Girlbosses, The Red Pill, and the Anomie and Fatale of Gender on Social Media: Analyzing Posts from r/SuicideWatch on Reddit

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Abstract

The proliferation of social media use in daily life has introduced a new practice in today's society: posting about suicidal ideation or intent online. Recent trends in social media reflect a movement towards different forms of male and female empowerment that impact gender norms, and thus, may impact social categorization. This pilot study explores posts from r/SuicideWatch that include discussions of gender and its implications for online conceptions of social identity. We use computational methods borrowed from natural language processing to analyze this impact from a novel perspective rarely seen in sociology.

1 Introduction

There is an estimated population of 4.8 billion social media users as of 2022 (Beltran et al., 2022). Several studies have identified the role of social media in the construction of group identity, from college sports (Kim and Kim, 2019) to political identity (Bennett, 2012). Further, social comparison through social media has been researched in relation to the impact on identity and self-esteem (Vogel et al., 2014). Expressing suicidal intent on social media occurs often enough to be explored as a public health issue (Luxton et al., 2012), and there are several different communities online dedicated to providing peer support and a place to share for those suffering from suicidal ideation.

This pilot study utilizes the findings of Emile Durkheim's *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*(Durkheim, 2005) to explore present-day motivations for suicide through the analysis of posts by users of Reddit concerning their own suicidality. The emergence of new models online for the "empowered" woman or man, paired with the social disruption during the COVID-19 pandemic, necessitates an inquiry into how changing gender

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norms may or may not be distressing for individuals. This study is based on a BERTopic model of text posts from r/SuicideWatch, a subreddit for peer-support for suicidal ideation. This paper will discuss the topics identified in the model that coincide with Durkheim's theory, especially as they relate to recent narratives on social media surrounding empowerment and gender.

2 Theoretical Basis

2.1 Durkheim's *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*

It is first necessary to briefly summarize Durkheim's findings in his 1897 book, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (Durkheim, 2005), before discussing its potential relevance to any topics in the posts on r/SuicideWatch. The key theoretical constructs from his work utilized in this study relate to his findings on social integration and moral regulation (Mueller et al., 2021). An imbalance in either creates four types of suicide, as visualized in the table on the following page.

The two factors that impact occurrences of suicide are regulation and integration, with the latter having a stronger impact according to Durkheim's findings (Mueller et al., 2021). Moral regulation has to do with whether the social rules of a particular group are made clear to an individual, and the degree to which the individual feels pressure from them (Mueller et al., 2021). Too little regulation, where an individual loses touch with the guiding force of morality in the group, usually in times of rapid social change, results in anomic suicide. On the other hand, too much regulation, where an individual may feel too much pressure or coercion as the result of the demands for a particular social group results in fatalistic suicide.

The norms of a group expressed as morality provide a certain protection for individuals, and the same is true for Durkheim when it comes to social integration. Durkheim argues that social bonds

Cause of Suicide	Type of Suicide
> Moral Regulation	1. Fatalistic Suicide
< Moral Regulation	2. Anomic Suicide
< Social Integration	3. Egoistic Suicide
> Social Integration	4. Altruistic Suicide

Table 1: Four Types of Suicide and Causes according to Durkheim

serve to protect individuals from the sufferings associated with life (Durkheim, 2005, 209-210). He understands social integration as the extent and depth of an individual's social relationships (Mueller et al., 2021). Thus, too little integration results in egoistic suicide, in which an individual feels a lack of belonging with a group, and loses the bond that would otherwise protect them from distress. Too much integration results in altruistic suicide, which sees an individual complete the act as a result of too much pressure through social bonds leading to the conclusion that their death would be for the best in terms of the health of their group.

2.2 Gender as a Social Category

In this study, our use of the term gender is based on the concept of social categories. Social categories comprise a group of people defined by a label either given to or used by the group of people, and the label itself must be utilized often enough that it impacts larger society's thinking or behavior around the group (Fearon, 1999). Social categories are defined by two features. The first are the rules of membership either explicit or implicit that include or exclude people from the group. The second are the sets of characteristics or certain types of behaviors that are alleged to be common to or expected of the category. These rules of membership and these sets of characteristics are debated and may change over time, but ultimately are consequential in the way they influence and condition ways of thinking and patterns of behavior (Fearon, 1999).

Our two social categories for gender are the binary "man" and "woman." We are using this conceptual definition of gender for the reason that the rules of membership and sets of characteristics that inform a social category mirror Durkheim's understanding of the purpose of moral regulation for social groups: both remain beyond the control of the individual and create expectations for behavior and ways of being. To comment on the levels of social integration online and how they may im-

pact suicidal ideation for men and women requires a separate task of determining how the different categories integrate through the internet. For this reason, this paper will focus on the relationship between moral regulation online, or the rules of membership and alleged sets of characteristics, and suicidality for men and women. It becomes possible to understand the expectations online of for men and woman as the social morality that would result in either fatalistic or anomic suicide.

