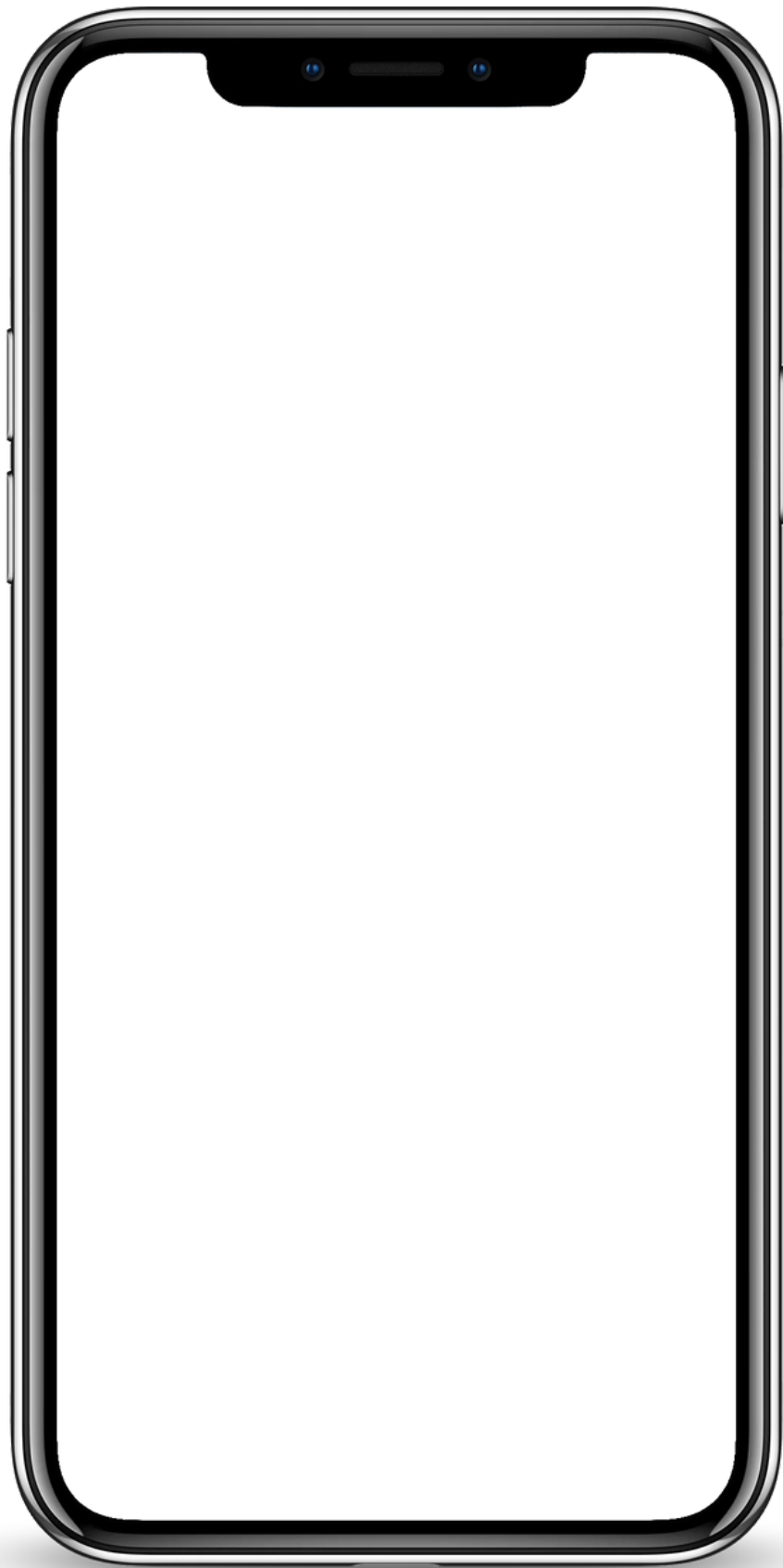


RECORD



Apostates' digital dissent

Analysing the Critical Discourse of Ex-Muslims about islam(isms) on X

ECREA Summer School
5-11 August, Roskilde University, Denmark

11 August 2024



Current table of contents

- **Prologue** : from state alternative narratives to mapping civil society counter discourses to islamism to...
- **Chapter 1:**
 - State of the art: diagnosis and identification of gaps**
- **Chapter 2:**
 - Problematism**
- **Chapter 3:**
 - Method and methodology**
- **Chapter 4:**
 - Analysis**
- **Chapter 5:**
 - Conclusion**

