

# Unravelling Pat Condell's islamophobic speech on Digital Media

BA Thesis Name of author: Carmen Gabriela Lupu Student number: 2007960 Online Culture: Art, Media and Society / Digital Media Major Department of Culture Studies School of Humanities and Digital Sciences Date: 12.06.2020 Supervisor: dr. Jan Jaap de Ruiter Second reader: dr. Ico Maly

**Abstract:** The main aim of this study is to provide answers to the following questions: What is the impact of Pat Condell outside and inside the Global New Right bubble; how does he spread his message across digital media and can the leftist opposition justifiably deem him as islamophobe? The discourse of New Right youtubers such as Condell on Islam is predominantly negative, fitting as such in the anti-immigration and anti-globalism agenda of the Global New Right. This paper provides a thorough analysis of the social media usage of Pat Condell, emphasising the ways in which he makes use of digital media in order to influence the public's opinion on Islam. With his Anti-Islam rhetoric, Pat Condell gained the sympathy of the Global New Right, becoming an icon of free speech. Facing censorship by the giant Google boosted the support he received and sparked media attention towards him.

**Keywords:** Islam, Pat Condell, right wing youtubers, Global New Right, Critical Discourse Analysis, algorithmic populism, islamophobia, digital media, YouTube, Twitter

Table of contents:

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Methodology
- 3. Theoretical Background
- 4. Results

4.1 The impact of Pat Condell outside and inside the Global New Right bubble

- 4.2 Spreading his message across digital media
- 4.3 Is Condell an islamophobe?
- 5. Conclusion
- 6. References

#### 1. Introduction

With the rise of the technological advancements of Web 2.0 and the new media affordances the phenomenon of political influencers has appeared on the Internet. YouTube, seen as a website where one can "Broadcast oneself" is now abundant with political content and vlogs made by the New Right. Combining the social media logic of influencers together with political ideologies has led to the increase of Right Wing YouTubers. Such personalities build their communities with the help of digital media platforms where they can share and create content, which can then be redistributed via hyperlinking. A high number of these YouTubers take antagonistic stances against current political stances such as feminism, leftism, globalism, veganism and the like (Lewis, 2018) The debate of Islam versus the West has been going on for few decades already and has been picked up as well in the online content of the New Right.

The right-wing YouTuber and Internet personality that I have chosen to analyze is Pat Condell, who is mostly known for his heavy criticism of Islam. I found it intriguing to analyze this man's influence in the current global new right context because he has become popular both online and offline, sparking debates on censorship and Islamophobia. This thesis explores the online activity of mister Condell, focusing mainly on YouTube and Twitter. Furthermore, it aims to provide an analysis of the strategy through which he delivers his views against Islam and of the impact that these views create in the media. The thesis also gives insight into the reasons for which the categorization of Condell's speech as Islamophobe is accurate. In a nutshell, this thesis is about how an individual's opinions can shake the world by making them public on the Internet, emphasising the power that the Internet can give to people.

Whilst googling Pat Condell's name, he is said to be a known British writer, atheist, polemicist, political activist, secularist and former stand-up comedian. His career in comedy was most prominent during the 80's and 90's. He attended few Church of England schools which most definitely led to his decision of becoming an atheist. As he said before in an interview: Once you become aware of the gulf between what people profess to believe and how they actually behave, it's hard to take any of it seriously. Condell describes himself on Twitter as an advocate for 'democracy, secularism and free speech'. He took part in the recent debates on Islam and migration seeing himself as a protector of free speech. Starting in 2007 when he created a YouTube channel he has posted more than 100 monologue-videos where he explains his views against Islam, while claiming to protect freedom of speech and democracy. He criticises Islam and has classified the Quran as "hate-speech". He reached 78 million views on his

YouTube channel, with over 350.000 subscribers. His online appearance can be found also on Twitter and on his <u>own website</u> (patcondell.net) where he provides content for his audience.

He became a writer when he had published two books titled *Freedom is my religion* and *Godless and Free*, which approach his atheism and anti-Islam worldview. As a convinced atheist, he stands for a strong separation of church and state, which in his view, is threatened by the emergence of Islam in the West. The books contain the transcriptions of his videos and the main arguments that he usually gives in them, including some additions.

By gaining popularity online, more and more right-wing conservatives started to follow his rhetoric, creating a fanbase. The stance against Islam, which Condell propagates towards his audiences, is reminiscent in right-wing parties's political agendas that can be found across the globe. One such prominent example would be Geert Wilders, a Dutch politician who is known for his anti-Islam stance. In his <u>speech</u>, Geert Wilders claims that "there is no such thing as moderate Islam" and regards Islam as an ideology, calling the Koran a "fascist book". The audience of Pat Condell is more likely to vote for politicians such as Trump and Farage who want to regulate and limit mass-immigration. His opinions have become important to some right wing politicians including Geert Wilders. who wish to create strong anti-immigration policies, and as a reaction, he has been discredited by the left and censored from YouTube for extremism.

Pat Condell's views are not only against Islam. He makes content as well about current topics depending on what happens in the world at that given moment. In this way, his YouTube videos cover larger subjects such as anti-immigration, pro-Brexit, cultural marxism, (YouTube) censorship and Islam. In one of his <u>Tweets</u> regarding Tommy Robinson, another well-known far-right and anti-Islam activist, he said that *Tommy Robinson oposes Islam and the Muslim invasion of Europe, as do I. It's got nothing to do with skin colour.* By framing Islam in this manner, Pat Condell can effectively shift the opinion of his viewers. Everything he says seems to be just black and white and he presents it as the only right answer, rejecting Islam in its entirety and allowing no inbetweens

### 2. Methodology

In recent years, the rapid increase in popularity of social media websites such as YouTube and Twitter has intrigued humanities scholars into the possibilities of studying the online realms and the types of communication that take place there. Digital research on such platforms has the advantage of the easy way of collecting, storing and sorting data (Varis, 2016). On the Internet, data can be gathered from previous years and the entire activity of users can be traced back to the beginning. This allowed me to analyze Pat Condell's online persona by looking back at his entire online history, which would have not been possible in the offline world. Furthermore, through digital ethnography it was possible to study the online community formed around Condell's speech. In this paper I analyze the media response and the online success that Mr Condell enjoys.

It is important to note that the global new right has spread on online platforms due to the affordances that came with Web 2.0. As Maly (2018) points out: 'Digitalization and "high globalization" have given birth to new forms of nationalist activism' (Maly, 2018, P. 2), these new forms have created a right wing community on a global scale that takes part in online activism. Furthermore, neo-liberal values such as the rise of individualism also shaped the Internet, which determined individuals to share their views and propagate their opinions online. This meant that in order to study Condell's impact online, a different study approach than the traditional methodologies had to be implemented, and here comes in action the digital ethnographic approach. This research has been conducted by making use of the digital ethnographic method, as it enabled me to analyze Pat Condell's online persona and audience response.

Digital ethnography refers to any ethnography in which the data gathering processes take place through computer technologies. Digital ethnography is a specific approach to conducting research on 'online practices and communications, and on offline practices shaped by digitalisation' (Varis, 2016). Maly and Blommaert argue that 'The infusion of digital technologies in our understanding of the (linguistic) landscape, of course, means that we should upgrade our ethnographic approach.' (Maly & Blommaert, 2019, P. 18) Because of digitalisation, including the digital into research became vital in order to make sense of the world we live in. This is the main reason why ethnography has also been "updated" into a digital version. Digitalization as a whole comes hand in hand with 'new types of issues related to contextualisation that ethnographers of digital culture and communication need to address' (Varis, 2016). Furthermore, we have to keep in mind the fact that 'technological properties of the online world (persistence, searchability, replicability, scalability, algorithmically constructed reality) shape online interactions' (Boyd, 2014) In consequence, the interactions online belong to the online

contexts and are different than the ones that happen in the offline world. This means that in order to successfully study the contexts that happen online, an ethnographic study has to be conducted, and therefore *digital* ethnography. Ethnography employs qualitative, situative research that aims to grasp the context of a culture, within a subjective view, and to deliver deeper understanding in order to avoid generalizations. As Blommaert and Dong point out, ethnography's principle of situatedness is at the core of understanding social implications of language: 'The object of investigation is always a uniquely situated reality: a complex of events which occurs in a totally unique context.' (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, P. 19)

In this thesis I aim to answer three research questions regarding Pat Condell's speech on digital media. Firstly: What is the impact of Pat Condell outside and inside the Global New Right bubble. Secondly: how does he spread his message across digital media and thirdly and finally: can the leftist opposition justifiably deem him as islamophobe? In order to answer these research questions I have collected data by employing digital ethnography on two social media platforms: YouTube and Twitter.