3 Background

3.1 r/SuicideWatch

The online platform Reddit, with 52 million active users (Beltran et al., 2022), allows those with accounts, or "redditors" to submit user-generated content, like links, text posts, and images; to relevant "subreddits" or "sub," which are user-created boards centered around the discussion of a particular subject[1]. The subreddit of interest for this paper is r/SuicideWatch, a subreddit started in December of 2008 that claims to provide an online space for "anyone struggling with suicidal thoughts."[2] To date, the subreddit has 424,000 members.

This subreddit has been selected for analysis for two reasons. The first is that the number of members in the sub makes it one of the largest resources for anonymous user-generated content around suicidal ideation; and the second is that the guidelines of interacting with posters in the subreddit are conducive to honest self-reporting of factors behind their suicidality. Two important guidelines from the r/SuicideWatch's "Talking Tips" page are the prohibitions around giving advice and offering encouragement. The moderators discourage offering help, as it may make the suicidal person feel even more powerless, and further discourage any members from accidentally invalidating a poster's feelings by posting uplifting remarks.

3.2 Social Media and Online Gender Empowerment Movements

With the impact of social media on self image being well-explored in the literature (Vogel et al., 2014), it is worth examining the ways in which gender roles have evolved online. The term "Girlboss" was created by NastyGal founder Sophia Amoruso in 2014, "to describe a way of presenting a professionally successful persona that highlights femininity"

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[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reddit
[2] https://www.reddit.com/r/SuicideWatch/

(Atir, 2022). "#GirlBoss" on Instagram has 27 million posts to date[3], and TikToks tagged "#Girlboss" have an aggregate of 10.3 billion views[4]. While this hashtag only represents one expression of female empowerment on social media, the overall trend has been identified as one that reinforces the concept of "meritocracy" under capitalism (Robinson, 2023). The concept of an empowered "girlboss" represents "an 'ideal' of a woman who has it all" (Robinson, 2023).

In terms of social media trends around male gender roles, an increasingly popular concept called the "Manosphere" has steadily gained traction over time, which includes concepts like the redpill, alpha males, and involuntary celibates (incels) (Ging, 2019). The philosophy of the "Manosphere" has been described by some scholars as, "superficially [resolving] a contradiction between hegemonic masculinity's prescriptive emotional walls and an inherent desire for connection by constructing women as exchangeable commodities" (Van Valkenburgh, 2021). Like "#Girlboss", "#Alphamale," a term directly associated with manosphere beliefs has millions if not billions of views on social media; with 1 million views on Instagram[5] and 2.4 billion on TikTok[6].

Previous research on the difference in suicidality between men and women has identified interpersonal events as triggers for women and achievement events as triggers for men (Waelde et al., 1994). The concepts of "#Girlboss", centered around achievement and success in the professional world, and "#Alphamale", centered around success and achievement in interpersonal relationships as it relates to other men and relative success in finding romantic or sexual partners (Van Valkenburgh, 2021), pose rules of membership and sets of characteristics opposite to established triggers for men and women. The concepts of a "Girlboss" and an "Alphamale" on social media, thus, provide potential conflict within the social category of "man" and woman" on the internet.

4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

This leads us to the presentation of the research questions for this study, which can be understood as follows:

- Can online empowerment movements targeting men and women affect the rules and expected characteristics for the group as a whole?

- Are gender norms online overly confining (fatalistic) or ambiguous and poorly defined (anomic)?

For men and women posting in r/SuicideWatch, being overly confined by the expectations, or moral regulation, of their social category would lead to fatalistic suicidality; while being confused by moral regulations would lead to anomic suicidality. These questions then lead to three hypotheses to test in this paper:

I. If online empowerment movements can impact the morality of a social category, then we can expect to see topics related to each one in posts made by men and women in r/SuicideWatch.

II. If gender expectations online create an anomic environment, the we can expect to see topics related to overwhelming confusion or feeling lost.

III. If gender expectations online create a fatalistic environment, the we can expect to see topics related to feeling trapped or controlled.

