

How the far right and the man-sphere spread their agenda the case of gaming communities.

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Abstract

As the XXI century develops it's starting to become clear that video games are conquering their positions not only as the mainstream cultural product but also as a powerful tool to communicate. Platforms like Youtube or Twitch have made possible the rise of new public figures with millions of fans around the world thanks to their ability to play video games and their charisma to entertain an audience. All of this generates a new elite who can influence their audience. This last one phenomenon is the focus of our study who search to understand how political forces such as far right-wing can influence a whole new part of the population who normally doesn't care about politics thanks to these news figures and spaces.

The paper will focus on how political ideas can be spread by these new figures, streamers and how these new platforms can become a new political ecosystem.

Keywords

"Twitch"; "Far-right wing"; "Streamers"; "Gamers" and "masculinities"

Introduction

January 2021, after almost a year of Covid-19 and the socio-political crisis that has followed the global pandemic, Spain discovers another social problem, Ruben Doblas Gundersen, aka “El Rubius”, Spanish most famous youtuber and Twitch streamer is leaving the country. The reason? He wants to follow other youtubers and streamers that have moved to Andorra, a little fiscal paradise between France and Spain, Rubius wanted to live with his friends and pay less taxes, after explaining it to his followers, a storm surged in social media and television (Delle Feminine&Lara, 2021). Journalist and political figures from Left and Right wings parties started to criticize or approve Rubius’s decision of leaving his country in the middle of a historical crisis. But what was the point of this debate? A lot of famous sports figures has done the same movement for many years, after lurking Twitter for some days, the problems was obvious.

Rubius was setting an example of what’s good and bad for younger generations and older political figures had realized now in 2021, that youtubers and streamers in Twitch spread their own ideologies between their followers without wanting it sometimes or doing it conscientiously. In this anecdote, the debate wasn’t about the decision of a single person but rather about the proof that youtubers and streamers expose in their own life a condensation of neoliberal politics, they are one-man or one-woman enterprise of communication and entertainment that spread political ideas to young people without any regulation about what they say or do. But why are they able to influence such quantities of people when they are mostly playing videogames?

Methodology

To explain why streamers, have such influence and the political potential they have, we will first talk about Twitch. We have chosen this platform instead of others like Youtube for various reasons such as number of people following streams in their web with Twitch surpassing Facebook and other similar live-streamings services since 2014; the engagement of people with 421,6 minutes monthly watcher per viewer in Twitch compared to 291 minutes in Youtube per example (Gros et al, 2017). Twitch is a growing tendency that has profited in 2020 to legitimate itself as a mainstream service for millions of people that searched something to spend time while in quarantine. His rise and the importance of it for this article can also be linked to the rise of videogame as the most important cultural aspect of the youth (Monahan, 2021). In a world where young generation found videogames as the primary form of entertainment, Twitch as the place where everyone can show how they play and talk about it while their favorite streamer shows his skills has become an important cultural site.

We remark that one of the reasons to choose Twitch is demographic, his public in the United States for example is mostly adults under 25 years old, earning less than 50,000 dollars and mostly male (Johnson&Woodcock, 2017). Similar profiles in age and gender can be found in the Spanish public, one of the most important as spanish speaking-streamers gain positions in the top ranking of the platform. Lastly but perhaps the most important one, Twitch is what has allowed

streamers to become a job as we know it, is their platform what has created this kind of relations between public figures and their audience, and while Youtube and Facebook have tried to replicate it, Twitch has endured the competence and won over them. So, it's obvious that Twitch has to be the choice if we want to study the political power that streamer can have and how some political tendencies has profited of it.

In the first part of this article, we will explain what Twitch is and what are these new figures, the streamers. Latter we will explain the relation between this gaming world and the far-right wing, the origin of the alt right as we know it, focusing on one of the early big youtubers in Spain.

Theoretical Framework

What is Twitch? Who are the streamers?

A streamer is a person that broadcast live-content in a platform to an audience of followers that can interact with the producer of this content in real time using a chat where everyone can potentially write in. If you like the content, you can follow the streamer to know when the next broadcast is, and you can support him/her financially by subscribing or donating to their channel (the platform takes their cut of this money). This is what Twitch offers to users, both streamers and public. What is broadcasted depends on the streamers although it started as a gaming platform, nowadays the content is diverse as Twitch have raised to the mainstream (26,5 million visitors daily in 2020 according to TwitchTracker). The success of the platform is not in the content but rather in the capacity of streamers to attract public to see them doing whatever they are good at, which is not only skill in videogames but also their charisma and ability to keep an audience entertained no matter the content. As a streamer said, his profession is not about their ability to create content like an artist, their capital which allows them to live of streaming is their relations with their followers, being able to connect with them, create a relationship with them that feels genuine. People follow streamers because they identify with them, a new kind of relation that is different of other forms of cultural production.

