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**A Critical Stylistic Analysis into the
Representation of Muslims on
YouTube after the Manchester Arena
Bombings**

Saleh Ahmad

**A thesis submitted for the Degree of MA by
Research (Music, Humanities and Media)**

The University of Huddersfield

January 2020

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Abstract

In the West, when it comes to the representation of Muslims, it has been traditional media outlets that have had the power to dictate what representations of Muslims are broadcast to the general public. Researchers have consistently shown that the media's representations have primarily been negative, and this has cultivated negative ideologies within the general public towards Muslims (Falah, 2005; Jacobson et al., 2012; Said, 1981; Schneider, 2011). However, since the 2010s, social media has started to draw the attention of the public away from traditional media." These rapidly growing platforms provide the user with a greater diversity of choice and a greater diversity of perspectives. It was this user autonomy that gave these platforms the potential to give Muslims a fairer representation. Using this idea as a starting point, I designed a research project that would look at how Muslims were being represented on social media and what kind of ideologies were being disseminated to the audiences. Using the Critical Stylistics framework, I analysed the representation of Muslims after a major incident, by both influential content creators and their audiences. My research was predicated on answering three key questions: 1. Was there a range of ideologies being represented on social media? My research found the answer to be in the affirmative. 2. Did social media's representation of Muslims differ from that of traditional media? The answer was primarily, yes, but this had its positives as well as its negatives. 3. How influential were those who had the power to represent in filtering their ideologies down to an audience? My research found some associations between the content creator's ideologies and the audiences' ideologies, the main one being that the attitude of the audience tends to be more extreme than the content creator they watch. My research was conducted in an area where there is a dearth of research. It has uncovered more questions than it has answered, and these questions require further research so we can develop further our understanding of these critical issues.

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Starting Point

"The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact." MacMillan (1960)

This dissertation was born out of two observations: first - traditional media has an overwhelmingly negative bias when it comes to the representation of Muslims (I will justify this claim in section 2) and second - traditional media no longer has the undivided attention of the general public; that attention is now slowly being drawn away towards social media whose influence is growing year on year. Attention is important. Studies have consistently shown the media plays a significant role in perpetuating and popularising certain ideologies within the public domain. As Jeffries (2010, p. 14) says, "there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience" and whoever controls those texts can also control our experiences and even our worldview.

If representation is such a powerful tool, then it is important to know who has access to this tool and how they are using it. As Hall (1997, p. 15) defines it, "representation means using language to say something meaningful about or to represent the world meaningfully, to other people". Naturally, whoever has the power to manufacture representations can also place ideologies within them. If they have a wide-reaching audience, they may be able to shape the thinking of whole societies and even nations. A study carried out by Enikolopov & Petrov (2017, p. 38) found that mass media is a major source of information for the majority of the populations in most countries. The researchers used empirical evidence to find that mass media has a very important effect on a variety of national outcomes, including political, social and financial outcomes. Allen (2012, p. 10) found that in 2008 "64% of the British public claimed that what they know about Muslims and Islam is acquired through the media" and this fact is precisely what I would like to use as a starting point for my research to establish how the media, which has such an influential input on how Muslims will be perceived in the public eye, is representing Muslims and how that is changing with the times. These are key research questions this study will attempt to answer.

The influence of the media over the past decades is undeniable, but as Prime Minister MacMillan said in his famous speech: "the wind of change is blowing" (MacMillan, 1960). Although in 1960 he may have been referring to the decolonisation of the British empire, his words may once again ring true in the 21st century with the advent of social media and how it is changing the way society consumes information. A report written by Yaxley (2017) for *YouGov* investigated how voters chose to vote at the 2017 general election and found that 26% of participants claimed that social media

influenced whom they voted for. What is even more striking is that amongst younger voters (18-24 year olds), that number rises to 50%.

This shift in how people are engaging with social media is a phenomenon that I noticed when I began researching for my dissertation. The statistics piqued my interest. Through my own regular usage of social media, I observed that it was a platform that allowed individuals to thrive and gain huge followings. It provided a platform for the expression of unfiltered perspectives from an array of diverse individuals; a stage where creators have control of their own content. It provided a platform where opinions were not regulated, nor was it monopolised by big corporations. It gave me hope that here was a space where Islam and Muslims can get a fairer representation and audiences can be exposed to a wider range of views.

My observations and my findings on social media formed the basis of a research project that I will be conducting. This project will examine how social media reported and reacted to a major news story that had a perceived connection to Muslims. It will allow me to evaluate the level of ideological impact a social media influencer would have on their audience. It will also give me the opportunity to understand if social media, though still in its infancy, differs in its approach to stories of this nature when compared to traditional media.

1.2 Introduction of the Key Concepts

This study focuses on the representation of Islam in social media after a major incident, in which there is a perceived connection to Muslims. In this section, I will explain the rationale behind the study and discuss its key components. I will also explain how these components will come together to tighten the focus of the research so it can achieve the set aims and objectives (see section 1.3).

1.2.1 Islam in the Media

Edward Said (1978, p. 3) was the first to conduct research and shine a light on how Muslims were being represented in the West. In his work *Orientalism*, he questioned whether the West were using their writings as a tool for “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” He claimed that Western scholars, through their works, were accentuating “the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’)” (Said, 1978, p. 43).

In the 2000s, Muslims became a primary focal point for the media due to the 9/11 attacks (Moore et al., 2008, p. 9). Allen reported:

Comparing it to existing research from 1996, the findings suggested that the newsworthiness of Islam and Muslims, as measured by items in the national press alone, had increased by approximately 270% (Allen, 2012, pp. 7-8).

Words such as ‘terrorism’ and ‘radicalisation’ began to frequently be used in media discourse in association with Muslims. The coverage caused these words to take on new meanings or “emergent meaning” as Jeffries (2011, p. 37) terms it. Kumar (2012, p. 212) reviewed the media’s usage of the word ‘terrorist’. His conclusion was that the term was regularly used if violent incidents had any association with Islam. Otherwise, they would opt to use words such as ‘maverick’, ‘nutball’ or ‘crazy loner’. Further attacks which followed, such as the Madrid attacks in March 2004 and the London bombings in July 2005, only strengthened this manner of representation within the media.

The nature of the ideologies being promoted by the media was a cause for concern for the Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, who commissioned a report in 2006 to investigate the representation of Muslims in the media. He wanted the report to investigate “the possibility that media and political coverage of Muslim communities following 11 September 2001” may be connected to the “rising levels of Islamophobia and community tension in London, with an increased risk of hate crime.” (Livingstone, 2007, p. 3). The report summarises its findings in ten points. None of the points can be said to positively impact the lives of British Muslims. The following two points encapsulate the negative nature of the findings:

1. The coverage is likely to provoke and increase feelings of insecurity, suspicion and anxiety amongst non-Muslims.
2. The coverage is likely to provoke feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and alienation amongst Muslims. (Livingstone, 2007, p.113)

The findings in this report are not unique. Numerous research conducted on this subject matter have also found that traditional media sources (television, newspapers, magazines...) portrayed Islam in a negative light a significantly disproportionate number of times (Ahmed & Matthes 2016; Ali 1994; Allen 2012; Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery 2013; Faimau 2015; Halim & Ewart 2012; Perry 2006; Poole 2002). This claim will be looked at in greater detail in the literature review (Section 2). Having established what has been the status quo for a long time, I wanted to look to the future and how the landscape might be different. This led me to an emerging form of media – social media.

1.2.2 The Manchester Arena Bombing

I chose the Manchester Arena bombing as the major incident on which to focus my research. Before proceeding, it is important to acknowledge that this research has been conducted only two and a

half years after the incident took place, and there are people for whom the emotional wounds will not have healed. It is my hope that by researching the event, in order to gain a better understanding of important social issues, it will be a mark of respect for the victims. Trying to take as many lessons as we can from this incident in the hope of a better future, is the least we owe to those affected.

1.2.2.1 Reasons for choosing this Incident

I chose this incident for several reasons, which will be outlined in this section. Studies have shown that the media activity and discourse relating to Muslim issues increase significantly in the aftermath of major incidents (See Appendix 4). I wanted to select an incident that was firmly within this age of rapid social media development. Social media has been growing rapidly since 2010 both in users and usage time. The number of users has increased exponentially with *Statista* reporting from 0.97 billion in 2010 to 2.48 billion in 2017 (Clement, 2019) and average time spent on them almost doubling to 2 hours and 15 minutes by 2017 (Ennis-O'Connor, 2019).

I also wanted to make sure that the social media content I analysed was from within a few days of the incident occurring. This would ensure that there was a finite amount of information and facts available for all the content creators that I feature in my research. The stream of information that was made publicly available by official sources was tracked via a timeline (1.2.2.2). By analysing how each participant interpreted that information, I would be able to identify similarities and differences between their ideologies. As social media posts are time-stamped, I could see exactly how long after the incident they were posted.

1.2.2.2 A Timeline of the Events

By examining how events unfolded after the Manchester bombing and the ensuing days, I was able to understand how much information was available to the public at different points in the timeline. The following is a recount of the major occurrences in the aftermath and the nature of information released to the public and the media:

The Manchester Bombing occurred at an Ariana Grande concert at the Manchester Arena on the 22nd of May 2017. There were multiple reports that an explosion was heard at 22:31 as the show was coming to a close. By 22:43, the emergency services and armed police arrived at the location.

On the 23rd of May at 00:10, Greater Manchester Police (GMP) tweeted out (full statement in Appendix 3):

So far 19 people have been confirmed dead, with around 50 others injured. This is currently being treated as a terrorist incident until police know otherwise (gmpolice, 2017).

At 00:20 a bomb disposal unit was seen arriving on the scene. At 06:15 Council leader, Sir Richard Leese, informed the public that there was no intelligence to suggest there was a further threat to Manchester. At 06:45 GMP Chief Constable Ian Hopkins gave details of the attacker saying that it was a lone suicide bomber who carried out this attack. At 11:00 Prime Minister Theresa informed the press, on leaving a Cobra meeting, that security services had identified the perpetrator but gave no further details. At 12:04 the name of the first victim was released, and throughout the next few days, further names were released as they were identified (full list of names in Appendix 5). At 13:00 the Islamic State released a statement claiming responsibility for the attack. At 16:30, sources from the US identified the suspected attacker, for the first time, as "Salman Abedi." This was confirmed by GMP at 17:20. At 18:00 more details of Salman Abedi were released including that he was born in Manchester and was of Libyan descent. At 19:70 more details of the explosive device used were released. At 21:42 the Prime Minister increased UK terror threat level from severe to critical and informed media that there were ongoing investigations into other persons who may have some involvement.

On the 24th of May at 08:23, the Home Secretary, Amber Rudd, informed the media that Salman Abedi was known to intelligence services "up to a point". At 15:00 Chief Constable, Ian Hopkins, confirmed that four people were in custody in connection with the attack. At 15:08 in an interview from Libya, Abedi's father denied that his son had any links to terrorist groups. At 17:52 Abedi's father and brother were arrested in Tripoli, Libya, on suspected connection with ISIS.

On the 25th of May at 09:16, police investigating the incident stopped sharing information with the US following a major evidence leak. At 12:20 Ian Hopkins confirmed eight significant arrests were made; all were now in custody and that the arrests were significant. He added that the police would continue searching properties they believed to have links to this incident.

News reports on raids at suspicious properties, the arrests of suspected individuals, and updates on the victims and casualties were frequent during this period. I stopped at this point as all my datasets fall within the given time scale. When investigating each dataset, I first located it within the timeline to know how much information was available at that point in time. I used the *Kerslake Report* (Kerslake, 2018, p. 55) and *Manchester Evening News* as my main sources (Coyle, 2017) when putting this timeline together.

1.2.3 Using Social Media

The force and speed at which social media has appeared and embedded itself in our lives is unprecedented (Appendix 2). In its emergence, I saw great potential and promise. I saw an

uncensored environment that had the capacity to change the way the public engage with the media and news stories of the day. Users of social media had access to a wider variety of perspectives and were able to be more selective in the information they wanted to engage with. By looking at how Muslims are represented within the social media ecosystem, I would be able to see if its unique features will help induce a change in the media discourse that currently exists.

1.2.3.1 Defining Social Media

After I established that I was going to use social media to look at the representation of Muslims, the next step was to decide which social media platform was best suited for my research. Before we go any further, we need to first establish what I mean by social media and how it differs from traditional media. *Merriam-Webster* defines it as:

forms of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (such as videos). (Merriam-Webster, 2019)

Manning (2014, p. 1158) cites the “interactive participation” of an audience as a key defining feature of social media, stating that “interactivity was placed at the centre of new media functions.”

1.2.3.2 Social Media vs Traditional Media

One of the main differences between social media and traditional media is in social media’s ability to create online communities that engage with the content uploaded by the creator. The development of media can be separated into two ages according to Manning (2014, p. 1158), “the broadcast age and the interactive age”. The broadcast age was when there was a centralised outlet (television studio/radio station/newspaper company) broadcasting to the general public. On an individual level, during this period, communication happened on a much smaller level, usually via personal letters and telephone calls; if messages were broadcasted on a community level, it would have to be in the form of paid advertisements, organised protests and public demonstrations. In general, those who consumed the media had, to a large extent, muted voices.

Social media has occupied the space in between the private and public forum, where users are able to determine the size of the group and the levels of privacy. This phenomenon is referred to by Miller et al. (2016, p. x) as “scalable sociality”. The low cost of obtaining a device with social media capabilities has greatly lowered the barrier for accessibility. In terms of numbers, *Global Digital Report 2019* reported that in 2019 there were 5.112 billion mobile users, 4.388 billion internet users and 3.484 social media users (Chaffey, 2019). Individuals now have the potential to voice their

opinion in a public forum with relative ease. They can also locate and engage with like-minded individuals or even seek out people with opinions different to themselves.

The feature of instant audience interactivity was something I wanted my research to take into consideration. This ability to leave their instant feedback differentiates it from traditional media where the “feedback to media outlets was often indirect, delayed, and impersonal” (Manning, 2014, p. 1158). When gathering data from traditional media audiences, another challenge researchers faced was collecting the data in a measurable format. Online communities can leave feedback as they engage with the content via forums such as comment sections. Thus, the information is easily accessible to researchers should they wish to retrieve it. Some social media users (influencers), who have large followings online, have regular interactions with their audience. We are able to see the interactions they have with their audiences and receive immediate responses from their audiences.

In terms of my research, this provided me with an opportunity to collect information from both the content creators and the audience. Next, I was able to use this information to measure the ideological impact the creator seemed to have on their audience. This feature of having instant feedback presented an opportunity to address a gap in Critical Stylistics research. In my review of other works in the field, I have not come across any works that employ this method for collecting and analysing data (See section 2.3.2). In summary, I would be able to examine the perceived ideological impact the content would have had on the audience, alongside analysing the ideological constructions within the original content. I use the word ‘perceived’ because it would be very difficult to prove causation between the ideology of the content, and its audience, but a strong argument can be made for there being an association. The methodology for how this was achieved is discussed in Section 3.6.

1.2.3.3 YouTube and YouTubers

Having established that my datasets would be retrieved from a social media platform, my next step was to find which platform was the most appropriate for the purposes of my research. After comparing several of the popular social media platforms, I decided that YouTube was the most suitable for my research. First of all, according to the *State of Social Media 2019* report (Lua, 2019), compiled by Buffer marketing agency, YouTube has 1.9 billion Monthly Active Users (MAUs) second only to Facebook at 2.23 MAUs. However, looking at studies done by the *Pew Research Centre* and several others (Appendices 6 and 7) into the demographics of each platform, it shows that in the UK and the USA, users between the ages of 18-34 are more likely to use YouTube over Facebook. As mentioned in 1.1, reports show that the younger demographic is most likely to use social media for news and take influence from it. Luscombe (2015) found that 1 in 3 internet users in 2015 were

regularly using YouTube. The latest statistics for 2019 show that the figures have increased to almost 1 in 2.

Apart from the popularity of YouTube, there were other factors which made me choose the platform. The structure of the YouTube platform makes it possible for video uploaders (YouTubers) to amass large numbers of subscribers and build fan bases. The YouTube structure allows YouTubers to upload content in video format. Viewers who watch this video are able to 'like' or 'dislike' the video, they can also comment on the video; if they like the content being produced by the YouTuber, they can subscribe to the YouTuber's channel. With subscribers coming back regularly for more videos, popular YouTubers can build enormous fan bases consisting of millions of subscribers. In a study into the influence of YouTubers, commission by Google, Blumenstein and O'Neil-Hart (2016) concluded that to millennials, "YouTube stars are more influential than traditional celebrities". They cited several reasons for their conclusions including, "70% of teenage YouTube subscribers say they relate to YouTube creators more than traditional celebrities" and "Millennials think YouTube stars are trendsetters more than other celebrities". In general, YouTubers foster stronger ties by interacting with their subscribers thereby making them feel engaged. Taking these features of YouTube into account, I decided I would create two separate datasets for my research: one based on the YouTubers' content and one based on the audience's feedback to the original content.

1.2.4 Critical Stylistics and Textual Meaning

The mode of analysis in this study will be Critical Stylistics (CS). This is a linguistic analysis framework that has been compiled by Lesley Jeffries (2010) with the objective of "finding the ideology in any text" (Jeffries, 2014, p. 410). As the terms 'text' and 'ideology' will feature heavily in this research, I deem it necessary to clarify their meaning in the context of this study.

1.2.4.1 The Concept of Text

Fairclough (1992, p. 4) defines text as "any product whether written or spoken". By terming it in this manner, he allows for a broad range of interactions to be counted as text from newspaper articles to videos on the internet. Stubbs (1996, p. 4) states the necessity for texts to "occur naturally" and not be induced by the researcher, whose role should be "observational or passive". As the YouTube videos I used to create my dataset pass both stipulations, they can be considered to be texts and thus contain ideologies as "it should be made clear at the outset that *all* texts are ideological" (Jeffries, 2010, p. 6).

1.2.4.2 The Concept of Ideology

Wodak & Meyer define ideology as a “coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values” which is shared by a community or society (2009, p. 8). The medium through which this ideology passes to individuals in the community is language and text. It may be reproduced repeatedly until an “ideology may be “naturalised” to the extent that it becomes “common sense”” (Jeffries, 2010, p. 9). This ideology may not be based on facts, for example, ‘the existence of Santa Clause’, or be shared by previous generations, for example ‘slavery is against human rights’, but it is an idea that the recipient of the text recognises. This phenomenon is described by schema theory as: “the way in which human beings may structure their experience so that they can relate new communications and texts to existing expectations and ultimately to their established ideologies.” (Jeffries, 2010, p. 11). In the context of this research, this would involve looking at how the YouTubers are responding to the mainstream media ideology, which has become a naturalised schema. I will be asking whether the ideologies are being maintained or challenged by the YouTubers and in turn, how the audience is responding to the YouTuber’s ideologies.

1.2.4.3 Critical Stylistic Analysis

Jeffries (2015, p. 2) mentions several motivations for developing the CS methodology. One of her main motivations was to counteract linguistic methodologies that have traded the objectivity of results for comprehensiveness. She found that the attempts to tie together the many strands of human language in context have not produced the results that would drive long term progress but rather produced “interesting observations” that lack systematicity and rigour in their conception.

If we try in any one model to take into account the full complexity of the communicative situation, we will fail to adequately explain anything. ... it is often counter-productive, and anyway theoretically nonsensical to aim for a fully integrated or comprehensive theory.
(Jeffries, 2000, pp. 5–6)

Jeffries’ development of CS as a method of linguistic analysis is not only a systematic approach to deriving ideological information from a text but also an example model which addresses her primary concerns of simplicity, systematicity and rigour.

