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A Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Representation and Reception of Veganism on Twitter.

AANSA NADEEM

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by Research.

The University of Huddersfield

December 2019

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ABSTRACT

Using tools of Critical Stylistics, this research explores the ideological representation of the subcultural practice of veganism on Twitter. 50 tweets with the keyword #veganism were collected to form the dataset of this research. A multi-modal approach was taken to inform the stylistic analysis using the tools of naming analysis, opposition and equivalence. The analysis focussed on different modal features of Twitter namely, usernames, tweets, hashtags and visuals. The analysis revealed that vegan users of Twitter use their account to campaign for veganism and therefore use different discursive strategies to further their vegan ideology. While anti-vegan users did use Twitter to highlight their opposing view of veganism and distanced it from mainstream society, there were not as many anti-vegan users of the tweets in the dataset. The analysis also highlighted that in cases where users chose not to use their name as their username, the usernames were ideologically rich and had a rhetorical or political purpose. Lastly, the analysis revealed that social media is a platform for members of subcultural practices and groups to present their identity.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview and Significance of the Study

Researchers interested in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seek to understand the myriad different ways in which language is used to highlight and uncover ideologies, both explicit and implicit ones. The reason such an investigation into the use of language is significant is because 'discourse offers a constellation of different narrative possibilities' which enable text producers to generalise, omit, polarise, signify, exaggerate, euphemise etc. the messages they communicate (Simpson and Mayr, 2009: 6). As a result, discourse is a complex system of communication that is susceptible to manipulation and one that is intrinsically ideological. Therefore, the language we observe passively and actively is a product of an ideology; it is a representation of an attitude; a version of a reality created by the text producer. This idea of language being a product of a particular ideology is part of a postmodern concept, an 'epistemological understanding that language constructs (not simply reflects) the social world' (Fairclough, 1995; Foucault, 1990 [1978]; Hajer, 1995; Jones, 1998. cited Harrison, 2006, p.511).

It is interesting to note that if language, a biased form of communication, constructs our realities and the way we perceive and engage with all social matters then no discursive representation of an ideology is reliable, authentic or any more valid than another, yet there are ideologies that gain mass approval, admiration and action. How ideologies gain mass approval and are naturalised, could be attributed to the competency, intelligence and aptness of the message being represented or at least in an ideal and impartial world they could be. However, they are more often attributed to the socio-economic power of the text producer and their ability to endorse and advocate for or against something. While the naturalisation of an ideology has a direct correlation with one's socio-economic power, the very nature of discourse means that all text producers of language have the potential to establish an ideology or even protest against an established one.

Foucault discusses this function of discourse:

> *'We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and*

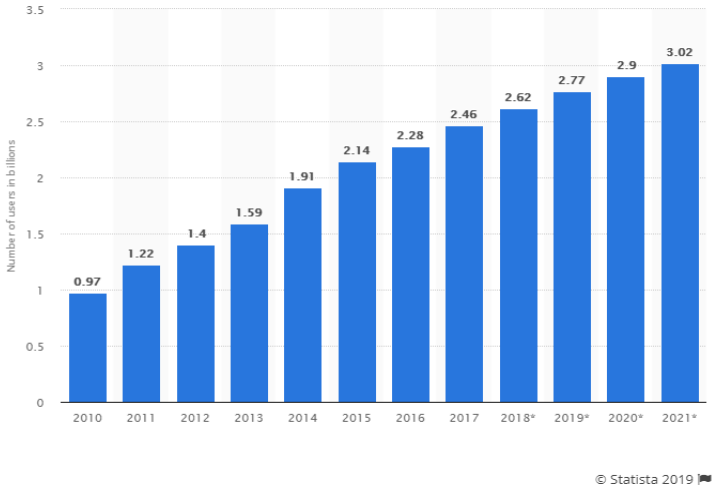
> *produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.'*
>
> *(Foucault, 1990 [1978], p.101).*

Therefore, whether or not an ideology is naturalised, and gains popularity and mass approval does not affect the power of the discourse itself. All text producers have the power to 'undermine' 'expose' and 'thwart' even the most mainstream and naturalised ideologies, discursively. Naturalisation accentuates the already powerful discourse which enables it to have an impact on society.

Furthermore, due to the evolving nature of language as a result of advancements like technology and the internet, the use of language in contemporary society has become complex; the transmission and production of power has become more fluid with the multi-modal form of the digital discourse world. Therefore, from a linguistic perspective, specifically a CDA perspective, it is crucial that there is updated research that seeks to analyse the different uses and representations of language in the modern day and how it challenges traditional modes of communication and the impact that it has on society and the way messages are communicated and received.