Twitch propose a new space of socialization linking audience and content creator in a way that generates a familiarity between spectator and streamer. This is not new and many youtubers have experienced this before becoming streamers, but it's obvious that interacting in real time it's more effective than comments in a video. Communities are created around a streamer where people with common interest can socialize between them while they watch what the streamers offers them, creating bonds that may become friendships in some cases (Gros et al, 2017). This generates a space where a group of person shares some norms and cultural codes about what can be say and what not in the chat. A space that is relative controlled by the streamer and the

moderator that are selected by the content creator that can impose their rules by banning users that do not follow the norms. Meaning that streamers are conscious of what type of discourse or debate are spreading in their communities (Seering et al, 2017).

A professional opportunity that has been shaped by neoliberal subjectivity (Woodcock&Johnson, 2019) and that reproduces this political agenda in their own activity, because while Twitch has been the tool for some to become rich, they are a minority among streamers, for example only 5% of Spanish streamers achieve more than 45 regular spectators every month (Arjona, 2021) so for 95% of them is totally insufficient to survive economically without a “real job”. And while this data shows the precarity of their careers, streamers who lives of their success in Twitch normally explains their success because of hard work and intelligent ideas without thinking in other reasons of why they have been successful.

A reasoning that promotes the naturalization of their schedule full of working days with little vacations, the fear of losing viewers if they are not creating content every day and potentially ending their careers if they don't adapt their style to the everchanging flow of content that is the essence of the Internet. The precarity of streaming and the potential force of communication that it can be is what makes this profession inherently political. As a cultural producer that embodies the flaws and dreams of the late capitalism, their own success is what transform a hobby in a job that could consume sixteen hours a day every day like some streamers explain when they talk about their activity in interviews (Esportmaníacos TV, 2021). Entrepreneurs who work as self-employed but funnily enough are chained to a platform that have become almost a monopoly in their sector and do not have any stability who is normally associated to salaried workers in high profile enterprises.

And why is this new space so popular? as we have said before there a few factors that helps Twitch to become such an important space of socialization.

On one hand, the growth of Twitch is for some researchers, a response of younger generations after two economic crisis and a future without hope, where the idea of showing other your hobbies and making money of it is a dream come true (Woodcock&Johnson, 2019). This can also be linked up with the consequences of social media industry and how they have changed our societies in the XXI century. In a world where people cannot exist without their smartphones and normal social activities such as going to the cinema or a café have been transformed by social media (Seymour,2020) is easy to see why young people spend most of their time watching Twitch. It's a new television that has all the advantage of social-medias platform such as talking to the

famous person and interacting with other spectators but without having to go outside, you can stay online during the social interaction

On the other hand, while we can't say it is a problem of technology, we can agree with the premise of *The Twittering Machine*, where Richard Seymour explains how social media have created a pressure in our normal lives, the need to stay online and share our data with everyone while at the same time being less social in general with other people. Our "offline lives" are becoming less appealing than the possibilities that social media provides us in exchange for our data and our time. But as Seymour says, this is not a technology problem if it were that this paper would not try to talk about politics but rather programming. The social-economical context of Twitch growth is important to understand these, a moment of crisis, where younger generations are poorer than their old relatives and can't gain access to stable professionals' careers. Young people need to examine if it's worth it or not to go out with someone because of how little free time they have, they have apps that help or guide them in deciding who is a good match for sex or a relationship, in other words, they have so little time for themselves because of the economic system they live in, that they are not able to have a meaningful social life. They only have time to work and try to survive in precarious jobs without future (Martinez & Luz, 2019).

These factors create a cocktail of persons who have normalized being online all time with their smartphones, that do not have much free time or energy to socialize after work, that their world has been destroyed twice by economic crisis that eliminates stability and social bonds and that they see streamers as the new "American dream", a place where you can't escape precarity but you can escape poverty. And while some people try to link the surge of streaming to things like the lack of sex in younger generations, talking about streaming as an alternative plan that eliminates the desire of socializing outside home (Ingraham, 2019) It would be more interesting to think about how streaming is sometimes the only option to socialize in some circumstances where classical social circles like family, friends or forms of local communities are not a possibility for some people (Hilvert-Bruce et al, 2018).