To ensure CS analysis has a systematic approach, Jeffries (2010) introduces a list of analytical tools that are known as textual conceptual functions (TCF) (Appendix 8). These tools analyse the language and linguistic choices made by a text producer and as a result “try to capture what a text is doing conceptually in presenting the world” (Jeffries, 2014, p. 409). The ten tools can be used individually

or work together as a method which allows the researcher to make clear connections between what a text is doing and how it is doing it.

The CS framework contains a method that can be rigorously tested. Findings are not based heavily on intuition or contextual information, rather researchers can use TCFs to uncover textual meaning using a method that is consistent and transparent. The textual evidencing of these theoretical constructs produce descriptions of text that are testable and replicable. Jeffries (2015, p. 3) only investigates a single linguistic element at a time, keeping simplicity in mind, as she says, "Once the individual strands are well described, there can be models produced which examine the interfaces between these strands." The simple objective of CS is to use TCFs to uncover textual meaning that a text produces and thereby uncover the implicit ideologies within it. Textual meaning is explained by Jeffries (2015, p. 5) as meaning that can be taken from a text that is separate from "producer and recipient meaning". The TCF framework allows the researcher to describe:

What is going on textually which is dependent on, but different from, what is going on linguistically and informs but does not determine, what is going on interpersonally - or interpretatively. (Jeffries, 2015, p. 5)

The CS approach gave my analysis objectivity, and readers should be able to follow how I extracted ideology from the text I am investigating step by step.

1.3 Aims and Research Questions

The four key elements mentioned in the previous section come together as the main aim of this study.

- Critical stylistics as the method of analysis.
- Muslims as the subject of the study in terms of how they are perceived.
- Social media as the platform from whence the data was taken.
- The Manchester Bombing as the major incident that brought Muslims back into the media spotlight.

All these components will be brought together to formulate an innovative research venture, namely: A Critical Stylistic analysis into the representation of Muslims on Social Media after the Manchester Arena bombings.

The secondary aims of the study include looking at what kinds of ideologies different individuals have when the facts available to them are similar and limited. Hence, I chose data from the few days after the bombing took place. A final but no less important aim is to look at the ideology within the

response of the audience and see to what extent the content creator's ideology is echoed in their audience.

In order to achieve the aims of this research, I have set research questions which will direct the study:

RQ1. Using Critical Stylistic tools, what variety of ideologies can be uncovered within the YouTube social media platform after the Manchester Arena Bombing?

RQ2. Are there any differences in the representation of Muslims on the YouTube social media platform compared to traditional media in the coverage of the Manchester Arena Bombing?

RQ3. To what extent do the ideologies of the YouTube audience mirror the ideologies of the YouTube content creator after an incident such as the Manchester Arena Bombing?

These research questions will help keep the focus of the research on answering the set aims and objectives that I have formulated. Question 1 addresses the fact that the research will look at two YouTuber response videos that have been picked as they fit the set criteria and look at the ideologies that are found within the video content. Question 2 keeps in mind previous studies that have been conducted about traditional media and compares how social media is different or similar to it. Question 3 takes advantage of the fact that audience responses are readily available and compares the original content's ideology to the audience's ideology.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In the previous section, I introduced the key components that are the foundations upon which this thesis is built. This section will look at existing studies in relation to those components, namely, studies on the representation of Muslims in discursive studies, social media studies and critical stylistic studies. This section will situate my research within these fields while showing that it is an original piece of work with the potential to add new insights and value to each of these fields. I will also use the section as an opportunity to authenticate several claims made in the introduction when explaining the rationale behind my study. Firstly, I will examine the claim that traditional media has given a negative representation of Islam a disproportionately large number of times and played a pivotal role in spreading negative ideologies about Islam. Also, I will explore the idea that this image was exacerbated after major incidents that had some perceived association with Muslims. I have also mentioned that social media is starting to displace media in terms of being a primary source of information for people. Finally, I stated that critical stylistics is the framework I would be using on

account of its objectivity and rigour. This section will look mainly at studies that research how Muslims and Islam have been represented by different modes of media broadcast with the different methodologies and theoretical frameworks that have been used to analyse their data and justify their findings. I began by looking at some of the commonly used theories in the field before looking more specifically at studies that have a strong correlation to my own study, namely, studies where social media is the subject of investigation and studies using Critical Stylistics as the framework of analysis. This will help situate my research within the wider field of academic research before differentiating it from other studies within the niche my study occupies. Doing this will demonstrate that it is helping to add to the ongoing discourse.

2.2 Theoretical Approach

Researchers in the study of the representation of Muslims, use a range of theoretical frameworks as a foundation on which to structure their research. Ahmad and Matthes (2017) organized a meta-analysis on the use of frameworks by investigating 345 studies in this field from 2000 to 2015. The following statistics demonstrate their findings:

Overall, a total of 33 theories were used, with more than half of them being used just once. Framing (Entman, 1993) was the most commonly used theoretical approach (60.01%), followed by Edward Said's Orientalism (23.01%). Agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) was the third most commonly used theory (8.45%), followed by critical discourse analysis (5.16%). (p. 228)

In the present study's literature review, I will use Ahmad and Matthes (2017) findings as a guide through existing literature before elucidating how Critical Stylistics and studies in social media fit into the field.

2.2.1 Framing Theory

The theoretical framework of framing was first introduced by Goffman (1974) and further developed by Entman (2007, p. 164) into the form by which it is recognised and used by researchers today. Entman (2007, p. 164) summarises the theory as "the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." Hertog & McLeod (2001) further elaborate that the advantage of framing for the content creator is the ability to instil their own values and goals within the narrative by privileging certain information and defining the rest as peripheral or unrelated. Many within the Western public rely on mainstream media to inform them of events and conflicts in the Middle Eastern regions. As a

result of this Tuchman (1978, p. 2) asserts, “the news media have the power to shape news consumers’ opinions and topics about which they are ignorant”. Analysis of frames allows one to observe how the communication of information, through a selection of frames, influences human consciousness (Entman, 1993). According to Bryant & Oliver (2009, p. 17), media companies are fully aware of this phenomenon and “choose images and words that have the power to influence how audiences interpret and evaluate issues and policies”. Framing is generally applied to create and support stereotypes. Lippmann (1922, pp. 3-7) describes stereotyping as “processes whereby the mind squeezes complexity of the world into small and understandable form”.

Many studies have been carried out on how the media chooses to frame a range of topics from war to morals. Studies on refugees coming from Middle Eastern countries to the West show that the media choose to portray refugees as threats to their host country with no positive benefits coming with their arrival. A study of refugee framing over the last 15 years by Esses et al. (2013) echoed these findings. He also claims that selective visual imagery is a large part of the media strategy to influence their consumers. Malkki (1995, p. 9) comments on the effect photography has on creating a stereotypical image of a refugee “most readers have probably seen such photographs, and most of us have a strong visual sense of what ‘a refugee’ looks like”. Wright’s (2002) research corroborates these findings. Kumar (2006, p. 53) looked at CNN’s representation of the Iraq War in 2003. He found that they based their reporting on patriotism and the need for national security, which “not only promoted self-censorship but also squelched debate”. They deliberately overlooked the counter-discourse such as destruction caused by the U.S. military, anti-war protests, Iraqi sufferings, oil resources.

Falah (2005, p. 301) investigated how Muslim women are portrayed in American Newspapers. He states his findings as "the use of particular images of women reflects the operational practices of editors, who assign 'news value' to photographs based on ideological meanings associated with certain images, thereby reinforcing these meanings". He also points to the fact that they are “rarely shown to be having 'normal' lives by U.S. standards - that is as simply going to work or to school, having fun or enjoying their lives and families". Schneider (2011) looked at how the German and Dutch media used framing to cultivate Islamophobia. He found that the media presented Muslims as offenders, thereby increasing suspicion toward them. This motivated people to reject Muslims as members of their society because they considered them to be dangerous. Jacobson et al. (2012, p. 61) did a quantitative analysis on Muslim and Islam’s framing in Danish newspapers finding that 58% of the time they were negatively framed and positively framed only 8% of the time. She concluded

that alongside the negative framing, the things that were excluded from the media picture were equally effective in creating a stereotypical image. Topics that would have helped sympathise and normalise Muslims, such as the everyday life of Muslims or discrimination against Muslims, were not given any prioritisation in the coverage.

The effects of using selective framing have been looked into by Sheafer & Dvir-Gvirsman (2010). They analysed content relating to the Oslo peace process for Palestinians over a period of eight years and found that negative information regarding the peace process had a 1.5 times stronger effect on attitude compared to positive information. Other studies also found a strong correlation between news framing and negative attitudes (Tewksbury and Powers, 1997; Fishman, 1978). There is resounding evidence just within the literature reviewed for this study that the Western media negatively frame and create stereotypical views of Muslims, and this directly helps to cultivate negative attitudes in their consumers.

2.2.2 Orientalist Theory

In *Postcolonial Studies: An Anthology* Pramod (2015, p. 51) summarises the orientalist framework as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident.’” He further explains that writers from various fields of studies use the distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate literary works, especially studies that focus on the Orient, its people, customs, “mind,” destiny. The idea of binary oppositions is central to Said’s model of analysis, in his later work *Covering Islam* (Said, 1981) he uses the orientalism framework to illustrate the way in which Western media portray differences between Western and Oriental societies. He demonstrates how the coverage plays a pivotal role in creating binary oppositions “that distinguish between the ‘familiar’ and ‘us’ for Europe and the West on the one hand and the ‘strange’ and ‘them’ for the Orient and the East on the other” (Faimau, 2015, p. 332). These binary differences are “man-made” (Said, 1995, p. 5). Mutman (1993) asserts that the depiction of Orient is a way for its illustrators to justify, retain and celebrate its network of power.

“If Orientalist knowledge is linked with colonial/imperial economic and political powers, this is because they cannot be the powers they are without the knowledge of the Orient and the Oriental, while, at the same time, the production of this knowledge is unthinkable without the support and the context that the network of power provides” (Mutman,1993, p. 167).

Many studies have used the oriental framework to highlight the binary opposition manufactured by the media across a range of issues. Poole (2002) employs the framework to investigate several

textual binary oppositions constructed in British media to show how there is a difference in the fundamental ways of thinking between both sides. She found binary oppositions such as freedom versus constraint; rationality versus irrationality; and morality versus immorality. The positive quality always being attributed to the West and the negative to the East. Richardson (2004, p. 6) used the framework for the discourse on development and found that the Orient was associated with “despotism and away from development” and compared to the progressive and far more advanced West.

Eltantawy’s (2007, p. 371) study focuses primarily on the representation of Muslim and Arab women. He looked at how they are presented in relation to religion, society and political economy. He found that a common thread across all the facets was that there was a “continued focus of many Western reporters on Muslim women’s hijab and their outside appearance, which are more often than not taken as a sign of women’s backwardness and oppression.” Other studies verify his findings that Muslim women were a prime symbol for creating binary opposites:

Whether veiled or exposed, passive or wielding weapons, Muslim women are the ultimate ‘Other,’ and they serve as the main repositories of the West’s sense of fear, fascination, and superiority vis-à-vis the Muslim world. (Falah, 2005, p. 318)

Yaqin and Morey’s (2011) study found Muslims to be thought of as “unenlightened outsiders” with a value system that is completely at odds with the West’s value system. The over-riding idea found when using the Orientalist framework is that the West and Islam are opposites and therefore are incompatible ways of living. At the same time, the West wields power over the Orient by showing themselves to be culturally superior and the Orient needing their help (Said, 1978, p.66).

2.2.3 Agenda-setting Theory

The difference between agenda-setting and framing is that agenda setting focuses on the salience of issues while framing concentrates on the presentation of issues through stories (De Vreese, 2005). Salience occurs when “elements prominent in the media agenda become prominent over time on the public agenda” (McCombs, 2005, p. 546). Agenda-setting by the media can transfer salience from media sources to the public. The process involves influencing the public by telling them “what to think about” (Lee, 2005, p. 7). The agenda-setting theoretical framework approaches media research material with two basic assumptions.

(1) the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. (Dearing and Rogers, 1988)

Dearing and Rogers developed these assumptions based on surveys they conducted on the salience of newspapers. Numerous studies looking at the representation of Islam in the media have used this theory to focus their research. Jacobson et al. (2012, p. 70) looked at representations of Muslims and Islam in Danish newspapers using this framework. They found that the news coverage was “often restricted to certain kinds of topics such as extremism, terror and oppression of women.” Kellner argues that both Islamic Jihadists and two Bush administrations have manipulated the media to set an agenda that promotes and establishes their views in the public eye. He concludes his findings with

...both the September 11 terror attacks and the Bush family's wars against Iraq were prime examples of such spectacles. Both Al Qaeda terrorists and the two Bush administrations have used media spectacles to promote their highly controversial agendas. (Kellner, 2006, p. 59)

Siddique (2015) tries to find a link between western media agenda-setting and a rise in Islamophobia by covering two news stories that both occur at the same time. The ‘Chapel Hill’ incident involved an “American white male shooter” who is described as “lonely”, “troubled” and “disturbed”, while the “Copenhagen Muslim gunman” was quickly linked to Islam with an air of inevitability about his actions. The new story commented that “this type of terrorist activity was bound to happen, sooner or later.” (p. 12). He also noted that the Copenhagen attack story got much more coverage because it fits the agenda Western media were trying to push. Bowe et al. (2013) investigated the second-level agenda-setting on Islam in American newspapers. They found that domestic Muslims were covered more favourably than foreign Muslims. Balmas & Sheafer (2010) conducted a research into agenda-setting and found that public opinion fluctuated in tandem with the opinions emphasised in media coverage. Wanta et al. (2004) have similar findings for negative coverage, however, positive coverage did not always correlate to positive attitudes.

2.3 Linguistic Approach

In his examination of a wide range of theoretical frameworks, Faimau posits that the benefit of these models is their ability to uncover patterns and features within texts that are not obvious to a reader. But he points out that the limitation of these models is that their narrow highly specialised focus will only pick up the points they are looking for and rarely shows the full picture. He comments specifically on the Orientalist Framework:

While the binary approach provides academic insights and an analytical tool to uncover the hidden repressive or oppressive power in the relations of individuals or groups, this

approach, as already indicated, provides no space for understanding the productive side of (an) encounter between individuals and groups. (Faimau, 2015, p. 236)

The advantage of linguistic models of analysis is that they are reactive to the patterns found within the data. They are not proactive in looking for patterns in the data, which is often an attribute of cultural theory frameworks. Linguistic frameworks aim to approach a text in a manner that is empirical, testable and objective and “to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic analysis” (Simpson, 1993, p. 4). Said highlights the importance of linguistics, stating that discourse is a linguistic form of knowledge and power (Laughey, 2007, p. 138). Amongst the Linguistic frameworks, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA henceforth) is frequently used by scholars when analysing the representation of Muslims.

2.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted and reproduced. (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 466)

CDA is a branch of Critical Linguistics which was first developed in the early 1990s by scholars such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, Van Leeuwen and Wodak, to establish a method of linguistic analysis that could uncover ideologies that are implicit within discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 1) and “resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. Fairclough (2010, p. 418) states that CDA aims to uncover “the non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social life, including power/domination, and in ideology”. CDA combines Critical Linguistics ability to go “beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced” (Teo, 2000, p. 11). It has a focus on addressing “broader social issues” by drawing on “social and philosophical theories” (Mayr, 2008, p.9). Wodak lists three concepts that are indispensable in all of CDA: “the concept of power, the concept of history and the concept of ideology” (Wodak, 2001, p. 3). Much work in CDA shares the belief that ideology is an inherent feature of language, even in texts which appear or aim to be “neutral” (Jeffries, 2010, p. 8). Jeffries (Jeffries, 2010, p. 8) adds that “one of the most important concepts underlying CDA is that idea that some ideology may be ‘naturalized’ to the extent it becomes ‘common sense’ to members of the community.” There is no defined method of applying the CDA framework. Van Dijk (2011) states that “CDA itself is not a method of research, but a social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts using many different methods of analysis” (p. 621). This point is echoed by Jeffries (2007, p. 12), suggesting that “there is no single tradition” for analysis in CDA. Scholars have applied the CDA framework in conjunction with various theoretical approaches in order to uncover ideology. Tabbert (2015) lists

some of the notable CDA approaches which have influenced later studies these include; Fairclough's Marxist approach (p. 64); Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (p. 66); Van Leeuwen's socio semantics approach (p. 68) and Wodak's discourse-historical approach (p. 69).

Van Dijk (1991) applies his CDA approach in *Racism and the Press*. Although during the early 1990s, Muslims were not as heavily associated with terrorism, he did still find the coverage to be largely negative. "Typical socio-cultural topics are polygamy or arranged marriages, which are newsworthy because they are 'strange' and a typical example of the 'threat' of multi-culturalism." (p. 103). He notes that Cultural "(educational, religious, linguistic) differences and conflicts are also increasingly frequent issues in the Press". He concluded that when the press finds stories that fit in with their narrative it "reproduces, confirms, and legitimates prevailing ethnic ideologies as well as the power relations based on them" (p. 117). Many studies employ the "Van Dijkian" methodology including Richardson (2004) who found that the way the media was portraying British Muslims was pushing them to "the margins of society". Sharifi et al. (2016, p. 61) used Van Dijkian analytical tools of "meaning, style, and argumentation" for a textual level of analysis and the tools of "access and participants" for a contextual level of analysis. Using this method, they found that the representation of Islamic societies in GPS (CNN) talk shows was in a manner that generally accompanied words like 'Muslims' and 'Islamic communities' with 'terrorism', 'injustice', 'backwardness', 'insecurity', and 'alienation'. Any discussion about Islamic societies was followed by news of war, instability, violence, terror, and injustice and little was said about other achievements these countries made in areas of science, technology, medicine, art, sport, and other fields of endeavour .

Sarkhoh (2013, p. 297) uses Fairclough's framework in her research and found the themes "*different, threatening, separate and oppressive*" echoed through much of her research, "arguing the continued existence and reproduction of some 'Orientalist' depictions of Islam and Muslims". Other frameworks are also frequently used with CDA such as Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework which is used by Kabgani (2013, p. 60) and El Naggar's (2016, p. 7) use of the Discourse Historical approach developed by Wodak.

2.3.1.1 Criticisms of CDA

The nature of the data analysed by CDA is predominantly qualitative data. Several scholars have pointed out that this limits the linguistic approach to "small-scale analysis" and makes it unable to find "linguistic patterns [which are] cumulatively frequent" within a large amount of data (Baker et al., 2008, p. 283). Another criticism of using qualitative data is that it puts researchers in a dangerous position where they are looking for data that fits their narrative. This can undermine the

objectivity of their research and the empiricism of their findings. Al-Heijin (2015, p. 20) mentions that “CDA begins with the identification of a social problem that has a discursive aspect” and this can lead the researcher, though it may be subconscious, to selectively pick those parts of the data that support their arguments (Evans, 2016, p. 22). As a response to this criticism, several contemporary studies in CDA have combined CDA with Corpus Linguistics (CL) to increase the objectivity of their study. Al-Heijin (2015, p. 21) uses this combination in his study of the representation of Muslim women in the media, stating that the synergies between them “allow both dominant and underrepresented perspectives to emerge from the data through statistical rather than subjective criteria”. The research is still able to retain CDA’s ability to conduct “a micro-level analysis (of the language itself” using “functional grammar”. Another significant research project in this field that utilises the CDA-CL method is Baker et al. (2013). Both of the CDA-CL studies reached similar conclusions to the other CDA studies despite their use of a more objective methodology. Baker et al. (2013, p. 274) concludes that “the quantitative analysis found that Muslims were frequently constructed in terms of homogeneity and connected to conflict” and this too was reflected in their qualitative analysis.