Critical Discourse of Ex-Muslims on Islam(isms)

 **self-proclaimed**

francophone 

**Analysis of the rhetoric constructed on X (Twitter):
representations, arguments and ideological repertoire**

Not a research about islamophobia or anti-muslim-sentiment



Majid Oukacha ✓

@MajidOukacha

Youtubeur  youtube.com/MajidOukacha et Écrivain  shorturl.at/ghuDU

[Translate bio](#)

   youtube.com/MajidOukacha  Joined May 2015

6,354 Following **65K** Followers

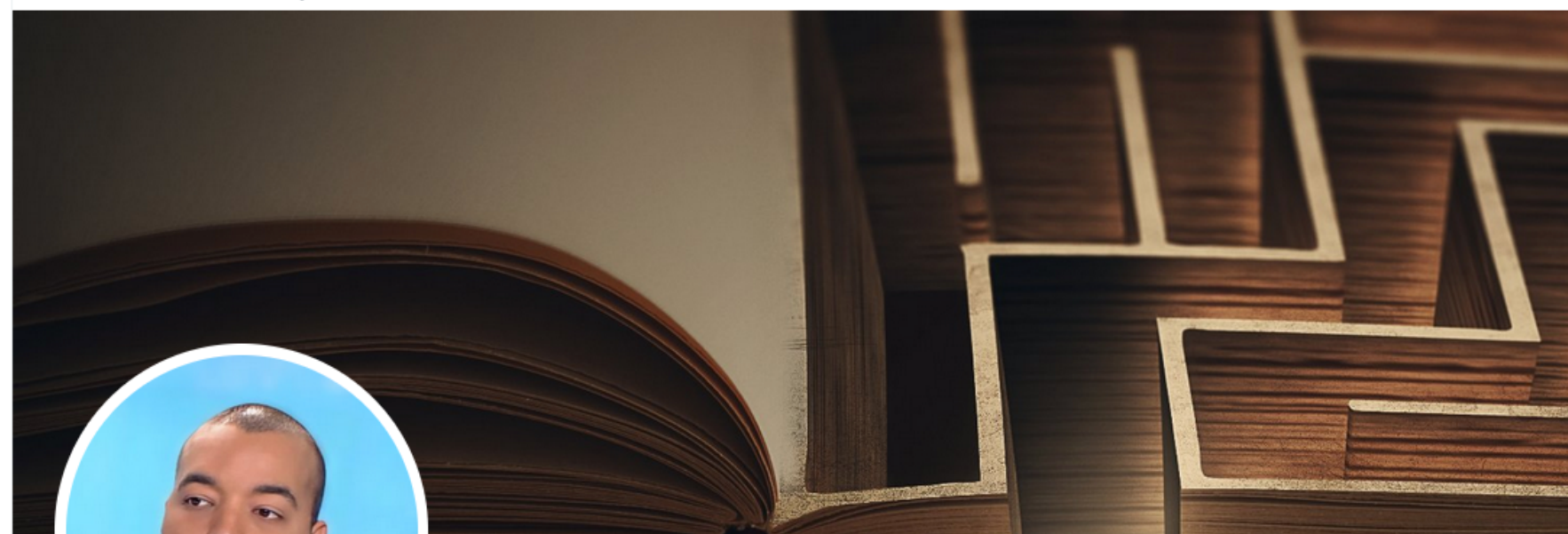


Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 69 others you follow



Majid Oukacha ✓

16.9K posts



Majid Oukacha ✓

@MajidOukacha

 Mon livre « 100 contradictions et erreurs scientifiques dans le Coran » : amazon.fr/dp/2958761908

[Translate bio](#)

   [youtube.com/@MajidOukacha/...](https://youtube.com/@MajidOukacha/)  Joined May 2015