Social media has developed into one of the most used modes of communication in contemporary society. Since the 1970s with the emergence of the internet, the last 40+ years have seen the evolution of social media and it has become a part of everyday life for billions of people. Fig 1.0 is a graphical representation of the rapidly growing number of users of social media from 2010 till 2019 and the predicted statistical growth of users in 2020 and 2021. In 2018, there had been an increase of 1.62 billion users of social media since 2010. This statistical information is evidence of the incredible influence of social media on society and how it has become a medium of communication that we utilise to retrieve information, socialise, discuss and debate, entertain, advertise, etc. Therefore, it is no longer just a product of technology but a powerful, influential and ideological tool of communication.

Figure 1.0 Number of global social media users 2010-2021



One of the many benefits of social media that makes it a unique mode of communication is the potential for ordinary users to reach a mass audience; something that would have only been possible for people of institutional and occupational power, prior to the advancement of social media. As a result, social media has, to some degree, redefined the ways in which information is conveyed and consumed by the general public. Marwick explores this in her exploration of social media and modern neoliberal capitalism.

> *'Social media applies contradictory, yet intertwined ideals of counterculture and capitalism to the self, friends, relationships, and interpersonal interactions. People can spread ideas and creations to a formerly inconceivable mass audience, but in ways bounded and influenced by the confines of modern neoliberal capitalism'*
>
> *(Marwick, 2010:11)*

The idea that social media can be a platform for the expression of 'contradictory…ideals of counterculture' is interesting as it shows how social media is a platform for the polarised and alternate ideologies that are not usually conveyed in mainstream discourse (Marwick, 2010:11). Newspapers, both digital and print, political speeches and campaigns, TV advertisements, medical, legal and educational discourses and others like these are controlled by people of either institutional, occupational or personal power. The ideologies and messages conveyed through these

discourses have for centuries naturalised ideologies in society without any real engagement between the general public and the ideologies themselves. Therefore, social media has enabled power to be distributed more democratically than ever before, though, as Marwick explains, it is still 'bounded…by the confines of modern neoliberal capitalism' (Marwick, 2010:11).

Consequently, to understand the ways in which ideologies are represented in the modern world, it is crucial that researchers explore social media and the different uses and manipulation of multi-modal discourse that allow users to express their beliefs and ideas. Bearing this in mind, this research aims to explore the current controversial diet and ethical social movement of veganism, to understand, from the perspective of the general public as opposed to people of power and influence, how veganism is discursively and ideologically represented and received in society through Twitter.

In the last couple of years, the vegan diet has been at the forefront of social debate as the number of people identifying as vegan increases. Between 2016 and 2018, 3.5 million British people identified as vegans, according to a survey by comparethemarket.com. The increase in the interest in veganism, despite it being, until recently, a subculture, motivates one to examine the naturalisation of veganism and the discursive ways in which it establishes a strong space in contemporary society. Such an exploration would more generally highlight how subcultures become widely accepted, despite the lack of institutional and occupational power that popular and more socially favourable ideologies receive.

In the subsequent sections of my introduction, I will unpack the relevant social, political and demographic context of veganism to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon in contemporary society. This is important for me consider in order to understand the relationship between diet and identity and also the impact that society has on the discourse of anti-mainstream ideologies.

1.2 Context of Study

1.21 Introduction to Veganism

According to the Vegan Society, 'veganism is a way of living which seeks to exclude, as far as is possible and practicable, all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose' (The Vegan Society, 2019). It is important to note that this definition of veganism is a current definition that the Vegan Society has

on their website. The Vegan Society is the known oldest vegan charity organisation that was founded in 1944. It was established after a former member of the UK Vegetarian Society, namely Donald Watson, 'renounced' both eggs and dairy and termed this choice as 'Vegan' which resulted in the formation of 'The Vegan Society' (Martinelli and Berkmaniene, 2018). Watson also set up the 'Vegan news' newsletter in which he offered a formal definition of veganism in 1951: 'the doctrine that man should live without exploiting animals' (Watson, 1951: 2-3). From the earliest dated use of the term 'vegan' by Watson to distinguish veganism from vegetarianism, as a result of renouncing eggs and milk, to the definition that Watson offers in 1951 (the doctrine that man should live without exploiting animals) and finally the current definition presented by the Vegan Society today, it is clear that veganism is a complex phenomenon that is and has been difficult to define. Over time there have been changes in the definition offered by the Vegan Society which reflect the changes in the way society responds to veganism.

See figure 1.1 for a graphical representation of the development of the definition of veganism from 1944-present day. 1.2 is a graphical representation of the semantic change in the definitions of veganism.