Other criticisms of CDA include that it is limited in the linguistic toolkit it applies and has no systematic method for applying them. Jeffries (2007, p. 12) posits that some analytical tools “are more favoured by CDA researchers than others, and these almost always include nominalisation, transitivity, modality”. Stubbs (1997, p. 104) makes a similar point mentioning that CDA “has a strong tendency [...] to analyse just a few stylistic features”. The selective use of linguistic tools coupled with a lack of methodology in their usage draws accusations that CDA “takes from theory whatever concept comes usefully to hand” (Widdowson, 1998, p. 137). Tabbert (2015, p. 63) substantiates the criticism by pointing out some examples of research whose “analysis shows a subjective choice of analytical tools which always bears the danger of proving desired results instead of gaining objective ones.” In Jeffries (2015, p. 3), she discusses at length how recent CDA studies have sacrificed finding “more testable insights with longevity from linguistic science” for “interesting observations”, their theories have become heavily reliant on “human intuition” and the researchers’ own interpretations of the data. She observes that the nature of such research projects makes them almost impossible to replicate, which means that they lack scientific rigour. Such a lack of textual evidencing of supposed theoretical constructs produces descriptions of data (texts) which tacitly assume that textual meaning is transparent and anyone with the right skills can decode it (Jeffries, 2015, p. 4).

2.3.2 Critical Stylistics Approach

In many ways, CS was inspired by CDA. Where Jeffries (2010) saw shortcomings in CDA, she addressed these in her development of the CS framework. Her aim with CS was to find ideologies within texts while keeping scientific rigour in the methodology. Where CDA tried to develop theories that comprehensively covered human language in its full context, CS argues that there is an advantage in focusing on a single strand of language at any time. Where CDA relies on contextual information for its analysis, CS limits contextual influence and draws its analysis from the text itself and linguistic choices made within it (Ibrahim, 2018, p. 33). Where CDA has no set tools of analysis nor provides justification of the tools they use, CS has a set number of tools (TCF) each with a specific function which has been outlined by Jeffries (2010). Researchers are able to use one or more TCFs in their analysis but must provide reasoning for its use. Critical stylistics, in essence, is a textually grounded framework underpinned by some of CDA's theories.

As a branch of linguistics, CS is still in its infancy. Although its archive of research is growing yearly, it is still a small repository relative to other branches. Jeffries & Walker (2012) use the TCF tool of "naming and describing" to demonstrate how a certain word takes on different meanings over a short period of time due to political and social factors. Evans (2016), in his study on 'the representation of feminism in broadsheet newspapers', and Tabbert (2013), when looking at 'the linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and UK press', opt to use all of the TCFs for their analysis. Coffey-Glover (2015) is more selective in her use of TCFs in investigating Ideologies of Masculinity in Women's Magazines. She opts to choose specific TCF that will be most effective in achieving her research objectives. In her justification of the CS methodology, she points out that "[by] thinking about the conceptual functions of a particular linguistic form, the reader is more likely to be able to make links between linguistic form and ideological meaning" (Coffey, 2013, p. 70).

There are some CS studies in the repository that cover themes similar to those I am looking at in the present research. As part of their research, Jeffries & Walker (2012) look at the term 'radicalisation' and how its meaning has changed since 9/11. They found that "we no longer see radicalisation as anything other than connected to Islam" (p. 44) to the extent that writers now can safely omit the goal of the radicalisation process with full confidence that the reader will connect it to Muslims. Evans & Schuller (2015) concentrate on one specific incident, the murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby, and analyse how the British press use the term "terrorism" in their reporting of the incident. After justifying the use of three specific TCFs (pp. 175-176), they go on to create categories that capture some of the most common themes that are found in their data, i.e. 'The suspect's monologue', 'Political response'. Within these categories, they use the three tools interchangeably to uncover ideology. Their conclusions echo that of many of the studies we have covered so far. Ultimately, the

journalists' willingness to apply a very specific and highly modified definition of terrorism to the Woolwich attack gives further credence to Glenn Greenwald's (2013) suggestion that "the term [terrorism] has no real definition [...] beyond 'violence engaged in by Muslims in retaliation against Western violence toward Muslims'" (Greenwald, 2013, p. 150).

Hassan (2019) looks into the three Abrahamic Religions (Islam/ Christianity/ Judaism) in Broadsheet Newspapers using four TCFs in her investigation. She writes that many of her findings on the representation of Muslims are "congruent with Richardson's (2004) and Baker et al.'s (2013) studies" (p. 247) and other major studies in the field. She makes observations such as, "Coverage of Muslims in broadsheets, for example, is commonly related to situations of terrorism" (p. 248). The common thread of negative media bias was substantiated beyond reasonable doubt for me when I conducted my first research into the representation of Muslims. The research aimed to investigate the representation of Muslims in the British Press in the years 2004 and 2016 using a corpus assisted CS approach (Ahmad, 2018). I used all the TCF tools with a firm goal of being empirical in the way I collated the data and the way I analysed the data. Although I do agree with Widdowson (1996, p. 69) when he states that "no study of language is neutral", I tried to minimise the impact of my own social biases by using objective methods in all aspect where it was possible. Despite this, my conclusions reflect many of the studies that were done before mine, that "Western media generally depicted Muslims in a negative light" (Ahmad, 2018, p. 30).

2.3.3 Social Media Approach

As mentioned in section 1.2.3, the impact of social media as a source of information and a source of influence on the younger demographic cannot be understated or ignored. Törnberg & Törnberg (2016) point out the dearth of academic studies in relation to social media by referring to it as a "blind spot" for contemporary academia. They highlighted the importance of more studies researching social media as it is the source of "the (re)production of discursive power in society, while simultaneously constituting a unique source for studying everyday discourses outside the scope of mass media." (Törnberg & Törnberg , 2016, p. 132)

In terms of research looking at the representation of Muslims on social media, Törnberg & Törnberg (2016, p. 133) find that "considerably less scholarly works has focused on anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic sentiments in social media" with most studies that look into cyberhate will regard islamophobia as one topic amongst many other types of hate topics such as, homophobia, anti-Semitism, racism and misogyny. Awan (2016, p. 32) adds that online Islamophobia is an area of study

that is under-researched “both on a policy level and an academic level.” This is still true at the time this present research is being conducted. The research is lagging behind a social media landscape that is changing rapidly year on year.

One of the earliest studies in this field was conducted by Copsey et al. (2013) looking at how far-right groups represented Muslims on social media. Amongst their key findings were that “Nearly 70 percent of online incidents reported a link to the far right” and “The English Defence League is the far-right organisation that is most implicated in disseminating anti-Muslim hate online” (p. 27). Törnberg & Törnberg (2016) use CDA in combination with topic modelling to analyse patterns of representation of Muslims and Islam in a 105-million-word corpus of a Swedish online forum called Flashback. In the discussion of their results, they highlight the fact that most topics involving Muslims were “conflict-oriented and characterized by a distinction of Muslims as the other: an outgroup that is in conflict with Swedish culture and values” (p. 142). Awan (2016, p. 1) looks at Islamophobia on social media, examining “a 100 different Facebook pages” and finding “494 instances of online hate speech directed against Muslim communities.” Oboler (2016, p. 59) also comes to a similar conclusion in his own investigation of Facebook articles “Anti-Muslim hate is a growing problem. This is strongly reflected on Facebook where a wide variety of hate messages are shared and spread”. Twitter is also researched by Awan (2014, p. 133) for Islamophobic trends, “500 tweets from 100 different Twitter users to examine how Muslims are being viewed”. He concludes his study by saying, “this article highlights the derogatory and systematic abuse that people are suffering as a result of online abuse” and suggests that policymakers and social media organisations needed to do more to police this space (p. 147).

2.3.4 Conclusion

In Summary, academic research in this literature review shows that when we look at the representation of Islam by media outlets, the same recurring themes occur. Firstly, Muslims are consistently represented as ‘other’, either physically such as being migrants or highlighting their ethnicity, or mentally as in they have different principles, morals or cultures. Usually, this othering comes packaged with the idea that the two ways of living are opposite and incompatible. Other recurring themes that researchers have covered involve Muslim women, war, terrorism, changes before and after 9/11 and event-specific which is usually conflict-oriented. The common trend within research, especially research that has covered traditional media, is that the coverage has a negative bias. Social media research also seems to be suggesting similar trends. However, there are still huge gaps in research in this space, and many popular platforms have a scarcity in research looking into them. I take this opportunity to conduct a research project wherein I can compare the recent

position of social media with regards to the representation of Muslims and whether there are perceptible differences and changes between it and the position we have established of traditional media.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this section, I will first look at the TCFs that are going to be used for the analysis stage. I will also look at the two stages of analysis that I have divided the data into; the YouTuber stage – where I look at the original content produced by the YouTuber, and the audience stage – where I look at the comments of the audience in response to the content. The formats of the two datasets are different with the first being qualitative and the latter being more quantitative; therefore, my approach to both datasets will be different in order to be effective in extracting the parts relevant to the present research. Within each stage, I will discuss how the data was identified, collated and prepared for analysis. In the concluding section, I will present an overview of the methodology and how it will be utilised in the data analysis section.

3.2 The Textual Conceptual Functions (TCF)

The objective of the TCFs is to help a reader answer the question, “What is the text doing?”. We have established that all texts contain ideology, whether it is intentional or unintentional (Jeffries, 2007, p. 8). For a reader to describe what a text is really doing from an ideological standpoint, they need a systematic approach that takes them beyond just trying to interpret the words on the page. Jeffries(2010a) collated ten different tools (Appendix 8) with the potential to analyse a text at a micro-level. She is careful to distinguish these tools from more conventional stylistic tools. She notes that “there is a whole set of analytical tools belonging to the more conventional stylistics toolkit that cannot be used critically in the (ideological) sense intended here.” (Jeffries, 2016, p. 159). Jeffries (2014) explains the level at which textual meaning operates using Saussure’s concepts of *langue* and *parole*. She expands on this concept of textual meaning by saying:

It draws on all the fundamental systems and structures of the language (*langue*) and is subject to all the contextual influences and individual responses of the situation (*parole*) but that it is an identifiable level of meaning between these two which is useful to explore in its own right (Jeffries, 2014, p. 409).

In essence, the TCFs are used to reveal how ideologies are embedded within a given text, through careful consideration of how linguistic form links to conceptual meaning.

Existing studies that use TCFs in their analysis employ different numbers of TCFs in different combinations according to the capacity of their studies and the effectiveness of the TCF in helping them reach their research objectives. Some choose to employ all ten tools (Evans, 2016; Abdel-Mouty, 2018). Others use a selective range of TCFs (Coffey, 2013; Evans and Schuller, 2015; Sawsan, 2019). It's unlikely that a single TCF can uncover a comprehensive ideology within a text, but the tools can work complementarily and in unison to uncover different parts of the ideology which come together to show the full picture or they can even confirm parts that other TCFs have found. In general, the more TCFs that are used, the more robust the analysis will be.

My present research has similar restrictions in its size and capacity, and I will select four TCFs that would be the most effective in bringing out the ideologies within the dataset. I selected the two TCFs that Jeffries (2015) refers to as "ubiquitous" as my primary TCFs- 'Naming and describing' and 'Representing Actions/Events/States'. At a secondary level, I will be using the TCFs of 'Equating and Contrasting' and 'Implying and Assuming'. At a tertiary level if any other TCFs that appear within data may be mentioned within the analysis but will not be a focus of the research.

3.2.1 Primary Tools of Analysis

The core TCFs of 'naming and describing' and 'representing actions/events/states' were particularly useful to my data as it consists of YouTube videos and comments from the aftermath of a major incident (exact upload time in section 3.3.2). The videos, having been uploaded so soon after the incident would be raw and have minimal scripting. The comments were spontaneous responses to the video's content or responses to other comments so typically lacked linguistic complexity. Taking the context in which my dataset was situated into account, I did not expect to see the level of sophistication we would see in political speeches or highly prepared news stories, therefore some of the other TCFs attuned to uncovering deep lying agendas may not be as effective in my research. However, these two TCFs analyse linguistic features that are the staple of any texts and can be found in every clause/sentence. They became the primary tools of analysis in this research and were applied in a systematic order with 'naming and describing' first, 'representing actions/events/states' second.

3.2.1.1 Naming and Describing

Jeffries (2007, p. 63) suggests that names used to make reference are "Functionally, one of the potentially most influential choices any writer makes". Van Leeuwen (1996) also highlights the importance of naming when he looks at the representation of social actors. The feature of naming is ubiquitous in texts due to its high frequency of occurrence and relative ease with which it can be

understood. Regardless of the writing ability or subject matter of a writer “The most obvious thing that texts do is to name- and describe- the animate, inanimate and abstract ‘things’ that the project world of the text contains” (Jeffries, 2014, p. 413). While this may seem like a benign fact, it’s when we begin to look at the choice of noun, the connotations that may be attached to those words, or even how the noun phrases “package up ideas or information which are not fundamentally about entities” that naming and describing becomes potentially quite malignant.

By looking at the effect a noun choice or noun phrase has, we can start to determine its ideological output. For example, with information packaged up within the noun phrase, they are “less susceptible to debate or questioning to other clausal elements, particularly the verbal element.” (Jeffries, 2010, p. 22). There are three linguistic levels at which the naming and describing tool operates: choice of noun, noun modification and nominalisation. Choice of noun- The way a text producer directly refers to someone; Noun modification- The construction of noun phrases with modifiers (in pre- and postpositions); Nominalisation- the transformation of a process (an action) into a noun (a name, or nominal).

3.2.1.2 Representing Actions/Events/States

Similar to naming, transitivity is embedded within the structure of language, as every clause will contain a verb that represents an action, an event or a state. Simpson (1993) states that transitivity ‘refers generally to how the clause represents meaning’ (p. 88). There are many elements to consider when analysing transitivity within a text. For example, the choice of the main verb used by the text producer can “alter the potential perception of the process by recipients of the utterance” (Jeffries, 2014, p. 413). The text-producer can control, through their choice of verbs, how they present the world to the reader and these choices can carry ideological implications. If we are looking for power-relations, we can look at ‘who is doing what to who’ and get a better understanding of this dynamic.

There are several different models of transitivity. As the basis of this TCF, Jeffries (2010, p. 38) uses the framework produced by Halliday (1994) which she refers to as “the model which most accurately represents this strand of meaning”. The model was further developed and optimised by Simpson (1993, p. 88) who gathers processes into different categories “according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being”. There are six process types: material (e.g. harass, isolate, vilify), mental (e.g. see, feel, dislike) and relational (e.g. have, become, consider) are primary, while existential (e.g. There are 2.6 million Muslims in the UK), behavioural (e.g. describe and illustrate) and verbal (e.g. criticize, censure, deny) are secondary. This framework gives the

researcher the tools to analyse actions, events and states and look at how textual meaning is created through the text-producers depictions of how referents interact with the world.

A potential problem I faced was that my datasets had a larger number of occurrences than my research can cater for. For such instances, Jeffries (2016, p. 148) advises a strategic approach, “In the absence of such clarity, some kind of sampling can be used to reduce the burden of the sheer quantity of data.”. The strategy I adopted to make the data more manageable yet still representative of data is discussed in section 3.3.3.

3.2.2 Secondary Tools of Analysis

The TCFs of ‘Equating and Contrasting’ and ‘Implying and Assuming’ are important for this research as they could contribute to answering my research questions and provide key insights, particularly with RQ2. I placed these TCFs in the second level of analysis as I did not expect to find them in every sentence owing to the spontaneity and unedited nature of my data. I do, however, expect to find some occurrences of them within the dataset and as features that can be found with regularity in traditional media analysis. Furthermore, they could help highlight important distinctions between the two modes of media. My method was after annotating the core TCFs, I would do a secondary screen for these secondary TCFs. If they appeared, I would comment on them, but I did not expect them to be ubiquitous.

3.2.2.1 Equating and Contrasting

This TCF tool examines how entities are compared within different frameworks and how this contributes to creating an ideological effect. Recent scholarship has uncovered the powerful and influential effects of this linguistic feature (Lyons, 1977; Murphy, 2003; Davies, 2008; 2013). Jeffries highlights the effect of this technique:

One of the most important things a text can do, locally, is to create sense relations such as synonymy and antonymy between lexical items. This will have meaning for the purposes of that text in the first instance, but may have repercussions beyond the scope of the text if similar sense relations are repeated, or if the text has a particularly strong effect (Jeffries, 2007, p. 102)

Linguistically, equating and contrasting can be found within a text in the form of syntactic frames, such as “negated opposition”, this puts oppositions in a ‘X not Y’ framework, this would be putting

these two entities in direct oppositions to each other. Other frames from the list will be further explained if they appear within the analysis (for a full list see Evans, 2016, p. 55).

The idea of oppositions is one of Said's (1981) founding arguments in *Orientalism*. The central premise of his research was that Western studies and writings on orientalism served to strengthen the West's supremacy and authority over the East promoting "the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (Said, 1991, p. 3). In the literature review, it is clear to see the influence of his work on other researchers and many of their findings were in line with this idea of opposition. Based on this, it can be deduced that the media regularly utilise the technique of equating and contrasting. This claim is further validated by Sonwalkar (2005, p. 263) who found that mainstream media "is predicated on [the] key binary of 'us' and 'them'", it thrives on constructing "cultural power geometry in a society". There is strong evidence to suggest that it exists in traditional media discourse (See section 2) and I was interested to see whether the manner of its usage differed between traditional media and social media. This TCF was used to identify Said's ideas of binary-opposition within the textual level of analysis.

3.2.2.2 Implying and Assuming

This TCF has roots within pragmatics. This is because the detection of such occurrences relies on some understanding of 'what is not said' but implicit within the text. Its effectiveness in influencing the reader comes from the reader not being conscious of its existence but still internalising it.

Jeffries elucidates this point saying:

if reading texts of a similar nature repeatedly delivers the same ideological assumptions, the reader is vulnerable to the conceptual influences that such repetition could have on world view or perceptions. (Jeffries, 2007, p. 129)

Although the lack of a set structure makes this linguistic feature harder to detect, Jeffries (2010, p. 93) has attempted to make it more accessible by producing syntactic triggers that indicate the potential use of implying (presupposition) and assuming (implicature).

For presupposition Jeffries adopts Levinson's (1983) model and for implicature; she uses Grice's (1975) model. Presuppositions can be categorised as two types: 1. existential presuppositions- assume the existence of an entity or event; 2. logical presuppositions- assume the occurrence of an action. Definite article, possessives and demonstratives are indicators of existential presuppositions. Evans (2016) says its effect comes from the fact that "not only do they package up assumptions about a referent, but they also assume its existence" (p. 93). Logical presuppositions often carry more ideological information and are richer in triggers, Levinson (1983, p. 181) has collated a list of

triggers (cleft constructions, factive verbs, iterative words, change of state verbs, embedded relative clauses and comparative constructions) that can be found on the “surface structure” of a sentence but indicate that there is more beneath the surface. Implicature is based on Grice’s (1975) model of maxims of conversation. The four maxims in the model are, the maxims of quality (say what you believe to be true), quantity (make your contribution as informative as is required), relation (be relevant) or manner (be clear). These are qualities people are expected to adhere to during conversation (p. 45) so if one is broken or flouted, it gives rise to the possibility that implied meanings exist that can be uncovered by the reader.

The importance of this TCF to my research comes from the fact that this feature is hidden from the view of the reader but has the power “to make ideologies appear to be common sense” (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 93). This process of naturalisation is one that, the literature review shows, has been commonly used by the media with regards to the representation of Muslims, especially post-9/11. The effects can be clearly seen in studies such as Jeffries and Walker (2012), whose conclusion was that the usage of *radicalisation* had become “almost synonymous with extremism and associated most invariably with Islam” (p. 52). This TCF has a significant impact on the ideologies that exist around Muslims. The present research investigated this TCF at a secondary level as I did not expect to find it consistently within the dataset.

Further explanation and in-depth research into the aforementioned TCFs can be found in Jeffries (2010). The present research mentioned other TCFs at a tertiary level if they played a significant role in section of data being analysed but they will not be the focal point of this research.

3.3 The YouTuber Stage

The ‘YouTuber’ stage refers to the YouTube content creator’s video that I will be analysing.

