and prejudice: From big five personality factors to facets. *Journal of Personality, 75*(5), 899-925. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2007.00460.x

Ekehammar, B., & Akrami, N. (2003). The relation between personality and prejudice: A variable- and a person- centred approach. *European Journal of Personality, 17*, 449-464. doi: 10.1002/per.494

Ekehammar, B., Akrami, N., Gylje, M., & Zakrisson, I. (2004). What matters most to prejudice: Big five personality, social dominance orientation, or right-wing authoritarianism? *European Journal of Personality, 18*(6), 463-482. doi:10.1002/per.526

Forshaw, M. (2013). *Your undergraduate psychology project: A student guide* (Second ed., Bps student guides). Chichester, West Sussex: BPS Blackwell.

Goldberg, P. A. (1972). *Prejudice Toward Women: Some Personality Correlates* [PDF file]. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED072386.pdf

Groth-Marnat, G., & Wright, A. (2016). *Handbook of psychological assessment* (Sixth ed.) [Sixth edition.]. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. (2016).

Høiland, T. (2019). *Incels and the stories they tell. A narrative analysis of Incels' shared stories on Reddit* (Master's thesis, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway). Retrieved from https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/69841

Hojat, M. (1982). Loneliness as a function of selected personality variables. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 38*(1), 137-41. doi:10.1002/1097-4679(198201)38:1<137::AID-JCLP2270380122>3.0.CO;2-2

Hirsh, J., & Peterson, J. (2009). Personality and language use in self-narratives. *Journal of Research in Personality, 43*(3), 524-527. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2009.01.006

Levin, I., & Stokes, J. (1986). An examination of the relation of individual difference variables to loneliness. *Journal of Personality, 54*(4), 717-33. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1986.tb00422.x

Muris, P., Roelofs, J., Rassin, E., Franken, I., & Mayer, B. (2005). Mediating effects of rumination and worry on the links between neuroticism, anxiety and depression. *Personality and Individual Differences, 39*(6), 1105-1111. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2005.04.005

Orchard, L. J., & Fullwood, C. (2010). Current perspectives on personality and Internet use. Social Science Computer Review, 28(2), 155-169. doi: 10.1177/0894439309335115

Soto, C. J., & John, O. P. (2017). Short and extra-short forms of the Big Five Inventory–2: The BFI-2-S and BFI-2-XS. *Journal of Research in Personality, 68*, 69-81. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2017.02.004

Sprecher, S., & Treger, S. (2015). Virgin college students' reasons for and reactions to their abstinence from sex: Results From a 23-year study at a Midwestern US university. *The Journal of Sex Research, 52*, 936-948. doi:10.1080/00224499.2014.983633

Swickert, R. J., Hittner, J. B., Harris, J. L., & Herring, J. A. (2002). Relationships among Internet use, personality, and social support. *Computers in human behavior*, *18*(4), 437-451. doi:10.1016/S0747-5632(01)00054-1

Young, O. (2019). *What role has social media played in violence perpetrated by Incels?* (Senior Thesis, Chapman University Digital Commons, Orange, California, United States of America). Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/peace_studies_student_work/1/

Appendix A

Informed consent

PROJECT TITLE: People's Perceived Motives, Attitudes and Relationship Preferences

INVESTIGATORS: *Dr. Pelin Gül, Department of Psychology, Health, and Technology, University of Twente, Netherlands.*

PURPOSE

This study investigates people's perceived motives, attitudes and preferences in relationships. We kindly ask you to participate in this study, as we are trying to understand these mechanisms in a diverse group of individuals. We aim to deepen our understanding of the impact that underlying cognitions and emotions can have on different behaviours and formations of relationships among people. **This survey is only open to participants who are 18+ years old.**

PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate, you will be asked general demographics questions (age, sex, sexual orientation, nationality, etc.). Following this, you will be asked with a number of questions about where you stand regarding sexual/romantic relationships, your attitudes towards sex, past sexual behaviour, sexual fantasies, pornography consumption, your attitudes and perceptions of women, and relationships between men and women. You will also be asked questions about your personality. It is important to keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in the attitudes and experiences of individuals. Therefore, our research relies on your own honest opinion.