As some studies show, the public become emotionally attached to the streamer giving them not only a reason to support them financially but a reason to follow them in whatever content they are creating (Yvette et al, 2018), this phenomenon is caused because the streamer is perceived more as a friend rather than a distant figure. People develop a "parasocial" relationship with the creator content, as such they identify with the person and want to support him/her because they feel related to the streamer in a common identity. Many streamers talk about how "being real" or authentic is what allows them to retain a public that have many different options to pick when

they arrive to Twitch. Even for some people, watching Twitch is a way of weather out the problems: *“He helped me through a lot of rough patches over the past few years by his attitude and general friendliness”* (Yvette et al, pág 7, 2018).

We can see now why they have such an influence over many people, they are a new kind of celebrities who have a capacity to connect with their public much powerful than other cultural producers such as musicians. It's true that many do not have much control of what content they produce but it isn't necessarily a problem because their success as we have said comes from their ability to attract people to follow them thanks to their personality or charisma.

Far right-wing and gaming

Streamers unknowingly (this was originally a gaming platform as we said) have created a new potential battlefield for political conflict as they developed a new media for millennials and Gen Z. This is obvious after seeing Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez streaming Among Us in the middle of the USA's presidential campaign and archiving a staggering audience of 439,000 viewers, a high mark in October 2020 for the platform (Rivera, 22 October 2020). Now everyone is participating in Twitch but Left-wing parties except for the example of Ocasio seems to be lost when it comes to streaming and creating content.

On the other hand, far right-wing creator contents seems to control the political battlefield, they can dictate what is the controversial topic of the week on Twitter when they want. They have become a vocal minority in the gaming community creating controversy when they feel “attacked” by women, LGTBI or racial minorities. Their success in creating a political base in the gaming community is such that for some, gamers and 4chan are one of the major reasons of Trump's victory in 2016 (Nagle, 2018). But why there is such disparity between both political blocs?

While we could argue that as streamers inherently represent neoliberal values, is harder for left-wing ideas to be represented by figures that condense the hegemonic political subjectivity, there are other factors that explains far-right wing advantages in their “cultural-battle” in this new social media. Twitch as a platform made up of a userbase made originally and primarily from gamers communities has inherit a toxic culture that helps to spread certain part of far-right wing parties such as misogynistic discourses and racist messages.

This doesn't mean that all gamers sympathize with these ideas, what we want to express is that the hegemonic culture in gaming communities is creating a frame where young generations have been politized following a series of debates inserted in the logic of what must be reflect in a videogame, what kind of message or protagonist is allowed and what is natural to find in a product.

A product that expresses what kind of political debates exist in the society that created them, it cannot escape them because as any other cultural product, it exists in a time, place, and concrete society (Venegas, 2020). What we find in the history of the industry is the construction of its userbase following a series of masculinity and conservative values that expelled women from gaming communities (Kocureck, 2015), this was a result of the strategy that arcade games companies followed to gain the favor of conservatism in USA. From this pass of creating an alternative masculine identity that supplemented the classic masculine identity created around sport figures, we can find the roots of today's gamers discourse.

Gamers as a new identity express a desire to protect their hobby from what they find external influences that politized their refuge and life-passions. Groups who haven't had a voice in the industry and that now try to express different point of view of what videogames could be are perceived as strangers and outsiders. This is not because they are not part of the userbase, women are for example half of the consumers in the United States (Kocureck, 2015), they were present in the origin of videogames when they were arcades in the eighties. What happens is that after decades of being the hegemonic group in the userbase, what we know could identify as gamers (young white males from middle classes) are discovering that other voices want to be heard in what they thought was their castle in the middle of a society in crisis.

