



To what extent Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women are driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and entitlement to sex?



Bachelor Thesis in Psychology
Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences
Department of Psychology

**UNIVERSITY
OF TWENTE.**



Author: Sara Konutgan (s1839454)
Supervisor: Dr. Pelin Gül & Noortje Kloos, MSc

To what extent are Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and entitlement to sex?

Sara Konutgan

University of Twente

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to investigate which psychological factors drive Incels to have violent and misogynistic attitudes towards women. This paper focuses on the investigation of two psychological factors: entitlement and frustrated mating needs. A cross-sectional survey design was used to gather data through an online survey. The sample involved 139 participants of which 28 participants define themselves as Incels. The results of the multiple regression analysis indicated that participants who have higher feelings of entitlement to sex and higher struggles with romantic and sexual relationships show a higher level of misogyny and violent attitudes towards women. This study contributes to the understanding of the psychological factors that drive misogynistic ideologies that exist among Incels as well as in society.

Keywords: Incels, Entitlement, Misogyny, Sexual Frustration, Romantic Frustration, Frustrated Mating Needs

Introduction

The term “Incel” is the short form for being an involuntary celibate which can be defined as being unable to find a partner for sexual or romantic relationships even though it is desired (Young, 2019). Some Incels are sharing their attitudes and opinions in online forums. Although not all members of Incel communities have misogynistic or violent attitudes towards women, some members are sharing misogyny (Ging, 2017). A study conducted by Scaptura and Boyle (2019) was aimed to illustrate that Incels may perceive challenges from women as a threat to their masculinity and convert it into violent fantasies. In their research, Scaptura and Boyle (2019) found indeed evidence that some members of an Incel community blame inter alia feminism and sexually active men for their situation, namely being rejected by women. Generally, there is not much psychological research on Incels yet. The current research aims to investigate the psychological factors that may be driving Incels’ misogynistic views and violent attitudes towards women. This research is important in a societal manner since most people do not know of the existence of Incel communities in which misogynistic and violent attitudes can be shared. Many Incels act out their inceldom peacefully, however, there are still some who try to spread hatred toward women.

In this paper, specialisation is on two possible driving forces of Incels’ misogynistic and violent attitudes: “frustrated mating needs” and “aggrieved entitlement”. The next sections will review the Incel community, misogyny and which psychological factors are driving this misogyny to substantiate the predictions derived from the hypothesis that frustrated mating needs and aggrieved entitlement lead to misogynistic beliefs.

The Incel Community and Misogyny

In 2014, Incels have attracted attention after media reported about Elliott Rodgers, a 22-year old known as the slaughter in the 2014 Isla Vista Killings. The 22-year old has stabbed and shot a total of 6 people to death and injured another 14 people. Before this crime, he posted a video on YouTube where he talked about being rejected by women, his jealousy towards sexually active men due to his self-perceived low mate value and high intrasexual competition (Nelson, 2014). What has been found is that Incels perceive themselves as beta-males, whereas muscular and handsome men are perceived as alpha men. Beta-males can be shortly defined as men which are not successful in the mating-market. An example of an alpha man is the concept of “Chad”, the alpha bad boy. Chad is handsome, tall, muscular and sexually successful. He is described as a man who doesn't have to approach women since they are coming to him. Incels have created a stereotypical picture of a woman called “Stacy”. Stacy has a very feminine body. She is beautiful and loves clothes, jewellery and makeup and

is also called a “whore”. Her lifestyle includes money since her rich dad or alpha man, who is also rich, offers her a good life (Hoiland, 2019).

Incels use women as an excuse to explain their problems with entering into a relationship and for their involuntary celibacy (Ging, 2017). Misogyny is getting more and more in the focus in Incel communities and it can be defined as “an unreasonable fear or hatred of women that takes on some palpable form in any given society” (Gilmore, 2001, p. 9). Also, women are perceived as the reason for Incels’ isolation and loneliness. Misogyny is expressed in different ways. Most of the messages in which the hate of women is expressed involve hostility, aggression, intimidation, insults, sarcasm and an unfriendly tone (Turnage, 2007). The attacks against women also include illustrating women as unintelligent, hysterical or ugly. There are even fantasies about threatening, beating or raping women. Many users in online Incel forums are criticizing feminism since they are perceiving it as a threat to masculinity and even as a reason for loneliness and suicides in men (Ging, 2017). Data collected by Hoiland (2019) identifies the Incel ideology as violent extremism. An example for this violent extremism has been found on in the online forum Incels.Net, where a user wrote the statement: “Just the mere mention of women makes me want to go fucking apeshit and destroy everything in sight. They want us all DEAD, because of things beyond our control, but apparently, we're the bad guys for resenting them for things WITHIN their control“ (Incels.Net, 2020b, p.3). This assumption can be underlined by the widespread idea that an Incels’ situation can only be improved by harming members of the outgroups, which in their case, involves attractive men and women (Hoiland, 2019).