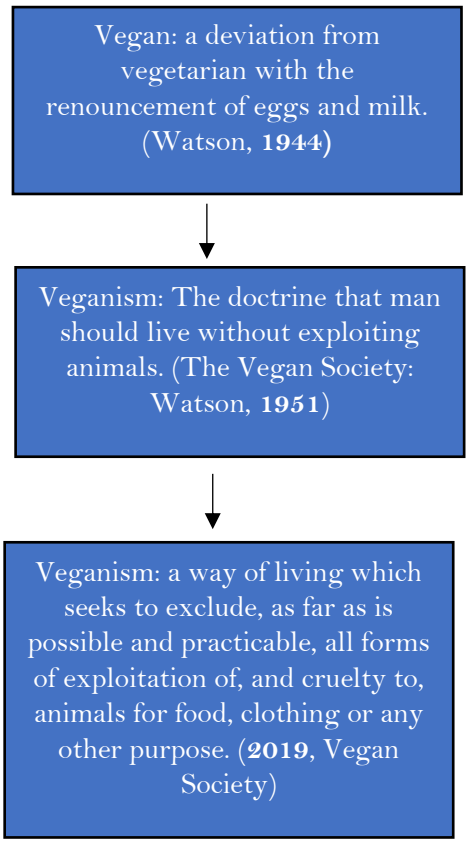


Fig 1.1

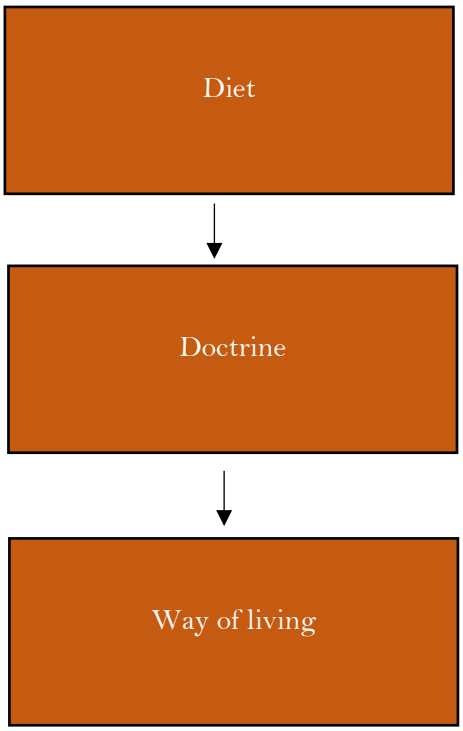


Fig 1.2

Watson's 1951 definition, with the use of the word 'doctrine' to describe the phenomenon of veganism, suggests that the practice and prescription of veganism was connected to wider socio-political and ethical ideologies. While in the current definition on the Vegan Society website, veganism is portrayed to be motivated by animal welfare and exploitation, the term of reference 'a way of living' appears as a euphemistic and vague version of 'doctrine', thus it downplays the political motivations of the diet by omitting a clear term of reference like 'doctrine'. (see fig 1.2). This semantic change in reference to the term veganism is important to consider as it indicates that veganism does not neatly and exclusively fit into the existing socio-political and ethical spheres in society. The noticeable change in the definition offered today reflects society's reluctance to link veganism to a larger sociological or philosophical field or notion which Watson did not shy away from in the 1950s.

This social change in the way society identifies and responds to veganism is a topic of research that would benefit from a thorough sociological analysis. There are a number of factors that have influenced modern day vegans, especially charities like the Vegan Society, to downplay their rhetoric and make it less politically motivated. This could be a progression within the vegan community, to not be vocally intrusive when advocating their views on veganism. However, given the current situation surrounding veganism and its negative media representation, as a result of a minority of vegans resorting to violence to make a statement about animal cruelty, the euphemistic tone could be used to distance themselves from such minority groups.

UK national TV shows like This Morning have, on multiple occasions in the last few years invited pro-vegan and anti-vegan guests to discuss the violence that is being attributed to the members of veganism. Consequently, the negative press image may be a contributing factor in the euphemising of the original definition of veganism and the detachment from socio-political disciplines that could be seen as vegans attempting to indoctrinate society.

My research aims to begin a discussion on the discursive representation and reception of veganism in contemporary society; however, this project could also yield a more general theoretical discussion on the representation of marginalised groups in society and the way members from minority groups contest the behaviour of sub-groups within the community and separate themselves from the negative labels attached to them. Consequently, it seems that countercultures are battling two challenges as a

result of being in the minority. 1. Challenging mainstream ideologies in order to find a place in society. 2. Challenging sub-cultures from within their own that distances them from once again becoming more naturalised and accepted by society.

Therefore, I hope my research inspires further linguistic research that examines the representation and reception of minority groups on social media by using an insightful methodological tool, particularly Critical Stylistic analysis, that enables researchers to unpack the marginalised ideologies from the marginalised themselves. Also, as will be evident in my analysis later, a multi-modal analysis of social media allows for a creative methodology that enables a researcher to unpack complex notions like how identity is constructed and perceived idiosyncratically and socially.

1.22 The Demographic Image of Veganism in the Western World

Following on from the discussion on the definition and emergence of veganism, I will now examine the influence and impact of veganism on modern-day society. Martinelli and Berkmaniene reveal some interesting statistics regarding the demography of veganism in the Western world based on a compilation of different research into the area. Fig 1.3 is a list of the demographics they found, as listed in their research paper.