This generates an interesting situation that far right-wing figures take advantages of this "outsiders" are taking away what has always been their identity. We can explain this idea by introducing what Alberto Venegas in *Pasado Interactivo* called "*memoria estética*" (aesthetic memory) :

"Una repetición de imágenes y motivos cuya presencia favorece la verosimilitud histórica del videojuego histórico y su asimilación con otros productos similares ambientados en el mismo momento. Esta reproducción de imágenes pretendidamente históricas y seleccionadas por diferentes grupos sociales con motivos heterogéneos favorece la creación de dicha memoria". (Venegas, p.113, 2020)

As Venegas explain, game developers rarely create historic video games based on primary sources or secondary works of famous historians but rather extract their knowledge of other historical fictions with great success, which generates a representation of the past marked by the desire of selling an aesthetic product for mass consume, what he calls *hiperhistoria*. This all creates a situation where the memory of historical events is modified by a series of ideas and representations made in mass media that generates an idealized past, simplified, easily recognizable. This past can be false or at least it doesn't fully explain the historical events, it's mostly made for cultural consume. Nevertheless this "common sense" of how history is supposed to be it's useful for far right-wings discourse as many times what it's created with this aesthetic

memory is a response of the hegemonic political and cultural power of the United States during and after the Cold War.

We can take this idea that Venegas applied to historical videogames and use it for the whole spectrum of the industry. In this vision, groups of the gaming community saw the actions of some women in their world as an invasion by the feminist movement of what they saw as their property. Narratives were not something to discuss or even try to denaturalize because they were what was obvious for a videogame.

As such we can find polemic about women in the Battlefield saga or people demanding a boycott because Bioware eliminated some scenes in their remaster of Mass Effect because they found that they were sexist and unnecessary for the story they wanted to tell. In all these debates we can find that gamers express their discourse in antagonistic positions, where they are protecting the free-speech right and the feminist movement is promoting a totalitarian point of view by demanding that the industry could address other points of view of what stories they can create. While these examples are mostly twitter topics that are forgotten after a week or two, there are some events like the infamous GamerGate, where everyone saw that far right wings forces have arrived in the gaming communities and they wanted to profit of a fertile land for their ideas.

Gamergate created a discourse profited by the far-right wing where gamers railed in spaces like 4chan and latter 8chan in a war against the “totalitarian feminist” that attacked the free-speech liberty by criticizing what kind of narratives we can find in mainstream videogames. The violent witch hunt that followed the reaction and that focused on Zoe Quinn, Anita Sarkessian and other women with public presence in the industry was the entrance point of the far-right wing or more specifically the alt right in the gaming world (Nagle, 2016). Gamergate was the first battle in a war that has spawned groups like Qanon as the alt right found in 4chan and 8chan new potential forces to support their ideas (Hoback, 2021). While nowadays GamerGate seems like a distant date, 2014, We found it retain his importance because it gave this new right the tools to many of their now famous tactics of political propaganda and allowed it to spawn many communities that form their userbase. Videogames were rapidly forgotten for most of this political force except for the occasional battle in their “cultural war” but they were essential in the creation of what became their leit motiv after: free speech.

What made them attractive to many users in these spaces originally related to GamerGate and later on went full alt right, was an interesting take in the free speech concept. As Andrew Marantz explains in *Antisocial*, the alt right has exploited what everyone seen as sacred in liberal democracies, the concept of free speech, as a political tool to present their “cultural war” as a

defensive conflict against the progressive movements such as the feminist one or latter on the Black Lives Matter movement. In an intelligent but twisted way, the alt right generated a vision where the gamers communities were attacked by an external enemy, the feminists, who wanted to destroy the “common sense” (that as we have explained is constructed by a hegemonic point of view) of this community to impose their ideology. From this position of tactical defense, the alt right could and was able to generate an offensive strategy related to the idea that free speech was menaced by the egalitarian ideologies. Following the example of the Republican Party response to the Black Panther movement, when instead of recognizing black people right’s, they started to talk about white men being a minority that needed defense (Robin, 2019), the alt right transformed a debate about narratives in a product culture into a crusade against totalitarianism. What seems to be a stupid idea is what allowed the movement to take such radical actions as a witch hunt like GamerGate was.

This idea is central to understanding the alt right discourse, because as Marantz said this free speech concept was key in how the alt right influencers presented themselves to their public, making the defense of the most reactionary foundations of the capitalist system a revolutionary battle for the refoundation of the USA. Defending free speech liberty is not only desirable but normal in any liberal democracy and subverting this idea to support oppression is at the same time repulsive but intelligent, because it gives any political movement the legitimacy to generate an antagonist to hate and fight.