6,536 Following **70.2K** Followers



Followed by Mohamed l'Apostat, jaune d'œuf apostat 3, and 91 others you follow



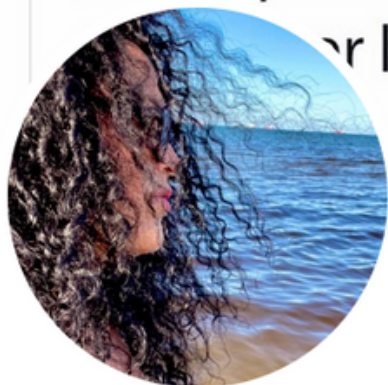
SAMRAH Atika

16.8K posts



Jean-Luc Mélenchon ✓ @JLMel... · 21/11/2015

Je conteste le terme d'islamophobie. On a le droit de ne pas aimer l'islam comme on a le droit de ne pas aimer le catholicisme. #SLT



Following

SAMRAH Atika

@atika_samrah

Activiste droit à l' [#apostasie](#) | Cofondatrice du conseil des exmusulmans de France [@cemf_](#) | [#StopVoile](#) [#islamisme](#)

📍 France 📅 Joined December 2011

970 Following 14.8K Followers



Followed by jack lefou, IBLIS UAKBAR 👍 🙌 🙌 🙌 🙌 , and 53 others you follow



Atika SAMRÅH ✓

@samrahatika

Apostate de l'islam | Exmusulmane | Activiste droit à l' [#apostasie](#) | Cofondatrice du [@cemf_](#) | une survivante de l'islamisme [#StopVoile](#)

📍 France 📅 Joined April 2020

826 Following 5,468 Followers



Followed by Mohamed l'Apostat, jaune d'œuf apostat 3, and 47 others you follow

#Je soutiens
Les EX Musulmans
ET VOUS ?



Following



CRITIQUE DE L'ISLAM
DAVID L'APOSTAT

Apostat militant

Pour que l'apostasie devienne une norme



Following

Vivi-Apostat ✓

@viviapostat

Apostat de l'islam 🖐️

📍 Tours, France 🔗 apostats-de-france.com 📅 Joined January 2022

698 Following 1,593 Followers



Followed by Abu Singularity 🇫🇷, al-Zahra, and 30 others you follow



Vivi-Apostat ✓

8,672 posts



Vivi-Apostat ✓

@viviapostat Follows you

🗣️ Gérés par ViVi et Le Ratsoul, ex-musulmans, nous dépeignons l'islam authentique. ViVi expose l'actu, y compris lié à l'Islam; Le Ratsoul, ses origines.

[Translate bio](#)

📍 Paris, France 🔗 al-kalam.fr 📅 Joined January 2022

890 Following 11.1K Followers



Followed by Mohamed l'Apostat, jaune d'œuf apostat 3, and 70 others you follow



WalidTrax

@Walid6916 Follows you

Ex Musulman

3,548 Following 1,835 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Muse ExMus, and 25 others you follow



Super Kàfir

@SuperKfir1 Follows you

Combien de litres de sang devront être versés pour qu'on ouvre enfin les yeux sur le fait que le Coran ne sert qu'à fabriquer des sarrazins du 7ème siècle?

922 Following 777 Followers

Followed by Muse ExMus, KUFR FM 66.6, and 7 others you follow



Spider✂Halouf

@SpiderHalouf69

Je suis gentil comme un diable

Je suis né 2 fois. Le jour de ma naissance et le jour où je n'ai plus cru en Dieu/Allah

Pseudo Discord spiderhalouf95

297 Following 1,068 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Muse ExMus, and 15 others you follow

Following



Obrazor

@0brazor Follows you

J'ai le même regard envers le monothéisme que l'imposteur prophète avait envers le polythéisme : mythes anciens recyclés et désuets. #Apostasie #EspritCritique

406 Following 279 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Muse ExMus, and 15 others you follow

Following



Waleed Al-husseini

@W_Alhusseini

Essayiste et Écrivain, fondateur du Conseil des ex-musulmans de France. Essayist, Writer, founder of Council of Ex-Muslims of France.

35 Following 67.1K Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Spider✂Halouf, and 58 others you follow

Following



Pierre le rescapé de l'islam

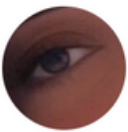
@pierreifaransi Follows you

Anciennement « 'Abd er-Rahmân (Aboû Ahmad) el-Faransiyy »

650 Following 277 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Muse ExMus, and 11 others you follow

Following



Najla 川崎 #MahsaA...

@Najla_Kawasaki

Agnostique spinozienne d'origine berbère, bretonne de cœur et de culture. Passionnée de voyage et de liberté. Bigots de toutes les sectes, foutez-nous la paix.