5 Methodology

The data for this study is from a publicly available dataset on Kaggle. Utilizing the Pushshift API to scrape posts from r/depression and r/SuicideWatch for suicide and depression detection, this dataset contains 484,969 posts from r/SuicideWatch between 2008 and 2021.[7] To inquire more into the potential influence of online empowerment movements on gender and suicidality, we focused on posts in the Kaggle dataset posted after January 1st, 2016 up until 2021, as Google Trends reports that searches for "girlboss" peaked in March of 2016, while searches for "alphamale" has remained steady.[8] Because the gender identity of the posters is not specified in this particular dataset, we then isolated the posts that contained age and gender identifiers, typically denoted on the website as

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[3]https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/girlboss/?hl=en
[4]https://www.tiktok.com/tag/girlboss?lang=en
[5]https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/alphamale/?hl=en
[6]https://www.tiktok.com/tag/alphamale?lang=en

[7]https://www.kaggle.com/datasets/nikhileswarkomati/suicide-watch
[8]https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=girlboss,alphamale

some variation of "30F" or "18m." This was done using regular expressions (RegEx) to match patterns of only two digits followed by a capital or lowercase "F" or "M" within the body of the texts. This led to the creation of a new dataset of 1381 posts containing female identifiers, another dataset of 4190 posts containing male identifiers, and a dataset of 301 posts containing both.

The two datasets with either a female identifier or a male identifier were then used to create two BERTopic models. BERTopic is a technique for topic modeling, utilizing c-TF-IDF for clustering and embedding models to form topics and facilitate easier interpretation while preserving important terms in the description for each topic (Grootendorst, 2022). Sentence transformers were then used to compute sentence embeddings within the text in order to compute semantic relationships between sentences in the text and further refine the models (Reimers and Gurevych, 2019). We then utilized Maximal Marginal Relevance (MMR) as the representation model to calculate MMR between candidate terms and the document itself. This approach considers the similarity of key terms between others and in the context of the entire document, resulting in better diversity within the extracted topics and their terms (Grootendorst, 2022). The final BERTopic model for the posts containing female identifiers yielded 278 topics, while the BERTopic model for the posts with male identifiers yielded 646 topics. The appendix contains 200 of the most salient topics with their count, name, and representation for each subset of the data.

6 Results: Topics in r/SuicideWatch

6.1 Hypothesis I: *If online empowerment movements can impact the morality of a social category, then we can expect to see topics related to each one in posts made by men and women in r/SuicideWatch.*

College and school performance are both included in topics from each dataset, the representation of this topic was 949 out of 1381 posts for women (Topic 1), while it was 528 out of 4190 for men (Topic 4). Failure and success are also represented in women (Topic 41), and men (Topic 42). Money is also discussed for women (Topic 27, 154), and for men (Topic 2). The presence of these topics in posts from r/SuicideWatch with female identifiers suggests the influence of the "GirlBoss" movement, but cannot be conclusive. It is important to note in-

terpersonal events do appear in the women dataset, with references to infidelity (Topic 140) and family and relationship troubles (Topic 64, 80, 97, 124). However, topics concerning school and work, while may not conclusively suggest the influence of the Girlboss empowerment movement, does suggest that achievement can be a notable trigger for suicide in women, contrary to previous research. Less ambiguous is the influence of "Manosphere" or "Alphamale" ideas present in the topics for posts from r/SuicideWatch containing male identifiers. There are topics concerning being unattractive (Topic 44), facing rejection from women (Topic 58), being a virgin (Topic 157), and physical fitness (Topic 159). As previously discussed, achievement-related topics were present in the dataset, but it is also important to note that interpersonal events did appear in topics discussing conflict with parents (Topic 28) and breakups (Topic 169), but with less frequency.

6.2 Hypothesis II: *If gender expectations online create an anomic environment, the we can expect to see topics related to overwhelming confusion or feeling lost.*

For the women's dataset, topics related to confusion or feeling lost were more prevalent than in the men's dataset. This is discussed in topics covering lack of belonging (Topic 48), worthlessness(Topic 45), guilt and shame (Topic 63), being a burden (Topic 74), having nothing left (Topic 88), not knowing what the point of life is (Topic 104), and feeling numb (Topic 111). These topics were not absent from the men's dataset, represented in topics on guilt and shame (Topic 67), worthlessness (Topic 72), not knowing what's real (Topic 107), feeling empty (164), and being being a burden (110).

6.3 Hypothesis III: *If gender expectations online create a fatalistic environment, the we can expect to see topics related to feeling trapped or controlled.*

For the men's dataset, topics related to feeling trapped or controlled were more prevalent than in the women's dataset. These topics comprised representations of not wanting to live anymore (Topic 88), not wanting to be here anymore (Topic 92), reactions of anger and upset (Topic 129, 139), stress (Topic 141), control (Topic 167), not being able to stand life (Topic 174), being crushed (Topic 178), and exhaustion (Topic 139, 186). However, similar topics were also present in the women's dataset,

although less frequently. These topics covered representations of not being able to take it anymore (Topic 132), life being too much (Topic 164), wanting to escape (Topic 166), not being able to handle life (Topic 182), and being tired (Topic 53).