What Psychological Factors drive Incels’ Misogyny?

According to previously executed research, it can be stated that even though not all Incels are misogynistic and have violent attitudes towards women, there is indeed an indicator leading to the presumption that unfulfilled mate-seeking experiences and aggrieved entitlement may lead Incels to become frustrated and angry towards women. Unmet mate-seeking motives were a factor of Rodger’s frustration (Blommaert 2017; Larkin 2018).

Before killing and injuring innocent people, Elliott Rodgers has posted writings in which he stated “I am so angry, I am going to get even with you. Violence is the way you get even. (...) Violence in this case is revenge. It's retaliation.” (Nelson, 2014, p. 1). By this statement, it becomes visible that a member of an Incel community got angry because of two factors: the feeling of being entitled to experience sexual activities with women and unmet mating needs. Rodgers was not able to have satisfied mate-seeking; thus, he took revenge

with people he was blaming for his unfulfilled mate-seeking and entitlement, which, in his perception, were women and other men.

In Maslow's Pyramid of Needs, sex belongs to the physical needs of humans (Mcleod, 2007). In the fundamental motives framework, there is more elaboration on the need for sexual activity in humans (Schaller, Kenrick, Neel & Neuberg, 2017). According to Maslow, physical human needs such as sex become more important and desired when they are absent whereas the fundamental motives framework elaborates on the disadvantages of the desired and not fulfilled need of sex (Mcleod, 2007; Schaller et al., 2017).

A possibility for growing violence and misogyny in Incels may be that Incels often talk about being sexually and romantically dissatisfied and frustrated. A hypothesis reinforcing the factor that unsatisfied mating needs may shape misogynistic and violent attitudes is the "frustrated mating needs" hypothesis. This hypothesis can be explained in terms of not being able to find a partner for a sexual or romantic relationship resulting in a feeling of not being masculine which can be transferred in frustration and a feeling of losing control (Fisher, 2010). Thus, by the feeling of a loss of control, men might search for a reason for their failure which is, in this case, a woman not willing to participate in a sexual or romantic relationship. This can result in growing anger and probably violent and misogynistic attitudes (Leek & Lewis-Elliott, 2018). Hines (2019) has found a correlation between mass shooters and being a member of an online community in which men can share unfulfilled mate-seeking experiences and even share sexist attitudes against women. Incels are blaming women for their unsuccessful mate-seeking attempts and are convinced that women prefer mate-seeking activities with genetically superior men (Ging, 2017; Hines, 2019). Scaptura and Boyle (2019) have researched that a few members of the Incel community evolve more extreme opinions against women, such as that women should be sex slaves and that Incels should show violence against women.

35% of responses from people who are involuntarily celibate show dissatisfaction, frustration or anger lacking sexual relationships and unfulfilled mate-seeking (Donnelly et al., 2001). Donnelly et al. (2001) state that there probably is a reciprocal relationship between involuntary celibacy and unhappiness, anger and depression. The negative feelings from involuntary celibacy can cause individuals to feel less self-confident and to be less open to sexual opportunities when they occur. The longer Incels go without fulfilled mate-seeking and sexual activities, the more likely they were to view their situation as permanent. The same goes for singles: the longer the period without a partner, the more likely they were to view their celibacy as permanent (Donnelly et al., 2001).

As a consequence of involuntary celibacy, namely being rejected by women and not being able to fulfil sexual and desired activities, Kimmel is talking about entitlement (Kimmel, 2017). One possibility suggested by some researchers and occurring commonly in the media is the idea that Incels' misogyny is driven by their feeling of being entitled to sex. This assumption can be based on the "aggrieved entitlement hypothesis" explained by researcher such as Michael Kimmel (2020). According to Kimmel (2020), "aggrieved entitlement" can be described as anger growing in men perceiving it as their right to have sex and if they are not able to experience sexual activities, they are taking revenge against those who are not participating in those activities. In an interview, he states that the Santa Barbara shootings executed by Rodgers are an accurate example of what he describes as "aggrieved entitlement" (Kimmel, 2020). There is preeminent research done by Kalish and Kimmel (2010) indicating that aggrieved entitlement is a factor driving boys and men to commit mass shootings. This theory is explained by the fact that white men are disproportionately benefitting in economic, political and social systems. By the time, the status of men and women became more equal compared to the past but still, many men and boys are failing to adjust their perceptions, expectations and feelings of equity and entitlement (Leek & Lewis-Elliott, 2018).