3.3.1 Creating the Parameter for the Videos

I created some parameters to control the type of content I was analysing. I have already talked about the influence of YouTubers especially on the younger demographic (See section 1.2.3.3). Taking this into consideration, I wanted to choose YouTubers with a sizeable audience. In YouTube terms, this meant looking at the number of subscribers they had, which for my research I set at a minimum amount of 100,000 subscribers. Another unique feature of YouTube is that the creators are relatively autonomous in the content they can create so long as they do not violate YouTube terms of service. To preserve the autonomous quality, I wanted the video to have been created by an individual, not a corporation. For the sake of replicability, I wanted to make sure the videos were

easy to find. These videos were all found in the feed of the search term ‘Manchester Bombing’ within the first few pages when ordered by most viewed.

The videos themselves had to have a large number of views to ensure that the YouTube audience was engaging with the content. I set the minimum number of views at 100,000 views. I also wanted to ensure that there was a good level of engagement in terms of comments. Robertson (2014) CEO of *TubularInsights* posits that the “best ratio for measuring success for comments vs views is following the formula, comments: views = 0.5%.” I made sure the videos I picked had a higher ratio than this formula to ensure good audience engagement. I opted for shorter videos of 5-15 mins in length as “the average viewer watched 72% of the shorter video and only 50% of the longer video” (Savage, 2011). Finally, I wanted the reactions in the videos to be raw, spontaneous and an immediate response. To ensure this, I made sure to pick a video from the few days following the event. I used a website called *Youtube DataViewer* to retrieve this information as the website is able to timestamp videos down to the second it was uploaded. Although the content within the video was out of our control, I hoped that they would bring a variation in points of view.

3.3.2 The YouTuber Dataset

Based on the parameters set in the previous section, I identified two videos that fit the criteria. These videos will be profiled in this section. The videos will be ordered and analysed in order of the YouTuber with the most subscribers, as this is a good empirical indicator of how influential the YouTuber is on the platform. Timestamps have been added so we can work out using Section 1.2.2.2 what information was in the public domain at the time the video was uploaded.

3.3.2.1 Video 1

Video 1	Details
YouTuber Name	Cenk Uygur (Host of YoungTurks)
Subscriber Number	4.6 Million
Video Name	Manchester Terrorist Attack Kills 22, Injures 59
No. of Views	117,622 views
No. of Comments	1,905 comments
Duration	14:03 (Gives his own opinion on the reports from 3:45 onwards)
Time of Upload	24/05/17 at 04:00 AM

Table 1: Description of Video 1

3.3.2.2 Video 2

Video 2	Details
YouTuber Name	Steven Crowder
Subscriber Number	4.28 Million
Video Name	#MANCHESTERBOMBING RESPONSE: Unity?! How About Honesty...
No. of Views	453,247 views
No. of Comments	5,631 Comments
Duration	7:11
Time of Upload	23/05/17 at 12:56 PM

Table 2: Description of Video 2

3.3.3 YouTuber Data Analysis Method

The nature of the analysis in the YouTuber stage is qualitative. The aim of it was to uncover the ideological viewpoint of the YouTubers themselves, which was being disseminated on a public forum. I realised straight away that the research did not have the capacity to take the full transcript and analyse every line, but in my pursuit of replicability and empiricism, I tried to find a scientific way of selecting the data I was going to analyse. My initial strategy was to look at collocations found in the audience stage of the data that corresponded with collocations in the transcript and use that as a basis for the sentences I would select for analysis (See sect for more info). For example, if the collocate ‘dark humour’ was used by the YouTuber in their video and it also appeared with high frequency in the audience data, then this would be a strong indication of influence. I would then select these portions from the transcript for analysis.

A problem I encountered when analysing some of the sentences based on this strategy was that sometimes the sentences were themselves used in the build-up to a significant point but did not hold as much ideological content themselves. Coffey (2013) makes a similar point when discussing quantitative methodologies, saying one of its limitations is “the notion that just because a word occurs frequently in a text, this does not necessarily mean it is semantically central to the text’s meaning” (p. 23). I also found some sentences when analysed independently did not, from a textual standpoint, reflect the sentiment of the entire text, but in the context of the text as an entirety took on a different meaning. Jeffries (2010, p. 87) gives the analogy of each TCF being a pressure on textual choices within a text, and she says, “each utterance or sentence may well be under more than one of these pressures at once”. It seems to me that some sentences are under greater

pressure than others, and these are the sentences that hold the most ideological information. Often these sentences reflect the ideological position of the text as a whole. For my research, analysing such sentences would hold the keys to unlocking the ideology of the text, as my research does not have the capacity to analyse the full text. Therefore, using a representative sample of sentences from the text became my strategy. The methodology from selecting qualitative data seems similar to the hermeneutic model suggested by Wodak (2002, p. 16) where “the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts”.

While scientific levels of objectivity (which are also not absolute) are not achievable, we can demonstrate a reasonable level of independence in literary stylistics (Jeffries, 2007, p. 10).

Keeping this principle in mind and making sure not to compromise on objectivity where possible, I revised my methodology for extracting relevant sentences from the text. I first analysed the full text and identified those sentences that had a significant amount of ideological information from those that had a lesser amount. This was done based on identifying TCFs in sentences and using some intuition. Coffey (2013, p. 23) states about qualitative and quantitative research that “both methods are still heavily reliant on the intuitions of the individual researcher and manual analysis.” My revised strategy was as follows. I numbered the list of sentences I had collated and used a randomiser to pick three sentences to be analysed; I did this to keep some level of empiricism to the methodology. After identifying these three sentences, I moved on to analysing them qualitatively in the manner mentioned in section 3.2. I made sure to include the full transcripts of each video and the URL for the original video if further assurances of accuracy (See Appendices 9 & 10).

3.4 The Comments Stage

The comments stage refers to the comment section on the YouTube videos listing in section 3.3.2. Jeffries (2016, p. 161) observes that the question of how texts affect readers is more important than authorial intention, and this is an area that requires more research.

3.4.1 Creating the Comments Database

Having found the videos that fit my criteria, the next step was to make a database from the comment section to aid in answering RQ3. My first course of action was to gather all the comments from the comment sections of each of the videos and store them in a word file with the (*.txt) format. The YouTube comment scraper that I found stopped working after the first few videos, and I was unable to find an alternative, so I learned and used the algorithm for YouTube comment scraping and applied it myself. I made sure that data mining of this nature was legal before carrying

out this process. Many academic studies have used similar methods to collect their data (Jaspal, Turner, & Nerlich, 2014; Desai et al., 2013; Smith, Fischer, & Yongjian, 2012).

3.4.1.1 Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

The nature of my data in the comments stage was different from the data in the Youtuber stage. In the comment stage, the data was more quantifiable; therefore, I was able to combine quantitative methods with qualitative methods in order to extract and analyse data. By using quantitative methods to find patterns and trends within the dataset, the methodology developed resilience against criticisms such as those made by Widdowson (1998, p. 169) against CDA researchers, that the data was picked to fit the researchers desired interpretations. Another benefit of combining quantitative and qualitative methods was that the qualitative stage would benefit considerably from the key indicators found in the quantitative stage. “Quantitative indicators highlight particularly promising entry points into the data “(Mautner, 2007, p. 55). It also provided a replicable methodology with empirical results. The qualitative stage was also important to the analysis as “frequencies do not explain themselves” (Baker, 2006, p. 76). It is the researcher’s duty to interpret those frequencies using a sound framework of analysis. In this present research, I employed a Corpus-Linguistic (CL) assisted method to create a corpus. I then used the list of collocates generated from the corpus to identify an “entry point” into the dataset. Finally, I used the CS framework to interpret the data I selected.

3.4.1.2 Creating Comments Corpuses

To create my corpus, I uploaded my files containing comments from each video onto a web-based corpus analysis interface called Sketch Engine (SkE) (Kilgariff et al., 2004). The SkE software is able to generate frequency lists, concordances and collocations as well as go into more depth by doing word sketches or presenting sketch differences. I created two separate corpora, one for the comment section of each video. Next, I generated a list of collocates from the corpora and ordered them in terms of their keyness score. This is a score which is calculated using “the simple math” method. Simple maths is a method for identifying keywords of your focus corpus versus a reference corpus. If a collocate appears at a higher frequency compared to the reference corpus, it will obtain a high keyness score to indicate that the trend is unique to your corpus. The formula used is:

$$\frac{fpm_{rmfocus} + N}{fpm_{rmref} + N}$$

In the equation the numerator is the normalized (per million) frequency of the word in the focus corpus. The denominator is the normalized (per million) frequency of the word in the reference corpus, N is the so-called smoothing parameter ($N = 1$ is the default value). (Kilgarriff, 2009)

In my case I used a reference corpus called 'English Web 2013' to represent the patterns within a 204 million-word corpora, this represents normal generic English usage, and it was the reference that was compared to my two corpora. The system gave a high keyness score to those collocations with a high frequency in my corpora. This meant that these collocates appeared with an unusually high frequency in my corpora, but that trend was not reflected in the reference corpus. Stubbs (1996) comments that "Collocations can show the associations and connotations of words and thus the assumptions they embody" (p. 172). From this, I deduced that if a phrase was used by the YouTuber in the original video and the same phrase had a high keyness score as a collocation in the comments corpus, then we can say with confidence that there was a strong level of correlation. This would be further emphasised by the fact that the reference corpus, which is representative of typical language use, did not include this same trend. I also included the frequency of the occurrence as this will be important in selecting the data in the qualitative stage.

3.4.2 The Comments Dataset

Using the methodology mentioned in the previous section, I obtained two lists of collocations (See full list in Appendices 13-16). In the section below, I have only included four instances per video where the collocation directly corresponds to a phrase used by the YouTuber. There are a few instances where the wording is not exactly the same e.g. 'terror attack' to 'terrorist attack', in these instances I have included them if they were semantically equivalent. I also highlighted the corresponding phrase in the transcripts (See Appendices 9-10) should the reader need to cross-reference them. I only took collocations from the top 50 in the list as anything below that would have a keyness score too low for it to be considered representative data.

3.4.2.1 Video 1 Comments Corpus

These results are from the corpus of Cenk Uygur's video and henceforth be referred to as CenkC. It consists of a total of 1905 comment and 84,597 words.

Collocates	Frequency	Keyness
Peace deal	37	200.22
Terrorist attack	20	59.27
Islamic extremism	29	48.5
Terror attack	5	27.29

Table 5: Top 4 Collocates that appear in both Video 1 and CenKC.

3.4.2.2 Video 2 Comments Corpus

These results are from the corpus of Steven Crowder’s video and henceforth be referred to as StevenC. It consists of a total of 5631 comment and 237,220 words.

Collocates	Frequency	Keyness
Political Islam	180	503.95
Islamic terrorism	43	104.89
Western culture	48	71.27
Western civilisation	49	68.65

Table 6: Top 4 Collocates that appear in both Video 2 and StevenC.

3.4.3 Qualitative analysis in the Comment stage

The collocates in the list served as ‘entry points’ into the data. On their own, collocates would not provide enough information to make informed ideological observations, to do this, we would need to expand our parameters to a greater unit of meaning, then apply CS frameworks. Sawsan (2018, p. 85) notes that “inspecting the concordance of collocates in context is recommended to obtain more information about their evaluation.”

To conduct a qualitative analysis, I needed to examine the concordance lines and apply the CS framework to them. However, with some of the collocates having a high frequency of occurrence, the next step was to find a principled way of choosing some of the concordance lines to investigate in more depth. I decided that a replicable way of obtaining a representative sample size would be to pick two examples per collocate, so for each corpus, I would analyse eight examples. As SkE puts the concordance lines in numerical order, all I would have to do is to put the number of lines into a randomiser and pick the two examples matching with the numbers I am given by the randomiser. I

will still use the remaining concordance lines to assist my observations where necessary. This means I will have to analyse the concordance line of all the occurrences.

Next, I used the portion of the concordance line as an indicator and went to the original comments word file to retrieve the comment in full. As comments are typically quite short, analysing it in its entirety would give more accurate results than if we just analysed the concordance portion. Now that I had the qualitative data I wanted to analyse, the methodology was exactly the same as the one I mentioned for the YouTuber stage, a primary analysis using the core TCFs followed by a secondary analysis using the two TCFs (See section 3.3.3).

Having used empirical methods where possible I maximised data-led interpretations and minimised the impact of researcher’s own interpretative biases. The principle behind my method at comments stage echoes Coffey’s (2013, p. 30) observations on the benefits of qualitative interpretations, “a detailed analysis can provide the context for quantitative patterns; it allows us to answer questions related to text production – who authored the text and for what purpose.”

3.5 Comparison of the Two Stages

Once I analysed the data in both stages and was able to make ideological observations for the individual datasets, I moved on to the comparison stage. This final section of the data analysis stage for each video was to look at our findings side by side. Doing this would help us answer RQ3 - To what extent does the ideologies of the audience mirror the ideologies of the content creator.

This comparison was based on observing and interpreting the results of our analysis. But also, compared against a standardised scale by which I could bring the results to one platform where they can be directly judged against one another. This scale was inspired and adapted from Bleich et al. (2015, p. 1114) who create a scale of “victim; beneficial; problem; other; and ambiguous” to label the headlines they are analysing. I utilised the concept they employ but introduced my own grading categories. This scale is as follows:

Extremely Negative				Moderately Negative				Neutral				Moderately Positive				Extremely Positive				
-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Table 9: Ideology Grading System

I established which category the individual example will most suitably fit into – thereafter based on the examples I established which category the ‘YouTuber’ and ‘Comment Section’ would most appropriately accommodate. Introducing a grading system increased the system’s flexibility and

ability to deal with nuances. These grades would be given to each category based on the nature of their ideologies towards Islam.

3.6 Conclusion- Structure of the Methodology and Data analysis

In this section, I will lay out the structure for the gathering and presenting of data in a clear and concise manner.

- 1) I created the parameters for the research and found 2 YouTube videos that fit those parameters.
- 2) The videos were then turned into transcripts, and a principled way for selecting representative data from the transcript was employed (See Section 3.3.3). This is the YouTuber stage.
- 3) I then conducted a two-stage CS analysis, using core TCFs of 'naming' and 'transitivity' in stage one and other vital TCFs namely 'equating and contrasting' and 'implying and assuming' in stage two.
- 4) Next, I moved on to the comment stage, where I collected all the comments from the videos and put them into word documents.
- 5) I uploaded the word documents on to the SketchEngine platform and created two corpora.
- 6) From the corpora, I generated a list of collocates which were ordered in term of keyness and the frequency of collocates in the corpus was also noted.
- 7) I picked the top 4 collocates from each list which were also phrases used in the YouTube videos.
- 8) From the chosen collocates, I used the SkE feature to show the concordance lines for all occurrences.
- 9) I used a randomising technique to select two concordance lines per collocate which I then used to retrieve the whole comment.
- 10) I analysed these comments with the same method used in step 3.
- 11) I compared the findings of the YouTuber stage with the comments stage, using my findings and a specialised scale.

4 Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The data analysis section will be divided into two sub-sections, one for each video. Within the sub-section, I will structure it in the following format: firstly, a brief contextual background into the videos without going into detail of the video contents themselves. This is so the reader can understand where this fits in with the timeline of the whole incident. Next, I will analyse the YouTuber content. This will be followed by the comments analysis and finally, a section to compare the results of the YouTuber analysis to the comments analysis. The specifics of these sections have been discussed in the methodology. As there are four sections, each with their own example for YouTuber and comments, I will introduce a coding system which makes it easy for the reader to distinguish which example belongs to which sub-section. So, video 1's YouTuber examples will be denoted as V1 and the comments examples as C1. Video 2's YouTuber examples will be denoted V2 and the comments examples as C2.

4.2 Video 1 and Comment Analysis

This section is the analysis of YouTuber, Cenk Uygur's video transcript and the CenkC corpus.

4.2.1 Background of Video 1

This video was uploaded at 3:00 am UK time (the host is based in America) on the 24th of May 2017 about 29 hours after the incident took place. By this time the police had released the name and images of the suspected attacker. Also, some of the known major details about the attack itself like the type of bomb used and that the attacker was a lone suicide bomber were released.

Cenk Uygur regularly uploads videos where he commentates on current affairs and politics. In this specific video, he begins by giving some of the facts and official quotes about the incident. At about the 3:50 mark of the 14-minute video, he begins giving his view of the incident where he covers; possible reasons for the attack; measures that are currently and historically been used to prevent such incidents; and possible solutions.

4.2.2 Analysis of the Video (V1)

To select the examples I would be using from the transcript, I first analysed the full transcript and identified those sentences that had significant ideological information within them (detailed method in 3.3.3). In total, I found 22 sentences of this nature. I then used a randomiser to select three examples from them. I will still use other parts of the transcript to support some of the points made.

V1 Example 1: That doesn't prove that it was co-ordinated with ISIS and often times, ISIS will take credit afterwards, but that's what they're investigating, and we will find out – we don't have good word on that yet.

This example is from towards the end of the segment, where he is stating the facts of the incident. In terms of naming, there are a few entities being referred to here, 'ISIS' in the third person, 'we', from this and other references in the transcript this clearly means 'we Americans' and 'they' referring to the Metropolitan police. The use of 'ISIS' and the name of the suicide bomber is also significant as it presents those that are accused as autonomous bodies detaching them from association to Islam itself. 'We' is an inclusive pronoun and lets the viewer know where his loyalties lie. The sentences that include 'they' and 'we' are in conjunction showing they are on the same side and 'ISIS' is on the other side. Also, by putting, 'we will find out', in the final position of the informative structure, it receives the most attention. A sign of prioritising and trying to foreground certain information that he feels is essential for the audience to notice.

There is also a concessive opposition (X but Y) structure to the sentence which creates a clear distinction between the two sides, essentially saying that ISIS have made a claim, but our side will not believe it until there is conclusive proof. This and other examples in the transcript seem to show an overzealous need for Cenk to make his position clear to the point where it flouts Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity. Another example of this earlier in the transcript "They are investigating it as a terrorist attack. What else would you call this? It is almost certainly terrorism." Here again, a need to affirm it and the adverb 'certainly' giving further emphasis. However, the modifier, 'almost', injects a little doubt into the assertion. The modality of this adverb juxtaposes with the adverb, 'certainly' giving the effect that he is not fully sure in his own mind but feels obligated to say it, owing to the situation or even pressure from the potential viewer. The final clause is relational intensive (RI) clause giving a strong bond between the carrier 'terrorist attack' and the attribute 'certainly terrorism'. Staying within the text itself, a possible reason for Cenk's need to clearly establish his position could be foregrounding in preparation for comments he will make later that could be seen as controversial.

The last sentence, 'we don't have good word on that yet' includes one of Levinson's (1983) triggers for logical presupposition. It contains an iterative word, 'yet', which points towards an assumption, which in this case could be 'that the reports that are out there are unreliable and should be understood with caution'. This assumption can be feeding a wider message of approaching news outlets with a critical eye. Although there is no explicit judgement passed on Islam, the ideological

message seems to ask the viewer to challenge conventional ideas and therefore can be taken as moderately positive to Islam.

V1 Example 2: We've got an eye for an eye throughout the whole world and we are all almost nearly blind now. One of the things I think of in these situations is Brave New Films did this amazing story where they went and found some of the victims of our bombings in different places throughout the world, and if you are not aware, the US has killed civilians in Pakistan, Yemen, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, all of those.

The first sentence of the segment uses metaphorical equivalence to show both actions are not only related but also are of equal measure. The phrase, 'eye for an eye' is a commonly understood principle that if one party inflicts loss upon another party, the afflicted party is justified to respond in equal measure. Cenk may also have used the phrase due to its Biblical connection and that he expects many of his viewers to be Christians. Hassan (2019, p. 209) states "The purpose of equivalence is then to create a sense relation between the same referents." The use of metaphor to make his point has a powerful effect because it creates a world where context and beliefs are stripped and "understand...and experience one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 5). It also simplifies the issue into easily comprehended units.