7 Analysis

According to Fearon, social categories can be further subdivided into role and type categories, where performance of the role and and the principles associated with the role, or type, help individuals orient themselves within society (Fearon, 1999). While we have offered his definition of social identity through social category, he distinguishes social identity from personal identity, or "distinguishing features of a person that form the basis of his or her dignity or self-respect" (Fearon, 1999). It is through the interaction of social and personality identity that it becomes possible to understand moral regulation online and its impact on suicidality.

7.1 Anomie: GirlBoss as a Social Identity

The results of this study suggest that women may experience more anomie in their ideation, or disconnection from the moral regulation of their social category, which warrants a discussion of why this may be. The female-identifiers within the posts on r/SuicideWatch suggest a younger population of posters (Topic 4, 38). Girlboss joins other hashtags like AddWomen and STEMinism in encouraging women's participation and acceptance in the professional and academic realm. Because these empowerment movements involve the expansion of the social category of women to include more roles, like scientist or CEO, it can make it difficult for individuals within the social category to orient themselves within differing role expectations, especially for younger women. Gender discrimination in male-dominated spheres may also complicate type expectations for women performing different roles, as "masculine" behavior is seen as being more conducive to success in the field (Van Veelen et al., 2019). The ambiguity and presence of different role expectations may make it difficult for the individual to understand the alleged rules and characteristics they need for membership in their social category. This is not to disparage feminist movements online, but rather to point to how the necessity of tying the social category of woman to different roles in order to alleviate gender in-

equality, may have the unintended consequence of causing distress to individuals. As women are encouraged to take on roles previously unavailable to them, it is important to be attentive to how social pressures may result in an anomie where they feel lost among differing expectations.

7.2 Fatale: Alphamale as a Personal Identity

The suicidal ideation expressed in r/SuicideWatch for men leans fatalistic, and this is where personal identities become helpful in explaining this result. While Girlboss empowerment represents one social category (CEO) being merged into another (woman), the Alphamale links a personal identity to the social category of man. The distinguishing features of the Alphamale that comprise physical fitness, wealth, and the ability to have sexual success becomes the basis for the individual's self-esteem. For those who have absorbed the philosophy of the manosphere, sexual success not only becomes the basis of their dignity, but also the means through which they orient themselves within society. Moreover, the moral regulation resulting from this convergence is extremely confining. As noted in Van Valkenburgh (2021), those falling into the beliefs of the "manosphere" assert that, "human nature and behavior are essentially unchanging and rooted in biological determinants" (Van Valkenburgh, 2021). In other words, if a man is experiencing a lack of success in finding sexual partners, they must face the "truth" that their situation is both unchanging and biologically determined. Fearon argues that individuals with fewer social identities tend to hold personal identities more firmly (Fearon, 1999). Because the particular ideology of the manosphere is particularly dangerous, resulting in mass murder-suicides known as "misogynistic terrorism"[9], it may be valuable to focus on strengthening and furthering men's social identities. That way, personal identities may become less attractive for the individual and the rules of membership and sets of characteristics may feel less confining, as the personal identity no longer serves to orient the individual within society.

Limitations

This paper is not intended to replace medical and psychological research on suicide, nor should the findings of this paper ever be prioritized over clini-

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[9] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Misogynist_terrorism

cal expertise. Our intention is to identify potential sources of distress for individuals participating in the online space. While user-generated content on suicidal ideation can provide insight into the possible social motivations for suicide, they do not offer tangible data on whether or not the act is completed. The anonymity provided by Reddit posts, as users are not required to provide their full name or image in creating an account, complicates any possible determination of whether the ideation expressed in their posts translates into action in real life. Therefore, this study should not be used as a basis for treatment or prevention of suicide.

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A Appendix

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers

Topic	Count	Name
-1	9314	-1_he_my_him_and
0	1630	0_she_her_shes_we
1	949	1_job_school_college_degree
2	476	2_suicidal_suicide_thoughts_attempted
3	295	3_friends_friend_have_friendships
4	285	4_19f_18f_15f_21f
5	224	5_kill_myself_killing_die
6	223	6_sleep_wake_bed_waking
7	217	7_sorry_post_read_reading
8	190	8_happy_happiness_joy_miserable
9	182	9_pills_meds_overdose_take
10	176	10_pain_hurts_hurt_painful
11	175	11_ugly_look_mirror_face
12	168	12_mom_mother_mum_she
13	167	13_alone_lonely_isolated_feel
14	166	14_die_want_dead_wish
15	155	15_them_they_their_tell
16	152	16_abused_raped_sexually_abuse
17	146	17_depression_depressed_years_been
18	144	18_family_theyre_them_my
19	142	19_hate_myself_hates_hating
20	139	20_anxiety_panic_attacks_attack
21	135	21_felt_feel_feels_feeling
22	131	22_depression_anxiety_19f_23f
23	128	23_cry_crying_cried_sobbing
24	126	24_parents_siblings_my_tell
25	125	25_bridge_jumping_edge_jump
26	119	26_therapist_therapy_therapists_tried
27	117	27_bills_savings_debt_money
28	106	28_we_together_weve_each
29	104	29_eating_eat_weight_food
30	103	30_gun_pistol_guns_rounds
31	102	31_cat_cats_dog_pets
32	101	32_suicidal_suicide_thoughts_past