1. The majority of vegans are female in gender: e.g., 74% in USA [A], 66% in Germany [B] and 63% in UK [C];

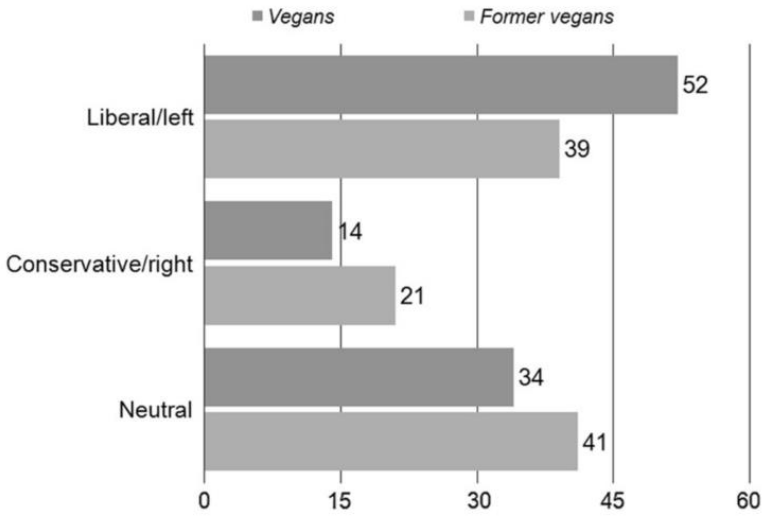
2. They tend to be liberal leftist politically: in USA, we have a 52% of liberals versus a 14% of conservatives and a 34% of self-styled "neutral" [A];

3. They are generally more educated than carnists (e.g., Ipsos Mori [C] for UK and Mensik et al. for Germany [B]);

4. They are more likely to be found in urban than country areas, with prevalence in big cities (e.g., Ipsos Mori [C] for UK, Roy Morgan Research for Australia [D] and Mensik et al. for Germany [B]);

5. They display an inclination to secular/atheist views on religion matters (e.g., Humane Research Council [A], where it is shown that about half of the American community of vegans/vegetarians is not religious—a percentage that is considerably higher than that of the general population).

From the statistics above, it is evident that veganism, despite being a radically different 'way of living' in comparison to mainstream ideas of food and lifestyle, is a social group populated by liberals. Fig 1.4 below is a bar chart from Martinelli and Berkmaniene that represents the political inclination of vegans compared to ex-vegans.



Overall, the demographics provide an insight into the dominant contexts in which veganism exists. They reveal that veganism is becoming an elite subculture with connections to socialism and education like other disciplines such as philosophy and sociology. This is particularly interesting when thinking about whether or not diet or the choices one makes regarding their food consumption and other lifestyle choices create a part of our identity, in the same way that gender, sexuality, religion etc. does. If one is to entertain the idea that our food choices create part of our identity in the same way as, for example, religion, then veganism becomes difficult to polarise and ridicule, since an identity is a personal, important and non-negotiable image of oneself in society. Yet veganism is very much a marginalised practice and is more often than not ridiculed in public discourse. Thus, it would be interesting to learn how marginalised and subcultural ideologies that form a part of one's identity gain recognition and respect from society, albeit being different from mainstream culture. Arguably, there are many cases of minority ideologies in the West, for example minority faiths, that while being small in number in the West and different to the mainstream narratives, still have a respectable and recognised place in society. Further research that maps this transition that minority groups and ideologies go through would be interesting from a sociological point of view but also from a

discursive point of view to understand the difference in narratives and the changes that appear over time.