Firstly, I started the data collection process by creating two new accounts on both YouTube and Twitter, where I subscribed to Pat Condell's pages, and also to notable global new right online personalities and politicians such as: Paul Joseph Watson (alt-right YouTuber), Tommy Robinson (far-right, anti-Islam activist), Lauren Southern (alt-right YouTuber), Black Pigeon Speaks (alt-right YouTuber), No Bulls\*it (alt-right YouTuber), President Trump of the United States, Nigel Farage (British politician ) and Geert Wilders (anti-Islam Dutch politician).

Secondly, I went through his entire Twitter history and checked for certain hashtags such as #islam and #sharialaw and keywords in order to find relevant Tweets in which Condell would target Muslims. I found many tweets and Retweets about Islam and I have checked the comment sections to analyze the reactions people have to his content. I have screencapped the relevant activity regarding Islam and analyzed it in the further sections.

Thirdly, I looked up the history of Condell's YouTube channel, together with numeric data such as subscribers, views, comments, and I chose to focus on and transcribe his most prominent and most popular videos, which will be referred to further in this thesis: *I'm offended by Islam, No Mosque at Ground Zero, It's good to be Anti-Islam, Tell the truth about Islam, Welcome to Saudi Britain.* These videos emphasise the main rhetoric against Islam that Condell distributes to his audiences. Moreover, I have checked the

top comments and screencapped relevant discussions emerging on Mr Condell's content that I will refer to further in this thesis.

The following section of this thesis gives insight into the theoretical background supporting the thesis, which explains the main concepts explored in my research and the way in which they facilitate the understanding of the larger picture of Pat Condell's online rhetoric and impact. Afterwards, the results section follows, split into three subparts that will answer each of my research questions. Finally, the thesis ends with a conclusion and a section dedicated to the references used.

## 3. Theoretical Background

Numerous discussions have emerged regarding the impact of digitalization on our lives. It of course means that every sphere of our lives, including politics, have changed accordingly. 'Digitalization has fundamentally reshaped and re-organized the fields of politics and media.' (Maly, 2020, P. 1) Furthermore, the Internet has been brought in question regarding freedom of speech, privacy issues and more recently, analysed through its implications in the public sphere and politics, for instance, the Arab Spring became a symbolic case of social media empowering protesters. Years after that we see hashtags replacing slogans and #metoo catches on as a revolutionary codeword against sexual abuse.

This thesis stresses the emergence of alternative, right-wing YouTubers who influence the current political discourse by creating and distributing content via digital media platforms, such as YouTube and social media networks such as Twitter. 'The platform's motto, "Broadcast Yourself," encourages individuals to build audiences and promote themselves outside of the confines of legacy media outlets.' (Lewis, 2018, P. 4)

This brings in question the concept of populist speech and algorithmic populism. Populism can be seen as a political ideology in which the focus of the politicians is put on listening to the voice of "the people", trying to convince the ordinary people that the current established politicians ignore their concerns. There is always a tension between "the corrupt elite" versus the will of the real, working people, who feel misrepresented by this corruport elite. This discourse can be found in the speeches of many right-wing politicians, however populism can fit any side of the political spectrum. 'Populism is nowadays being used as a synonym for demagogues, racism, authoritarianism and nationalism.' (Maly, 2018, P. 4)

Populism has also been transformed by the digitization processes that shape our day-to-day life. As Ico Maly puts it: 'The number of followers, likes and retweets are political facts.' (Maly, 2018, P. 8) The online persona of a politician directly mirrors how successful that politician is. 'Contemporary populism is not just a frame, or a style that is used to normalize an ideology, it is also a sociotechnical assemblage. Data mining and gamification through high-technological engagement platforms are key-ingredients of contemporary populism.' (Maly, 2020, P. 15) Algorithmic populism is the modern version of populism, to put it simply, a populist requires an audience, and because of the increased usage of the Internet, the audience shifted on the Internet, therefore the populists as well. Ico Maly has defined algorithmic populism as 'a digitally mediatized chronotopic communicative and discursive relation'. (Maly, 2018. P. 10) In order to

understand populism in the 21st century we need to pay attention to the online sphere, as Ico Maly argues: 'Digital media have fundamentally altered the fields of media and politics, and studying politics and populism in particular inevitably means that we should include these media in our analysis'. (Maly, 2018, P. 9) In short, it can be said that contemporary algorithmic populism involves a large part of right-wing nationalists who spread their ideology with the aid of new media affordances. Nationalism, which is defined in Encyclopaedia Britannica as an 'ideology based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass other individual or group interests' is still very present in world politics. Pat Condell can be regarded as a nationalist and populist because he propagates a rhetoric against foreigners (Islam being his main target) and supports Brexit and the anti-globalism agenda of President Trump. Furthermore, he makes it clear to his audience that they are "at war" with the "corrupt" leftist media and elites because they deem him as an Islamophobe and censor his views, which are seen as the "real voice of the people", people who, for instance, are taught to believe that the Muslim immigrants in Britain are the source of all evil, according to Pat Condell's videos.

Another useful concept in understanding how digital media influencers like Pat Condell are successful is by looking at the online phenomenon of filter bubbles. Pariser (2012) defines the filter bubble as 'a personal ecosystem of information that's been catered by algorithms.' By engaging only with content that we agree upon on social media, our newsfeed will be altered and personalized by algorithms, creating an echo-chamber where our opinions are reinforced and through which new views cannot enter anymore. The filter bubble is the ultimate way of personalizing one's content on the Internet. In this way, the audience of Condell is stuck in a so-called "echo-chamber" where they follow up on people who share the same worldviews, encountering information that reinforces their opinions and where the opposing views are hidden and hard to cross by.

There are, of course, more underlying reasons for Pat Condell's popularity. One of them would be his bold and cynical style. The informal and entertaining approach that Condell makes use of, especially because he is also a former comedian, attracts more people onto his channel. As Rebecca Lewis writes: 'By adopting the practices of genres like vlogging, political influencers are able to cultivate a sense of transparency that is often lacking from mainstream news outlets.' (Lewis, 2018, P. 18) Informality and so-called "edgy-ness" attracts more people to his content.

# 4.Results

This chapter treats the answers to the three research questions.

## 4.1 The impact of Pat Condell outside and inside the Global New Right bubble

It is important to discuss Pat Condell's impact both inside and outside the right wing sphere. Whilst the right wing community regards him as an advocate of free speech, the left is not supportive of such extreme stances, categorizing him as an Islamophobe. The censorship that he has been subject to by the famous video platform YouTube had a positive impact on his community. In this way, his right wing supporters have even more reasons to disapprove of the Left Wing and to adore Condell as an icon of freedom of speech. 'Various influencers decry what they feel is a liberal, progressive, or SJW bias in the mainstream.' (Lewis, 2018, P. 15) Furthermore, the fact that Condell continues to upload content and engages with alternative media such as Bitchute is regarded as an act of courage by his admirers.

Condell's latest videos have an average of 400k views and thousands of comments each. He is still active and involved in major topics. While providing arguments against Islam's compatibility with Western values, it is undoubtedly that he only picks examples that support his arguments and ignores the ones that do not, as many other far-righters do. His audience consists of people with like-minded opinions who share the same worldviews. This happens because of the filter-bubble phenomenon present on social media.

Despite the online success, Pat Condell's opinions have been the subject of heavy criticism in the media, being put in the category of far-right anti-Islam activist. In an article on vice.com, a well-known youth magazine, he is described as the stereotypical "old British right-winger" who would vote for Brexit. (Figure 1)

#### WHO: Pat Condell

WHAT: Old man ranting about shit

#### HOW MANY SUBSCRIBERS AT TIME OF WRITING: 270,235

WHY SHOULD I CARE: If Pat Condell's Wikipedia entry is to be believed (a Wikipedia entry that smacks of self-authorship), he is a former stand-up comedian who now posts polemic monologues on his YouTube channel. He has also written books, one called Godless and Free, the other, Freedom Is My Religion. He is in his sixties. Watching Pat Condell's videos is a strange and unnerving experience. I don't doubt that if he read this he would say my discomfort comes from not being able to acknowledge "the truth", that fickle and nebulous thing that people online eternally claim to be the keepers and givers of. The truth - that thing people just refuse to acknowledge. People who oppose Donald Trump's plan to not allow any Muslims into the United States are whipped into a frenzy, says Pat, not out of disagreement, but because they simply cannot be told this hard truth, and will not listen to it as it pains them so much to hear. Pat Condell dishes out this truth in front of his camera. He, presumably, writes out his long, bloated, supposedly caustic truth-bombs on a word document and films himself as he reads them out. We'll get to the content of his videos in a moment, but first let me get into why they make me feel so strange.