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
33	99	33_end_ending_it_want
34	94	34_dad_father_abusive_he
35	89	35_care_cares_cared_about
36	89	36_thoughts_dark_intrusive_these
37	86	37_love_loves_never_someone
38	85	38_17f_20f_16f_25f
39	84	39_room_quarantine_apartment_clean
40	81	40_care_me_anyone_life
41	80	41_failure_fail_failed_failing
42	79	42_him_he_film_hes
43	78	43_self_harm_harming_selfharm
44	76	44_hobbies_interest_pointless_games
45	75	45_worthless_useless_worth_feel
46	72	46_live_living_reason_inspiring
47	72	47_hospital_patients_inpatient_hospitalization
48	70	48_here_belong_be_still
49	68	49_bullied_school_bullying_grade
50	61	50_police_cops_report_called
51	61	51_help_ask_professional_need
52	57	52_life_sick_hate_isnt
53	55	53_tired_im_nnim_so
54	55	54_better_get_gets_wellnnbut
55	55	55_student_college_training_school
56	55	56_what_do_know_dont
57	54	57_nnfast_forward_today_months
58	53	58_fight_fighting_flight_surrender
59	53	59_drink_sober_drank_drinking
60	51	60_stop_want_away_stopped
61	50	61_died_dead_funeral_death
62	49	62_cutting_cut_again_clean
63	49	63_guilt_guilty_shame_forgive
64	49	64_he_him_hes_upset
65	48	65_advice_any_appreciate_anyone
66	48	66_drugs_weed_marijuana_smoke
67	48	67_brother_close_cousin_little
68	48	68_disorder_personality_borderline_diagnosed

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
69	47	69_passed_died_grandmother_cancer
70	47	70_covid_pandemic_economy_covid19
71	46	71_ambulance_hospital_cabinet_nurse
72	44	72_scared_terrified_worried_afraid
73	44	73_hi_hello_hey_everyone
74	44	74_burden_everyone_perform_ruining
75	43	75_anymore_cant_do_apparentlyni
76	43	76_god_pray_religious_prayed
77	43	77_nncheers_nnthanks_nna_accurate
78	43	78_plan_plans_planner_backup
79	42	79_mental_health_illness_mentally
80	42	80_children_kids_married_points
81	40	81_bipolar_bpd_diagnosed_colleague
82	40	82_hope_excited_hopeful_no
83	40	83_lesbian_men_incel_bisexual
84	40	84_he_told_him_didnt
85	39	85_hurt_hurting_anyone_grieve
86	39	86_want_dont_sugarcoat_request
87	39	87_breathe_chest_oxygen_breath
88	38	88_nothing_anywhere_left_hold
89	38	89_selfish_jealous_selfishnntoday_respectfully
90	37	90_broken_broke_apart_spirit
91	37	91_future_bleak_see_fishies
92	37	92_fat_weigh_pounds_overweight
93	37	93_strong_weak_stronger_strength
94	36	94_dreams_dream_dreaming_crushed
95	36	95_one_no_nnat_anyone
96	36	96_19f_lovedcared_forwanted_relationship
97	35	97_texted_messaged_texting_him
98	34	98_age_aged_youngest_child
99	34	99_sick_nauseous_stomach_throw
100	34	100_problems_conflicts_fault_excuse
101	33	101_vent_venting_needed_messy
102	33	102_parents_accomplish_therapist_therapy
103	33	103_pregnant_abortion_lost_baby
104	32	104_point_whats_continuing_see