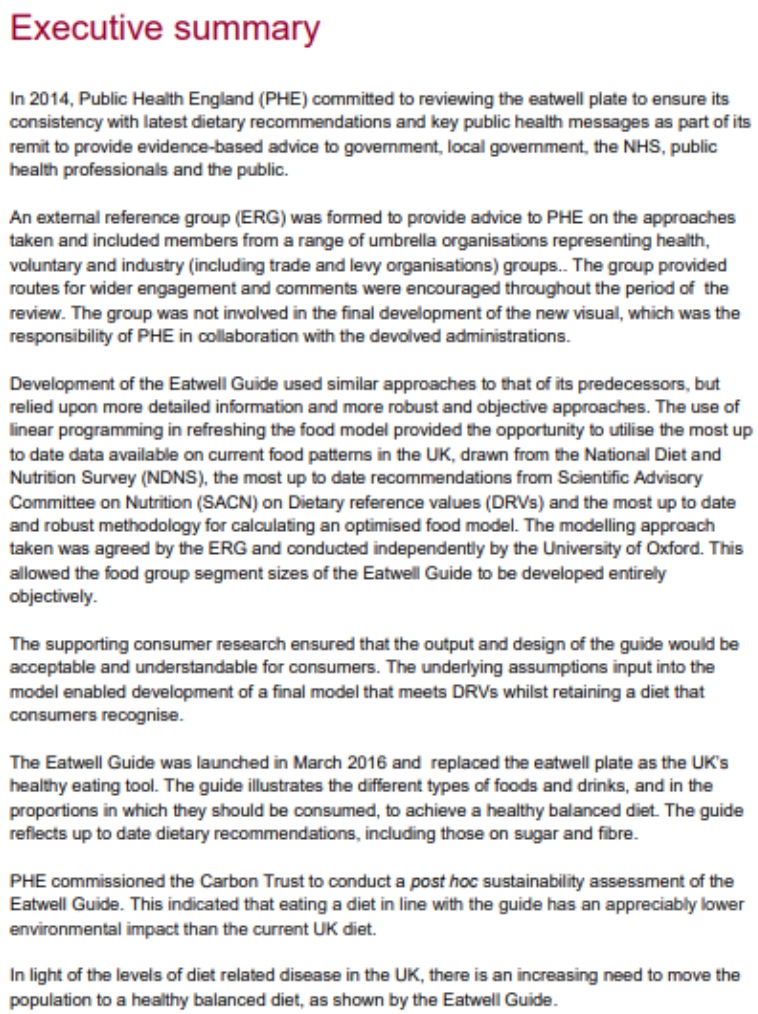
1.23 Naturalisation of Omnivorous Diets

Public Health England and The Eatwell Guide: Endorsing an animal-based diet

Veganism is a counterculture diet that refutes mainstream attitudes of health and ethics (Christopher, Bartkowski and Haverda, 2018). The mainstream ideology of health and nutrition centres on animal-based diets. Meat and dairy are, and have been for centuries, regarded as integral components of a balanced diet. This diet has been naturalised by medical and governmental discourses that endorse the diet as 'healthy' and 'balanced'. This is evident in campaigns like the 'Eatwell guide' and the Government dietary recommendation guide that encourages the consumption of meat, poultry and dairy among other food groups.

Figure 1.5 Eatwell Guide

Figure 1.6 Executive Summary of the 'From plate to Guide: What, why and how for the Eatwell guide developed by the PHE



Executive summary

In 2014, Public Health England (PHE) committed to reviewing the eatwell plate to ensure its consistency with latest dietary recommendations and key public health messages as part of its remit to provide evidence-based advice to government, local government, the NHS, public health professionals and the public.

An external reference group (ERG) was formed to provide advice to PHE on the approaches taken and included members from a range of umbrella organisations representing health, voluntary and industry (including trade and levy organisations) groups.. The group provided routes for wider engagement and comments were encouraged throughout the period of the review. The group was not involved in the final development of the new visual, which was the responsibility of PHE in collaboration with the devolved administrations.

Development of the Eatwell Guide used similar approaches to that of its predecessors, but relied upon more detailed information and more robust and objective approaches. The use of linear programming in refreshing the food model provided the opportunity to utilise the most up to date data available on current food patterns in the UK, drawn from the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (NDNS), the most up to date recommendations from Scientific Advisory Committee on Nutrition (SACN) on Dietary reference values (DRVs) and the most up to date and robust methodology for calculating an optimised food model. The modelling approach taken was agreed by the ERG and conducted independently by the University of Oxford. This allowed the food group segment sizes of the Eatwell Guide to be developed entirely objectively.

The supporting consumer research ensured that the output and design of the guide would be acceptable and understandable for consumers. The underlying assumptions input into the model enabled development of a final model that meets DRVs whilst retaining a diet that consumers recognise.

The Eatwell Guide was launched in March 2016 and replaced the eatwell plate as the UK's healthy eating tool. The guide illustrates the different types of foods and drinks, and in the proportions in which they should be consumed, to achieve a healthy balanced diet. The guide reflects up to date dietary recommendations, including those on sugar and fibre.

PHE commissioned the Carbon Trust to conduct a *post hoc* sustainability assessment of the Eatwell Guide. This indicated that eating a diet in line with the guide has an appreciably lower environmental impact than the current UK diet.

In light of the levels of diet related disease in the UK, there is an increasing need to move the population to a healthy balanced diet, as shown by the Eatwell Guide.

While the inclusion of meat, poultry and dairy have long been the norm in many societies, the Public Health England (PHE) authority have constantly reviewed the effectiveness of the Eatwell Guide and the diet in general and have collaborated with other official bodies to regulate, standardise and improve their endorsement of the diet. The guide is founded on research carried out by 'the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (NDNS) and the most up to date recommendations from Scientific Committee on Nutrition (SACN) on Dietary reference values (DRVs)' (fig 1.6). The scientific and research-based approach is the PHE's attempt to validate the endorsement of the diet as it indicates to the general public that specialists within the fields of science, health and nutrition, have informed the Eatwell guide through their knowledge power and expertise.