813 Following 751 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity, Spider✂Halouf, and 26 others you follow

Following



jaune d'œuf

@Apostatsapiens Follows you

apostat de l'islam qui devenu athée et qui fière de s'est origines d'homo-sapiens et primates.

1.310 Following 477 Followers



le préfet du 99 ابو صطا

@Zoom_in_Zoom

#atheism #agnosticism , Ex follower de #mohamed , #boukhari et #mouslim Anti ALL RELIGIONS Si t'as un pb ac la couleur de la peau, dégage

464 Following 862 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity, al-Zahra, and 26 others you follow

Following



Muse ExMus

@exmus_muse Follows you

Ex musulmane, pour la parole des apostats et contre le totalitarisme vert en route. Sur YT chaîne Muse Ex Muslima

627 Following 545 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Mouvement ex-musulmans de Belgique, and 18 others you follow

Following



Ibn Termiya

@IbnTermiya Follows you

Atheist, Apostate, ex_muslim, Le Cercle des Apostats

742 Following 660 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Muse ExMus, and 17 others you follow

Followin



Mourta'd سيدي المرتد

@AL_Mourta_d

La terre porte deux sortes d'hommes, des hommes intelligents sans religion et des hommes religieux sans intelligence - Abul'aLa Al-Ma'arri #Ex_muslim

452 Following 1,319 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Spider✂Halouf, and 25 others you follow

Following



Ridvan Aydemir | Apostate P...

@ApostateProphet

Most perfect Ex-Muslim and critic of Islam to ever walk the face of the earth. As seen on YouTube.

476 Following 65K Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Muse ExMus, and 53 others you follow

Following



Soleil Apostasie

@SoleilApostasie

je suis un #exmusulman un #apostat de l'islam. #Exmuslim Amazigh ✂ Ma chaîne youtube ici youtube.com/c/SoleilAposta...

239 Following 1,925 Followers

Followed by Muse ExMus, Mouvement ex-musulmans de Belgique, and 24 others you follow

Following



KUFR FM 66.6

@KufrFM666 Follows you

Écoutez le meilleur de la mécréance ! Suivez KufrFM sur youtube: youtube.com/@kufrfm66.6

2,274 Following 1,977 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Spider✂Halouf, and 23 others you follow

Following



Allah Hubaal

@ma22093709 Follows you

Apostat de la soumission à Mohamed. Mécréant des 3000 cultes fondés par l'homme. Non-croyant. Voici mon témoignage.

979 Following 973 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Muse ExMus, and 18 others you follow

Following



Mohamed AgNostique

@MohamedAgNostic

Le Musulman est un adulte qui croit encore au père Noël. (Ce compte a pour but d'informer sur les dangers et les dérives de l'islam)

120 Following 1,504 Followers

Followed by Spider✂Halouf, Mouvement ex-musulmans de Belgique, and 15 others you follow

Following



L'Apostat Kafir

@ApostatKafir Follows you

Tout ce qui a un début a forcément une fin. En sommeil depuis le 1er juin 2023.

4,204 Following 3,917 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Spider✂Halouf, and 41 others you follow

Following



Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪

@AbuSingularity

j'ai quitté l'islam pour embrasser la vérité, l'humanité.

92 Following 334 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, SpiderXHalouf, and 20 others you follow



Rhuïen

@Rhuïen17 Follows you

Absent lors de mes combats, j'veux pas te voir lors de mes succès 🙏

692 Following 359 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪, SpiderXHalouf, and 22 others you follow



kaffir 🇫🇷🇲🇦🇬🇧🇮🇱🇰🇲🇪🇩🇪.الملحد

@DOlivr

Antitheist . will follow back when I can. Stop political correctness nonsense. Religions are mental illness follow me at your own risk 😊

4,996 Following 3,157 Followers

Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 29 others you follow



Al-Mahdi l'prophète del'reli...