#### Figure 1

He gained a lot of media attention in 2008 when YouTube removed his anti-Sharia video called 'Welcome to Saudi Britain'. This video reached over 6 million views before it was removed from the platform by Google, the owners of YouTube. The reason for the removal was that it violated their terms of usage. YouTube has targeted his videos as hate speech and issued a warning of account closure. YouTube is known to deal with tensions between what can be allowed as freedom of speech and where does content cross this line. However, despite being censored by YouTube, Pat Condell earns between <u>124-2000 dollars</u> a year off YouTube ad revenue. Welcome to Saudi Britain has been reuploaded on YouTube and now it has over 440k views, 11k likes and 4.3k comments. It can also be found on his personal website where it has roughly 2k views. Back then, it sparked many reactions, including death threats. In this video, Condell emphasizes the core and main arguments that he keeps using in his rhetoric against Islam. He criticizes the Sharia courts in Britain, which he refers to as poison, arguing that British-Muslim women will end up having no rights if Saudi Arabian principles are brought to the UK. He also makes use of the populist speech of "us" versus the "misguided and arrogant liberal elites", as he calls them, who have lost their

minds on the conquest for diversity and tolerance. He talks about the case of a Saudi Arabian Muslim immigrant in the UK who sued a supermarket because he was asked to handle alcohol as part of his job, which goes against his belief. He then mentions that, as he believes, Saudi Arabia is a "country of mentally ill people" and that it is no wonder that this person was from Saudi Arabia. The entire point he tries to make is that through immigration the values of other cultures destroy the Western (British) ones, and as he considers Islam as a dangerous, bigoted and sexist religion, his argument is that they are not compatible with Western democracy. He overgeneralises about the Saudi Arabian variant of Islam saying that Islam's only language is that of violence and sexism.

Whilst checking news articles on how this video got deleted from YouTube, the comment sections are full of supportive comments from his audience. In Figure 2, which is the comment section of a news article published by dailymail.co.uk the top comments are in favour of his actions. Evidently, Condell's image in the media is negative because he expressed such radical views. In this way we can grasp the fact that he is praised by right-wingers and protected when "the leftist media censors" him.

	nunusi	ewest Oldest		ated	Worst	_	
						€ V	iew
The co	mments below have	been moderated in ac	ivance.				
2	BlueJaySays, UK, United Kingdom, 4 years ago Meet Pat Condell? Wow, many of us have been watching his videos for many years.						
		f	<b>P</b> ©	Click to rate	合 731	₽	14
2		e rainbow, United Kingdon ith than our politicians.	n, 4 years ago				
		F	<b>P</b> &	Click to rate	分 740	₽	1:
2	mort dog, Auckland, I	New Zealand, 4 years ago spot on.					
		f	2 P &	Click to rate	合 647	₽	1
2		ugh. UK., 4 years ago the candidates for Tory	Party <mark>leadershi</mark> p	).			
		f	<b>9</b> ©	Click to rate	☆ 551	₽	11
2	David Baker, Reading	g, United Kingdom, 4 year	s ago				
		f	<b>P</b> ©	Click to rate	☆ 478	₽	1
2	70 U.S.	New Zealand, 4 years ago ne DM should publish m					
		f	<b>P</b> ©	Click to rate	☆ 500	♦	11

Figure 2

Pat Condell has also been mentioned by the *Independent* newspaper in the context of Right-Wing's conspiracy about cultural Marxism, being described as a *"well known reactionary YouTuber"*. (Hussein, 2019) Furthermore, following his defence of Dutch politician Geert Wilders, Pat Condell made it to the Dutch "alternative" news source Powned. (Figure 3)



Figure 3

Condell's most popular video on YouTube titled "No Mosque at Ground Zero" has over 6 million views, 25k likes and almost 60.000 comments. In this video he is criticizing the development of Park51, which was a plan to build a mosque that would have been located close to the 9/11 World Trade Center site. This topic has already sparked a lot of debates and controversy back in 2009 when it was proposed. A part of the relatives of the victims of 9/11 terrorist attacks found the proposal offensive because the perpetrators committed these attacks in the name of Islam. Condell finds it a provocative and offensive thing to do as well, especially because he attributes 9/11 to the entirety of Islam, putting every Muslim in the same category. His argument is that it is very disrespectful to the people who have died as they died because of this religion. He says that 9/11 would have never happened without Islam and its doctrines. His argument is that Islam has no right to be considered a religion and that it is pretending to be one, saying that without the shield of religion, Islam would be banned in the West and considered a political ideology of hate, comparing it with Nazism. Whilst comparing Islam with Nazism he attributes the hatred for Jews and the "impure versus pure " dichotomy as similarities between the two, deeming Islam as totalitarian as Nazism was. The name choice of the mosque is also brought into question. The name "Cordoba" relates to the first mosque built in Spain, in this way, Condell uses this as an argument

that this mosque will represent the triumph of Islam in America and the beginning of Islamization, saying that diversity is just an excuse for Islamization.

The impact of his online presence is significant in the current Global New Right scene. By being present on youtube and alternative media such as bit chute, Pat Condell can be regarded as a right-wing "influencer". The islamophobic views which he spreads throughout social media have a powerful impact which becomes visible by looking at the online support he is receiving. Furthermore, his Twitter account is followed by many Right-Wing politicians or activists such as: Paul Joseph Watson (well known alt-right YouTuber), Thierry Baudet (right-wing politician from the Netherlands), the American-Jewish Congress, Secular Student Alliance in America and Robert Spencer (director of JihadWatch: a website that shares all the killings committed by the radical Islam). At the same time, Pat Condell follows and redistributes Tweets of notable Right-Wing politicians such as Geert Wilders (Dutch politician) and President Trump. In the context of the Global New Right, his presence becomes notable as he disapproves of the Left-Wing for supporting Islam and for condemning the Right-Wing when speaking up about Islam. In his views, which are propagated by politicians such as Geert Wilders, the Left becomes a friend of Islam and an enemy of freedom of speech. (Tweet #1)



Tweet #1

Furthermore, notable right wing politicians have been tweeting about him or retweeting his content. This is the case of the most prominent anti-Islam politician from the Netherlands, Geert Wilders, who tweeted about his approval of Condell's views on the fact that certain politicians have poisoned the current society, alluding to the left-wing. (Tweet #2) It is known that Pat Condell has supported Wilders before and criticized the

Netherlands for letting such a "brave" politician be brought into court by simply speaking the so-called "truth". Geert Wilders has also quoted Pat Condell before in one of his <u>speeches</u>.



Tweet #2

Another right-wing politician from the Netherlands from the emerging FVD party has also tweeted content coming from Pat Condell, as can be seen in the following picture. (Tweet #3) The topic here is very often seen in the global new right speech, focusing on Merkel's role in the "invasion of Europe". Merkel is seen thus as an importer of war, and a destroyer of Europe.



Tweet #3

Interestingly, he compares himself with Tommy Robinson, who is also an anti-Islamist activist. (Figure 4) However, Tommy Robinson gained even more attention when he got imprisoned, which sparked the right wing activists *#freeTommyRobinson* movement in order to "protect freedom of speech". Condell has received the same kind of admiring reaction after he got censored several times by YouTube. In figure 5 he tweets about YouTube allowing videos of Muslim wives getting beaten but not allowing his content, mocking the "hypocritical" way in which they filter out content. People like Robinson and Condell are seen as speakers of "truth" and therefore should be allowed to express their opinions because they are regarded as the only true opinions.



Figure 4



Figure 5

# 4.2 Spreading his message across digital media

For answering this question research was done on the presentation of Condell on YouTube (4.2.1) and Twitter (4.2.2).

# 4.2.1 YouTube

Pat Condell's online presence is most prominent on his <u>YouTube channel</u>, however he is active on his Twitter account and has uploaded videos on his own website as well, in order to reach a broader audience. Besides having increased media attention after the controversial videos that got banned by Google, Pat Condell enjoys a lot of online support from his followers on Twitter and Youtube respectively. Whilst looking through the comments he receives on his content on both Twitter and YouTube, the audience he has maintained is full of support. 'Audience feedback is directly built into YouTube's interface: audiences react to content in the form of likes, dislikes, comments, and channel subscriptions.' (Lewis, 2018, P. 19)

Due to the inevitable presence of confirmation bias, which has been fuelled by the filter bubbles that emerged through social media, most of his followers are people who already agree with him. In a culture of connectivity, there is no point in following someone whose opinions are different than your own. This phenomenon leads to the aforementioned echo chambers, the online environments where the same arguments and opinions are being reinforced.

'By creating an alternative media system on YouTube, influencers in the AIN (Alternative Influence Network) express a wish not only to provide an additional, alternative option for young audiences, but also to replace their consumption of mainstream news entirely.' (Lewis, 2018, P. 15) Condell's audience typically rejects mainstream media, replacing their media consumption with Condell's channel, as it is the only place where their negative view on Islam is redesplayed.

Most YouTube comments on his videos support his ideology, thus there is a clear agreement between him and his audience. Below, I have chosen to look at three of his most prominent videos on Islam.