As is common in many official discourses like fig 1.6, the use of acronyms is interesting regarding power as they help to naturalise the diet being endorsed with the implication that the advice is coming from a place of expertise. Pigg discusses this in the following way:

> *The language of institutions reasserts the truth and inevitability of institutional practices, and as such, it creates domains of expertise, defines the grounds for specific forms of intervention and sets the terms for social relations.*
>
> (Pigg,1995)

In this way, as is the case in the PHE's Guide, an asymmetrical power relationship is maintained intentionally between the people of personal and social power namely the Government, scientists and researchers and the general public. Despite the acronyms having their full identification spelt out, they do not signify much more than 'expertise' to the average person who is not aware of such institutions and research practices. This is one of many interesting ways in which institutions naturalise ideologies through their knowledge power. Consequently, the general public put their full trust in such official bodies as they are persuaded into believing that they have all the right information. Graphically this is reiterated, as the 'Eatwell Guide' in fig 1.5 is a visual representation of the proportion of each food group one should eat. The prescription of the proportion of each food group is like a value but visually represented using a pie chart and different colours, all based on statistical research itself. Thus, it is interesting to see how such discursive tools i.e. acronyms and graphical representations of information have been used to naturalise a diet by presenting it as official and well-informed.

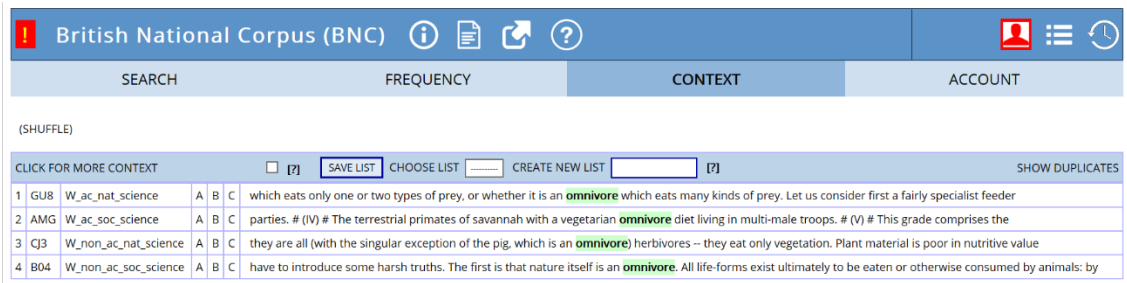
Furthermore, PHE's commissioning of the Carbon Trust authority in 2016 to ensure the diet had a reduced environmental impact also highlights the Government's attempt to naturalise the diet as it portrays it as a holistic and ideal guide (see fig.1.6). It is interesting to note that though dietary guidelines like the Eatwell guide have been endorsed by the Government since the 90s, only in 2016 did the Government commission the Carbon Trust to review the impact the diet had on the environment. The choice to commission the Carbon Trust could be informed by growing

environmental issues or arguably as a response to the criticism that many vegans highlight of animal-based diets in contemporary society. Overall, given the fact that powerful social institutions like the Government and Scientists are at the forefront of the advocacy of animal-based diets, it is understandable that such a diet is widely and largely the norm in communities in the western world.

Society's Naming of Omnivorous Diets

When I began my research process, I found it difficult to identify non-vegans as there did not appear to be a specific and naturalised term of address for non-vegans, at least not in the same way as 'vegan' was used to identify members of veganism. What I found in the existing research in this field was the term 'omnivorous' and 'omnivore' which I found to be peculiar when addressing the dietary choices of humans. This is because, it indicated that society does not actually have a non-technical, everyday word to describe the members of those that adopt diets in which they consume animal products.

To test the proposition that 'omnivore' is a technical scientific term, I carried out a context search for the word 'omnivore' on the British National Corpus (BNC) to identify the discourse contexts of the word and gain a better understanding of how the term is used. As can be seen from the screenshot of the results below, the only contexts in which the term 'omnivore' is used in is natural science discourses. Also, the fact that the search yielded such few results also shows that the term 'omnivore' is just not used as much in any context.



Another interesting lexical test I carried out was to identify antonyms of the nouns omnivore and omnivorous. The main antonyms I found were 'herbivore' and

'herbivorous' yet both of these terms have not yet been used in society to refer or address vegans and veganism. In this regard, the terms 'veganism' and 'vegan' have emerged in society despite the existing scientific terms to 1. Raise the profile of the diet and establish a place for it in society beyond the fields of science and 2. To ground the meaning of the diet to ethics and animal welfare.

Therefore, it seems that the naturalisation of 'omnivorous' diets is also represented in the fact that there has not been a need to officially define such a practice which could reflect the ideology that the diet is and always has been a part of the tradition of civilisation unlike veganism that has required redefinition over time. This also highlights society's inherent polarisation of the vegan diet due to the way in which it is separated from the standard tradition of defining and referring to the diet and its members. This form of naturalisation is similar to the unmarked form concept in semantics which is used to explain how certain meanings exist by default while others require contextual definition and redefinition over time.