The most striking use of transitivity in this example is the material action intention (MAI) process used in the final sentence. It shows that the process was willingly and wittingly enacted by the actor 'US'. This structure suggests he is intentionally subjecting the US to scrutiny for their actions. Quite opposite of deflecting the attention as Mhamdi (2017, p. 153) found practiced by CNN during the 2003 Iraq war. The verb choice of 'killed' is a harsh and raw word that would have the ability to make a viewer forget their own ideologies for a moment and be transported into the text-world created by Cenk. He uses this and other harsh verbs such as 'bomb', to critique the U.S foreign policy.

This example is from the segment where Cenk explores reasons that could have provoked the attack. Within the noun phrase, 'the victims of our bombings', the noun choice 'victims' has connotations of being unjustly transgressed upon and also included in the noun phrase is the information of the transgressors 'our bombings'. The relationship between the two nouns is further strengthened by a metaphorical equivalence (The X of Y) relationship between them, the possessive particle 'of' showing the victims' ownership belongs to the US. The choice to make this a noun phrase means that there is no questioning the link between the victims and the bombers. If it had been structured as a clause instead, there would have been more scope for argument about whose fault it was as it would be structured as a proposition. So, something like 'The US bombed these victims' is different

in textual meaning terms as it asserts, rather than presupposes this link. Despite the serious criticisms, Cenk still stays consistent with the use of the inclusive pronoun 'our' in 'our bombing' like he is taking ownership of some of the blame. This gives off the effect of being constructive criticism coming from a place of care and concern and not seen as being a complete apologist for the terrorists.

He also uses 'amazing' to describe the story of the victim, a story which others may see as incriminating. This approach is the opposite of the coverage CNN gave to the U.S military during the Iraq war, where they only highlighted the positive aspect of the war (Kumar, 2006). Even in this format, he still stays consistent in foregrounding his loyalties using the inclusive pronoun 'our' as if he is aware that his statement will go against the schema of many of his audience but at the same time trying to challenge their pre-existing ideologies. He was essentially pointing out that the current US foreign policy is a root cause for retaliatory attacks such as Manchester. He does later, once he has fully laid out his argument, use intensive relational equivalence in a manner where the ideology is a lot more explicit and within context, "So, we've traumatised those folks till no end and so, part of this, is they want to traumatise us back. It doesn't make either one of those things right and it doesn't equate them." With this segment and through much of the transcript, Cenk makes his argument by giving the perspective from both sides, He does use more MAI when referring to the US actions suggesting they hold the dominant position in most situations. They act and the other side reacts. He focuses on foreign policy being a large part of the problem, not Islamic ideology or the Muslim community in the way the literature review showed many media outlets to have done.

V1 Example 3: Can we at a bare minimum, all reasonable human beings, can we acknowledge that whatever we've been doing – and certainly bombing and war have been a giant part of our strategy – it isn't working. They continue to bomb us. Maybe, not despite the fact that we bomb them, but because of the fact that we bomb them. So, if you think that is an outrageous thing to say and you want to close your eyes and close your mind, and just want to yell out things like 'Islam, radical Islamic extremists, bomb, war'. Okay, you can choose to be stupid.

This example is towards the end of the discussion Cenk has on strategies and is now moving on to suggesting a different solution is needed. Using the naming and describing, he creates two types of people. The first type he characterises within the NP using pre-modifiers and noun choice. He uses 'human beings' as his noun choice, stripping away all the prejudices, ideologies and bringing the viewer down to the most basic level at which every person can identify with each other. From this point he constructs an idealised group, using the desirable adjective 'reasonable' as premodifier

followed by a quantifier 'all' which restricts the viewers' options to one of the two camps. The other camp is simply characterised as 'stupid'. The viewer in this text world can either be in the favourable camp and by extension agree with his observations or be in the other camp thereby forfeiting the label of 'reasonable human beings'. The sentences are structured as contrastive oppositions (X contrasted to Y) and this further emphasises the differences. It also gives the viewer a simple binary choice knowing people are not going to choose to belong to the stupid group willingly.

The verb choice for the favoured group is the factive verb 'acknowledge'; this verb has connotations of understanding facts and objectively accepting something even if it is not your favoured opinion. The factive aspect of it makes it hard to argue with the subordinate clause that precedes it. By accepting to be part of this group you are also accepting the logical presupposition that comes with it namely that, 'whatever we've been doing – and certainly bombing and war have been a giant part of our strategy – it isn't working.'

In terms of transitivity process, the verb is mental cognition (MC) process which means he is asking the sensor, 'all reasonable human beings' to internalise the thoughts on a cognitive level. Seeing as the viewers he is addressing here are mainly Americans, which can be deduced from his use of inclusive first-person plurals, he is asking them to erase their pre-existing schema on the matter and 'acknowledge' this new one. For the other group, he uses MAI to build a negative image of them, based on perceived actions, the gist of it being that they are close-minded. I want to give particular attention to the last of the processes, which is a verbalisation process, 'yell out things like'. The verb choice 'yell' especially when contrasted with 'acknowledge' comes across as crass and uninformed. This also foregrounds that the verbiage will also be crass and uninformed. Looking at the verbiage itself, 'Islam, radical Islamic extremists, bomb, war' it contains many of the ideologies that have been constants in traditional media coverage. Here, using an appositional equivalence list, he puts them all on the same level and discredits them as the utterance of a uninformed, close-minded 'stupid' person. He also makes a similar defence of Muslims earlier in the transcript. In this section, he challenges some of the more established ideologies and strongly defends Islam from the narratives that are commonly espoused in the aftermath of such incidents.

4.2.3 Analysis of the Comments (C1)

The starting point for this analysis was to look at the collocates themselves as they "can reveal normative patterns of language use" (Baker & McEnery, 2005, p. 200). Although this is a good place to start, frequencies themselves do not reveal ideologies within the text. Rather it is used as a starting point for further introspection. This was done, once the top 4 collocates were identified, that shared the phraseology of the transcript, we randomly selected two sentences from the

concordance list. The top four collocates from the CenkC were: *Peace deal*, *Terrorist attack*, *Islamic extremism* and *Terror attack*.

Peace deal

This collocate was at the top of the list with a keyness score of 200.22 and a frequency of 37. An overview of the concordance lines shows in terms of response to Cenk's video: 2 were for it and 35 were against it. In the transcript, Cenk talks about peace deals as a possible solution to prevent incidents like the Manchester bombing. He mentions the phrase a total of 4 times. (Henceforth this information will appear in a more concise form)

C1 Example 1: Let's send Cenk over to Isis to sign a peace deal. Tell us how it goes Cenk. Let's start a go fund me. Then he will meet with Mr. Isis himself and say would please stop bombing us and we will stop bombing you and peace will had throughout the land.

The use of third person for 'Cenk' and inclusive first-person plural 'us' for the commenter themselves and presumably the rest of the commenters. This shows Cenk to be an outsider to the group according to the commenter. Cenk tried to promote the idea that he was inclusive in the group, but it seems to have had the opposite effect here. The noun choice of 'Mr. Isis' personifying an entire organisation into one person, gives the effect of a comedic cartoon character. In verbalisation process, the manner in which the sayer 'Cenk' delivers the verbiage is almost childlike. Firstly, the adverb 'please' pre-modifies the verb in an out-of-context way that makes it seem immature. Secondly, the requests in the verbiage do correspond to some extent with Cenk's request but in this simplified format without the appropriate justification to preface it, they just seem ridiculous. The comment flouts Grice's Maxim of quality as the commenter does not believe what they are saying is true and implying quite the opposite with the parody scenario designed to ridicule Cenk for his suggestions.

C1 Example 2: Cenk clearly is ignorant of ISIS ideology, a peace deal will never work. This is one of your dumbest videos yet.

This comment's message is delivered through relational intensive (RI) processes. The commenter uses the copula verb, 'is' to make the attributes mentioned have a strong and direct connection to the carrier. In the first RI, he is described using the adjective, 'ignorant', this is the opposite of the 'intellectual' argument Cenk describes himself to be making. The commenter relates the attack to 'ISIS ideology' switching the culpability of the attack from 'the US and their foreign policy' to 'ISIS and their ideology'. In the second RI, they use the pejorative adjective, 'dumbest' using it in its final superlative form for emphasis. It pre-modifies the video, which is essentially a meronym for

everything Cenk has said in the video. The iterative word, 'yet', is also used which leads to the assumption that Cenk has uploaded dumb videos before, saying he has a track record of dumb videos can also be seen as an attack on his credibility. This comment also breaks Grice's maxim of manner as the tenor of the comment is not orderly.

Terrorist attack

Keyness score: 59.27 | Frequency: 20 | Comments- For: 1/Neutral: 1/Against:18 | No. Used in Vid: 2

C1 Example 3: Step 1. Do not acknowledge any problem with Islam\ Step 2. Deny link between scripture and behavior\ Step 3. Bring up US bombings as a justification for any terrorist attack anywhere in the world\ Step 4. Repeat all the steps after another terrorist attack.

In terms of naming, the commenter uses the adjective-noun combination of 'terrorist attack' with its emergent meaning. This is with a naturalised link to Islam, I found evidence of this in my previous study (Ahmad, 2018, p. 31). Cenk uses the term with its more generic meaning also using it to describe the IRA attacks. The commenter uses the term with its loaded emergent meaning. The quantifier 'any' is used to suggest that Cenk does not look at the nuances of a situation but applies the same logic to every attack. The format of the comment is a simplified step-by-step guide using imperative MAI processes. The format flouts the maxim of quantity as the subject matter requires a lot more detail and is a lot more complex than is being presented here. This makes it look tone-deaf to the situation at hand and therefore, the one that follows it. It also breaks the maxim of quality because the imperative summarises Cenk actions after an attack in a way that has no evidence and is not true. The effect is that the instructions actually imply the commenter's own ideologies; This is a problem with Islam; there is a link between this and Islamic scriptures; US bombings are not to blame. The effect of it is that in terms of textual meaning it appears to work on a pragmatic level. It is presented as parodical to ridicule and even manipulate Cenk's views as it makes claims that Cenk himself did not make.

C1 Example 4: Cenk said "eye for an eye" So he thinks this terrorist attack was a justified response? Wow. What a pile of garbage he is. This channel should be banned as he is promoting hate and islamic propaganda with talk like that."

This commenter quotes Cenk's direct speech, 'eye for an eye', placing in the verbiage of a verbalisation process. They then use IR equivalence (Z thinks XY) frame to portray that Cenk said X (eye for an eye) so must think Y (this terrorist attack was justified). Y is presented as an MC, so the commenter is linking the phrase Cenk said to how he thinks. Based on this presupposition the

commenter gives Cenk a metaphorical equivalence to 'pile of garbage'. This metaphor is typically used when you have completely given up on an entity and it no longer has any use. In the final sentence, 'This channel should be banned as he is promoting hate and islamic propaganda with talk like that', he uses the demonstrative pronoun, that, to bring back the phrase, 'eye for an eye', this time equating it to, 'promoting hate and islamic propaganda' after which they pass a second judgement, 'This channel should be banned". Cross referencing it with the original transcript shows that Cenk uses it to make a more generic point, but the commenter links it with ISIS which can be easily done if the context is not carefully considered. The commenter then takes their own interpretation of the quote as an existential presupposition. Whether they believe the presupposition themselves is unclear as they do not directly engage with the quote, instead they use it as a platform to go on a tirade that seems overly disproportionate to the original quote.

Islamic extremism

Keyness score: 48.5 | Frequency: 8 | Comments- Neutral: 2/ Against: 6 | No. Used in Vid: 1

C1 Example 5: islam is kind of the standpoint leading to ISLAMIC extremism. Learn to say it is ISLAMIC extremism. We don't see many Jainistic extremists doing things like that.

The commenter uses the noun 'extremism' which is pre-modified by Islamic. The noun is a nominalisation of the adjective, extreme, but as it has been turned into a noun and it no longer requires an actor, therefore, surrounding it in mystery. Nagel (1986) describes word that has gone through the process of mystification as "the view from nowhere". It becomes "what everyone thinks/ says/does" due to the constant repetition to the point that it becomes "common sense" but no one questions its origins or its producer. In the first sentence, the noun is presented as a circumstance of a MAI process. In the second, it is an attribute in a RI process. The commenter is clearly comfortable using the word but there is no insight into the concept itself rather in a way that has been naturalised. His own ideology is clearly at odds with Cenk's as he attempts to make Cenk 'Learn' the correct view.

C1 Example 6: Islam is a gateway drug to Islamic extremism.

Similar to example 5 "Islamic Extremism" is used as if it comes naturally without much thought of the noun itself. Such effects are seen when we lose the origin of a word or phrase which takes on specific and localised (in space/time) meaning which is both empty (i.e. we don't exactly know what it refers to) and paradoxically also loaded (we know it has socio-political significance). Jeffries & Walker (2012 p. 46), find the word radicalisation to have undergone a similar process: "there is so much acreage of newsprint expended on the problem of Islamic fundamentalism that the usual

excuses of space and time do not seem to apply.” In essence, the media has not nominalised such words with any other purpose than to load them ideologically and deploy them where they see fit.

The use of the RI process to link ‘Islam’ (carrier) to ‘gateway drug’ (attribute) to ‘Islamic extremism’. By leaving Islam generic and giving it an attribute of ‘gateway drug’, it is being suggested that all Muslims have the potential to do such an action. Also, the RI process shows a stable connection between the two entities; therefore, no other explanations are going to be entertained. This is defying the advice Cenk gives of thinking deeply about the issue not just blaming Islam, “Its flawed intellectualism. I figured it out, I’m so brave and strong, I was brave enough to say it is Islam.”

Terror attack

Keyness score: 27.29 | Frequency: 5 | Comments- For: 1/Against: 4 | No. Used in Vid: 1

C1 Example 7: Why don't we try something new?? Let's get all Western troops out of the Mideast. Let's say...you're society is up to you, we will stay out. If they then keep attacking us, then we can deal with it. We keep troops in their countries and bomb them to hell. How would you feel if some Afghan troops game into the US when there is a white Christian terror attack and took over that state because of it? Think about it.

This commenter creates an unusual text world with their naming and describing choices. The commenter establishes which side they are on and which is the other side using inclusive pronouns. To make their argument, they invert the current situation. Firstly, by putting the Western troops in a reactive position instead of an active position. For example, the use of the conditional sentence ‘If they then keep attacking us, then we can deal with it’, puts the other side in an autonomous position to act and the Western troop’s actions in the consequence stage as a reaction. The final sentence also helps to invert the argument and show a different perspective. This is done by bringing a sentence which most readers would accept as a reflection of reality and then changing the nouns and adjectives around to create a hypothetical situation parallel to reality. In this parallel structure, they switch ‘US’ with ‘Afghan’ and change the pre-modification on ‘Terror attack’ from the naturalised association to Islam to “White Christian” this also has the effect of grabbing the reader’s attention and submerging into the text world. They protect against accusations by presenting all the suggestions as mental exercises using MP and MC’s. The ideological message of challenging the status quo and thinking of different solutions as the current one is not working that Cenk advocates, is found in this comment.

C1 Example 8: Holy shit, Cenk, you hardly took a breath in your segue from this horrific Islamic terror attack to talking about the US government. This is precisely why so many don't take you seriously.

The inclusion of the adjective 'Islamic' indicates the ideology of this commenter and how that may be affected by naturalised ideology. The main criticism this comment levels at Cenk is through a MAI process, 'you hardly took a breath' which is a commonly understood metaphorical way of saying 'you were ready to go'. Typically, after a tragic incident, there is a grieving period where the focus is just on the victims, the criticism could be that Cenk broke the maxim of manner by moving on from them so quickly. The use of the adjective, 'tragic' which has an emotive quality helps this point. The criticism might also be that the commenter believes this a pre-prepared opinion that Cenk is just waiting for the first opportunity to expound and he has used this incident to do so. This is not an organic reaction. The relational circumstance process at the end helps this point by suggesting that it is his acting in this way that leads to the circumstance of him not being taken seriously.

4.2.4 Comparing the Video (V1) and the Comments (C1)

From the parts of the transcript that were analysed and also the transcript as a whole, a few ideologies were uncovered that go against some of the more conventional ideologies. For ease of comparison, I will list them. First- Until you receive confirmation of details in a news story, nothing should be taken as facts. Second- That I am from amongst you (US citizens) therefore I speak as one of you. Third- Our foreign policy is in large part to blame for such incidents. Fourth- Blaming it on Islam or bombing countries has not worked. Fifth- We need to find a different solution, such as peace deals. Sixth- We have to let go of our past ideologies and be able to create one based on objective facts and evidence.

The reaction from the comments was almost conclusively a rejection of all these ideological points. This can be seen statistically in the overview of the concordance lines. In terms of qualitative analysis, the responses were as follows: First- It is difficult to say as comments can be made anytime while videos are time stamped, but most comments took the link to ISIS or Islam as fact. Second- He was shunned as an outsider and not part of the group – many on account of his family being Muslim therefore a Muslim apologist. Third- Foreign policy is not to blame, it is linked to Islamic ideology. Fourth- Islam is a large part of the issue. Fifth- Peace deals do not work. The only way is to continue as we are. Sixth- Your Ideologies are flawed so do not push them on to us.

It is important to note that these are not a reflection of all the comments, but the representative sample analysis and an overview of the concordance lines suggest these are the over-riding views

based on the comment section of this video. My analysis showed one example (C1Example7), which showed some reflection of Cenk's ideologies, but the overwhelming majority pushed back against it with counter-ideologies. In terms of the representation of Islam, Cenk did say Islam is not the main cause of the issue, but the crux of his argument was not a defence of Islam but a criticism of US foreign policy. But the overall effect is a moderately positive representation of Islam. The comments were harsher and a lot more open about the connection to Islam and would be somewhere between moderately negative and extremely negative, veering more towards the extreme side.

4.3 Video 2 and Comment Analysis

This section is the analysis of YouTuber, Steven Crowder's video transcript and the StevenC corpus.

4.3.1 Background of Video 2

This video was uploaded at 12:56 pm UK time on the 23rd of May 2017 about 14 hours after the incident took place. By this time, the police had released a statement saying, "situation being treated as a terrorist incident until police know otherwise" (gmpolice,2017). At 11:00 PM, Prime Minister Theresa informs the press that security services have identified the perpetrator and gives no further details. At mid-day, names of some of the victims are released.

Steven Crowder regularly uploads videos of him hosting a show called *Louder with Crowder*. His content revolves around current affairs, cultural issues and politics. This specific video is not part of the show but a vlog format where he gives his reaction. In the 7:11 long video, he starts by talking about his emotions, he then moves on to what he believes to be the problem and concludes with his opinion on the solution.

4.3.2 Analysis of Video 2 (V2)

In the selection of the example, I used the same method as I used for the previous video. I calculated a total of 25 sentences with significant amounts of ideology and used a method to randomly pick three from there.

V2 Example 1: Listen, if you want to practice Islam in sort of the inconsequential guy in the sky, semi-secular sense, fine. But I think it's time to acknowledge that political Islam as

prescribed by Mohammed, the political practice of Islam is completely inconsequential with the West.