@sam_oussa974

🗣️ La foi du croyant repose sur des textes religieux. Mais des erreurs et aberrations méconnues s'y cachent. La vérité doit être dite ! Des arguments en lien 📄📄

1,443 Following 970 Followers

Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 18 others you follow



Prométhéa 🧠🧠🧠🧠

@Prometheame Follows you

Dissidente! Anticonformiste! Apostat! Ici ç la jungle si tu est trop fragile trop susceptible retourne sur FB! Fuck Zeus! Fuck U€! Fuck Wokisme! 📄📄



554 Following 148 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪, Muse ExMus, and 15 others you follow



Islam apostasie

@apostasie_islm

Je rêve d'un monde dans lequel les apostats pourraient vivre librement ☀

46 Following 118 Followers

Followed by Muse ExMus, Najla 川崎 🇫🇷🇯🇵🇷🇺 #MahsaAmini, and 17 others you follow



Ryad - Apostat 🇫🇷🇲🇦🇬🇪

@RApostat

« La religion est l'impuissance de l'esprit humain à faire face à des événements qu'il ne peut pas comprendre » - Karl Marx.

300 Following 485 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪, SpiderXHalouf, and 23 others you follow



Nadia Aït X

@Nadia_AitHed

Amazigh North African/Berber/Kabyl, #Exmuslim Apostate.

...Toutes les religions commencent sectes et finissent mythologies...

1,630 Following 1,438 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, SpiderXHalouf, and 48 others you follow



🧡 HopAp 🧡 ostasie 🧡 🧠 🧠 🇫🇷...

@ConnueInconnu1

300 Following 63 Followers

Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 9 others you follow



Sam!R 🇫🇷🇲🇦🇩🇪

@samir92

🇫🇷🇲🇦🇩🇪 🇲🇦🇩🇪 🇲🇦🇩🇪 #ExMuslim, Atheist, Ex-alahist & Islamophobe, #JeSuisCharlie #BemoreFrench 🇫🇷 #TeamMorocco

4,980 Following 2,962 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪, SpiderXHalouf, and 39 others you follow



WASSIM ZS Mind 🇫🇷🇲🇦🇩🇪

@wassimzs_mind

Homme libre, Clinical Neuropsychologist living in 🇫🇷🇲🇦🇩🇪 trituteur de cerveau en résistance 🙌 Peace and ❤️ #StopIslamisme #JeSuisMila #ApostatsLivesMatter #R!

4,040 Following 1,760 Followers

Followed by Abu Singularity 🇲🇦🇫🇷🇩🇪, SpiderXHalouf, and 31 others you follow



Marcel Lerche

@Marcel_Citron

Désacralisateur.

244 Following 225 Followers

Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 27 others you follow



Apostats Islam

@ApostatsI

Etre apostat de l'Islam, c'est avoir choisi la pilule rouge

293 Following 356 Followers

Followed by Muse ExMus, Najla 川崎 🇫🇷🇯🇵🇷🇺 #MahsaAmini, and 23 others you follow



Axel Le Kabyle

@axel_bakir Follows you

Français d'origine kabyle.

"Je ne suis pas arabe et je ne suis pas obligé d'être musulman". Lounès Matoub.

7,516 Following 7,699 Followers

Followed by al-Zahra, Muse ExMus, and 20 others you follow



Following

 **Al-Mahdi l'prophète del'religion d'pets**  

@sam_oussa974

 La foi du croyant repose sur des textes religieux. Mais des erreurs et aberrations méconnues s'y cachent. La vérité doit être dite ! Des arguments en lien  

[Translate bio](#)

 Sur les réseaux  apostats.fr/fr/  Joined October 2017

1,441 Following 970 Followers



Followed by SpiderXHalouf, Muse ExMus, and 16 others you follow

Apostates began to unite in response to the attacks they faced due to their apostasy, aiming to defend themselves and advocate for acceptance within their communities. The violent responses to their actions led some individuals to adopt highly critical positions.

What approach to 'critique'?

A **power tool** for social, cultural and political **change**. It helps to **highlighting injustices, inequalities** (as well as illogical reasoning). Zienkowski (2017, 2018) proposes a notion of criticism as public metadiscourse that **enables individuals to recognize, rearticulate, and/or reconfigure the logics and rationalities that lead to social suffering**.

Qualitative empirico-inductive
approach (Inductive / Abductive)

Non-intrusive
Non-participatory
Freely accessible content
Status of observer
Follow the analysed profiles
Follow me back



The corpus consists primarily of multimodal productions (Tweets)

Texts, Emojis, Images, GIFs, Videos, Sounds, (all semiotic forms)
Hashtags #

Tweet Classification

- 1. Tweet (Simple and Compound):** text + image, gif, or video.
- 2. Retweet:** Reposting with or without comment

1

CDA

Fairclough, N.