The Present Research

The aim of the current study is to investigate to what extent Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women are driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and entitlement to sex. It is important to conduct this study since previously made research has already researched about unsatisfied mating needs and entitlement to sex but there was no in-depth research if violent attitudes and misogyny can be resulting from these two variables (Hines, 2019). Although misogyny and violent attitudes towards women can be found in Incel forums it can also be found outside of Incel population. This is why data for this research were collected from both individuals who are members of Incel forums as well as outside of Incel forums and have a mixed sample. To be able to research more in-depth this study is based on the research question: To what extent are Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and entitlement to sex?

The hypothesis is stated as follow:

Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women are driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and feeling of entitlement to sex.

Method

Participants

For this research it has been chosen to collect data from active members of online Incel forums and social media communities such as Facebook and subReddits. Also, the data collection takes place in different discord servers, which are online platforms for gamers and various online games since it is presumed that people spending a lot of time playing online games may tend to be Incels. Students from the University of Twente were also recruited through SONA in exchange for study credits. The participants are recruited through convenience sampling. The average age of the participants has been computed as 24.78 years with a standard deviation of 6.16. The age of the participants ranges from 18-52 years. There is approval for this research from the Ethics Committee of the University of Twente Faculty BMS for Psychology. After deleting data of participants being younger than 18 years old, not passing the attention checks or not answering all items, 139 participants were left. Of those participants, 28 identified themselves as Incels. The demographical characteristics of the participants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (N=139)

Variables	Frequency	%
Sex		
Male	57	41.0
Female	79	56.8
Other	3	2.2
Nationality		
European	73	52.5
American	30	21.6
Canadian	5	3.6
Other	20	14.4
Ethnicity		
White	120	86.3
Black	4	2.9
Mixed race	7	5
Other	8	5.7
Education		
Less than high-school	1	0.7
High-school graduate	64	46
College graduate	22	15.8
Undergraduate degree	39	28.1
Master's degree	13	9.4
Employment status		
Student	80	57.6
Employed Full-time	34	24.5
Employed part-time	8	5.8
Unemployed	13	9.4
Other	4	2.9
Socio-economic status		
Very poor	17	12.3
Middle class	84	60.4
Wealthy	38	27.4
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	93	66.9
Homosexual	7	5
Bisexual	35	25.2
Other	4	2.9
Relationship status		
Not dating	53	38.1
Casually dating	15	10.8
Exclusively dating	43	30.9
Living together/engaged/ married	28	20.1

Materials

This study was part of a larger project investigating motives and mental health characteristics of Incels. Thus, the survey included a variety of measures and instruments that

are not relevant to this study. In this paper, only the measures and scales that are relevant to the current study are presented.

The data collection took place by an online survey in which participants had to fill in demographic questions, their Incel status, amount of activity in Incel forums or groups and their level of Inceldom (Appendix A). Attention check items such as „If you are reading this, please select „slightly disagree”” were used to check if the participants were completing the survey consciously. For all scales, participants had to fill in 7-point-likert scales with the starting point „strongly disagree“ to the endpoint „strongly agree“.

Sexual Entitlement

For this research, 7 items taken from the Sexual Narcissism Scale (Widman & McNulty, 2010) and the last 2 items taken from the Hanson Sex Attitudes Scale (Hanson, Gizarelli & Scott, 1994) were chosen to compute the variable “entitlement”. An example item of the Sexual Narcissism Scale is: “I am entitled to sex on a regular basis.” (Widman & McNulty, 2010). An example of the Hanson Sex Attitudes Scale is: “Women should oblige men’s sexual needs” (Hanson et al., 1994). Initial reliability statistics show an $\alpha = .88$ which is highly reliable. Factor analysis for this scale has been computed since items of different scales has been combined to a new scale to gather data of sexual entitlement. The factor analysis shows that all used items contribute to the variable “entitlement” since all loadings are positively loaded above 0.50 (Appendix, B). The scale was created by averaging all the items.