Overall, it is evident that veganism is a subcultural dietary practice in society. However, the fact that it is evolving and growing in the western world despite official institutions actively advocating omnivorous diets, suggests that the process of naturalisation in society is also evolving. This could be attributed to many different factors, however, given the popular use of social media and the evolving purpose of it, I will be analysing the discourse of tweets to begin a discussion on how subcultural practices gain recognition in society. Therefore, a thorough Critical Stylistic analysis of the different discursive representations and reception of veganism on Twitter, would provide an insight into how society defines veganism and how it rejects veganism from within the community and from outside the community.

1.3 Aims of Study

The 4 main aims of my study are as follows;

1. To gain a better understanding of members of the vegan community on Twitter and how they discursively attempt to naturalise their ideologies.

2. To gain a better understanding of the ideological narratives held by anti-vegans regarding veganism.

3. To extend frameworks of Critical Stylistics so that they are applicable to multi-modal discourse, in order to signify the benefit of the merging of both sub-fields of Linguistics.

4. To elicit a wider discussion on the discursive representation and negotiation of identities in society on social media.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Direction of Literature Review

Since my research aims to analyse the discursive representation and reception of veganism on Twitter, it requires a multi-disciplinary study to inform its research. This is because not only does my research seek to understand how language is used to discursively represent one's ideologies but it also seeks to unravel: how identity, a social construct, is represented and socially accounted for; how social media enables one to project marginalised perspectives; how dominant, naturalised ideologies are sustained and how they reject minority ideologies. In this way, my research is layered with research contexts belonging to the fields of socio-political sociology, social media and identity and most importantly CDA of multi-modal discourse. Consequently, to inform my research in a holistic and comprehensive manner, it is vital that I unpack the different research contexts related to my study, in order to appropriately situate my research into the existing scholarly context.

Fig 2, below, is a graphical representation of the different research contexts that will inform my analysis, following a general-specific structure with the broad background of my study from Marxism all the way down to the specific discipline of Critical Stylistics. The different levels represented in fig 2 will be discussed in great detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter. It is important to note that they will be explored in a relative manner in which only aspects of their theory that relates to my overall discussion will be discussed, for reasons of space. The structure below serves to represent the various layers of research contexts that my research is connected to. It also serves as a blueprint of my literature review, representing the structure in which I will explore the different fields of research, allowing me to systematically and thoroughly situate my research into its scholarly context.

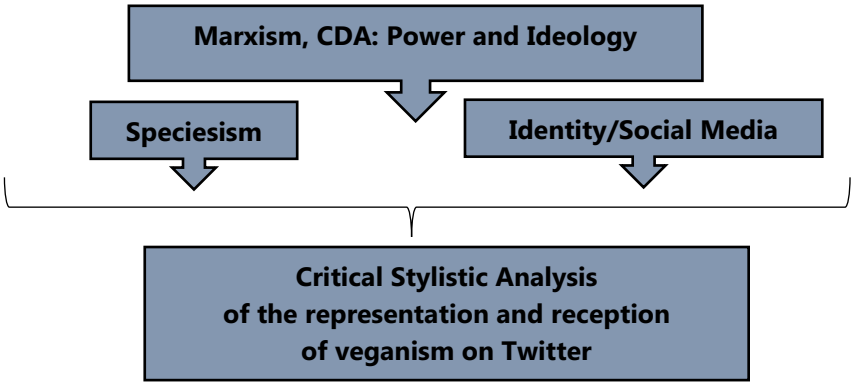


Fig 2 Blueprint of Literature Review

2.2 Relationship between Marxism and Critical Discourse Analysis

The foundations of CDA come from sociological thought and theory, specifically Marxism as it 'focusses on hegemony, where oppression of a group is carried out ideologically, rather than coercively, through the manufacture of consent (Fairclough, 1992). As a result of this sociological background of CDA, there are many similarities in the research practice of Critical Discourse Analysts and Sociologists.

The influence of Marxism on CDA can be seen in the myriad different subjects of study that have been researched since its origination. As identified by Stibbe, 'the Journal of Discourse and Society is dedicated to 'power, dominance and inequality and to the role of discourse in their legitimisation and reproduction in society, for instance in the domains of gender, race, ethnicity, class or world religion' (Discourse and Society, Aims and Scope; cited in Stibbe, 2001). Evidently, CDA research has and continues to analyse 'how language contributes to the domination of some people by others' (Fairclough, 1992: 64). While the Journal of Discourse and Society's research indicates a broad spectrum of potential subjects of study with regards to power relations in society, there is a gap in the field of CDA, highlighted by the Journal's oversight of power-relations pertaining the representation of animals, their role in society and their welfare.