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
105	32	105_know_knows_clue_dont
106	32	106_account_throwaway_deleted_main
107	32	107_would_brains_woods_drink
108	31	108_tried_attempt_times_noose
109	31	109_understand_understandable_understands_problematic
110	30	110_rgangstalking_udrunkenposting_shielding_mod
111	30	111_numb_numbness_hollow_dumbness
112	30	112_landlord_eviction_landlords_rental
113	30	113_worked_works_nothing_work
114	30	114_car_driving_mph_freeway
115	30	115_person_bad_promise_assuming
116	30	116_ocd_experiences_rational_explanations
117	29	117_better_get_harder_struggling
118	29	118_drowning_drown_afloat_drowned
119	29	119_done_sooooo_piling_board
120	29	120_worse_gotten_gets_getting
121	28	121_peace_heavennnampx200bnntldr_patiently_gates
122	28	122_talk_one_no_anyone
123	28	123_existence_living_existing_nnnone
124	28	124_he_abusive_sociopath_inexplicable
125	28	125_do_nnwhat_what_should
126	28	126_night_day_sometimes_ntonight
127	28	127_decades_its_fed_been
128	27	128_over_nnrant_ready_matrix
129	27	129_yeah_yay_nope_betcha
130	27	130_am_notni_arent_stating
131	26	131_cant_win_simply_theoretically
132	26	132_take_anymore_cant_longernnneed
133	26	133_sister_loves_sis_act
134	25	134_options_option_choice_choices
135	25	135_disgusting_ashamed_embarrassed_disgusted
136	25	136_media_followers_social_facebook
137	25	137_normal_pushing_deepdown_hints
138	25	138_die_want_genuinely_ready
139	25	139_exhausted_shaking_exhausting_resting
140	24	140_cheated_unfaithful_cheating_cheat

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
141	24	141_hotline_prevention_lifeline_crisis
142	24	142_lie_lied_lying_questionnna
143	24	143_88f_btw_17f_intro
144	24	144_regret_service_ton_brother
145	24	145_thought_thinking_think_bingo
146	24	146_memory_remember_memories_vividly
147	23	147_death_fear_scared_scare
148	23	148_story_stories_share_strangers
149	23	149_changed_change_changes_reverted
150	23	150_deserve_deeds_deserved_bettered
151	23	151_others_likes_people_worrying
152	23	152_coward_courage_loyal_cowardnni
153	23	153_hair_shower_clumps_falling
154	23	154_function_progress_unstable_barely
155	23	155_born_wish_chose_never
156	23	156_talk_need_someone_please
157	23	157_disappeared_gone_vanish_notice
158	22	158_kissed_sex_sexual_penetration
159	22	159_empty_void_inside_feeling
160	22	160_surgery_hysterectomy_endometriosis_pelvic
161	22	161_condoms_condom_sex_protection
162	22	162_day_harder_struggle_everyday
163	22	163_smart_iq_intelligence_stupid
164	22	164_too_much_enough_its
165	22	165_blame_worst_games_video
166	21	166_escape_prison_ensured_fleeing
167	21	167_listening_heard_listen_nnthank
168	21	168_who_know_anna_unimportantnnanyways
169	21	169_hang_noose_hanging_tree
170	21	170_hate_english_sucks_pronounce
171	21	171_drawings_crossed_disgusted_shotaloli
172	20	172_tested_hiv_std_herpes
173	20	173_way_out_theres_see
174	20	174_social_skills_socially_needless
175	20	175_give_up_appreciatennthank_timennany
176	20	176_need_help_desperate_please

Table 2: Topics from dataset of posts containing female identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
177	20	177_deeper_lows_lower_low
178	20	178_ward_psych_councillor_psyc
179	20	179_worth_living_worthy_life
180	19	180_space_waste_clutter_wasting
181	19	181_art_passion_drawing_writer
182	19	182_handle_deal_cannot_anymore
183	19	183_mom_kill_mother_herself
184	19	184_fuck_shit_this_kind
185	19	185_universe_end_ending_yanking
186	19	186_emotions_positive_negative_mechanic
187	19	187_he_suicidal_him_doesnt
188	19	188_anymore_what_do_know
189	18	189_doctor_doctors_drs_diagnosis
190	18	190_motivation_motivated_recent_bottom
191	18	191_16_pocd_kill_pedophile
192	18	192_break_catch_crack_breaking
193	18	193_hated_tbst_bad_twenty
194	18	194_friend_friendship_group_immigrant
195	18	195_sad_angry_mad_driving
196	18	196_him_he_hes_3050
197	18	197_hell_sin_hellnnthen_hellcoaster
198	18	198_weather_90f_socks_degrees

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers

Topic	Count	Name
-1	27401	-1_her_she_and_my
0	2025	0_he_him_hes_his
1	1263	1_suicide_suicidal_thoughts_commit
2	761	2_job_debt_jobs_money
3	576	3_friends_group_friend_hang
4	528	4_grades_classes_college_exams
5	498	5_pain_hurt_hurts_hurting
6	477	6_kill_killing_myself_yourself
7	441	7_sleep_wake_bed_asleep
8	410	8_stomach_sick_shaking_nauseous