Frustrated Mating Needs

4 items taken from the Hanson Sex Attitude Questionnaire and 6 items created by the researcher were chosen to measure “Frustrated Mating Needs”. An example item of this is: “I am often sexually frustrated.” (Hanson et al., 1994). The reliability has been computed as $\alpha = .96$ which is highly reliable. Factor analysis has been computed for this scale to check if all items contribute to the variable “frustrated mating needs” (Appendix, C). Since all factors are positively loaded above 0.50, all items contribute to the variable. The scale was created by averaging all the items.

Misogynistic Beliefs

The construct “misogynistic beliefs” has been measured by two scales: The Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale (Gerger, Kley, Bohner & Siebler, 2007) and Hostility Towards Women Scale (Hanson et al., 1994). In total, 10 items of the Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale has been included in the survey. An example item of this scale is: “When a woman starts a relationship with a man,

she must be aware that the man will assert his right to have sex.” (Gerger et al., 2007). Cronbach’s alpha has been computed as $\alpha = .94$ which is highly reliable. The Hostility Towards Women Scale is a 10 item scale which has also been included in the survey. An example item for this scale is: “(Other) women are responsible for most of my troubles.” (Check, 2014). The items show $\alpha = .72$ which has acceptable reliability. The calculation of the factor analysis shows that the items contribute to the variable “misogynistic beliefs” since all factors are positively loaded above 0.50. The two scales were created by averaging their respective items.

Design & Procedure

This cross-sectional study has been conducted during April 2020. The participants first had to read the consent page. After agreeing to the consent form, participants completed demographic questions involving their age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic status, sexual orientation and relationship status. After that, they had to complete the measuring sexual entitlement, frustrated mating needs, and misogynistic beliefs (The Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale and the Hostility Towards Women Scale) (see Appendix D, E, F and G). At the end of the survey, participants were thanked and debriefed. They were offered to enter their email address for the possibility to win an amazon raffle. The duration of completing the survey took approximately 20 minutes.

Data Analysis

To analyse the data, the program IBM SPSS Statistics 26 has been used. To examine the sample characteristics, descriptive statistics and frequencies were computed on the demographic variables. Because not enough Incels participated in the data collection, data of non-Incels is included in the results. Data of male and female participants has been used since the trend for the data was exactly the same. A reliability analysis to compute Cronbach’s alpha has been executed for each measurement construct. To test the previously stated hypothesis: “Incels’ misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women are driven by their frustrated mating needs and feeling of entitlement to sex.”, first Pearson correlations were used to gather information about the correlation of the variables of sexual entitlement, frustrated mating needs and misogynistic beliefs. Then a multiple regression has been conducted with “entitlement” and “frustrated mating needs” as the predictor variables and misogynistic beliefs as the outcome variable..

Results

Test of the hypothesis

Pearson correlation tests showed significant and positive correlations between entitlement and frustrated mating needs ($r = .26$), entitlement and acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression ($r = .61$), entitlement and hostility towards women ($r = .48$), frustrated mating needs and acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression ($r = .40$), frustrated mating needs and hostility towards women ($r = .37$) and between the acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression and hostility towards women ($r = .69$).

The multiple regression results showed that when Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale was regressed on entitlement and frustrated mating needs, the model summary was significant, $R^2 = .44$, $F(147) = 56.04$, $p < .001$. Similarly, the model summary with entitlement and frustrated mating needs regressed on Hostility towards Women Scale was also significant, $R^2 = .29$, $F(148) = 30.37$, $p < .001$. As it can be seen in Tables 2 and 3, sexual entitlement and frustrated mating needs were both significantly predicting rape myths acceptance and hostile attitudes towards women. These results support the hypothesis.

Table 2: Coefficients Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.338	.249		1.359	.178
FMN	.187	.071	.215	2.650	.010
ENT	.615	.080	.626	7.703	.000

Note: ENT = entitlement FMN = frustrated mating needs

Table 3: Coefficients Hostility Towards Women Scale

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	17.449	1.64		10.636	.000
FMN	1.480	.404	.263	3.662	.010
ENT	3.062	.535	.411	5.719	.000

Note: ENT = entitlement FMN = frustrated mating needs

Discussion

The aim of this research was to investigate which psychological factors may drive Incels' violent and misogynistic attitudes towards women. The current study investigated if being sexually entitled and having frustrated mating needs results in having misogynistic and violent attitudes. Although this study was aimed to research Incels' misogynistic and violent attitudes, those attitudes have been also measured in participants describing themselves as

non-Incels.