#### Video 1: I'm Offended by Islam

This video attacks Muslims for being "offended" by criticism against their religion. Here Condell emphasises that he himself is offended by the "religion of peace" (as he calls it) and that he has more reasons to be more offended than Muslims are. The video goes on enumerating the reasons for which he is offended such as the alleged "hatred for jews, gays, and women", overgeneralizing and labeling Islam as a whole as "cruel, intolerant and oppressive". In this video he calls Islamophobia "an Islamic shorthand for free-speech, secular democracy and common sense", calling out that he is offended by the fact that speaking up about Islam deems one "islamophobe", making fun of the association to racism, as he argues further, Islam is not a race. He calls Islamic supremacism racism, labelling Islam the most racist ideology on the planet.

This video has 397k views on YouTube, 14k likes and 9.4k comments. The top comments are praising Condell's views, agreeing with the things that he has covered in this clip, and defending such actions by looking at it as a freedom of speech right to share such views. (see Figure 3 and 4) As it can be seen, the top comments also receive a lot of likes and replies where people engage in discussions, even when people disagree with Condell, there are always some comments that come in his defense. (Figure 5)

	the ashes 6 years ago There's no hate mongering in this video, it's free speech at it's best. Pat is pointing out the obvious and saying what the majority of people with common sense are thinking. The fact that he's
	able to put it across in such an articulate and witty manner, is precisely what angers the extreme Muslims because they don't like free speech. It shows them up for who they are and it strikes at the core of their deluded believes.
	🖆 93 🚚 REPLY
C	Chris Masters 4 years ago Pat for Prime Minister he is completely right.
	w 194 ∰ REPLY → View 19 replies
8	John O'Neill 5 years ago Being tolerant to the intolerant should not be tolerated.
	ife 88 ∰ REPLY → View reply
•	grassblade63 6 years ago I ran across these videos only on accident, and am I glad I did! This guy puts into words what I feel in my bones. I haven't the verbal skills to express myself as well as he, so thanks. I'm going to be passing these around.
	Just so you know, every single person I know here in the US feels the exact same way about this crazy cult of Muslimry.
	122 👎 REPLY
	View 12 replies
٢	Hon Sombody 5 years ago I am offended by ISLAMISTS . full stop
	1 60 🐠 REPLY
•	redirected2therightdirection 4 years ago Im really OFFENDED by islam too!! A like for this video
	🕼 67 🦊 REPLY
0	John Kirchknopf 5 years ago Sharia offends me.
	16 4 REPLY
1	mmatt1165 5 years ago I agree with ya, Pat, I'm offended by Islam as well.
	1 64 📲 REPLY
	- View 10 replies
t	teehee1604 5 years ago By far and away the most racist people I've ever met have all been Muslims of Pakistani origin. These people know they don't have to treat on eggshells, because everybody is far too scared to speak up against them!
	10 75 📲 REPLY
	- View 12 renline

Figure 3 - General agreement on Condell



Figure 4 - Opposition with the liberal UK

C		Masters 4 years ago or Prime Minister he is completely right.
	1	94 🚚 REPLY
	÷ Hi	ide 19 replies
		Levas N 4 years ago +Chris Masters The anti Christian atheistic liberalism of which this man is part of made UK what it is today. Let him fight atheism first and then Islam.
		1 2 📲 REPLY
	M	MAK 4 years ago I agree with you. pat is a lying troll which would make him an ideal candidate for PM!
		té 📲 REPLY
	۲	garyfromlondon 4 years ago +MAK actually Pat tells the truth as it is, that's why you don't like him, and call him names
		1 6 🐠 REPLY
	M	MAK 4 years ago +garyfromlondon not really mate that's why he hasn't my questions. People just agree with him because their opinions of Muslims and Islam is whatever the media
		1 REPLY
		garyfromlondon 4 years ago +MAK Actually my opinions are my own formed from facts, which just happens to be the same as opinions of Pat. I don't need any lessons on the cult of Islam
		i 5 🐠 REPLY
	M	MAK 4 years ago +logiclaw lol i don't support isis so it don't bother me
		1 PLY
	M	MAK 4 years ago @***** logic is flawed
		n 👘 📲 REPLY
	<b>@</b>	garyfromlondon 3 years ago @MAK The usual tactics of someone with no brains, when they are losing an argument. Just throw loads of insults at people LOL

Figure 5 - arguments pro and contra Condell

#### Video 2: It's good to be Anti-Islam

This video praises the fact that he is anti-Islam, rating it the proper and the right way of looking at Islam. He takes pride in being categorized as "anti-Islamist" as he says that any sane person on planet is. He justifies his stance by blaming it on Islam: *"Islam is anti-me and anti every fundamental value I hold*". He goes further to claim that when you take out the bad of Islam (gay hatred, Jew hatred, child abuse, no female rights, Jihad, terrorism, misogyny and genital mutilation being his examples), there is nothing left of Islam. He ends the video by stating that all Muslim values are an insult to humanity. His argument, in short, is that Muslims would be civilized without following the Koran, which he considers to be hate-speech. This rhetoric is vastly similar to that of politician Geert Wilders of the Dutch 'Party for Freedom'. Wilders also argues that Muslims should renounce the Koran because its teachings make Muslims act extreme, hence the terrorism attacks. Notably, in one of Geert Wilders' speeches, which can be found on the official pvv <u>site</u>, Wilders mentions Pat Condell's statement about hate speech and the Koran: *If I talked about Muslims the way their holy book talks about me, I'd be arrested for hate speech*.

To this clip, he has received 689k views, 26k likes and 9.4k comments. The reactions are mostly in favour of Condell, with some opposing ones here and there, but the top comments reinforce his views, as per usual. see Figure 6.

۲	bior ajang 4 years ago i'm a Christian man in a muslim world I can't even wear my cross and move freely I'm always in trouble and u Will be forced to say Islam Is religion of peace otherwise u Will be in jail i've finally decided to move out to india and stay save far away out of my homelandnow i'm anti Islam !! #sorry for my broken English !!				
	w 970 ¶I REPLY ✓ View 175 replies				
В	Brandon McKnight 1 year ago 100% accurate. 100% truth. 100% crystal clear. 110% brilliant as usual Pat, thank you! 16 45 I REPLY View reply				
۲	Fred Funn 2 years ago   Any decent human being living in this modern age should be anti-Islam by default.   1 480   View 16 replies				
٢	Tracy Abernathy 2 years ago I am Definately anti Islam and 100% anti sharia. Im 259 I REPLY View 16 replies				
	Zack 93 1 year ago Agree with you completely. I read somewhere that Islam is equated to cancer. Perfect analogy. It needs to be excised with complete force. Even if the cancer cells origin from the same body, it is a danger to it. Same with Islam and humanity. It hides under the veil of humanity, and multiplying rapidly while destroying the rest of modern civilization. There is no reasoning with it whatsoever. As sad and troubling as it is, this death cult and its adherents (those irredeemable) needs to be destroyed with lethal force. To hesitate, will damn us all. I speak from a secular point of view. Islam is currently byfar the most threatening existential threat humanity will ever face in this century.				
Figure 6					

Video 3: Tell the truth about Islam

In this video Condell criticises mainstream media and says that the negative portrayal of Muslims on news is the factual, truthful portrayal. He is angered by the lack of accent put on Islam in the media, saying that it is one of the main ingredients of crimes. The title of the video is intriguing in itself, it can be considered click bait (content whose purpose is to attract attention, but mislead), as he names his speech on Islam as the "truth", manipulating people who see this title into clicking it out of curiosity, in order to find out the "truth" about Islam.

Furthermore, he brings Saudi Arabia in discussion, saying that what happens there is not culture but pure Islam and therefore pure insanity, comparing states like Saudi Arabia and Iran to Europe as it was ruled by the Catholic Church in the Medieval times. He goes on to call Islam an "invasive political supremacist ideology". He attacks Muslim schools in Britain for allowing to teach the "hateful" preaches of Islam and gives the example of three Muslim men who were spreading leaflets inciting hatred against homosexuals.

To this video, Condell received 738k views, 19k likes and 11.8k comments. Interestingly, in the top comments, there are people who claim to be Muslim and who have left this religion, agreeing with Condell on the fact that the culture is not the problem, but the religion. In this way, these commenters provide views from within Islam, contributing to this "truth" about Islam, which Condell is referring to, and reinforcing it by showing that even some Muslims want to give up on Islam. However, while ex-Muslims have their own reasons to leave Islam, Pat Condell is entirely Anti-Islam, which is not profitable for ex-Muslims. (Figure 7).



Figure 7

#### 4.2.2 Twitter

Analyzing Condell's presence on YouTube is one thing, but his activity on Twitter is also noticeable, as he has 96.4k followers. Twitter is a platform that focuses mainly on delivering a short text together with multimedia content, making it more of a "political" social media platform than other SNSs such as Facebook or Instagram which tend to focus on sharing personal photos and own experiences. US President Trump's role on Twitter has been altering the usage of Twitter so much that now a presidency in the digital age can be regarded as a "Twitter presidency". Back to Condell's Twitter, he also propagates his ideology, opinions and arguments on this platform, as many other populists have started to. He tweets a lot of cherry picked examples that fit his arguments and which can be used to reinforce how bad Islam is: see the following three Tweets.