At the end of the survey, you will be provided with more details about this study. You will also have a chance to enter your email address if you would like to be considered in a **€50 raffle for an Amazon voucher for those who complete the survey.**

Your participation will last approximately **20 minutes**. People who participate via SONA Systems will be compensated with **0.5 credits.**

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate,

refuse to answer any individual questions, or withdraw from the study at any time without the need to give any reason.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

There are no known or anticipated risks associated with this study. Although this study will not benefit you personally, we hope that our results will add to the knowledge about how people's emotions can influence their attitudes and decisions.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses are completely anonymous, and cannot be traced back to you because no personally identifying information such as names is asked in this survey. The information you provide will not be disclosed to third parties, and they will be aggregated with the responses of other participants and examined for hypothesized patterns. Your anonymous responses will be used for scientific research into various aspects of personality and social psychology and will be published.

QUESTIONS

For further information about this study, you may contact **Dr. Pelin Gül, p.gul@utwente.nl,** the person in charge of this research study.

If you would like to talk with someone other than the researchers to discuss problems or concerns, to discuss situations in the event that a member of the research team is not available, or to discuss your rights as a research participant, If you have any questions about the rights of research participants, please contact the Ethical Review Committee of the Behavioral and Management Sciences Faculty, University of Twente, Netherlands, ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl.

CONSENT AND AUTHORIZATION PROVISIONS

In order to continue with this survey, you have to agree with the aforementioned information and consent to participate in the study.

Clicking **"I agree and consent to participating in this study"** indicates that you have been informed about the nature and method of this research in a manner which is clear to you, you have been given the time to read the page, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Appendix B

Debriefing Information.

Thank you very much for participating in our study!

Precisely, our study investigates how one's degree of involuntary celibacy is related to their personality, mental health, various motives, attitudes and perceptions of women and male-female relationships.

We thank you for your help and the decision to participate in our study. If you know of any friends or acquaintances that are eligible to participate in this study, we request that you do not discuss it with them until after they have had the opportunity to participate. Prior knowledge of the questions asked during the study can invalidate the results. We greatly appreciate your cooperation.

For further information about this study, you may contact **Dr. Pelin Gül, p.gul@utwente.nl,** the person in charge of this research study.

If you have any questions about the rights of research participants, please contact the Ethical Review Committee of the Behavioral and Management Sciences Faculty, University of Twente, Netherlands, **ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl**.

If you are feeling distressed and are unable to contact a person associated with this study, please contact the **Counseling centre at the University of Twente at +31 53 489 2035**.

Thanks again for your participation.

Appendix C

Demographic Questions

First, we will ask you to describe your background (age, sex, ethnicity, nationality etc.) as part of demographic information...

Age
How old are you?

_____

PERSONALITY AS PREDICTOR OF INCEL ACTIVITY

Sex **What is your sex?**

◯ Female (1)

◯ Male (2)

◯ Other / prefer not to say (3)

Nationality **What is your country of birth?**

◯ China (1)

◯ India (2)

◯ United States (3)

◯ Canada (4)

◯ United Kingdom (5)

◯ Germany (6)

◯ Netherlands (7)

◯ Other, please indicate: (8)

_____

Ethnicity **What is your ethnicity?**

○ White - European (1)

○ White - American (2)

○ White - UK/Irish (3)

○ White - Other (4)

○ Black - Caribbean (5)

○ Black - African (6)

○ Black - Other (7)

○ Hispanic/Latino(a) (8)

○ Native American/Native Hawaiian/Alaskan Native (9)

○ Indian (10)

○ Pakistani (11)

○ Bangladeshi (12)

○ Chinese　　　(13)

○ Asian - Other (14)

○ Mixed Race (15)

○ Prefer not to say (16)

SexOri **What is your sexual orientation?**

○ Heterosexual (1)

○ Homosexual (2)

○ Bisexual (3)

○ Transsexual (4)

○ Asexual (5)

○ Other / Prefer not to say (6)

EduLevel **What is the highest level of education you have completed?**

○ Less than high school (1)

○ High school graduate (2)

○ College graduate (3)

○ Undergraduate degree (4)

○ Master's degree (5)

○ PhD or higher level degree (6)