As already mentioned in the results section, the findings are significant thus H1: “Incels’ misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women are driven by their unsatisfied mating needs and feeling of entitlement to sex.” is supported. By conducting this research, it can be stated that the psychological factors “entitlement” and “frustrated mating needs” are leading to misogyny and violent attitudes towards women. Decreasing those factors should decrease misogyny and violent attitudes towards women as well. To become able to decrease those factors, their causes have to be found and diminished.

Research of Hoffman, Ware and Shapiro has investigated the constructs of aggrieved entitlement and revenge. In their research, it is further explained that aggrieved entitlement can lead to a feeling of humiliation in men since they might feel a loss of masculinity if they are not able to execute sexual activities. The feeling of humiliation can result in distress and anger which in turn can result in misogyny and violent attitudes towards women since women are blamed for the Incels’ humiliation. Furthermore, Hoffman et al. (2020) state that aggrieved entitlement has been a central factor in mass shootings before and grows since the birth of the Incel community. This finding sits well with the hypothesis that entitlement results in violent and misogynistic attitudes towards women.

The finding that frustrated mating needs lead to misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women can be explained by the fundamental motives framework which already has been mentioned earlier in the introduction. According to this framework, a desired and not fulfilled need of sex leads to disadvantages in an individual (McLeod, 2007; Schaller, Kenrick, Neel & Neuberg, 2017). Combining this with the research of Scaptura and Boyle (2019) who investigated that some members of Incel communities already have the opinion that violence should be applied against women, it can be assumed that due not being able to have sexual activities or find a mate, anger and violent attitudes towards women and misogyny can grow. Research of Hines (2019) already indicated a correlation between violent attitudes towards women and being an Incel. In a study of Ging (2017) and Hines (2019) it has been found that Incels who are not able to perform satisfying mate-seeking are blaming women and other men for their situation which presumably may also lead to growing anger and a feeling of having to take revenge on those who are responsible for their situation.

Strengths, Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

There were several limitations in the present study that should be considered and addressed to future studies. First of all, it has to be mentioned that the idea of the study was to conduct research about Incels. This idea had to be changed since it was more difficult than

expected to find enough Incels volunteering to take part in the data collection. Because not enough Incels could have been found, data of non-Incels has been included in the results. Thus, a generalisation of the findings, that Incels having frustrated mating needs and entitlement to sexual activities show more misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women, cannot be ensured. To become able to ensure a better generalisation of the findings, future research should aim to find more Incel participants and exclude all non-Incels. As mentioned before, it is not easy to find Incels participating in studies, but since it has been already found that entitlement and frustrated mate-seeking are strong indicators for misogyny and violent attitudes towards women, indication might be stronger in an Incel sample.

Another limitation of the research on Incels may be the fact that some Incels get angry when asking them to participate in a study. As researchers, this experience has been made when reaching to members of Incel forums, social media, subReddits and several discord servers. It had to be dealt with insults and assumptions that Incels were misused as “lab rats”. There was a situation on Facebook in which an Incel participant got angry because of the item: “I would rape someone if I know that I would not be caught and/or punished.”. The Incel reported that it was abusive to ask him to answer an item asking if he would rape someone if he would not get punished for it. He accused the researcher to have the belief that every Incel would rape someone if there were no consequences. To decrease those negative behaviours, researchers should spend more time by talking face-to-face to Incels and explaining to them that they are understood and not misused for data collection. This can be done by using qualitative methods such as interview studies to gather information for future research. Incels should have the feeling of being worthy as individuals and a part of our society.

A reason that this study did not collect enough data of Incels may be the limited time frame of a 5-weeks data collection. Future researchers should ensure having a longer time frame to become able to collect enough data. The limited time frame can be also perceived as a strength. Even though there was only this limited time frame, 28 Incels living all around the globe who participated in the data collection have been found. This could lead to the assumption, that having for instance more time to collect data, the sample of Incels could also become bigger. The fact that 28 Incels have participated in this study can be a motivation for future research to invest time in researching more about Incels. Another strength was the high reliability of the measurement constructs used in this report which are the Sexual Narcissism Scale (Widman & McNulty, 2010), the Hanson Sex Attitudes Scale (Hanson et al., 1994), the Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale (Gerger et al., 2007) and the

Hostility Towards Women Scale (Hanson et al., 1994).