Tweet #1



Muslims are persecuting Christians in the Middle East because their violent religion endorses it. Islam is the problem, as it is everywhere. If not for Islam, they wouldn't be persecuted. So naturally there's no mention of Islam here.

#### BBC Politics ② @BBCPolitics · Dec 2, 2018

The plight of Christians in the Middle East has got "more and more acute", the Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby says, and it's right to focus on this as Christmas approaches he suggests #marr



Tweet #2



Tweet #3

Furthermore, by using the Retweet functionality of Twitter, Condell is sharing content that comes from other people who have the same views on Islam, or who provide content that sustains his stance on Islam, as can be seen in the following four Retweets.



#### t Pat Condell Retweeted

Jessica Isabel Robeson @JessRobeson · Dec 2, 2019 In every day speech they are called 'Terror Attacks'.

They are actually Islamist attacks.

They are evidence of a fifth column within our ranks, who are open about their desire to kill us.







Retweet #2

#### Pat Condell Retweeted

Hillel Neuer 🤣 @HillelNeuer · Aug 2, 2019

Iran sentences 3 detained women to a total of 55 years in prison for "disrespecting the compulsory hijab."

In April 2019 they were arrested after walking without headscarves through a Tehran metro train, handing flowers to female passengers.

.@FedericaMog, why are you silent?



Retweet #3



Retweet #4

Condell also uses Twitter to promote an alternative media channel (gab.com) where his followers can find him in case he gets censored by Twitter, emphasising the opposition between the mainstream liberal media and alternative rebel media (Tweet #4).



Tweet #4

Condell sometimes tweets short and concise viewpoints on matters regarding Islam, which keep his anti-Islam rhetoric fresh for the followers that adhere to them. I have chosen the following series of Tweets (5-9) in which he gives harsh arguments against Islam as they showcase his ironic and cynical view of Islam and those who defend Islam.



Tweet #5



Tweet #6

#### t Pat Condell Retweeted



Pat Condell 🤣 @patcondell · May 27, 2017 Time for a Ramadan pint. Raising a glass in the hope that one day science



Tweet #7



Tweet #8



# Pat Condell is using Twitter as an extension of his YouTube channel, which requires more time to deliver content. Twitter is a fast manner through which he can deliver quick, short and straight opinions on certain political issues. By being active on this platform he delivers the politically incorrect opinion on current events, which is seen as an act of freedom of speech by his followers. He uses Internet means to deliver his extreme opinions and this results in a fan base that does not trust the mainstream media anymore. Populists' safest strategy to propagate their message is on the Internet, as the dichotomy between the "corrupt leftist media" and the "will of the real people" is emphasised in such online communities.

# 4.3 Is Condell an islamophobe?

It is also important to analyse how Condell can be classified as an Islamophobe and defend the leftist media placing Condell in the same category as other islamophobes. The word "Islamophobia" dates back to 1912 and it comes from the French word "islamophobie". The concept has proven to be difficult to define throughout the recent decades by Academia scholars and human rights organizations, especially post 9/11 terrorist attacks. According to Runnymede Trust's, a definition of Islamophobia would be: '... a shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam – and, therefore to fear

or dislike of all or most Muslims' (The RT Report, 1997). The Merriam Webster defines Islamophobia as *"irrational fear of, aversion to, or discrimination against Islam or people who practice Islam."*. However, there is also a politically incorrect definition of Islamophobia which fits the global new right ideology. This definition can be found on Metapedia (The Alternative Wikipedia) and it defines Islamophobia as: 'a word which aims to associate criticism of Islam and anti-Islamization with mental illness. It can be seen as a form of attempted guilt by association and name calling.' In this way it can be understood that the global new right denies the term. They view islamophobia as a term made to bash on these who "dare to criticize Islam", bringing the freedom of speech argument into the light. Pat Condell has a similar approach to the concept of Islamophobia, associating it with an "Islamophobia industry" and calling it "the favourite word of cultural terrorists". (source: "I am offended by Islam" video)

Two decades after Runnymede coined the term "Islamophobia", the institute released another report, updating this term to the nowadays challenges, emphasising that this phenomenon is still problematic, and making the term's definition more clear. In the newer report, Runnymede states that anti-Muslim prejudice has "grown further and wider" (RT Report, 2017). Considering that the first report has been released before 9/11, the context of muslim hatred has changed drastically in the last 20 years. 'After 9/11 and 7/7, Muslims became a greater focus of policymakers in the UK and around the world, but framed largely in terms of terrorism or as a civilizational threat' (RT Report, 2007, P. 5) Regarding the challenges that this term has faced in the past decades such as criticism against the choice to call it "Islam" (because Islam is a religion and therefore freedom of speech can criticise a religion), the new Report explains that the term should be interpreted as homophobia is used nowadays, and that people should focus on the social impacts of discriminating the Muslim population.

By having a close look at the aforementioned videos, Pat Condell's view on Islam is extremely one-sided; he considers everything in Islam negatively. There is no positive word whatsoever on Islam. According to Runnymede, this stance of categorizing Islam as just intolerant, cruel and oppresive is considered a *closed view* of Islam, while in an open view there is space for justified criticism on Islam, not rejecting the religion a priori. Condell's view on Islam can thus be considered a closed view. He does not recognize the diversity within Islam and labels its entirety as an oppressing political ideology, even comparing it to Nazism. By comparing it to a political ideology he escapes accusations of racism, in his view, he attacks the religion itself and not the ethnicity, especially because there are many ethnicities that follow the teachings of Islam. He claims to be considerate of Muslims, even having Muslim friends, or knowing Muslim individuals, however, he feels pity for the ones that still follow this "fake religion", as he calls it. In a closed view of Islam 'Muslims have only two choices of placing themselves in this argument – either stop following the teachings of Koran (and therefore cease to be considered as Muslims) or continue to be associated with a violent ideology of Islam by simply adhering to religious practices prescribed in Koran.' (The RT Report, 1997) Thus, by a Condellian viewpoint, which is the same viewpoint as the aforementioned Dutch politician Geert Wilders, Muslims who stop following the Koran's teachings are thus good Muslims, and examples of such people can be found on the comment sections of his videos. These are the only "Muslims" that someone with a closed-view on Islam would count as credible. The other Muslims that follow Islam are seen as part of the problem and potential threat to the Western values. Evidently, this distinction between good or bad "Muslims" is unjustified and it raises further questions regarding one's own "Muslim" identity, as dr De Ruiter has pointed out: 'Wilders' 'solution' of renouncing the Koran and the Prophet cannot but apply to all Muslims as for all Muslims the Koran and the Prophet are essential.' (De Ruiter, 2012, P.40)

Furthermore, Pat Condell stresses out the argument that Muslim women are oppressed and that Muslim men are misogynistic, blaming Islam again. This tendency has been dealt with in the new Runnymede report which makes it clear that these overgeneralizations overlook the problem of patriarchy: 'Muslim women are seen as 'oppressed', passive victims and Muslim men are seen as exceptionally misogynistic. Both stereotypes, however, stem from generalizations about Islam as a uniquely patriarchal religion' (extract from Runnymede report, 2007, P. 61)

Condell makes strong statements against Islam in his videos. These statements can be further categorized into Runnymede's spheres on closed view of Islam: Islam as monolithic, separate, enemy, manipulative and inferior. Below I will give examples of Condell's views on Islam, extracted from his videos:

- 1. I'm offended when Saudi-funded Islamic schools are found to be using books that teach violence and hatred and are not shut down and everyone connected with them run out of the country on a rail. ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 2. I'm offended by a religion that regards the female half of humanity as innately inferior and deficient ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 3. I'm offended that I live in a society where a little girl can be forced to walk around everywhere concealed inside a black sack. Is that religious freedom, or is that child abuse? ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 4. I'm offended by the dozens of Sharia courts in Britain that are allowed to treat women by law as less than fully human, and by the thousands of genital mutilations. ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 5. Islam is the most racist ideology on the planet. ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 6. And I'm incandescently offended that Islam doesn't like free speech UNLESS you're preaching death to gays and apostates ("I am offended by Islam" video)
- 7. Why am I anti-Islam? Well, for the simple reason that Islam is anti me, and it's anti every fundamental value I hold. ("It's good to be Anti-Islam" video)
- 8. The entire religion is built on a foundation of prejudice, injustice, and inhumanity, and I'm anti all of those. ("It's good to be Anti-Islam" video)
- 9. Because I hold these opinions, I'm often falsely accused of hating Muslims, when in fact many of the Muslims I've met in my life, I've liked as individuals. ("It's good to be Anti-Islam" video)
- 10. Of course Islamic culture is not inferior. It's vastly inferior. And not just to western culture, but to all the cultures.("It's good to be Anti-Islam" video)
- 11. Thanks to unwanted mass Islamic immigration, there are parts of Europe today where, if you make it known that you're gay (or Jewish, for that matter) you are virtually asking to be physically attacked. ("Tell the Truth about Islam" video)

Firstly, such statements clearly emphasise that Condell's view on Islam is *monolithic* because he only sees Islam as one single ideology, refusing to look at the diversity within the Islamic world. Statements such as Number 5 and Number 8 generalize Islam to be a violent, inhumane ideology in its entirety, ignoring other possibilities.