2

MULTIMODALITY

**Kress, G. , Van
Leeuwen, T.**

3

**ENUNCIATIVE
PRAGMATICS**

Charaudeau, P.

Research Questions:

Multimodal Representations

ISLAM(ISMS)

**How are Islam(isms)
represented/ portrayed in the
multimodal critical discourse
of ex-Muslims?**

APOSTASY

**How is apostasy
represented/portrayed in
the multimodal critical
discourse of apostates?**

Research Questions:

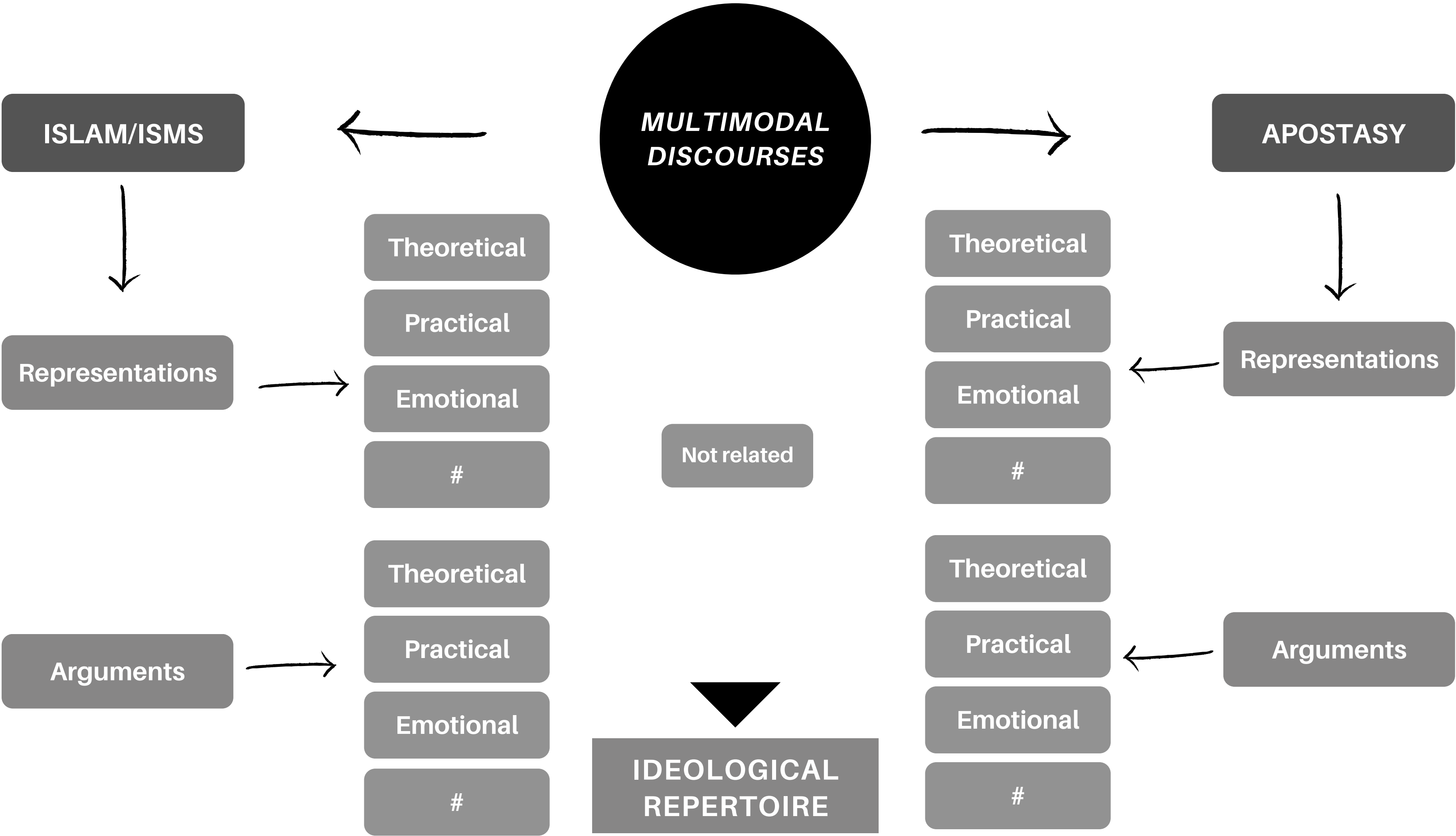
Critique and Argumentation

ISLAM/ISMS

**How is Islam(isms) criticized
and what arguments are
deployed to support this
critique and delegitimize
Islam(isms) ?**