What has been recognized during this research is that Incels can be found in different surroundings and settings even though some individuals have not heard about Incels before and would not be able to characterise them as Incels. When meeting an Incel, it is important to not just categorise this individual as Incel but to take into account that this person might be lonely or anxious. Everyone might know individuals from different surroundings such as classes, work or even online games and some of them might be confident enough to share negative parts of their lives, that they wish to find a mate, for instance. When this happens, sensitivity and understanding should be shared so that those individuals feel understood and heard. When asking Incels to participate in a study it should be ensured that Incels have not been chosen because they are perceived negatively or perceived as “lab rats”. Instead, trustful relationships should be built to ensure comfortableness in the participants and a higher probability of receiving honest answers. To protect those individuals, as a researcher, more sensibility has to be shown in reaching out to them. It has to be ensured that they are understood and accepted. By building a trusting relationship with members of Incel communities, there may be a greater insight into their mental health, perceptions, intentions and feelings. By this, more reliable and honest answers on the researched questions can be expected. Future research should not only focus on researching Incels but also on understanding them and especially on helping them. There are Incels all around the globe and researchers should try to compile an intervention to help those of them who are not satisfied to be an Incel. As shortly mentioned in the materials section, similar results of entitlement to sex and frustrated mating needs resulting in misogynistic and violent attitudes towards women have been also found in women. It could be interesting to study this relationship more in-depth with a large sample of women.

Conclusion

Despite the previously named limitations, the present study contributes to the overall knowledge and understanding of members of Incel communities. This report provides novel and empirical evidence on the role of Incels’ and non-Incels’ feelings of entitlement to sex and frustrated mating needs leading to violent and misogynistic attitudes towards women. Based on this report, it cannot be generalised that Incels who have frustrated mating needs and a feeling of entitlement to sex have misogynistic beliefs since only 28 Incels participated. Still, it can be generalised that those variables lead to violent and misogynistic attitudes in general. In further research including the previously named recommendations and having a large sample of only Incel participants, those constructs could be investigated further to

become able to generalise those findings. If those findings will be supported in larger samples and will be afterwards generalised, it is important to investigate the reasons for the negative attitudes towards women which already has been started in this research. If this would be the case, interventions could be compiled to reduce those negative attitudes and hopefully decrease the number of violent and misogynistic attitudes towards women in Incels such as by Elliot Rodger's.

References

- Allen, M., D'ALESSIO, D. A. V. E., & Brezgel, K. (1995). A meta-analysis summarizing the effects of pornography II aggression after exposure. *Human communication research*, 22(2), 258-283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1995.tb00368.x>
- Allen, M., D'Alessio, D., & Emmers-Sommer, T. M. (1999). Reactions of criminal sexual offenders to pornography: A meta-analytic summary. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 22(1), 139-169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.1999.11678961>
- Bancroft, J. (2008). *Human sexuality and its problems*. Elsevier Health Sciences. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-443-05161-6.00002-1>
- Beall, A. T., & Schaller, M. (2019). Evolution, motivation, and the mating/parenting trade off. *Self and Identity*, 18(1), 39-59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2017.1356366>
- Blommaert, Jan. 2017. "Online-offline Modes of Identity and Community: Elliot Rodger's Twisted World of Masculine Victimhood." *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 200. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from: <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8551305/file/8551306.pdf>
- Check, J. V. P. (2014). The hostility toward women scale. Thesis, University of Manitoba, Manitoba. Retrieved March 21, 2020, from: <http://hdl.handle.net/1993/23279>
- Colleoni, Elanor, Alessandro Rozza, and Adam Arvidsson. 2014. "Echo Chamber or Public Sphere? Predicting Political Orientation and Measuring Political Homophily in Twitter Using Big Data." *Journal of Communication* 64(2):317–32. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12084>
- Collins, B. A HORROR TALE OF MALE ENTITLEMENT: JACK THE RIPPER AN
- Costanzo, M. L. (2018). On internalized oppression and sexualized violence in college women. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/11264>
- Donnelly, Denise, Elisabeth Burgess, Sally Anderson, Regina Davis, and Joy Dillard. 2001. "Involuntary Celibacy: A Life Course Analysis." *The Journal of Sex Research* 38(2):159–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490109552083>
- Fisher, M. (2010). *Capitalist realism: Is there no alternative?* Winchester, UK: Zero Books. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781501346699.ch-002>
- Gerger, H., Kley, H., Bohner, G., & Siebler, F. (2007). The acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression scale: Development and validation in German and English.