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
9	405	9_happy_happiness_joy_excited
10	368	10_depression_depressed_severe_depressive
11	334	11_cry_crying_cried_tears
12	327	12_dose_dosage_50mg_500mg
13	317	13_therapist_therapy_therapists_seeing
14	293	14_care_cares_cared_about
15	293	15_mom_mother_her_moms
16	279	16_end_ending_tonight_want
17	261	17_better_worse_gets_things
18	250	18_gun_shooting_pistol_shotgun
19	236	19_car_road_tree_driving
20	223	20_thoughts_mind_head_these
21	200	21_family_care_cares_supportive
22	192	22_drinking_drink_drunk_drank
23	184	23_pills_pill_67_downed
24	184	24_dad_cant_just_dont
25	177	25_meds_medication_medications_medicine
26	175	26_drugs_heroin_drug_cocaine
27	171	27_weed_smoking_smoke_smoked
28	167	28_parents_blame_yell_love
29	164	29_panic_anxiety_attacks_attack
30	162	30_depression_depressed_dealing_years
31	162	31_feeling_feel_feelings_way
32	159	32_alone_isolated_feel_alonennim
33	158	33_2019_january_ago_march
34	157	34_old_22_age_27
35	153	35_psych_ward_nhs_psychiatric
36	145	36_she_told_her_asked
37	142	37_she_her_herself_shes
38	140	38_hate_hatred_myself_hating
39	139	39_fight_fighting_fights_fought
40	134	40_method_attempts_attempt_tried
41	134	41_we_together_each_both
42	130	42_failure_fail_failed_failing
43	130	43_father_dad_stepmom_mother
44	125	44_ugly_look_attractive_literal

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
45	122	45_bridge_jump_jumping_building
46	119	46_bullied_bullying_bully_bullies
47	119	47_19m_16m_20m_17m
48	118	48_religious_god_religion_faith
49	118	49_awkward_social_socially_introverted
50	118	50_post_posted_posting_reddit
51	117	51_overdose_overdosed_overdoses_poisoning
52	115	52_cutting_cut_cuts_deeper
53	112	53_xanax_alcohol_bars_vodka
54	111	54_quetiapine_gt_clonazepam_trazodone
55	111	55_voice_voices_hear_scream
56	111	56_abused_raped_sexually_abuse
57	110	57_harm_self_harmed_harming
58	105	58_girls_rejected_rejection_girl
59	105	59_rent_apartment_pay_move
60	102	60_eat_food_eating_meals
61	101	61_27m_15m_19m_14m
62	97	62_antidepressants_anti_antidepressant_ssri
63	97	63_do_doing_itnnthings_wimp
64	91	64_paracetamol_500mg_paracetamols_tablets
65	89	65_dog_cat_cats_dogs
66	88	66_her_shes_hers_love
67	86	67_guilt_guilty_ashamed_shame
68	86	68_advice_appreciate_appreciated_any
69	86	69_thats_true_movies_alright
70	85	70_suicidal_suicide_thoughts_17m
71	83	71_prozac_20mg_40mg_took
72	82	72_worthless_worthlessness_worth_value
73	82	73_hi_hello_hey_reddit
74	79	74_help_assistance_seek_ask
75	79	75_plan_plans_planned_planning
76	78	76_peace_peaceful_sence_finally
77	77	77_mental_health_illness_stigma
78	76	78_future_see_ahead_luck
79	76	79_zoloft_100mg_50mg_200mg
80	76	80_account_throwaway_obvious_reasons

Topic	Count	Name
81	76	81_birthday_birthdays_friday_21st
82	75	82_motivation_motivated_lazy_motivate
83	75	83_lie_lying_lied_lies
84	75	84_story_stories_share_read
85	74	85_nnfuck_nnok_nxo_nnyeah
86	73	86_read_reading_thank_reads
87	72	87_weigh_pounds_lbs_53
88	72	88_live_anymore_want_living
89	72	89_gay_bisexual_trans_sexuality
90	72	90_should_do_what_nnwhat
91	71	91_fear_scared_afraid_death
92	71	92_here_anymore_want_be
93	71	93_talk_anyone_speak_nobody
94	70	94_vodka_rum_bottle_alcohol
95	70	95_she_hand_called_stepping
96	69	96_memory_forget_memories_forgotten
97	69	97_hang_hanging_myself_tried
98	68	98_hobbies_interests_pursue_passion
99	67	99_start_title_says_protocall
100	67	100_hospitalized_hospital_jews_processed
101	66	101_scared_fear_afraid_terrified
102	66	102_ambulance_police_officers_paramedics
103	66	103_goodbye_bye_farewell_say
104	65	104_happen_happens_wieght_happened
105	65	105_surgery_hip_mri_spine
106	65	106_fault_blame_themselves_blaming
107	65	107_real_fake_feels_genuine
108	64	108_emotions_emotion_emotional_described
109	63	109_games_video_game_playing
110	63	110_burden_burdened_valuable_everyone
111	62	111_brother_older_younger_brothers
112	62	112_vent_venting_needed_guess
113	62	113_weak_strong_strength_weaker
114	61	114_suffering_suffer_continue_end
115	60	115_knife_blade_razor_sharp
116	60	116_seroquel_xr_25mg_50mg