APOSTASY

**What arguments are
deployed to valorize
apostasy and apostates?**



Analysis framework(CMDA)

01

Micro: Analysis of multimodal texts (Semiotics of the image)

- **Description**
- **Interpretation**
- **Explanation**

02

Meso: Analysis of discursive practices

- **Description**
- **Interpretation**
- **Explanation**

03

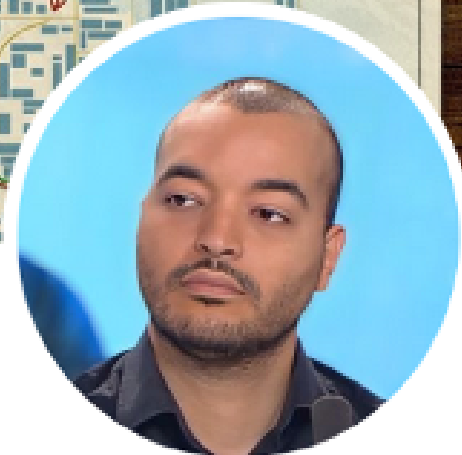
Macro: Analysis of social discursive practices

- **Description**
- **Interpretation**
- **Explanation**

Example



Majid Oukacha 
16.7K posts





Following

Majid Oukacha 
@MajidOukacha

 Mon nouveau livre « 100 contradictions et erreurs scientifiques dans le Coran »
: amazon.fr/dp/2958761908
[Translate bio](#)

   youtube.com/MajidOukacha  Joined May 2015

6,367 Following **66.9K** Followers

 Followed by jack lefou,  IBLIS UAKBAR 🙌 🙌 🙌 🙌 🙌 , and 76 others you follow



Majid Oukacha ✓
@MajidOukacha

Bienvenue dans la famille des ex-musulmans !

[Translate post](#)

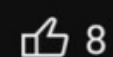


Réponses



@ [redacted] il y a 1 h

Ça y est , je sors de l islam , je suis finalement convaincu, vous m'avez ouvert les yeux , je me sens libre , merci , grâce à tes vidéos



8



Majid Oukacha ✓ @MajidOukacha · Oct 24

Ma nouvelle vidéo « Je réponds à Jésus Musulman et je DÉMONTE sa critique de mon livre (droit de réponse) » est sur Youtube : youtube.com



Rechercher



Réponse au livre de Majid Oukacha : "100 contradictions et erreurs scientifiques dans le Coran"

Jésus Musulman
54 k abonnés

S'abonner

1,7 k



Partager



Enregistrer



0:20 / 1:30:11



Je réponds à Jésus Musulman et je DÉMONTE sa critique de mon livre



Majid Oukacha
129K subscribers



Subscribed



5.1K



Share



Clip



107K views 6 months ago



Majid Oukacha

@MajidOukacha

Bienvenue dans la famille des ex-musulmans !

[Translate post](#)



Réponses



@ [redacted] il y a 1 h

Ça y est , je sors de l islam , je suis finalement convaincu, vous m'avez ouvert les yeux , je me sens libre , merci , grâce à tes vidéos



8



Majid Oukacha

@MajidOukacha · Oct 24

Ma nouvelle vidéo « Je réponds à Jésus Musulman et je DÉMONTE sa critique de mon livre (droit de réponse) » est sur Youtube : youtube.com

"Welcome to the family of ex-Muslims!"

Responses

"That's it, I'm leaving Islam. I'm finally convinced, you've opened my eyes. I feel free. Thank you, thanks to your videos."

Representation islam(isms)	Underlying arguments	Representation apostasy	Underlying arguments
darkness	Dogma Restrictions	Family	Belonging
prison	No freedom	Eye opening	Freedom Truth
I'm leaving	Religion from which one can exit	Gratitude	Feeling of being saved Emancipation

These representations and arguments can reinforce the idea that Islam is incompatible with the values of individual freedom and personal autonomy pointing towards a certain ideology

That was the first tweet, hundreds more to go :)