But to fight someone you must first give your audience an image of what they are fighting, and we have to admit that they constructed a very good enemy by profiting of the political contradictions of the progressive neoliberalism. As Nagle express in her analysis of the alt right, they found in the problems and debates of the feminist movement around 2014-2016 an easy target to exploit. A scenario that we have to insert in a organic crisis of capitalism after 2008 where every neoliberal party was trying to control the revolts around the world like 15M movement in Spain or the Occupy Wall Street in the USA. In those years where young people were leaning left in the process of political radicalization, Nagle found what she called the “tumblr-left” in reference to a popular social media at the time “Tumblr” who was colonized in the popular imaginary by young feminist females. Nagle talks about Tumblr because it was easy to find many young girls discussing feminism there without having a huge theoretical knowledge but with strong passions, as any teenager who is discovering an ideology normally talk. Which is wasn’t bad for Nagle but her analyses expose what we could resume as a public view of what was happening in the real world outside social media or rather, that social media was reflecting the crisis of the real world.

Nagle exposes the contradictions of a feminism related to neoliberal party like the Democratic Party in the USA where in the context of debating the fight against the patriarchal oppression they cannot resolve this point without going against the pillars of capitalism system. They can't not because feminism or antiracism movements cannot be revolutionary but because the political expression in those years were related to bourgeois parties who obviously eliminated any critic to the socio-economic system.

In this context, Nagle found what latter on Seymour describes in his work about social media, the commercialization of the ideologies following the logic of places like Twitter or Reddit. As becoming an influencer in this social movements became an individual advantage that gave the person individual benefits such as having a job or publishing a book, Nagle studied that many of these figures started to compete between themselves for being the most representative of the oppressed, in what latter on Seymour would describe as the economy of likes. Basically, if being popular or having more political influence was a matter of having more likes than other people, you just had to eliminate them of the race, which as Nagle exposed was as easy as to become an inquisition among your peers. Following a Stalinist logic, the movement started to purge themselves without any criteria other than competing for being the purest and oppressed, which created even a meme that was later on profited by the alt right, which was having a oppressions points ID.

The alt right appeared in the scene in 2014 with the GamerGate using this internal turmoil in the left to present the feminist movement as an irrational and totalitarian force who was condemned to destroy any men who supported it and latter on every woman too. Using straw man arguments by exploiting the most absurd examples and not representative persons of the feminist movement, they created an antagonist who was easy to hate in the gaming communities, seen as they were fighting for the free speech against "feminazis". Using the tools that were normal to the troll community like doxing and spamming hate messages they were able to attack any feminist figure in the videogame industry.

The experience of this event exposed the alt right to many lessons of how to win the "cultural war", as Marantz explains in his work, we could resume in being able to impose an idea in the public agenda even if it's because people talk about it to hate you and your message. By making everyone talk about what you want them to talk, you will eventually be accepted in the public debate following the premise of the Overton Window (Marantz, 2020).

Now we propose an example of someone who could fit the description of what Marantz explains that is the force of the alt right influencers. A Spanish streamer who is not from the alt

right microverse per se but that was already in 2012 supporting similar ideas and that we could say was the original Spanish alt right youtuber even before GamerGate was a thing. Analyzing him will be useful to understand how this discourses works.

The Spanish case

Normally we would focus on the universe of alt right content creators that spawned since 2018 in Youtube and Twitch following the polarization by right of the political scene worldwide¹. Instead, we would prefer to focus on the example of Daniel José Santomé Lemus, publicly known as Dalas Review, one of the early youtubers in Spain with huge following numbers and an infamous career of antifeminism discourse, legal problems with ex-girlfriends and accusation of gender violence. As a gaming content creator while an antifeminist activist in social media, we found his case a clear example of how gamer identity can easy be linked with far right-wings discourse by the intersection of neomascularity.

Daniel José Santomé Lemus, aka Dalas Review, a Spanish Youtuber with over 2 billion views, 9,95 million subscribers on Youtube on his main channel; 2,82 million on his gaming channel (WhaTheGame); 1,55 million on his third channel (Dalas sin FILTROS), an exclusive channel for his scandal videos and about his legal problems and a channel with 679.000 followers on Twitch. While he had other channels before like DalasStudios or DTeamVlogs where he made videos with friends, it was with DalasReview his main channel that Santomé started to become famous.