Secondly, the way in which Condell refers to Islam is always through the perspective of "Western" values versus Islam, thus he regards Islam as a *separate* "other" from his own culture. Furthermore, statements like Number 1, Number 2, Number 3, Number 7 and Number 11 emphasise the view of Islam as the *enemy*: Condell believes that Islam is against him and in consequence he is against Islam. He brings further the idea that Islam is the enemy of all homosexuals, Jews, and women.

Thirdly, he regards Islam as *manipulative*: in statement number 6 he mocks Islam for allowing freedom of speech "only" when it is inciting hatred, he claims. In statement 9 he makes the distinction between good Muslims and bad Muslims. As I have explained above, Muslims can supposedly be regarded as credible if they do not bring Islam on the table.

Finally, his speech also places Islam as *inferior*: in statement number 10 he agues that Islamic culture is inferior to all cultures. The arguments for the inferiority are that Islam is incompatible with Western values because, as he declares, it is primitive, violent, oppressive, sexist, misogynistic, homophobe and anti-semitic, proving these claims by focusing only on the radical side of Islam.

As justified as his arguments may sound to his followers, they are just another case of a closed-view on Islam. 'In accordance with the reports' findings, as long as a person acknowledges the diversity of Islam, and therefore presents an open view of the religion by expressing a legitimate criticism of it, such person cannot be prescribed as an Islamophobe.' (The RT Report, 1997) After analysing Condell's stance it can therefore be concluded that he is an Islamophobe. He regards Islam as a political ideology, leaving no open room for the other side of Islam. In this way, he silences the majority of Islam followers who do not support the things that Condell generalizes about the entire population of Muslims.

#### 5. Conclusion

Pat Condell is a good example of a nationalist, populist, islamophobic right wing Internet influencer who claims to protect freedom of speech by making harsh critiques against Islam. His closed view of Islam is yet another anti-migration and anti-Islamization rhetoric that we hear more and more from populist, right wing politicians in Europe and the United States. The current trend of nationalism is rising as more and more populists are framing the open border policy as a problem. Condell tries to avoid the racism discussion by targeting Islam as an ideology, and discrediting the diversity within the Islamic culture. This is a common strategy amongst right wing politicians to escape any accusations of racism as they claim that Islam has nothing to do with race. The global new right's obsession with policies that target anti-Islamization and which regard the Muslim immigrants as possible threats to the Western democracies are thus reinforced and supported by Pat Condell.

Pat Condell effectively shares his content across social media platforms such as Twitter and YouTube, where he has gained a lot of followers who share similar political views as him. He makes use of all the affordances that these platforms give him, such as sharing, retweeting, hashtagging and uploading multimedia content. Furthermore, as a former comedian, he is full of sarcasm, satire and cynicism, which appeal to the new right "edgy" audiences that like this type of informal approach, which is different from that of traditional media. Despite the censorship of his older videos such as "Welcome to Saudi Britain", which got removed from YouTube in 2008, Condell's influence kept expanding as more and more people started to see him as a protector of freedom of speech, in a similar manner as they did with Tommy Robinson.

Within the global new right, Pat Condell's impact has proven to be significant as both media and politicians react to his content. The fact that in a relatively small country like The Netherlands, two politicians have shared Mister Condell's Tweets says enough about how popular he is in the right-wing sphere. On the other hand, at the opposite pole, the left wing tries to minimize his impact by pointing out the discriminatory and islamophobic character of his speech. However, in doing so, the reactionary right wing activists only get stronger as they disapprove of the left wing. Furthermore, the censorship of his videos accentuate the problem because his supporters are guided by the populist approach of "the real people" versus the "corrupt lefist media who controls everything", which creates even more hatred against the left.

According to the Runnymede report (2017) Pat Condell undoubtedly is an islamophobe. He overgeneralises Islam as a whole to be misogynistic, anti-Semitic and homophobic. Even though it is a fact that he is an islamophobe, the right wing condemns the left wing for using this word. In this way, Pat Condell opens up a debate regarding islamophobia and contributes to the further division between left and right. For the right wing activists, islamophobia is just an excuse for suppressing the right to criticise Islam, considering it just another proof that the left's ideals of open borders is a threat to Western democratic values such as freedom of speech. Islamophobia here becomes a signifier and a code word for right wing activists to identify the left wing. Pat Condell refers to this as the "islamophobia industry", which serves to protect the Muslims and to destroy freedom of speech. As a reaction to censorship and in order to avoid the "islamophobia industry", Pat Condell has his own website and also is present on alternative media platforms such as gab.com and bit chute. This is a common safe haven for the majority of right wing youtubers such as the commonly known Paul Joseph Watson, who also migrated his content on alternative sources.

In conclusion, the liberating power of the Web 2.0 has given voice to right wing populists who create and share significant amounts of content that propagates their ideology. Furthermore, phenomena such as the filter bubble are responsible for the algorithmic populism, taking place on digital media platforms. Pat Condell's fan base is present within the right wing echo chamber, which limits their stream of information to only content coming from like-minded people.

#### References

Boyd, D. (2014). *It's complicated. The social lives of networked teens.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Blommaert, J., & Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: a beginners guide*. Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters.

Hussein, K. (2019). *Opinion: 'Cultural Marxism' is a far-right conspiracy in murky internet forums – so why is a Tory MP now using it?* Retrieved from <u>https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/cultural-marxism-suella-braverman-conservative-mp-antisemitism-a8842806.html</u>

Lewis, R. (2018). *Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on YouTube.* Data & Society.

Maly, I. & Blommaert, J. (2019) *Digital Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Analysis* (*ELLA 2.0*). Tilburg University.

Maly, I. (2018). *The global New Right and the Flemish identitarian movement Schild & Vrienden. A case study.* Tilburg University.

Maly, I. (2020) *Flemish Interest in an attention-based hybrid media system.* Tilburg University.

Maly, I. (2018) *Populism as a mediatized communicative relation: The birth of algorithmic populism.* Tilburg University.

Pariser, E. (2012). *The filter bubble: what the Internet is hiding from you*. London: Penguin Books.

Ruiter, J.J. de. (2012) *The speck in your brother's eye. Islam's perceived war against the West.* Amsterdam Rozenberg Publishers.

The Trust. (1997). Runnymede Trust: Islamophobia: A challenge for us all.

The Trust. (2007). Islamophobia: Still a challenge for us all.

Varis, P. (2016). *Digital Ethnography*. In Georgakopoulou, A. & T. Spilioti (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication*. London: Routledge, 55-68.

# Attachments

### Video 1 - I'm offended by Islam

00:00 This is for the person who told me recently 00:03 that Muslims have every right to be offended by western culture. 00:06 Of course they do. All I'm saying to offended Muslims 00:10 is do us all a favour and keep it to yourself 00:13 because nobody likes a crybaby. 00:16 But now I'm thinking that perhaps I'm wrong about this, 00:19 and that maybe we should all be a lot more offended as often as possible, 00:22 to fully embrace this new culture of knee jerk offence 00:25 and give it every chance to work. 00:28 After all, we in the West have many more reasons to be offended 00:31 by the religion of peace than it has to be offended by us. 00:35 I'm offended by the very term "religion of peace" 00:38 which I regard as a far greater lie than any of the 00:41 superstitious nonsense about flying horses 00:44 or angels in caves, and I think it should be 00:47

prosecutable under the Trade Descriptions Act. 00:50 Also, I find the Islamic attitude to women, gays, Jews and apostates 00:57 to be really quite deeply and profoundly offensive. 01:00 And I would like to emphasise just how offensive I find it, if I may. 01:05 I find it mind-blowingly soul-witheringly 01:08 and unforgivably offensive. 01:11 Where do I apply for my compensation? 01:14 Now, I want to make it clear that I'm only offended 01:17 by Islam because I'm offended by Islam because I am offended by cruelty, 01:20 intolerance and oppression. 01:23 If Islam wasn't cruel, intolerant and oppressive 01:26 then I wouldn't be as offended as I am. 01:29 Obviously, I would still be somewhat offended because 01:32 Islam would still be pushy, confrontational, 01:35 demanding and threatening. If it wasn't pushy, confrontational, 01:38 demanding and threatening I wouldn't be as offended as I am. 01:42 Obviously, I would still be somewhat offended by the 01:45 ridiculous hair-trigger sensitivity to criticism, 01:48 and of course the cynical manipulation of language. Who could forget that? 01:52 So yes, I'm offended by Islam in so many ways