This excerpt comes quite early on in his monologue as he begins to introduce what, according to him, are the main causes of the problem. In this example, Crowder makes his own position clear through the use of pronouns. By using the first person singular, 'I', and using the second person personal pronoun, 'you' when addressing Muslims, he creates a binary differentiation between him and his addressee. He also makes it clear that this divide is across religious lines using the Mental Reaction (MR) process, 'you want to practice Islam', signified by the process, 'want'. This shows that the difference is at a mental level. His noun choice of, 'guy', shows that he has a low opinion of god equating him to a regular guy. This opinion is pushed into the realm of disrespect by the use of the pre-modifier 'inconsequential' and the post-modifier, 'guy in the sky', in the context of god these have an almost pejorative effect, showing that he either has a low opinion of the god of Islam or even the idea of god in general. His explicit use of it shows that he wants the viewer to know this is his standpoint. Also, the use of the proper noun, 'Mohammed', without any modifying titles such as prophet, would serve to discredit him, especially to a Muslim viewer. The use of the noun phrase, 'political Islam', makes it appear as a loaded phrase in terms of meaning but there is no clear definition of what it is, therefore, they may make the connection that incidents such as the Manchester bombing are linked to, 'political Islam' thereby giving it an emergent meaning. The use of, 'semi-secular', which is a word that has a semantic field of being more technical and at a higher level than everyday vocabulary. To a regular viewer, this may give more credence to his word as it has an academic on the subject.

In terms of transitivity choices, the first sentence is presented as a conditional sentence beginning with the conjunctive particle, 'if'. The verb choice 'want', is associated with a free choice, leaving the choice open for if you, 'don't want'. This choice is in direct conflict with most Muslims' principle of religion being an obligation. This comes across as though he is questioning the authenticity of the religion itself, and this is emphasised by the noun phrase to refer to god. Using the present simple tense for the condition and the result puts them in an equivalent position. The condition being, 'you want to practice Islam' and the result being, 'fine'. This also puts Crowder in a position where his approval is of such weight that it is representing the approval of the entire West. His result flouts the maxim of quantity, creating an implicature that he is not completely fine with this. He uses the factive verb, 'acknowledge', in the clause, "time to acknowledge that political Islam as prescribed by Mohammed, the political practice of Islam is completely inconsequential with the West", presupposes that the clausal complement that follows will be true though it is his opinion. The use of IR also emphasises the direct connection between the carrier, 'Islam', and the attribute, 'completely

inconsequential with the West'. This clause is also structured as an explicit opposition, 'X contrasted with Y', therefore making them appear as binary opposites.

He also creates a binary between two types of Muslims. The first type he proposes in the first sentence and the second he proposes in the second sentence. The conjunction 'but', creates a contrast between the two sides in a concessive opposition structure. This also structurally makes the two options appear balanced, a 50/50 proposition but if it is understood contextually, the first group of those who 'practice Islam in sort of the inconsequential guy in the sky, semi-secular sense' would be minute in number as the common understanding of Islam is closer to the second proposition. This can be interpreted as he believes most Muslims are incompatible with the West. This example for all the stated reasons can be seen as extremely negative towards Muslims.

V2 Example 2: I would think this would be some common ground where progressive leftist and the right should be able to come together because the left would completely get on board with eradicating these worldviews, if attributed to Christians if Christians were okay with beating their wives, if Christians were okay with jailing people who spoke out against Christ. Of course, they'd have a problem with it. So, I think that we should have the exact same problem with political Islam.

This part is towards the beginning of the segment, where Crowder talks about solutions to the problem and is in the middle of the transcript. In this example, he uses the adjective, 'progressive' with the noun, 'left' giving a group from the left the attribute of being forward thinking and making progress. This can be seen as an existential presupposition as those from the left who are not in this group are not making progress but rigid in their old positions. The conjunction, 'and' is put between the 'progressive left', and 'the right', giving both sides equal priority. The left has to have the restrictive attribute of being, 'progressive' to be held in equal measure to the unmodified, 'right'. This can be seen as he either identifies with the 'right' or is more sympathetic to the group as a whole.

He also equates the hypothetical values he places on 'Christians' and the values of 'Political Islam', using parallel sentence structures. However, these are not equal parallels, the parallel replacement for Christians would be Muslims, and that is where the viewer's mind will automatically go if they want to switch from a hypothetical situation back to reality. A hypothetical situation is designed to make its recipients compare it to reality. Adding to the effect, the NP, 'political Islam', here is a flout of the maxim of quantity as his vague usage of the term means there is no clearly defined idea behind it. The cumulative effect of these linguistic choices is that it makes it appear as if he is

comparing Christianity and Islam but to avoid appearing to stigmatise the whole religion using the noun phrase, 'political Islam'.

The first sentence is quite complex. He hedges a lot in the opening, 'I would think this would be', with two layers of modality before you get to any substance. This could be because he is aware of how controversial his opinions are and is making clear that they are his opinion by this modal layering. This gives a level of detachment and protection against certain accusations that could be levelled against him. The overall structure is a Mental Perception process, indicated by the use of the verb, 'think'. He puts himself as the sensor, and the last compulsory element to this sentence is the phenomenon, 'would be some common ground where progressive leftist and the right should be able to come together' he then adds the conjunctive word, 'because', and adds a hypothetical situation. This creates an effect of the phenomenon being foregrounded and the subject of the viewers' attention and the hypothetical situation backgrounded so further away from attention. Evans (2016, p. 58) explains this prioritising effect, "Analysis of the information structure of a sentence involves looking at a sentence and distinguishing which is the last compulsory element, which carries the focus of a sentence." The effect is that a viewer is less likely to give attention to it and therefore challenge it.

The subordinate clause contains a conditional sentence. It is structured with the result being the main clause 'because the left would completely get on board with eradicating these worldviews , and two conditional clauses, 'if Christians were okay with beating their wives, if Christians were okay with jailing people who spoke out against Christ.' The focus of the reader has already been reduced within the subordinate clause, but the attention here is on the main clause, which is the result. With very minimal attention on the conditional clause, Crowder is able to pass two fairly large assumptions, 'Muslims are okay with beating their wives' and 'Muslims are okay with jailing people who spoke out against Prophet Muhammad' which are largely undetected and even harder to argue with as they are so deeply integrated within the sentence structure. Otherwise, there would be some that would want to argue the generic use of Muslims in his assumptions and the accusations themselves. The use of a hypothetical situation makes the task even more difficult.

To link it to back political Islam, he uses a MAI determining how the left would respond, 'Of course, they'd have a problem with it.' The phrase, 'Of course', acts like a factive verb asserting his assumption. The pronoun, 'it', referring to the hypothetical values of Christians is in the position of the sentence as Political Islam is in the sentence parallel to it, 'have the exact same problem with political Islam.' Again, the depth of layer within this sentence structure makes it hard to argue with

its sentiments. On the surface, this example looks moderately negative towards Muslims but a linguistic analysis of it makes it show to be extremely negative.

V2 Example 3: Let's try to be as sensitive and as open minded as humanly possible to the truth and the truth right now, and the truth that is becoming clearer and clearer by the day is that practiced political Islam, let me make that clear, the prescribed practicing of political Islam as outlined by Mohammad is completely incompatible with western civilisation and it's time for us to ally against it because it's the great evil of our time.

There are some naming and describing choices here that have been touched upon in previous examples, like the use of the proper noun, 'Muhammad', and the use of the noun phrase, 'political Islam'. These continue to have an ideological effect on the text, but I will concentrate on the new ones. The use of the definite article in, 'the truth', shows that he is convinced or trying to convince the viewers that the problem he has highlighted is the one and only cause, there is no need to entertain any other possibilities. He also repeats this term throughout the transcript to keep it in the foreground of the text and forefront of the viewer's mind. He also gives the adjective, 'sensitive', an emergent meaning of being 'sensitive to the truth' rather than the way it would be typically used in this situation as 'sensitive towards the feeling of all those affected by the incident. This could also be seen as a flout of the maxim of manner, by using the term in this way it can be seen as being insensitive towards the victims. He also describes the notion of 'political Islam' as 'the great evil of our time', by using, 'the', to increase the gravity of it as a problem in the viewers' eyes and using emotive hyperbole in its description as, 'great evil'. This could be because this is the last sentence on the topic in his video and therefore wants it to leave a lasting effect on the viewer.

Many of the transitivity processes he uses are RI, especially in this example. This helps him to make strong connections between aspects and give his comments clarity and assuredness. For example, in the RI process, 'it's time for us to ally against it because it's the great evil of our time.' He is making a direct connection in describing the states of entities. He also uses logical suppositions to connect favourable qualities that people believe they have, to convince them of his way of thinking. In the sentence, 'Let's try to be as sensitive and as open minded as humanly possible to the truth', he uses a comparative structure, 'as sensitive and as open minded as', this structure set up so that the viewer assumes whatever comes after it is the truth, 'humanly possible to the truth', in other words, 'there is absolutely no doubt this is the truth, and you have to be open minded and sensitive to it to understand it'. Although, being open minded and being tied to one outlook is not compatible, but the sentence structure turns the viewers' attention to the assumption rather than the actual sentence. There is also a consistent binary opposition created, 'political Islam as outlined by

Mohammad is completely incompatible with western civilisation', which is quite explicit, almost as though he is consciously trying to drill the message into his viewers. A lot of the techniques used in this example and the transcript as a whole show that Steven has a set ideological principle which he is actively trying to cultivate and change the schema of his viewers. Jeffries (2010, p. 11) posits, "texts such as those attempting to teach as well as political campaigning and other propaganda are all aimed at changing the schemata of the reader ". Overall, the position of Crowder seems to be extremely negative in the representation of Islam and Muslims.

4.3.3 Analysis of the Comments (C2)

As mentioned previously, once a list of the top four collocates was compiled, which was based on collocates that were identical to phrases used in the main transcript, my next step was to examine all the occurrences of a collocate and give an overview of the list. After this, I entered the frequency list for each collocate into a randomiser and picked two examples at random. The top four from the StevenC were: *Political Islam, Islamic Terrorism, Western Culture* and *Western Civilisation*.

Political Islam

Keyness score: 503.95 | Frequency: 180 | Comments- For: 166/Neutral: 3/ Against: 11 | No. Used in Vid: 7

Statistically, this collocate was by far the highest, in keyness score it more than double and in frequency, it was four times higher than the next highest collocate of any video. This shows the level of engagement Crowder got by using this phrase. Crowder talks about political Islam, frequently citing it as 'the' problem that has led to the Manchester Bombing.

C2 Example 1: It isn't political Islam one bit but ISLAM through and through! This is the one cardinal mistake the west makes; you try to chop at the branches and stem of the problem leaving untouched its root. The - root - is - ISLAM - period!!"

This commenter uses graphology, which is the visual effects of a word, by making the noun, 'ISLAM' all capital letters. This is to put emphasis on the word and visually foreground it. The commenter's use of the proper nouns, 'Islam', and 'west' shows that they are mutually exclusive entities. In the first sentence, the commenter takes issue with Crowder's categorisation of Political Islam as a separate entity to Islam. Within the contraction, 'isn't', there is the syntactic particle of negation 'not'. The effect of the negating particle is that it "puts into the mind of the reader a different world where that situation is reality" (Jeffries, 2010, p. 111). Hence a world where 'political Islam' does not

exist, but it is 'ISLAM through and through' thereby attributing the Manchester Bombing to every person that follows Islam. The use of the conjunction, 'but' contrasts the two propositions and further emphasises the commenter's point.

This failure to distinguish between the two which is indicated by the use of the demonstrative pronoun, 'this', is described as a 'cardinal mistake the west makes.' The adjective, 'cardinal' has connotations of serious consequence for a grave error. It adds a sense of urgency for the solution to be carried out before it is too late. This solution is presented in the form of a metaphor. From a linguistic perspective, the MAI structure is quite docile in meaning. With the West being the actor, the process being, 'to chop' and the goal being, 'branches and stem'. There is a subordinate level to the clause, 'leaving untouched its root', which in terms of prioritisation does not get as much attention. Jeffries (2010, p. 44) notes regarding metaphors that, "most readers/hearers are accustomed to 'reading beyond' the superficial and are well practiced in the art of unpicking the 'real' situation which may lurk behind a manipulative or creative transitivity choice." The effect of this sentence completely changes when processed at a cognitive level. Especially when the metaphorical equivalence (X is Y) in the final sentence is taken into account, making clear that the roots are referring to Islam. When analysed as a cognitive phenomenon the sentence takes on a more sinister meaning, which is, 'Rather than eradicating the smaller individual problems the west should eradicate the main problem which is Islam'. By putting, 'leaving untouched its root.', at a subordinate level of the sentence, it carries the least amount of attention there least likely to be disputed. Such representation supports Van Dijk's argument (1991, p. 215) that 'negative acts of in-group members [...] may be reduced by placing them later in the sentence'.

C2 Example 2: I agree with you 1000% Steven. PC is what is allowing this incompatible ideology to continue to fester and spread. It's time for people to come together "against" this ideology. Coexisting with people who follow as you put it "political Islam" is not possible. You cannot defeat "Evil", by coexisting with it. You have to come together to "defeat" it. Period!

This commenter uses the proper noun, 'Steven', to address Crowder which suggests they feel a level of familiarity with him. Many of the noun choices they make are the same words as the ones Crowder uses and to show they are using it consciously they add speech marks to it. There does seem to be some unfamiliarity in the usage of the term, 'political Islam', as the commenter feels the need to add a relative clause, 'as you put it', to put the authority of the words correct usage back on to Crowder. This shows that in the commenter's mind this term does not have a clearly defined

meaning, but they feel it is still important to use. This maybe because the term has only just been introduced by Crowder and has not yet developed a consistent emergent meaning.

They make their position very clear with a Mental Reaction (MR) that they have considered the points on a cognitive level and the result is that they agree. To add strong emphasis to the agreement they add, '1000%', which acts like an adverb. Verb choices such as, 'fester and spread', have connotations to an unwanted, untreated fungal infestation. Many of the transitivity choices in this comment echo the thoughts in Crowder's video. However, while they are layered beneath complex sentence structures in the transcript, here they are much more explicit and make clear the commenter's ideological standpoint. For example, the use of the adjective, 'Evil' used here as a metonym for Islam, shows a direct influence as Crowder also uses the term. However, Crowder includes it right at the end of his monologue, which reduces the attention and effect of it but in this shorter comment, it has a much more visceral effect. The comment acts almost as an exposé for Crowder's video and makes commenter's own position very clear.

Islamic Terrorism

Keyness score: 104.89 | Frequency: 43 | Comments- For: 37/Neutral: 1/ Against: 5 | No. Used in Vid: 2

C2 Example 3: Wow, Not only has the IRA not been a thing for over 10 years but when they did carryout attacks they attacked government buildings not music concerts, Any analyst with half a brain knew it was Islamic terrorism the moment we knew it wasn't an accident.

This commenter uses the factive verb, 'knew', to assume that any incident that is not an accident will be related to Islamic Terrorism. To further validate this assumption, they use a figure who usually has authority and is a main source of information for the public, an 'analyst', as the senser for this MR. They do want to point out that the 'analyst' has to have the attribute of, 'half a brain', which allows them to distinguish those that they agree with from those they don't agree with. In this case, they disagree with those analysts who wait for facts from reliable sources before passing judgement. The term, 'Islamic Terrorism' is used as a naturalised term in this comment. Using this term denies "the reader an opportunity to argue that the terrorism in question was not 'Islamic', or that the attack discussed was not a terrorist incident despite its fundamentalist Islamic elements" Evans & Schuller (2015, p. 183). In the case of 'Islamic Terrorism', the proposition of the NP, which would be, 'The terrorism was Islamic', is completely embedded within the sentence and difficult to extract and challenge. The proposition now becomes, 'Was it Islamic terrorism?' but this is embedded inside a factive verb and also difficult to challenge. So, the proposition to challenge becomes the outer MR

which is 'did the analyst know this or not, but in challenging this, you are accepting the other two propositions as a by-product.

The commenter tries to make the attack look more heinous by using negated opposition (X not Y) to compare their action with the actions of the IRA, 'they attacked government buildings not music concerts', putting them at the end of the morality scale even by the standards of terrorist organisations. They do try to soften the use of this comparison by using a parallelism format, 'not only...but' in which they can add another quality of the IRA. The fact that they no longer exist, this in itself is an existential presupposition as some forms of it still may exist, but it does protect the commenter from a backlash for the more controversial second quality.

C2 Example 4: This is the most honest and concise breakdown of Islamic terrorism I've ever heard. THANK FREAKIN' YOU! Sharing sharing sharing.

Although Crowder continuously refers to the issue he is talking about as, 'political Islam', this speaker opts to call it, 'Islamic Terrorism', this may be because this term has become a lot more naturalised within the vocabulary of this commenter and therefore a more familiar term to use. It also seems that to the commenter, 'political Islam', and 'Islamic Terrorism' as neither are clearly defined and occupy similar spaces in terms of context therefore can be used interchangeably. 'This' is a demonstrative pronoun that refers to Crowder's video and the IR process of the sentence gives it direct association with the commenter's favourable attributes. The cleft sentence format of this sentence, though 'that' is not there but would be in a grammatically correct version, 'terrorism (that) I've ever' creates a logical presupposition that they don't think most of the information is as honest or as concise. The graphology of, 'THANK FREAKIN' YOU!', and the infix of, 'FREAKIN'', along with modifiers such as, 'most' and 'ever' gives the sense that the commenter has heard many interpretations of the events, but this is the first one that resonates with them so completely that they feel a sense of relief. The MAI in, 'Sharing sharing sharing', show how the reader so completely believes in the cause that they feel the need to share it and the repetition creates urgency in their action.

¹Western Culture

Keyness score: 71.27 | Frequency: 48 | Comments- For: 46/Neutral: 1/ Against: 1 | No. Used in Vid: 3

^{1 1} From p.63 on for the sake of brevity. I will only present my findings as brief summary, but will be produced following the same methodology.

C2 Example 5: Its going to come down to this, If you want to practice islam GTFO of western culture. Or you die.

In this comment, the commenter showed hostility towards Islam. They talked about the binary opposition between the West and Islam, and threatened the Muslims to either leave the West or die. They use the pejorative abbreviation “GTFO” to demonstrate their dislike and disrespect for Islam. They use the graphological technique of capitalisation to further emphasise their point.

C2 Example 6: The left sides with Islam and its oppression (gay killing, female mutilation, bombing innocents, sharia courts etc) because they hate western culture much much more.

The commenter calls Islam oppressive and lists some of the reasons to justify their belief. They accuse the left of siding with Islam due to their hate of the West. The commenter makes sweeping generalisation, associating Islam to oppressive crimes, such as “gay killing, female mutilation, bombing innocent”. The bracket acts as an adjectival clause that modifies the noun “oppression”. This packaging up of adjectives within the noun phrase makes their accusations difficult to argue against.

Western Civilisation

Keyness score: 68.65 | Frequency: 49 | Comments- For: 46/Neutral: 1/ Against: 2 | No. Used in Vid: 1

C2 Example 7: During the heyday of the Mongolian Golden Horde, the Khans had a rather effective way of dealing with Islamic resistance. They would lay siege to any places holding out against their rule in the Middle East, they'd capture their leaders, and would have 100 Mongolian soldiers trample them to death. If Western Civilization took this approach to this problem, Islamic terrorism would be a distant memory within a couple decades.

The commenter recounts how the Mongols defeated Islam in the past and how by adopting similar methods, the West can defeat Islam within a few decades. The commenter uses the positive adjective “effective” to show their approval of the violent methodology employed by the Mongols. Opinions of this nature would usually be found in extreme right-wing discourse.

C2 Example 8: I think Steven is right and it needs to be said. Political Islam is the enemy of Western civilization. They know it, they act on it. If we ignore it, they will win.

The commenter agrees with Stevens commentary without any scrutiny. They then call Political Islam the enemy of Western civilization, creating a binary opposition between the two terms. By using the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’, they differentiate between the two groups and show them to be incompatible. The comment has attributes frequently found in traditional media, namely “that

Muslims were frequently constructed in terms of homogeneity and connected to conflict” (Baker et al., 2013, p.274).

4.3.4 Comparing the Video (V2) and the Comments (C2)

From the parts of the transcript that were analysed many of the ideologies that were found were similar to those found in traditional media and some that can be found in far-right sources. First- That Political Islam and Western Culture are incompatible. Second- The only form of Islam that can be practiced in the West is in name only. Third- If you are practicing Islam as prescribed by the Prophet Mohammad, you are not welcome in the West. Fourth- The way to punish Islamic extremists is by shaming them. Fifth- Make alliances with like-minded people to stand up against political Islam.