PERSONALITY AS PREDICTOR OF INCEL ACTIVITY

JobStatus **What is your current employment status?**

○ Student (1)

○ Employed full-time (32+ hrs a week) (2)

○ Employed part-time (less than 32 hrs per week) (3)

○ Unemployed (currently looking for work) (4)

○ Unemployed (currently not looking for work) (5)

○ Retired (6)

○ Self-employed (7)

○ Unable to work (8)

SES **What is your socio-economic status?**

○ very poor 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ middle class 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ 6 (6)

○ very wealthy 7 (7)

RelStatus **What describes your current relationship status best?**

○ I'm currently not in a relationship or dating (1)

○ Casually dating (2)

○ Exclusively dating (3)

○ Living together/ engaged/ married (4)

Appendix D

Incel Status Questions

Instructions

The following questions are about where you stand regarding sexual/romantic experiences...

IncelId **Do you identify as an Incel?**

Incels (a term derived from "involuntary celibates") are members of an online subculture who define themselves as unable to find a romantic or sexual partner despite desiring one, a state they describe as inceldom.

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Appendix E

Incel Activity Questions

IncId Are you a member of any Incel forums/groups?

◯ Yes (1)

◯ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Are you a member of any Incel forums/groups? = Yes

IncelActivity1 **How frequently do you log in to check or read the discussions on the Incel forums/groups?**

◯ I never read the forums/groups (1)

◯ less than once a year (2)

◯ once or twice a year (3)

◯ about 6 times a year (4)

◯ about once or twice a month (5)

◯ about once a week (6)

◯ about 2-5 times a week (7)

◯ about once a day (8)

◯ about 2-5 times a day (9)

◯ more than 5 times a day (10)

Display This Question:

If Are you a member of any Incel forums/groups? = Yes

PERSONALITY AS PREDICTOR OF INCEL ACTIVITY

IncelActivity2 **How frequently do you log in to post on the Incel forums/groups?**

○ I never post on the forums/groups (1)

○ less than once a year (2)

○ once or twice a year (3)

○ about 6 times a year (4)

○ about once or twice a month (5)

○ about once a week (6)

○ about 2-5 times a week (7)

○ about once a day (8)

○ about 2-5 times a day (9)

○ more than 5 times a day (10)

Appendix F

Level of Inceldom Scale

Instruction: Please indicate how well each statement describes you.

(1= does not describe me, 2 = describes me slightly well, 3 = describes me moderately well, 4 = describes me very well, 5 = describes me extremely well)

1. I have tried having sexual/romantic relationships, but I have been rejected too many times.

2. I have tried having sexual/romantic relationships, but I have failed too many times.

3. I want to find a romantic/sexual partner, but I am too physically unattractive.

4. I want to date, but nobody wants to date me.

5. I want to have sex, but there is no one to do it with.

6. I want to love someone, but there is no one out there for me.

7. No one from the opposite sex ever shows interest in me.

8. I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of kissing a person of the opposite sex.

9. I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of dating a person of the opposite sex.

10. I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of having sex with a person of the opposite sex.

11. I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of being desired by the opposite sex.

12. Other men/women are enjoying the pleasure of having romantic/sexual experiences, but not me.

Appendix G

Big Five Inventory-XS-2 (BFI-XS-2)

Instruction: How well do the following statements describe your personality?

(1 = strongly disagree, 2 = slightly disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = strongly agree)

I am someone who…

1. __ Tends to be quiet.

2. __ Is compassionate, has a soft heart.

3. __ Tends to be disorganized.

4. __ Worries a lot.

5. __ Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.

6. __ Is dominant, acts as a leader.

7. __ Is sometimes rude to others.

8. __ Has difficulty getting started on tasks.

9. __ Tends to feel depressed, blue.

10. __ Has little interest in abstract ideas.

11. __ Is full of energy.

12. __ Assumes the best about people.

13. __ Is reliable, can always be counted on.

14. __ Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.

15. __ Is original, comes up with new ideas.

Scoring:

"R": false-keyed items

Extraversion: 1R, 6, 11

Agreeableness: 2, 7R, 12

Conscientiousness: 3R, 8R, 13

Negative Emotionality: 4, 9, 14R

Open-Mindedness: 5, 10R, 15