01:56 you really don't want to know. 01:58 Oh, you do? Oh OK. Well, where to begin? 02:02 I'm offended by a religion that regards the female half of humanity 02:07 as innately inferior and deficient. 02:11 And I'm offended that we all pretend that isn't the case 02:14 when we all know it bloody well is, 02:17 and it will remain the case until we do something about it, 02:20 because nobody else is going to. 02:23 I'm offended that I live in a society where a little girl 02:26 can be forced to walk around everywhere concealed inside a black sack. 02:31 Is that religious freedom, or is that child abuse? 02:34 And at what precise point does one become the other, 02:38 without the Catholic Church being involved? 02:41 I'm offended by the dozens of sharia courts in Britain 02:45 that are allowed to treat women by law as less than fully human, 02:49 and by the thousands of genital mutilations, 02:53 not one of which has ever been punished, despite carrying 02:57 a theoretical 14 year prison sentence. 02:59 And I'm offended and embarrassed in equal measure 03:02

by the deafening silence on these matters 03:05 from "progressive" western feminists 03:08 who think we shouldn't impose our values on Muslim women 03:11 because that's the job of Muslim men. 03:14 I'm offended that anyone who burns a Koran in Britain will go to prison, 03:17 but if they burn a Bible they won't. 03:20 I'm offended when Saudi-funded Islamic schools 03:23 are found to be using books that teach violence and hatred 03:26 and are not shut down and everyone connected with them 03:29 run out of the country on a rail. 03:32 I'm offended that we allow extra unnecessary cruelty 03:35 in slaughterhouses to accommodate Islamic superstition, 03:38 and then we allow that meat to be sold unlabelled 03:42 and fed to children in schools without their parents' knowledge or consent 03:46 because we've learned the hard way that if we don't do things 03:49 the Islamic way there'll be trouble. I'm offended by that. 03:53 I'm offended that publishers won't touch certain books 03:56 so that the media won't reproduce certain images 03:59 because they're afraid of Muslim violence. 04:02 And I'm doubly offended by our society's cowardly tacit acceptance of this. 04:07

I'm personally deeply offended by anyone who thinks

04:11

I'm stupid enough to think I should give a damn about their

04:14

carefully manufactured feelings,

04:16

especially when it comes to the cultural terrorist's favourite word,

04:19

Islamophobia, which is Islamic shorthand

04:22

for free speech, secular democracy and common sense.

04:26

I'm offended that anyone who speaks up for these things

04:29

is likely to be deemed an Islamophobe,

04:32

and by extension a racist, because Islam is a race, apparently;

04:36

a race of quite diverse ethnicity, it has to be said,

04:40

but if you point this out you'll be called an Islamophobe and a racist.

04:44

Yet we know that racism is driven by fear and insecurity

04:49

which manifest themselves in things like intolerance,

04:52

supremacism and separatism, precisely the qualities

04:55

we've come to associate with the religion of permanent offence,

04:59

the one that likes to label everybody else mentally ill.

05:02

If Islam is a race (and either it is or it isn't, let's make up our minds, shall we?) 05:09

then Islamic supremacism is racism,

05:12

and Islam is the most racist ideology on the planet.

05:16

On the other hand, if it's not a race 05:19 then criticising it is not racist. 05:22 So what's it going to be, people, racist or not racist? 05:25 Answers on a postcard to the racists at the East London Mosque, 05:29 an institution which, you won't be surprised to hear, offends me. 05:33 Indeed, whenever I hear, as I often do, 05:36 about a visiting preacher at that place calling for death to gays 05:40 and not being immediately arrested and deported 05:43 with a firecracker up his arse 05:45 I'm offended to the point of virtual apoplexy. 05:49 And I'm incandescently offended that Islam doesn't like free speech 05:53 UNLESS you're preaching death to gays and apostates, 05:57 and then you can have as much of it as you like, in the sure knowledge 06:00 that no Muslim, extremist or moderate, will call you what you are, 06:03 a savage and a nutcase. 06:06 But if you speak up for freedom, pluralism, 06:09 equality, diversity, and genuine human rights, 06:13 you're guaranteed to be slandered as a racist and an Islamophobe 06:18 and you're also guaranteed to be threatened with physical violence. 06:24 I'm offended by that,

06:27 and if you're not offended by it, or if you're pretending 06:30 not to be offended because you don't want to cause offence, 06:33 then you've got something seriously wrong with you. No offence.

# Video 2 - It's good to be anti-Islam

00:00 I'm always amused when people accuse me of being anti-Islam, 00:03 as if it's a bad thing, and as if I've been trying to hide it 00:06 and they've somehow caught me out. 80:00 "Aha, I see what you are now. You're just anti-Islam." 00:12 Yes, well spotted, Sherlock. Indeed I am, 00:15 just like every other sane person on earth. 00:18 Why am I anti-Islam? Well, for the simple reason that Islam is anti me, 00:22 and it's anti every fundamental value I hold. 00:25 If I were to accommodate its values in my life 00:28 I would have to violate everything that I believe in. 00:31 I think that's an unreasonable demand, 00:33 and, as such, it is of course typically Islamic. 00:37 In general, I don't like to be anti anything. 00:40 I prefer to be pro. 00:42

But there's nothing in Islam to be pro about.

00:45

The entire religion is built on a foundation of prejudice, injustice, 00:48

and inhumanity, and I'm anti all of those.

00:51

People say well: "You only focus on the bad things about Islam." 00:55

And yes, I have to admit that if you ignore the bad things - 00:58

the aggressive separatism, supremacism and social intolerance, 01:02

the relentless special pleading and phoney grievance mongering,

01:05

the psychopathic level of misogyny,

01:08

the "honour" killing and genital mutilation

01:10

(sanctioned by the prophet, incidentally),

01:12

the rabid gay and Jew hatred,

01:14

the intimidation and censorship,

01:16

and the constantly present threat of violence over social issues -

01:19

Well there isn't much wrong with Islam.

01:21

It's perfectly kosher, if you'll pardon the expression.

01:24

The trouble is when you take these things away there's nothing left.

01:28

There is no Islam any more because it is defined by these things,

01:32

and we can see the evidence of this with our own eyes.

01:35

We can see that wherever this religion goes in the world

01:38

it brings with it guaranteed intolerance, conflict and social division,

01:42 and, if it gets the upper hand, persecution, 01:45 and ultimately monstrous cruelty, 01:47 and people always become less free, especially the female ones. 01:51 Because I hold these opinions, I'm often falsely accused 01:56 of hating Muslims, when in fact many of the Muslims I've met 01:59 in my life, I've liked as individuals. 02:02 I just don't like anything about their religion because there's nothing about it to like. 02:06 It's an absolutely outrageous ideology. 02:09 If you made it up from scratch today you'd be locked up for your own good. 02:13 It brings out the very worst in humanity, 02:15 and it gives power and authority to violent sadistic savages. 02:19 It has brought nothing positive to the West 02:22 for the simple reason that it has nothing positive to bring. 02:25 Its influence on this earth has been overwhelmingly negative, 02:29 and we would all be better off without it, 02:31 including Muslims, especially the female ones. 02:34 Any ideology that preaches death to anyone 02:37 deserves no accommodation at all in a civilised society, 02:41 and no respect at all. 02:43

It doesn't even deserve the pretence of respect. 02:46 Death to apostates, death to blasphemers, 02:49 death to adulterers, death to homosexuals. 02:52 Death, death, mutilation and death, 02:54 as preached in the mosques, for it is written. 02:57 And this is the problem. It is written. 02:59 Any religious scripture can be a dangerous weapon in the wrong hands 03:03 (that'll be human hands) 03:05 and Islamic scripture is particularly dangerous 03:07 because it's particularly inflammatory and violent. 03:11 Hatred of non-Muslims runs through it like a watermark. 03:14 Read it for yourself and see. 03:16 Anyone choosing to follow this scripture 03:19 can take explicit licence to be intolerant and violent, 03:22 and to feel virtuous about it. 03:24 And it really doesn't help that so many Muslims on this earth 03:27 take their scripture far more seriously than any sane person should. 03:31 In some parts of the world, if you so much as look at the Koran the wrong way 03:36 you're liable to be lynched on the spot. 03:38 (Hello again, Pakistan.)