Dalas Review started his channel in 2012 with a series of comical videos where we can find traces of this trolling culture that spread at those times on the Internet, a sarcastic discourse made for teenagers that criticize everything by making straw man arguments of other people positions. While this was the norm at that time in the wild west of what was Youtube and Twitter, we could find a lot of old videos of youtubers of that time that made similar content, he had a personalized style that already display a tendency for traits that we would latter find in creator contents of the alt right.

We could say that while the “official” alt right content creators make an elaborate discourse that search to defend an explicit political position, Dalas is genuine, he already represented similar ideas without needing to relate to this kind of political content creator. Which is very important for our study because he’s a perfect case of an original content creator, related to the gaming

¹ In Spain we could talk about “Un Tío Blanco Hetero” or “Roma Gallardo” as the most known figures of the spanish alt right.

content and platforms like Youtube and Twitch that uses his public position to express far right wings ideas.

In his early career he already expressed a misogynistic view with videos like “*Odio a los gamers*”² where he “defended” the gaming communities from critics made by another content creator, a woman in this case. In the video he says that the girl was using topics to describe a whole community which is not fair, and everyone can agree to that, but while a normal person would say that in a calm way, Dalas already show what his character as content creator would develop in the future. Saying more insults than words in every phrase, he mocks the tone of voice and manner of speech of the content creator he is talking about, in a kind old fashion way of ridiculing how girls speak. Making a high-pitched voice and using many gestures followed by screaming when he starts to rage about anything can be a resume of every video of Dalas that seemly make this to give force to his argument.

Latter other videos like “*Las Caza partners*”, “*La LÓGICA de las mujeres*” or “*Todo está BIEN si lo dice una mujer*”³ starts to show that Dalas was a pioneer in professionally hating women on Youtube Spain. His discourse was based on using humor and a sarcastic tone to ridicule women at every opportunity while confronting with the feminism movement. At the same time, his gaming channel WhaTheGame mixed gameplays with videos where Dalas reinforced his audience in the gamer identity, as a one of victims who now saw their world invaded by their old bullies. In a video called “*La Moda Gamer*”⁴ in August 2012, Santomé complains about the growth of the videogame industry talking about the change of its userbase that now was compromised by people that in the past made fun of gamers.

Again, his discourse of a group of victims from bullying changes rapidly to an attack focused on women on the industry because for Dalas, while some men are not gamers because they play games like Fifa or Pro Evolution Soccer, women in general are incapable of playing well at anything, they are only relevant thanks to their appearance. He scolds a part of his own audience (the one we would call incels now) for promoting feminine content creators who would only be important thanks to being sexy or just “for having tits” as Dalas said in his video. In the same video where Santomé tries to rally gamers a community made up of victims and “losers” in social life, he attacks those same “losers” for supporting women in their world, because they would be ruining it with their presence. We have to point out that this is two years before GamerGate.

² In English: “*I hate gamers*”.

³ It would translate as: “*The hunter partners*”; “*Women’s logic*” and “*Everything is fine if it’s said by a woman*”

⁴ “Gamer style”

Later on, he made another video called “*¿Chicas gamers? Las mujeres en los videojuegos*”⁵ where he gives responses to critics after his first video, in this second occasion Dalas repeat his argument that women doesn’t belong to the industry saying that their community is made of at least 90% men and maybe 10% women⁶. Then he talks about messages that he would allegedly have received to ridicule once again their opponents. Dalas who insults and mocks more than he talks would complain that people insulted him after starting the video calling his critics “feminazis”. The use of this word is normal in Santomé videos everywhere, trying to relate feminism with a totalitarian ideology like Nazism. Which makes him like a pre-alt right in Youtube Spain because he uses the anti-feminist discourse before it was gaining track in social media. Santomé’s success can be tied to his ability to connect with this toxic culture, condensing in his public figure some tendencies that after Trump’s victory in 2016 everyone saw in the gaming communities and other places of the Internet like 4chan or Reddit.

Dalas career in Youtube before migrating to Twitch like every other youtuber can be resumed in this mix of gameplays in his secondary channel, and making videos mocking everyone and hating women in all his channel. Santomé fame comes after he starts to pick fights with other content creators and as we said before, making a lot of videos about his legal problems with his ex-girlfriends. Dalas has perfected a style which allows him to professionalize his gender-violence cases and accusations of abuse by generating witch hunts to the girls that attack him, in a similar way that happened to Sarkassian in the GamerGate event. Positioning himself as a victim of an external enemy (feminism or women in general) is used as weapon in his discourse, a trick that many reactionary discourses has used along history (Corey, 2019). Be able to convince so many people that he is a victim of a totalitarian movement while supporting a hate message is no minor feat, being able to position himself tactically in defense while strategically in the offense is a beneficial situation to promote a political discourse in any community.