The reaction from the comments was almost unanimously in favour of these ideological points. Out of the 320 concordance lines examined 19 were against Crowder, six were neutral and the rest were for him. In terms of qualitative analysis, the responses were as follows: First- The idea of political Islam was very popular in the comments, although quite a few stated that there was no difference between Islam and Political Islam. Second- Most disagreed with the idea that Islam can be practiced in name, saying that these qualities were embedded within Islam and the only solution was its complete removal. A few comments did advocate tolerance, but these were quickly drowned out by more negative replies. Third- Many agreed with the point that practicing Muslims are not welcome in the West. Again, some took it further saying Muslims had to leave or be destroyed. Fourth- Unanimous agreement on the point of shaming Islamic extremists. Fifth- Many agreed on the point that alliances of like-minded people who stand up against political Islam. Some commenters wanted to take it to the extreme and eradicate all Muslims.

There was widespread praise and agreement with Crowder’s points in the comments. In terms of the representation of Islam, Crowder posted at a time when the details of the attack were still unclear, and the attacker had not been confirmed but he was very quick to call it a Terrorist attack. He did attack, what he called, political Islam but often it was hard to differentiate whether he was referring to Islam or political Islam. The term was never fully clarified. Crowder’s own ideologies surrounding Islam seem to be extremely negative, but he does try to soften its effect through his rhetoric. The comments were a lot harsher and a lot more open with many views from the very extreme right. If the extremely negative scale was gradable, they would be at the end of it.

4.6 Conclusion of the Data Analysis

From both the qualitative and quantitative conducted in this section it is easy to see the variety of views that exist on the YouTube platform. The results and subsequent comparison show that there is an association between the data retrieved from the video transcripts and the comment sections. Section 5 will look at the associations between the findings in more detail.

5 Conclusion

This section will discuss the findings of the research, answer the research questions and look at limitations with the research that can be addressed in future studies.

5.1 Discussion of the Results

The results for my research can be looked at on two levels: 1- the relationship between YouTubers and their Commenters, 2- the position of the YouTubers relative to each other.

In order to bring them on to a unified platform so I can compare them more easily I will use the ideology grading scale discussed in 3.5. Below is a reminder of the scoring system followed by the scores for each category.

Extremely Negative				Moderately Negative				Neutral				Moderately Positive				Extremely Positive				
-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Table 5: Ideology Grading System

Category	Ideology Grading Score
Video 1 (Cenk Uygur)	5
CenkC Comments	-6
Video 2 (Steven Crowder)	-7
StevenC Comments	-10

Table 6: Ideology Scores for Each Category

5.2 The Relationship between YouTubers and their Commenters

A consistent trend I can see in the results of the grading system is that in the representation of Muslims, commenters score consistently lower than the YouTubers they are responding to. There could be a few reasons for this: firstly, the anonymous nature of the comment section means that commenters are able to give their true feeling without any consequences. Often there are

inflammatory comments in the comment section that would seldom be said in everyday face to face situations. However, the proportions of these kinds of comments point to the fact that these ideologies are held internally and rarely displayed publicly, but the comment section gives them an avenue to proclaim these ideologies. A YouTuber has an identity to match the words they are saying. Therefore, they have to be more conscious of the wider implications of the language they use. They have a higher level of accountability, as they may face consequences for their words. The judgment of their words primarily comes from the comment section itself. Some of the ideological points made by the YouTubers are embedded deep within the sentence structure and cannot be easily extracted. This can be seen in Crowder's video, where in some places only after qualitatively analysing layers of linguistic structures did I realise there was more to his ideology than can be seen at the surface.

This incident occurred in a Western country, and the viewer demographics for the YouTubers will largely be a Western audience. Coming from the previous traditional media age, which is in the very recent (2010 to be precise), they will still retain some of the ideological messages and narratives the media has reinforced over and over again. This may have contributed to the overall negative attitude of the audience. Also, with the videos being uploaded within hours and days of the Manchester Arena bombing viewers may still be emotionally charged, leading to the overall negative outlook from the viewers.

The biggest disparity between YouTuber and Viewer was Cenk's video. Cenk was moderately positive in his representation of Islam. Although it was not the focus of his video, he did defend Islam as not being the main cause. He argued that the main cause of attacks like the Manchester bombing was US foreign policy. He seemed to be aware that his words may be met with a backlash in the comments and tried to soften his stance by regularly foregrounding his own loyalties as inclusive with the viewers. Another reasoning could be that as he is of Turkish descent and Muslim heritage and therefore, he understood that he could be perceived to be sympathetic towards terrorists. Sobolewska & Sundas (2015, p. 21) found that "Muslim public opinion is heavily influenced by the media narrative" they also add "it is safe to conclude that the British are given a very selective insight into what their Muslim counterparts think about Britishness and terrorism." Cenk (2015, Nov 14) has been concerned about such accusations in the past as he once tweeted "People accuse me of being a Muslim apologist. I left Islam because I didn't believe in it. Are they accusing me of defending human beings?" The comments were brutal with attacks on Islam and attacks on Cenk's character, with only 4 out of 91 concordance lines studied being in his favour.

Steven's comment section had rare instances where commenters opposed and criticised his stance, but they were faced by a barrage of responses and abuse from Steven's supporters. It is possible Cenk did not receive such a response as he does not identify as a Muslim and because of these commenters that would have traditionally supported his stance did not come to his defence. Steven's audience were almost unanimous in their support of him, and many greatly appreciated his use of the term, 'political Islam'. His commenters did regularly take his ideas and push them to the boundaries of extreme, far beyond what he advocates in his video.

5.3 Answering the Research Questions

RQ1- Using Critical Stylistic tools, what variety of ideologies can be uncovered within the YouTube social media platform after the Manchester Arena Bombing.

From the results of the research, I can confidently say that there were views from both sides of my ideological grading spectrum with some in-between. The danger is that without any kind of regulation in place on social media platforms, some individuals may go beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable in society. But also, the benefit of the platform is that a viewer is not stuck listening to one point of view, they have access to a variety of different perspective. In the comments, they also have a platform where they can exchange ideas and challenge their own worldview.

RQ2- Are there any differences in the representation of Muslims on the YouTube social media platform compared to traditional media in the coverage of the Manchester Arena Bombing.

First of all, YouTubers are able to upload instantaneously onto the platform, this makes for authentic and unfiltered reactions. It also means there is a greater variety of views independent of any traditional media narratives. There is the danger of extreme views being uploaded which is a downside to it. Secondly, there is viewer interaction and instant feedback. The manner in which YouTubers address the audience in their videos shows that there is a clear awareness of an audience. They are also aware that the audience can make their presence and their opinions felt in real-time and often in negative or hateful ways. In my dataset, I found views that show Islam in a very positive light both from the YouTuber and from some commenters. You would rarely find this kind of coverage in traditional media. At the same time, extreme negative views can be found, which would be censored long before they made it to the television screens.

RQ3- To what extent did the ideologies of the YouTube audience mirror the ideologies of the YouTube content creator after the Manchester Arena Bombing.

The YouTubers that were more negative to Islam had greater reflections of their views in the comments and at times extreme additions to their views. The YouTubers that showed positivity to Islam had a greater backlash, and there was a greater division between their views and the viewers' views according to the ideology grading system. CenkC went to the extent where it did not show a reflection but rather an inversion of his views. StephenC's analysis show how YouTubers are able to influence and make changes to the schemata of a viewer, and CenkC showed how presenting a different schema, however much you rationalise it, can lead to an ugly backlash.

5.4 Conclusion

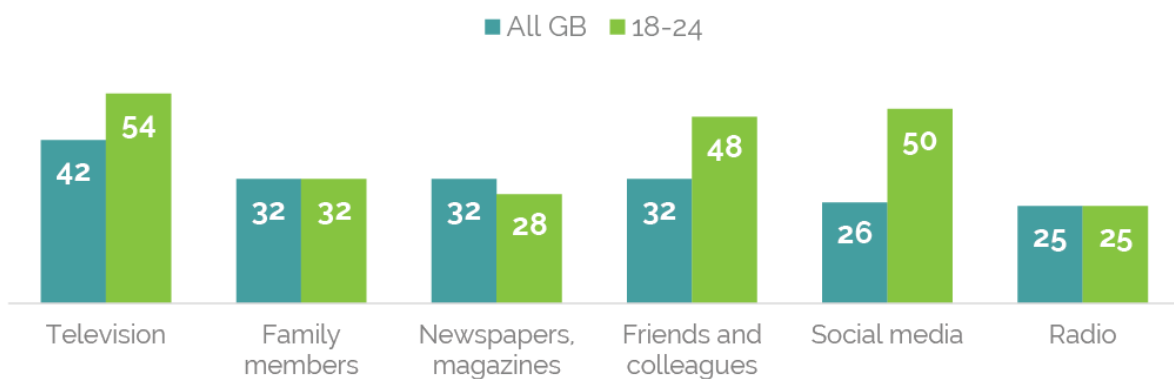
I began this research hopeful that with the advent of social media, we can consume media in a different way. A way that is less biased and more positive towards Islam. I am aware that social media itself comes with great dangers as viewers can be exposed to extreme views. I am also aware that it took decades for the media to normalise certain negative views about Islam into the public psyche, and it may take decades to undo it. The variety of perspectives on YouTube is an encouraging first step towards that path. Some of the exchanges I saw in the AliC concordance lines, where opposing sides were having respectful and openminded exchanges, gave me hope that this can become the new normal in the future.

6 Appendices

Appendix 1: YouGov report into what influenced British people for the General Election 2017 vote. (Yaxley, 2017).

Brits believe TV was most important to their GE2017 vote

And how much influence, if any, do you think each of the following had in helping you choose who to vote for or in confirming your choice of who to vote for? %



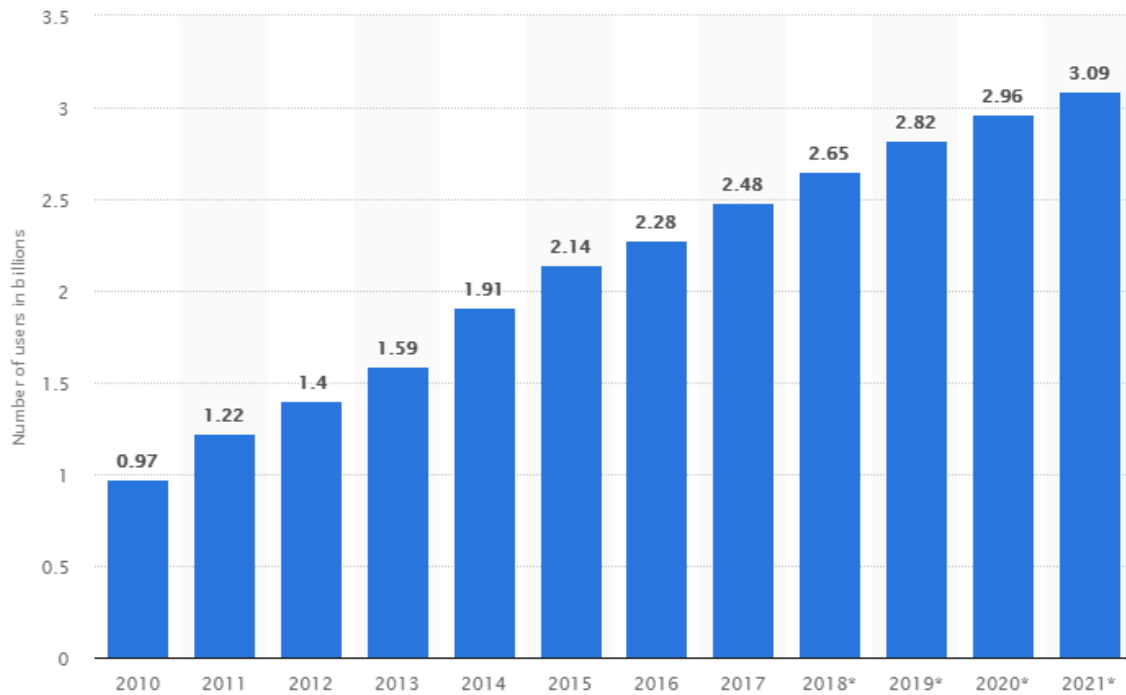
YouGov | yougov.com

July 20-21, 2017

Appendix 2: Number of Social Network Users Worldwide from 2010 to 2021. (Clement, 2019).

Number of social network users worldwide from 2010 to 2021

(in billions)



Appendix 3: Greater Manchester Police Tweet after Manchester Bombing. (gmpolice, 2017, May 23).

Greater Manchester Police @gmpolice

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

Latest statement on incident at Manchester Arena

Further details on the incident at Manchester Arena have now been released.

Just before 10:35pm on Monday 22 May 2017, police were called to reports of an explosion at Manchester Arena.

So far 19 people have been confirmed dead, with around 50 others injured.

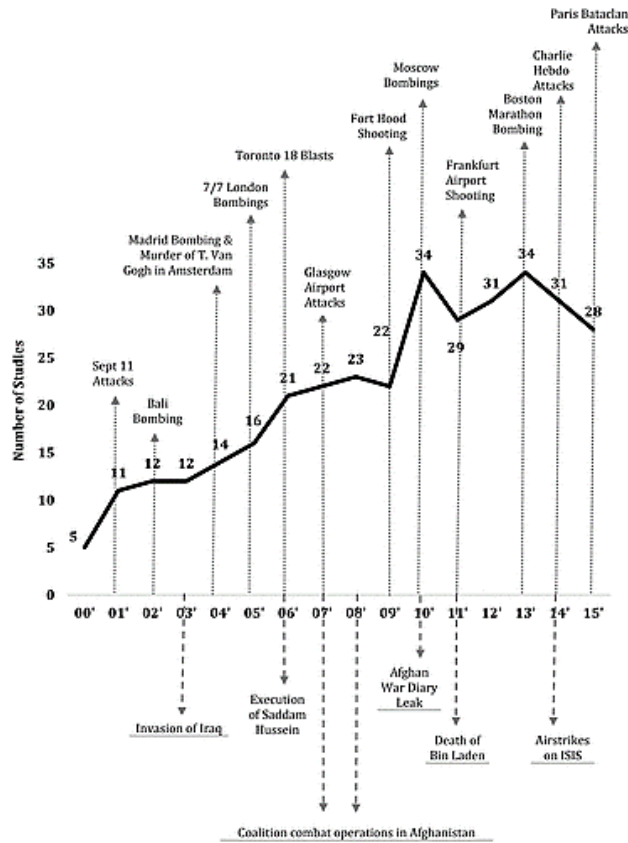
This is currently being treated as a terrorist incident until police know otherwise.

For updates on this incident please follow @gmpolice on Twitter.

24.5K 12:10 AM - May 23, 2017

43.1K people are talking about this

Appendix 4: A diagram showing the amount of studies done corresponding to a major 'terrorist' event. Ahmed, S., & Matthes, J. (2016).



Appendix 5: Names of those Who Lost their Lives in the Manchester Bombing. Kerslake (2018)


The names of those who lost their lives

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| John Atkinson | Alison Howe | Wendy Fawell |
| Courtney Boyle | Lisa Lees | Martyn Hett |
| Philip Tron | Nell Jones | Megan Hurley |
| Kelly Brewster | Michelle Kiss | Elaine McIver |
| Georgina Callander | Angelika Klis | Saffie-Rose Roussos |
| Olivia Campbell-Hardy | Marcin Klis | Jane Carolyn Tweddle |
| Liam Curry | Sorrell Leczkowski | |
| Chloe Rutherford | Eilidh MacLeod | |

Appendix 6: Top 6 networks usage. (Mansoor, 2019)

There's little difference by age among the top three - the battle rages for fourth place

Top 6 networks by usage per age group in the UK, USA



	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-75	75+
Most used	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube	Facebook	Facebook
2	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook	YouTube	YouTube
3	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger
4	Instagram	WhatsApp	WhatsApp	WhatsApp	WhatsApp	WhatsApp	Skype
5	WhatsApp	Instagram	Twitter	Twitter	Twitter	Skype	WhatsApp
6	Snapchat	Twitter	Instagram	Skype	Skype	Google+	Twitter

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-75	75+
Most used	YouTube	YouTube	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook	Facebook
2	Facebook	Facebook	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube	YouTube
3	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger	FB Messenger
4	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram	Pinterest	Pinterest	Google+	Google+
5	Snapchat	Pinterest	Pinterest	Google+	Google+	Pinterest	Pinterest
6	Pinterest	Snapchat	Google+	Twitter	Twitter	LinkedIn	LinkedIn

we are Flint Base: All US (n=2,007), All UK (n=2,008)

Appendix 7: US Adults Platform Use. Anderson & Perrin (2019).

US Adults' Social Platform Use, by Demographic Group

% of US adults who use:	YouTube	Facebook	Instagram	Pinterest	LinkedIn	Snapchat	Twitter	WhatsApp	Reddit
Total	73%	69%	37%	28%	27%	24%	22%	20%	11%
Men	78%	63%	31%	15%	29%	24%	24%	21%	15%
Women	68%	75%	43%	42%	24%	24%	21%	19%	8%
Non-Hispanic White	71%	70%	33%	33%	28%	22%	21%	13%	12%
Non-Hispanic Black	77%	70%	40%	27%	24%	28%	24%	24%	4%
Hispanic	78%	69%	51%	22%	16%	29%	25%	42%	14%
Ages 18-24	90%	76%	75%	38%	17%	73%	44%	20%	21%
Ages 25-29	93%	84%	57%	28%	44%	47%	31%	28%	23%
Ages 30-49	87%	79%	47%	35%	37%	25%	26%	31%	14%
Ages 50-64	70%	68%	23%	27%	24%	9%	17%	16%	6%
Ages 65+	38%	46%	8%	15%	11%	3%	7%	3%	1%
HHI: <\$30k	68%	69%	35%	18%	10%	27%	20%	19%	9%
HHI: \$30-75k	75%	72%	39%	27%	26%	26%	20%	16%	10%
HHI: \$75k+	83%	74%	42%	41%	49%	22%	31%	25%	15%
High school or less	64%	61%	33%	19%	9%	22%	13%	18%	6%
Some college	79%	75%	37%	32%	26%	29%	24%	14%	14%
College+	80%	74%	43%	38%	51%	20%	32%	28%	15%
Urban	77%	73%	46%	30%	33%	29%	26%	24%	11%
Suburban	74%	69%	35%	30%	30%	20%	22%	19%	13%
Rural	64%	66%	21%	26%	10%	20%	13%	10%	8%

Published by MarketingCharts.com in April 2019 | Data Source: Pew Research Center

Based on telephone surveys conducted 1/8-2/7/19 among a national sample of 1,502 adults (18+)

Appendix 8: Full list of TCF with brief description. Evans (2016).

Textual-conceptual function	Linguistic realisations
Naming and describing	Choice of nominal; modification of nominal through <u>preand</u> postmodifiers; nominalisation
Representing actions/events/states	Choice of transitivity process
Negating	Negation of a clause through negative particle; negation of a word through morphology; semantics and pragmatics
Equating and contrasting	Apposition; parallel structures; relational transitivity processes; syntactic frames
Exemplifying and enumerating	Lists indicating <u>hyponymous</u> or <u>meronymous</u> sense relations
Prioritising	Positioning of information in main or subordinate clauses; active and passive constructions
Implying and assuming	Presupposition and implicature
Hypothesising	the effects of modality on the production of textual concepts.
Presenting others speech and thought	Speech and thought presentation
Representing time, space and society	Deixis and its effect on the text world

Appendix 9: Transcript of Video 1- Cenk Uygur.