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
117	59	117_hospital_icu_rushed_released
118	59	118_deserve_entitled_rewarded_deserved
119	58	119_pandemic_covid_covid19_coronavirus
120	58	120_smart_intelligent_smarter_iq
121	58	121_trust_trusted_issues_trusting
122	57	122_music_guitar_songs_instruments
123	56	123_selfish_selfishnmy_breeding_selfishness
124	56	124_ibuprofen_800mg_200mg_aspirin
125	56	125_siblings_sister_sisters_youngest
126	56	126_focus_distract_concentrate_distracted
127	55	127_born_wish_yayyy_ethan
128	55	128_helped_helps_help_helping
129	54	129_upset_furious_shocked_shock
130	54	130_meant_joke_toonice_goofball
131	54	131_sad_sadness_breaches_somber
132	54	132_charged_court_probation_lawyer
133	54	133_taking_them_take_stopped
134	53	134_bipolar_disorder_manic_diagnosed
135	53	135_sertraline_150mg_50mg_100mg
136	52	136_bpd_adhd_anxiety_ocd
137	52	137_problems_problem_solve_temporary
138	52	138_did_woop_task_didnt
139	51	139_angry_anger_untreated_ridiculous
140	51	140_die_want_attentionnive_consciencenn
141	50	141_stress_stressed_stressful_cohesive
142	50	142_fuck_wow_fucking_damn
143	49	143_text_texted_responded_glanced
144	49	144_understand_understands_they_societynnfor
145	49	145_confidence_selfesteem_mirror_esteem
146	49	146_anxiety_depression_severe_diagnosed
147	49	147_regret_regretted_regrets_decision
148	48	148_his_mom_he_him
149	48	149_brenda_claire_ruth_nate
150	48	150_ending_end_life_effective
151	48	151_pregnant_shes_she_pregnancy
152	48	152_fucked_up_fuck_someonensomething

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
153	48	153_door_hallway_lock_locked
154	47	154_male_female_indian_17
155	47	155_took_take_more_20
156	47	156_rope_extension_hang_cord
157	47	157_virgin_virginity_hookers_indulge
158	46	158_vision_blind_eyes_blurry
159	46	159_gym_workout_routine_workouts
160	45	160_21m_creep_animated_acted
161	45	161_enjoy_fun_enjoyment_enjoyed
162	45	162_ptsd_coping_deployment_mechanisms
163	45	163_note_notes_wrote_written
164	44	164_empty_shell_hollow_space
165	44	165_sucks_bad_awful_garbage
166	44	166_scars_scar_wrist_thickest
167	44	167_control_controlling_controlled_selfcontrol
168	44	168_hope_hopeful_fading_hopes
169	44	169_cheated_girlfriend_digger_dumped
170	44	170_easier_easy_hard_idiotic
171	44	171_support_discord_plz_system
172	43	172_point_whats_gore_tremendous
173	43	173_parents_money_usd_dad
174	43	174_stand_take_anymore_cant
175	43	175_hopeless_hopelessnessnn_epitome_flow
176	43	176_need_help_please_posti
177	42	177_adhd_diagnosed_immediantly_mis
178	42	178_crushed_ordeal_made_safe
179	42	179_oh_yay_yes_yeah
180	42	180_stop_justjustjust_repelled_addy
181	42	181_talk_someone_need_please
182	41	182_they_them_believed_jesus
183	41	183_want_emo_dont_act
184	41	184_rambling_sorry_ramblings_ramble
185	41	185_social_anxiety_interacting_pressurized
186	41	186_exhausted_tired_blah_tiredness
187	41	187_pull_reporting_out_stuck
188	41	188_grades_studying_she_college

Table 3: Topics from dataset of posts containing male identifiers (Continued)

Topic	Count	Name
189	40	189_miserable_adapts_chill_howling
190	40	190_teacher_teachers_class_joinery
191	40	191_do_scratch_really_dont
192	40	192_lexapro_escitalopram_10mg_15mg
193	40	193_hotline_hotlines_call_suicide
194	39	194_armor_momentary_mennone_crawl
195	39	195_gucci_subliminal_2h_all
196	39	196_anymore_what_do_know
197	39	197_die_want_turds_andni
198	39	198_wellbutrin_paxil_xl_300mg