03:40 The idea that this is just another religion 03:42 and that all religions are equally bad is not only laughable, 03:46 it's actually offensive, and it's insulting to the many victims of Islam, 03:50 and I don't mean historically, but here and now. 03:53 Right now on this earth people are being persecuted 03:57 and murdered every day by Muslims, 03:59 and here's the important bit - for purely religious reasons. 04:03 That is pure evil, and where do you think it comes from? 04:07 "Do not be friends with unbelievers", 04:09 "The vilest of animals are unbelievers", 04:12 "Kill unbelievers wherever you find them", 04:14 and on and on and on (laughter) it goes, 04:17 yet anyone who finds any of this offensive, 04:19 apparently they have a phobia. 04:21 That's right. They've got something wrong with them. 04:24 So yes, I'm very much anti-Islam, as you can see, 04:28 in so many ways I really haven't got time to list them all here, 04:31 but I'm especially anti child marriage. 04:34 Are you anti child marriage? Of course you are. 04:37

I wish Islam was anti child marriage, but it isn't, 04:40 so I'm anti-Islam, and I've been given no choice in the matter 04:44 because child marriage is inexcusable. 04:47 And while we're on the subject, putting an Islamic headscarf 04:50 on a little girl is also inexcusable. 04:53 In doing so, you sexualise that child 04:56 because the headscarf is all about men and rape. 04:59 You're telling her that female hair drives Muslim men insane. 05:04 It doesn't bother other men, curiously, just the Muslim ones. 05:07 And since Muslim men must never be held to account 05:10 for anything they do to a woman or to a girl because Allah wouldn't like it, 05:13 if they see her hair they might rape her, 05:16 and, if they do, it will be her fault. 05:18 That's what the headscarf is really all about. 05:20 Putting one on a child is an act of sexual and mental abuse, 05:24 and it ought to be against the law. 05:27 Finally, let me just say that in the past I've drawn some criticism 05:31 for suggesting that Islamic culture 05:34 is in some way inferior to western culture just because 05:37 it espouses values that I consider deeply uncivilised and barbaric,

05:41 and this hasn't done anything for my reputation 05:44 in what we might call the "progressive" community 05:47 (which troubles me deeply, as you can probably imagine), 05:50 so I'd like to take this opportunity to try and clarify those remarks, if I may. 05:55 Of course Islamic culture is not inferior. 05:58 It's vastly inferior. And not just to western culture, but to all the cultures. 06:03 Its values are an insult to humanity - all humanity, 06:07 including Muslims, especially the female ones. 06:10 There, I hope that helps to clarify any ambiguity. 06:13 Peace, anyone? 06:15

Yes, let's have some peace. You know you like it.

# Video 3 - Tell the Truth about Islam

00:00 The Islamophobia industry is quick to whine and complain 00:03 at every opportunity, as everybody knows, 00:06 and lately they've been whining and complaining about what they call 00:10 negative coverage of Islam in the British media -00:13 by which they mean truthful coverage, although in truth we don't get nearly enough of that. 00:18 For example, when it was revealed recently that there has been a large increase

00:22 in so called "honour" violence, where Muslim women are brutalised 00:25 and murdered by members of their own family, nowhere in the BBC report 00:30 did it mention the one crucial ingredient: the religion of peace. 00:33 This salient piece of information was carefully airbrushed out, 00:37 as if to imply that this is a British phenomenon, 00:40 as if society as a whole is to blame. 00:43 Similarly, we're always hearing about organised gangs of Muslim men 00:47 exploiting and raping underage girls, yet the media never refer to these men 00:51 by the religion whose misogynistic values have shaped their view of women, 00:55 preferring instead to label them "Asians", which is a gross slander on Hindus and Sikhs 01:01 who don't engage in this kind of behaviour, yet who are tarred with the same brush 01:05 by cowardly and dishonest journalists afraid to offend 01:08 the whining oversensitive professional victims of Islam. (pause) 01:12 People often say the bad things about Islam are cultural, they are not religious. 01:17 Really? What happens in Saudi Arabia isn't culture. 01:21 It's pure religion, it's pure Islam, and it's pure insanity. 01:25 We're talking about a country run with an iron fist by a handful of brutal 01:29 conservative religious clerics. 01:32 A country where they execute people for witchcraft,

01:35 where they execute gay people and treat women as a subhuman species, 01:39 and where gangs of fanatical scripture-sodden ignoramuses 01:43 are allowed to roam the streets enforcing sharia 01:46 with medieval rigour. 01:48 The religion is the problem, not the culture. 01:51 The problem with Iran is the religion, not the culture. 01:55 Iranians are not Arabs, but they've been conquered by an alien Arab religion, 01:59 and now their country's entire focus is on an Arab situation - Palestine -02:04 not an Iranian one. 02:07 This is because the religious fanatics who control Iran 02:10 against the wishes of its people are insane. 02:13 Their minds are so pickled by their barbaric religion 02:16 and they're so obsessed with killing Jews they're determined to force a nuclear showdown. 02:21 They're driven by powerful apocalyptic religious delusions 02:25 which they intend to act upon the first chance they get. 02:28 They're of the same mentality as the religious fanatics 02:31 who controlled Europe hundreds of years ago, and if those people 02:34 had had nuclear weapons none of us would be here now. 02:38

Many of the Muslims here in Britain, including the gangs of child rapists (all of them),

02:44 come from Pakistan where the culture is shaped by the religion 02:48 and blasphemy is a capital offence. 02:51 It's what the religion demands, and the culture does what it's told, 02:54 otherwise the religion will mobilise a mob of illiterate savages 02:58 to riot in the streets, and scores, if not hundreds, of people are likely to be killed. 03:03 The religion is the problem, not the culture. 03:06 The culture isn't great by any means, but without the religion it would be a damn sight better. 03:10 And we in Britain are busy importing that religion wholesale into our society 03:16 where it's about as welcome as the Norman invasion, despite all the platitudes and lies 03:20 we hear from politicians about tolerance and respect and "community cohesion", 03:25 because people have learned, as they've learned everywhere in the West, 03:28 that this is far more than just a religion. 03:31 It's an invasive political supremacist ideology 03:34 that exploits religious freedom and cultural guilt 03:37 to impose itself with constant demands for special treatment 03:41 always backed by the implicit threat of conflict and violence. 03:45 In other words, through cultural terrorism. 03:48 So whether it's prayer rooms crowbarred into the workplace where they don't belong, 03:51

Muslims allowed to pray in the streets and block traffic, 03:54 medical staff allowed to ignore hygiene rules, 03:57 the police turning a blind eye to genital mutilation, 04:00 universities letting jihadists recruit on campus, 04:03 sharia courts dehumanising women, 04:06 or the imposition of halal-only food on the entire population 04:10 without their knowledge or consent, 04:12 society, it seems, must always bow to the unreasonable demands of Islam, 04:16 and anyone who dares to object is either vilified as a racist 04:20 or openly threatened with violence. 04:23 This is what the media should be saying about Islam 04:26 if journalists had the guts to do their job and tell the truth, 04:29 because it is the truth, and everybody knows it's the truth. 04:32 And you can call me a racist for saying so if you want to, 04:35 and a hate monger and a bigot and all the rest of it -04:38 go through the card, be my guest - but when you finally run out of names 04:42 it will still be the truth. Sorry about that. 04:46 Thanks to our moral cowardice, we now have hundreds of unregulated madrassas 04:51 in Britain teaching tens of thousands of children to despise the culture they live in. 04:55 That bodes well for the future of "community cohesion", doesn't it?

04:59

A madrassa, in case you didn't know, is an Islamic school.

05:03

In other words, it's the kind of place where you're likely to come out 05:06

even more ignorant than when you went in.

05:09

And just last month we had a good example of the kind of mentality

05:12

these places encourage when three Muslim men

05:15

were convicted of stirring up hatred by passing out leaflets

05:19

calling for gay people to be executed.

05:22

They pleaded guilty, by all accounts, but to my mind it would have been more accurate 05:25

and more honest if they had pleaded insanity.

05:28

One of them said he did it because he wants to improve society.

05:31

Well, there's a simple way for him to do that - emigrate

05:34

and take all his bigoted fuzzy-faced friends with him.

05:37

The prosecution argued that the leaflets were not educational

05:41

when, in fact, they were extremely educational, in that they plainly stated

05:45

what Islam actually teaches, and not what its mealy-mouthed apologists would like to pretend it teaches.

05:50

Islam does call for the death penalty for homosexuality.

05:54

It's a fact. And in countries where it's allowed to call the shots

05:57

they enthusiastically carry it out.

06:00

Thanks to unwanted mass Islamic immigration, there are parts of Europe today

06:04

where, if you make it known that you're gay (or Jewish, for that matter) 06:07 you are virtually asking to be physically attacked. 06:11 It's an indisputable fact that the more Muslims there are in a society -06:15 not Asians, Muslims - the less safe it's likely to be for gay people 06:20 or Jews, or women, or anyone attempting to exercise 06:24 their fundamental right to freedom of speech. 06:27 So where exactly is all the positive coverage of this wretched religion supposed to come from? 06:32 A religion that routinely responds to the slightest criticism 06:36 by feigning a ludicrous knee-jerk sensitivity, 06:39 when its own scripture is a handbook of insensitivity, 06:42 brutality and social division. 06:45 Slay the infidel wherever you find him. 06:48 Execute gay people. Murder apostates. 06:51 Subjugate women. Wipe out the Jews. 06:54 Such an ideology has no claim on sensitivity, and the opinions of those who push it 06:59 should be given less consideration than other people's, not more. (pause) 07:03 Peace.