In Twitch Dalas has continued his own kind of content while profiting from the opportunity that interacting with his viewers offers. His live streaming mixed gameplays and debates with other content creators (that normally allows him to present his point of view in an advantageous position) with interactive content like reacting to his followers Instagram or playing with them. A practice that is normal in streamers and usually involves that the viewers have to pay bits or be subscribed to the channel. While viewing his twitch’s vods (the streams that are recorded after the emission) one could think that Dalas has relaxed a bit in his hate discourse, it’s not true.

⁵ “*Gamer girls? Women in videogames industry*”

⁶ Dalas doesn’t normally gives any proof of his argument and this statistic is made up by him.

He is aware that he risk being banned and lose a profiting platform that every content creator is exploiting right now. So, he has created his third YouTube channel “Dalas sin filtros”⁷ where he continues this kind of content where he can attack other people and continuing to milk the hate and polemics without the possibility to lose his main source of fame. This is interesting because it allowed him to create a microverse of content that link his “vanilla” content of gameplays and other type of streaming that every streamer does with his specialization in being an antifeminist content creator and professional of hate message.

Dalas has never officially positioned himself in a political vote, which for some has exclude him from the alt right. On the contrary we can argue that he is a successful example of what potential force content creators have in politicizing young generations. Even if Dalas has not demanded his follower to vote for Vox⁸, the only party that satisfies his campaign of hate against feminist and women in general would be this one.

Conclusion

In this article we have expose what’s Twitch is and what kind of political role streamers can play in the future and that they are already doing in some cases. Streamers seems to be a new kind of artist or public figure that lives off being able to create a community rather than creating a community around them base of their talent in some concrete field. New professionals that work with their social abilities as their only potential capital in the market is naturally a place where political discourse and new public figure can clash while the platform itself make a profit of this kind of content. What allows them to have such influence in their audience, their relationship with them being a “fake-friendship” in the context of a society with people being more socially isolated, is also what gives them potential as political communicators.

This new role has allowed some of these new public figures to appear as champions of their own communities, many of them comprised of young people that are disappointed with the world that older generations have built. In a context where neoliberalism and it’s crisis have destroyed many social ties between individuals and when the labor conditions do not let people to spend time in classical local communities, streamers power as communicators is more prominent. As older generation created their identities in social activities that are now relegated in this digital world or are at least more difficult to gain access to for many people, Twitch and other social media platforms are generating new social bonds.

⁷ “Dalas Unchained”

⁸ Spanish far right party

In this article we have briefly analyze on of these cases where a content creator has created a community originality base of gamers, especially male ones, but that it's comprised of generally young people (boys and girls) that for many years have integrated a misogynistic discourse.

Dalas has successfully built up an online microuniverse where is the protagonist of a fight against his evil exgirlfriends and their feminist allies, this conflict and the legal problems that generates normalizes that he receives money from his followers to continue this struggle to defend his rights and protect the whole community from the influence of outsiders that colonize the virtual space. He proposes himself as an avatar of the whole community fight against the influence of feminism in their world. Dalas has multiple times uses the idea of censorship to explain why he is attacked, following this concept that fighting feminism is defending the free speech right for every man.

At the same time that other content creators promoted platforms like Patreon for part of the audience that wanted to finance ambitious content projects or support little youtubers or streamer that couldn't live off their content, in the case of Dalas it was for supporting this tale about being a victim of the internet. His control of this narrative is such that for example going back to the first anecdote that started the article, Santomé doesn't live in Spain, he resides in Ireland where he pays less taxes while continue being part of the Spanish community of content creators. But none have made a polemic out of this event while for example Rubius that didn't have any controversy in his career until his movement to Andorra has been the target this year. We point out this to conclude that streamers can create a potent narrative that suits their own tale about why they are doing what they do.

While we have focused on a specific case of a content creator who is not an "official" alt right member, we think that Dalas's case is important to understand how "normal" streamers can switch to a political stance and transfer his social capital to political movements rapidly without losing much audience depending on the case. His figure can also point out reasons of why it seems like far-right wings ideas are having a much bigger impact than other ideologies in the gamer community, as their connect with already established topics and culture.

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