- Aggressive Behavior: Official Journal of the International Society for Research on Aggression*, 33(5), 422-440. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20195>
- Gilmore, David D. 2001. *Misogyny: The Male Malady*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812200324>
- Ging, D. (2017). Alphas, betas, and incels: Theorizing the masculinities of the manosphere. *Men and Masculinities*, 22, 638–657. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x17706401>
- Hines, A. (2019, May 28). How many bones would you break to get laid? The Cut. <https://www.thecut.com/2019/05/incel-plastic-surgery.html>
- Hoffman, B., Ware, J., & Shapiro, E. (2020). Assessing the Threat of Incel Violence. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43(7), 565-587. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610x.2020.1751459>
- Hoiland, T. (2019). Incels and the stories they tell. *A narrative analysis of Incels' shared stories on Reddit*. Retrieved April, 12, 2020 from: <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/69841>
- Incels.Net (a). Retrieved April, 18, 2019 from <https://incels.net/threads/what-if-germany-won.14710/#post-240225>
- Incels.Net (b). Retrieved April, 19, 2019 from <https://incels.net/threads/looksmaxxing-is-bullshit.14762/#post-241222>
- Jaki, S., De Smedt, T., Gwóźdz, M., Panchal, R., Rossa, A., & De Pauw, G. (2019). Online hatred of women in the Incels. me forum: Linguistic analysis and automatic detection. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 7(2), 240-268. 64(2):317–32. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12084>
- Karl Hanson, R., Gizzarelli, R., & Scott, H. (1994). The attitudes of incest offenders: Sexual entitlement and acceptance of sex with children. *Criminal justice and behavior*, 21(2), 187-202. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854894021002001>
- Kimmel, Michael. 2019. *Healing From Hate: How Young Men Get Into—and Out of—Violent Extremism*. Oakland : University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520966086>
- Koss, M. P., & Gidycz, C. A. (1985). Sexual Experiences Survey: Reliability and validity. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 53, 422–423. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006x.53.3.422>
- Kupers, T. A. 2005. “Toxic Masculinity as a Barrier to Mental Health Treatment in Prison.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 61:713–24. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.20105>

- Leek, C., & Lewis-Elliott, M. (2018). Masculinities and school shootings. *The Routledge International Handbook of Violence Studies*, 192-200.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315270265-16>
- Maner, J. K., Miller, S. L., Moss, J. H., Leo, J. L., & Plant, E. A. (2012). Motivated social categorization: Fundamental motives enhance people's sensitivity to basic social categories. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 103(1), 70.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028172>
- McLeod, S. (2007). Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Simply psychology*, 1, 1
 8. https://doi.org/10.1007/springerreference_301765
- Mosher, W. D., Chandra, A., & Jones, J. (2005). *Sexual behavior and selected health measures: men and women 15-44 years of age, United States, 2002* (No. 362). US Department of Health and Human Services, Center for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/e609202007-001>
- Nelson, L. (2014, May 29). It's a way to retrieve your manhood': a cultural explanation of the Santa Barbara shooting. Retrieved March 13, 2020, from
<http://www.vox.com/2014/5/29/5754786/the-santa-barbara-shootings-and-angry-white-men>
- Larkin, Ralph W. 2018. "Learning to be a Rampage Shooter: The Case of Elliot Rodger." In *The Wiley Handbook on Violence in Education: Forms, Factors, and Preventions*.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118966709.ch4>
- Payne, D. (1993). The assessment and structure of rape myths. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urban Champaign of Applied Social Psychology, 20, 130-153. Retrieved on May, 12, 2020 from
<https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/20775>
- Rego, Richard. 2018. "Changing Forms and Platforms of Misogyny: Sexual Harassment of Women Journalists on Twitter." *Media Watch* 9(3):472-485.
<https://doi.org/10.15655/mw/2018/v9i3/49480>
- Scaptura, M. N., & Boyle, K. M. (2019). Masculinity Threat, "Incel" Traits, and Violent Fantasies Among Heterosexual Men in the United States. *Feminist Criminology*, 1557085119896415. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085119896415>
- Schaller, M., Kenrick, D. T., Neel, R., & Neuberg, S. L. (2017). Evolution and human motivation: A fundamental motives framework. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 11(6), e12319. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12319>

Turnage, Anna K. 2007. "Email Flaming Behaviors and Organizational Conflict." *Computer-Mediated Communication* 13(1):43–59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00385.x>

Widman, L., & McNulty, J. K. (2010). Sexual narcissism and the perpetration of sexual aggression. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 39(4), 926-939.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-008-9461-7>