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5NFOJBIZLr8&t=3s>

So, you've all heard by now that there was a giant bombing in Manchester at the Ariana Grande concert. I want to tell you some of the details here. Obviously, every part of this is tragic. Huffington Post explains at least 22 people were killed including children, and 59 were injured in the late night explosion. Police said 'Twelve children under the age of 16 were among the wounded. Two of the victims have been identified as 18-year-old Georgina Callander and 8-year-old Saffie Rose Roussos'. Every part of this story is heart-breaking. Okay, lets try to find out who did it. We at least know the main assailant who died in this attack. First of all, the Islamic State militant group, that is ISIS, claimed responsibility in a statement released on Tuesday for the attack via one of its official media channels. It is unclear, however, whether ISIS had any direct role in planning the Manchester bombing, or if the attacker was in communication with the group. The U.S has not verified that ISIS was behind the attack, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats said Tuesday morning. We do know who did it, according to British authorities. It is a 23-year-old Salman Abedi. So, he apparently blew himself up, an IED we believe, and killed so many people. Did he target this Ariana Grande concert because there would be more kids around? Unclear. Obviously looking for a mass of people – That is why they do it on planes and trains and they have done these **terrorist attacks** at sporting events and now concerts. And its tragic. This telegraph video that we are showing you now, and it happened outside, and people don't know what's going on. Some of them are kidding around and then they realise oh my god and they start to see people with limbs that have been blown off and blood everywhere. At one point, the crowd is told to calmly exit the building – everything is fine and

safe – that’s not true as it turns out. Look its much much better to exit safely because that’ll lead to more deaths if you don’t – but it turned out that things were not safe. At that point the explosion had already happened.

Now more from Huffington Post on details, ‘Manchester Chief Constable Ian Hopkins said early Tuesday, ‘The attack was conducted by one man who died at the scene’ – that’s the guy we just old you about, Abedi – ‘Initial reports said he carried an improvised explosive device near the arena and detonated.’ Ian Hopkins, that’s the same Chief Constable for Manchester said, ‘We’ve been treating this as a terrorist incident and we believe that, while the attack last night was conducted by one man, the priority is to establish whether he was acting alone or as part of a network’. Now, I have read that another person was arrested as well. In the first 24 hours, there is always confusing details. Some of which turn out to be wrong later, so we don’t know whether that guy was connected to the attack or not. Obviously, they are questioning him for a reason. They are investigating it as a **terrorist attack**. What else would you call this? It is almost certainly terrorism. ISIS takes credit for it and they took credit for it fairly quickly. Sometimes when it’s not related to them, they take a little longer, they’re kind of confused and they’re like ‘yeah, I guess we want credit for that’. This one they took credit very quickly on. That doesn’t prove that it was co-ordinated by ISIS and often times, ISIS will take credit afterwards, but that’s what they’re investigating, and we will find out – we don’t have good word on that yet.

I can give you the fatalities – and I just did -but sometimes, there are portions of the story that, when I read it, really hit home. And obviously when you see the pictures as we are showing you here and you’re uncomfortable – I get it if you want to turn away from it – but we do have to see the results of what happened here. Andy Holland was waiting outside for the kids – he got hit by the explosion, but he was okay. And then he explained, ‘I looked through some of the bodies to try and find my wife and daughter’. And in that moment when I read that an I thought about it, being in his place for a second and trying to find your wife and daughter in the carnage of all those bodies lying around. If you are anywhere near human, that will turn your stomach real quick. As it turned out, super lucky, his wife and daughter were okay, and even though he got hit a little bit by the explosion, he’s okay. Some talked about being thrown thirty feet by the explosion, somehow miraculously okay though, and then – here’s one more from the story. ‘23-year-old, Ariana Grande of course, is a four time Kid’s Choice Award winner, and because of her roots on Nickelodeon, her fan-base tends to skew on the younger side’. That also sent a chill down my spine because they might’ve been targeting the kids there.

Look, what do we have? We’ve got an eye for an eye throughout the whole world and we are all almost nearly blind now. One of the things I think of in these situations is Brave New Films did this amazing story where they went and found some of the victims of our bombings in different places throughout the world, and if you are not aware, the US has killed civilians in Pakistan, Yemen, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, all of those. Now, in the context of this, the rest of the press, I’m sure certainly the Right Wing, will yell at us and say, ‘how dare you, you should only talk about this and you should never mention any context at all’. But, in order to stop the terrorists, we have to figure out why they’re doing it and there are some simpletons out there who think ‘oh no you just call it a magical name and it’ll go away’. Well you guys got your president and he called it a magical name – it still hasn’t gone away. He said he would solve all this in 30 days. We’re now four months in and he still hasn’t solved it, so what happened to your magic? Turns out that’s a really dumb strategy. He said we’d bomb them and kill their family members – actually we did, we killed a lot more civilians under Trump in our bombing in Syria. Has that solved it? That hasn’t solved it either. So, turns out you were wrong. Just more carnage doesn’t exactly solve it. One of the reasons that they do it, I

think, the main reason why any of the mass shooters or terrorists do it, is they're looking for glory. And they're looking for glory in all the wrong places, and so they want to be famous. Here we will say the name and I try really hard to not say the names going forward, whether they're mass shooters or terrorists. We don't always succeed on that honestly, but we are trying our best. So I don't want to feed into that and I don't want to have these guys become martyrs to their fanbase, however perverted or sick that fanbase might be, you know some sort of heroes.

But the second part of it is, they think in the case of the **Muslim Fundamentalists** who do it, well we want you to feel what we feel. So, when our kids are killed, you guys don't seem to care. That's why I mentioned the Brave New Films piece, because not only do they do a story about it, they brought this kid in who had lost family members – they had him testify before congress. This was powerful. And, the parents explained that, whenever anything flies overhead now, the kid goes and hides in a tree because he's worried that the houses are going to get bombed by the US – like we've done in the past – and that his family members, and he himself, are going to die. So, we've traumatised those folks till no end and so, part of this, is they want to traumatise us back. It doesn't make either one of those things right and it doesn't equate them. Just because you mention context, doesn't mean that all those things are equal. Yes, there's some bad guys to go after and yes, we make mistakes, yes, we, most of the time, try not to target civilians although some of the times, we do. And so, when this happens, we have got to be smart about figuring out how to end it. And just say more bombings or just targeting one religion – its so simple and it makes you feel good. Its flawed intellectualism. I figured it out, I'm so brave and strong, I was brave enough to say it is Islam. Wow. In the West saying its Islam – so brave. Not remotely brave and not remotely smart. In this case, it appears to be a Muslim kid who did it and certainly a Fundamentalist, certainly a terrorist. But what we are trying to do is prevent further ones. So yes, you need police work for that.

And sometimes, I remember, when they criticized Bill Clinton, all the way back in the day, The Bush Administration said no, no, we can't treat these people like criminals. We have to treat it like a war. Okay, but often times why come from our own countries whether its here in the US or in the UK. I don't know where this guy came from, but if he was inside your own country, what are you going to do? Bomb yourself? Bomb Manchester? Well that's what he did. That's painfully stupid. You are going to randomly bomb the country that his parents and grandparents are from? And what does that accomplish? One of the things that it accomplishes is more civilian deaths, more eyes gouged out, then more people looking to gouge out our eyes. It doesn't mean you appease them, hell no. It doesn't mean you negotiate with them. For Christ's sake though, for everybody's sake, let's find a smart strategy and not just go with easy answers like bomb them and see what happens. We've been bombing them for decades on top of decades. Is it working? Can we at a bare minimum, all reasonable human beings, can we acknowledge that whatever we've been doing – and certainly bombing and war have been a giant part of our strategy – it isn't working. They continue to bomb us. Maybe, not despite the fact that we bomb them, but because of the fact that we bomb them. So, if you think that is an outrageous thing to say and you want to close your eyes and close your mind, and just want to yell out things like 'Islam, radical **Islamic extremists**, bomb, war'. Okay, you can choose to be stupid. I can't help you on that. And if you think that's an intellectual argument, I feel even more sorry for you, but I hope that the rest of us can figure out a better way to address this because what we're doing isn't working and every time, I see one of these stories. Again, if you're a decent human being, you feel terrible for those people. And the parents who lost the 8-year-old, the 16-year-olds, and their friends and their family and all the people who were there who will be traumatised forever and of course, partly you think 'it could've been us there' but for the grace of god. So again, for everybody's sake, lets figure out a way to solve this and not do it in a way that a simpleton and is counterproductive and yes, part of that is great police investigations to root it out

hopefully before it happens. And certainly, afterwards to catch the people out who did this and put a short term into it whilst we look for a long term solution that can actually work.

One last thing guys. I know it seems impossible because we just had these attacks over and over and over again, right? But remember, there was a lot of terrorism – and a lot of people don't remember – that why I give you the context – there was more terrorism in the 1970's in Europe than there is today. If you watch the news you go 'no way, terrorism is way bigger today' – it's not. It was much larger in the 1970's. Now a lot of that has declined and how did it decline? Well one example is the situation of Northern Ireland and where we had bombing after bombing, death after death, civilians killed and maimed, limbs blown off, all the same things but you know what worked in that case to lower the violence dramatically? Peace. I know that they keep telling you that the answer is war. But it is counterfactual. The reality is, for example – I'll give you another example – Israel VS Egypt. Egypt was Israel's largest enemy. The one that they feared the most, the one that did the most amount of damage. Jimmy Carter did a **peace deal**. No ones been killed between those two countries since. Other countries around Israel that didn't do a **peace deal** they're still at war and still have great hostilities, conflicts that flare up over and over again, but what worked? A **peace deal** worked. So, when you see on television, people trying to rile you up with your anger – it's easy, I get angry too. We're human, of course we'll get angry. But remember, sometimes when they have a point, their point is to drive towards more war and that has not stopped the terrorism. That has not made it better. There is one thing that historically has worked, and I know that they'll say, 'oh yeah, you're weak, ha ha' well then, you're stupid because facts show you that when we do **peace deals**, shockingly enough, a lot of the time, we get peace. If you're as tired of these bombing and acts of terrorism as I am, for gods sake, lets head in a different direction.

Appendix 10: Transcript of Video 2- Steven Crowder.

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rUD4Td9hjKw&t=28s>

Okay its about 6:30 AM at the time of this recording. Obviously just heart wrenching waking up to the Manchester terrorist bombing and now I don't know exactly what's happening in the Philippines, its just unfolding. Just a pit in my stomach and I know that outrage is easy and you see the lot on both sides but particularly on the Right which just the finger wagging, its sort of false patriotism and we're supposed to go to write comedy tonight and we're still doing what we can to try and create a show but I think that whether its journalism or outrage or even comedy, its serves no purpose if there isn't some kind of a seeking for truth. And I don't mean your truth, I don't mean finding a truth, I mean the truth. There's no living your truth, there's the truth. And let's get down to some concrete, a lot of other people are trying to avoid talking specifics so lets talk some specifics. Right now, I just read in the Daily Beast that they arrested the man in association right now, suspect of the Manchester **terrorist attack** and they said you know we need to fight the route I think the influence of these violence's. Its difficult to fight the values, the influence, the influencer of the violence. Something along those lines but refused to say **Islamic terrorism**. We don't know that yet. Necessarily we do know that apparently in the Philippines it is **Islamic terrorism**. Listen, if you want to practice Islam in sort of the inconsequential guy in the sky, semi-secular sense, fine. But I think its time to acknowledge that **political Islam** as prescribed by Mohammed, the political practice of Islam is completely inconsequential with the West. What I mean by that, well okay, lets nail down some

concrete values. Let's exclude terrorism for a second. Do you believe in any Sharia Courts whatsoever in **Western Culture** – you're not welcome here. Do you believe its okay if you marry a six year old? You're not welcome. Do you believe its okay to beat your wife for any reason at all? You're not welcome. Do you believe in any kind of punishment? Not only death – any kind of punishment for apostasy or people leaving the faith of Islam? You're not welcome. Do you believe in any kind of punishment for blasphemy as you see with Zuckerberg and Facebook saying they're going to crack down on anti-Islamic blasphemous posts. Do you believe in any kind of punishment of blasphemy? You're not welcome. These values, the political prescription of Islam is by its own definition completely incompatible with **Western culture** because it seeks to eradicate **Western culture**. That's its purpose.

And I would think this would be some common ground where progressive leftist and the right should be able to come together because the left would completely get on board with eradicating these worldviews, if attributed to Christians if Christians were okay with beating their wives, if Christians were okay with jailing people who spoke out against Christ. Of course, they'd have a problem with it. So, I think that we should have the exact same problem with **political Islam**. You know I remember when I lived in Canada and 9/11 happened and I remember being in comedy clubs and people saying well you know what this doesn't happen in Canada, it doesn't happen in Europe, doesn't happen in Denmark. It's because America has poked a bear. Well now it's happening everywhere and that's because appeasement is completely futile. Trying to appease a group of people whose worldview requires the eradication of those who appease them is so silly I can't even wrap my mind around it. And today the outrage now, Donald Trump called them losers at life. We're seeing this. Donald Trump – you believe Donald Trump called them losers at life? Well yeah, I can. You know what, he's not the most eloquent guy, neither am I. Apparently I've talked about that but you know what, he's saying losers at life. You know why that's different from people saying this heinous attack and these monsters – because he's trying to shame them. Because terrorists, because Islamic extremists can only be punished through shame. Shame is worst than death. That's why people have talked about bacon tipped bullets or bacon grease because in a very physical worldview of heaven when they reach heavens gates and it would be shameful to be associated with the lowly pig. That's why everyone was so outraged at Abu Ghraib when god forbid American female soldiers, stripped terrorists, naked and had dogs barking at them while they laughed. Which, by the way, if I'm an American and I'm captured by ISIS and what they do is have a women laugh at me naked with a dog barking, I'll do a jig and thank the lord above that I'm not being burned alive in a cage. So, could he find a better way to express himself, the president, sure. I would like to see him to so. Hopefully in the hours that follow but starting by shaming them and belittling them, That's one hell of a start and that's why you're seeing a contrast between him and other leaders. I'm not the biggest fan of him on every issue but you know what, today I certainly stand with the president of the United States. And the sentiment of shaming these absolute losers at life. In contrast with other world leaders and as opposed to mincing words on social media.

And I just – everyone's going to talk about unity today. That's the big thing, right? Everyone's going to say you don't need to be inflammatory right now, you should be bombastic like you are. Wait. It's time to unify. No, Its not time for unity. Its time for an alliances, okay. And there's a difference – its time for an alliance of people who value everything that has created the West, who hold Western values – the values that allow me to use my iPhone and the internet to upload this video to a platform freely which hopefully wont censor it as hate speech. Who knows now with the horrible Leviathan that twitter and google and Facebook have become with choosing to eradicate certain worldviews. But its Western values, it allows this even to happen so I'm not about unity right now. How about an alliance? How about an alliance with other people who recognise and ally themselves

against the evil that is **political Islam**. Because you know what, to unite with anyone in the Islamic world who are even enablers of **political Islam**, to unite with enablers of **political Islam** by proxies to unite with evil and to be evil. So, this point when everyone's talking about words and outrage and let's be sensitive, no. No lets not be sensitive and in trying to not hurt people's feelings, but lets be ultra-sensitive, lets be ultra-sensitive to the truth. Let's take our sensitivity in a different direction. Lets try to be as sensitive and as opened minded as humanly possible to the truth and the truth right now, and the truth that is becoming clearer and clearer by the day is that practiced **political Islam**, let me make that clear, the prescribed practicing of **political Islam** as outlined by Mohammad is completely incompatible with **Western civilisation** and its time for us to ally against it because it's the great evil of our time. You think I'm right, you think I'm wrong let me know below. I'm sure plenty of you will be mad.

Appendix 13: Full results for CenkC concordance lines.

Frequency²

Word	Focus	Reference	The percentage of the total number of occurrences of the keyword in the corpus.
1 peace deal	37	57	200.22
2 islamic terrorism	22	37	128.06
3 middle east	15	51	83.33
4 gas bill	11	26	67.14
5 terrorist attack	20	302	59.27
6 islamic terror	9	10	58.64
7 other religion	10	53	55.42
8 yoo meee	8	0	54.42
9 sack smacker	8	0	54.42
10 islamic extremism	8	29	48.5
11 new ira	7	2	47.74
12 radical islam	7	70	47.74
13 business handler	7	0	47.74
14 death cult	7	8	46.22
15 right wing	18	499	39.11
16 foreign policy	45	1,598	39.03
17 peace treaty	8	98	38.54
18 terrorist group	9	155	36.98
19 persian atheist	5	0	34.39
20 rodger wallace	5	0	34.39
21 fake news	5	21	31.61
22 vetting process	5	48	28.63
23 dylan roof	4	0	27.71
24 islamic terrorist	4	2	27.49
25 terror attack	5	62	27.29
26 drone strike	5	69	26.66
27 western society	5	110	23.52
28 making peace	4	51	22.83
29 military intervention	5	147	21.25
30 ex muslim	3	0	21.03
31 muslim apologist	3	0	21.03
32 cenk justifying terrorism	3	0	21.03
33 justifying terrorism	3	0	21.03
34 extremist terrorist	3	0	21.03
35 proper vetting process	3	1	20.95
36 religious terrorism	3	4	20.7
37 armenian genocide	4	84	20.48
38 muslim immigration	3	7	20.44
39 western foreign policy	3	8	20.36
40 suicide bomber	4	90	20.11
41 peaceful religion	3	12	20.03
42 white guy	4	97	19.68
43 world domination	4	108	19.06
44 british citizen	3	25	19.03
45 last video	3	28	18.83
46 complex issue	4	114	18.74
47 dumb ass	3	30	18.68
48 comment section	6	288	18.57
49 islamic fundamentalism	3	35	18.34
50 mass immigration	3	35	18.34

Appendix 14: Full results for StevenC concordance lines.

Frequency²

Word	Focus	Reference	The percentage of the total number of occurrences of the keyword in the corpus.
1 political islam	180	42	503.95
2 ban islam	99	0	277.62
3 radical islam	43	70	121.15
4 islamic terrorism	43	37	104.89
5 western culture	48	213	71.27
6 western civilization	49	240	68.65
7 fuck islam	24	0	68.06
8 sharia law	24	45	57.24
9 moroccan prince	19	2	53.66
10 death cult	19	8	52.36
11 terrorist attack	42	302	52.14
12 terror attack	23	62	51.8
13 false flag	20	60	45.43
14 western society	23	110	44.64
15 amen brother	14	1	39.96
16 islamic law	21	118	39.89
17 middle east	16	51	37.65
18 wahid ur-rehman	13	0	37.32
19 islamic terror	13	10	35.82
20 suicide bomber	17	90	35.2
21 irrational fear	15	53	35.09
22 political ideology	17	93	34.87
23 western world	33	406	34.42
24 political correctness	25	276	32.79
25 islamic ideology	11	6	30.96
26 great evil	12	32	30.45
27 true christianity	10	12	28.94
28 arab empire	10	0	28.94
29 lone wolf	11	36	27.57
30 moderate muslim	9	6	26.15
31 quranic reform	9	0	26.15
32 other religion	11	53	25.95
33 hate speech	13	116	25.08
34 anti-freespeech virtue-signaling regressive sjw	8	0	23.35
35 radical anti-freespeech virtue-signaling regressive sjw	8	0	23.35
36 regressive sjw	8	0	23.35
37 virtue-signaling regressive sjw	8	0	23.35
38 radical anti-freespeech	8	0	23.35
39 supporting conservative-terrorist	8	0	23.35
40 necessary extreme moderation	8	0	23.35
41 anti-freespeech virtue-signaling	8	0	23.35
42 radical anti-freespeech virtue-signaling	8	0	23.35
43 extreme moderation	8	4	22.99
44 secular democracy	8	11	22.33
45 cherry picking	8	22	21.39
46 secular society	8	28	20.91
47 practicing muslim	7	3	20.56
48 mug club	7	0	20.56
49 semi-secular sense	7	0	20.56
50 islamic terrorist	7	2	20.4

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