Appendix

A: Level of Inceldom scale

Factor Matrix

	Factor 1	Factor 2
I have tried having sexual/romantic relationships, but have been rejected too many times	.896	
I have tried having sexual/romantic relationships, but have failed too many times	.819	
I want to find a romantic/sexual partner, but I am too physically unattractive	.796	
I want to date, but nobody wants to date me	.697	
I want to have sex, but there is no one to do it with	.683	
I want to love someone, but there is no one out there for me	.667	
Noone from the opposite sex ever shows an interest in me	.571	.381
I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of kissing a person of the opposite sex	.552	.376
I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of dating a person of the opposite sex		.897
I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of having sex with a person of the opposite sex		.867
I have never been lucky enough to enjoy the pleasure of being desired by the opposite sex		.864
Other men/women are enjoying the pleasure of having romantic/sexual experiences, but not me		.668

Extraction Method: Unweighted Least Squares

B: Factor Matrix Entitlement Scale

	Factor	
	1	2
I am entitled to sex on a regular basis.	.812	.542
I should be permitted to have sex whenever I want it.	.810	.537
I would be irritated if a dating	.682	1.233

partner said no to sex.		
I expect sexual activity if I go out with someone on an expensive date.	.701	.531
A person should have sex whenever it is needed	.704	.573
Everyone is entitled to sex	.743	.652
Man need more sex than women do.	.627	.568
Women should oblige men's sexual needs	.517	.567
I feel I deserve sexual activity when I am in the mood for it.	.842	.537

C: Factor Matrix Frustrated Mating Needs Scale

	Factor	
	1	2
I am often sexually frustrated	.510	.558
Quite often I would like to have sex, but I can not.	.840	
I am often sexually aroused, but there is no one to have sex with.	.784	
I don't have sex as often as I would like to.	.816	.541
I am single more than I want to be.	.829	.609
I am often upset about not being able to attract a mate.	.699	
It frustrates me that I cannot easily find a person to date	.718	.
I am often frustrated about not being able to find someone to have sex with.	.786	.691
It upsets me that I don't have a romantic partner to spend time with.	.867	.
I am often frustrated about not being able to find a romantic partner.	.888	

D: Entitlement Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
I feel I deserve sexual activity when I am in the mood for it.							
I am entitled to sex on a regular basis.							
I should be permitted to have sex whenever I want it.							
I would be irritated if a dating partner said no to sex.							
I expect sexual activity if I go out with someone on an expensive date.							
	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
A person should have sex whenever it is needed.							
Everyone is entitled to sex.							
Men need more sex than women do.							
Women should oblige men's sexual needs.							

E: Frustrated Mating Needs Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
I am often sexually frustrated.							
Quite often I would like to have sex, but I cannot.							
I am often sexually aroused, but there is no one to have sex with.							
I don't have sex as often as I would like to.							

	strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5
I am often frustrated about not being able to find someone to have sex with.					
I am single more than I want to be.					
It upsets me that I don't have a romantic partner to spend time with.					
I am often frustrated about not being able to find a romantic partner.					
I am often upset about not being able to attract a mate.					
It frustrates me that I cannot easily find a person to date.					
if you are reading this, please select 2 "disagree".					

F: Hostility Towards Women Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them.							
I believe that most women tell the truth.							
I usually find myself agreeing with (other) women.							
I think that most women would lie just to go ahead.							
Generally, it is safer not to trust women.							
	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful.							

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	slightly disagree 3	neither agree nor disagree 4	slightly agree 5	agree 6	strongly agree 7
I am easily angered by (other) women.							
I am sure I get a raw deal from the (other) women in my life.							
Sometimes (other) women bother me by just being around.							
(Other) Women are responsible for most of my troubles.							

G: Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
As long as they don't go too far, suggestive remarks and allusions simply tell a woman that she is attractive.							
It is a biological necessity for men to release sexual pressure from time to time.							
Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a "sexual assault".							
Interpreting harmless gestures as "sexual harassment" is a popular weapon in the battle of the sexes.							
To get custody for their children, women often falsely accuse their ex-husband of a tendency toward sexual violence.							
Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence.							
Women often accuse their husbands of marital rape just to retaliate for a failed relationship.							
The discussion about sexual harassment on							

	strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
the job has mainly resulted in many a harmless behavior being misinterpreted as harassment.							
When a woman starts a relationship with a man, she must be aware that the man will assert his right to have sex.							
A lot of women strongly complain about sexual infringements for no real reason, just to appear emancipated.							
Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.							
If you are reading this, to show that you are paying attention, please select 5 "somewhat agree"							