Sociological research has begun to explore different manifestations of power relations in society between humans and animals. Eco-feminists like Adams (1990) and Kheel (1993) have explored 'exploitation that is directed against women and nature' and researchers Berry (1997) and Spiegel (1997) have attempted to unpack the comparison

between animal and human slavery. However, the ideological representation of animals and their social role/s in society is very much an underexplored area within CDA and generally requires more recent research across sociology too.

The Methodology and Subjects of study of CDA

If one is to examine the methodology of CDA, it is apparent that central to its analysis is the want to understand the relationship between linguistic features and wider 'strategic political functions of coercion, resistance, opposition, protest, dissimulation, legitimation and delegitimization' (Chilton and Schaffner, 1997).

Furthermore, the motivations of the topics and subjects of study in CDA as identified by Fairclough reflect the need for more inclusion of animal discourse in the wider body of CDA research. Fairclough identified the following pre-CDA procedure:

Fig 2.1 Fairclough's pre-CDA Procedure

1. Focus upon a specific social problem which has a semiotic aspect; go outside the text and describe the problem and identify its semiotic aspect;
2. Identify the dominant styles, genres, discourses constituting this semiotic aspect;
3. Consider the range of difference and diversity in styles, genres, discourses within this aspect;
4. Identify the resistance against the colonialization processes executed by the dominant styles, genres and discourses.

The process above highlights the purpose of CDA research and the different subjects it is interested in. Since the centre of CDA research is to 'focus upon a specific social problem which has a semiotic aspect', it reflects the potential of a wide range of subjects of study. How one defines a social problem is ideological in and of itself however, topics that relate to societal problems, the negotiation of power and the different power relations in society could fit in this category, as does veganism. Steps 2-4 offer specific processes in regard to the analysis of a social problem within discourse. Step 4 is particularly interesting to the discussion at hand, as it suggests that at the discourse level, CDA is concerned with identifying the different ways in

which conflict is discursively 'executed' and represented. The intentionally general and open-ended form of the procedure of CDA identified by Fairclough, encourages research into a wide variety of social issues. Consequently, my research into the discursive representation of veganism on Twitter should encourage further research that seeks to analyse power-relations in society that are connected, in any capacity, to ideologies pertaining animals and their welfare, an area that is greatly oversighted.

Though my research is focussed on the discursive representation of veganism as opposed to animals directly, it is interesting to spend some time exploring existing research into animal discourse. This is because such research would reveal how society identifies the social relations of animals, their role in society, their welfare and rights. All of which would provide a background for my research into veganism by revealing some of the reasons why individuals choose to adopt veganism and why others are opposed to the idea. In regard to the naturalisation of omnivorous diets, such research would also highlight society's understanding and perception of animals, which could reveal why omnivorous diets are the norm.

2.21 Arran Stibbe: Language, Power and the Social Construction of Animals

Stibbe's research uncovers 'how…language, from the level of pragmatics and semantics down to syntax and morphology, influences how animals are socially constructed and, hence treated by human society' (Stibbe, 2001). To conduct his research, Stibbe compiled a corpus of data from a range of different sources, including articles published in meat industry magazines, articles by the meat industry itself and professional articles by veterinarians. To inform his analysis, Stibbe used forms of CDA 'combined with Potter's (1996) theory of fact construction' (Stibbe, 2001).

His analysis revealed some interesting findings on how, as a society, we perceive animals and create their reality in discourse. One of the main points noted by Stibbe was the polarisation between humans and animals. This otherness he found was created on many different lexical levels. Quoting Singer, Stibbe's mentions 'the very words we use conceal its [meat's] origin, we eat beef, not bull…and pork, not pig…' (Singer, 1990:95). Similarly, 'killing, too, is lexicalised differently for humans and animals: Animals are slaughtered, humans are murdered. Interchanging these two – You murdered my pet hamster – is comical. The refugees were slaughtered means that they were killed brutally, uncaringly, and immorally.' Other discursive ways in which

animals are distanced from humans found by Stibbe's are through metonymy and nominalisation. The examples below taken from Stibbe's research are examples of metonymy.

1. Catching broilers is a backbreaking, dirty and unpleasant job (Bowers, 1997a)
2. [There is] susceptibility to ascites and flipover…in the female breeder (Shane, 1995).
3. There's not enough power to stun the beef…you'd end up cutting its head off while the beef was still alive (Eisnitz, 1997, p. 216).
4. Exciting times for beef practitioners (Herrick, 1995, p. 1031).

In the examples above, metonymy has been used in 'references to animals' to shift 'attention away from their individuality' (Stibbe, 2001). For instance, in the first example, 'broiler' is used to refer to the animal when it is in fact the process of cooking meat. In this way, the use of metonymy in the examples portrays how animals are considered resources for humans (Regan, 1996: 36) rather than individual species with their own life purposes.

With regards to nominalisation, Stibbe found that animals are polarised in discourse by evading agency. In examples like 'Carcass damage from handling and bird struggle during the kill does occur in broilers (Bowers, 1997b). Stibbe's notes that there are three nominalisations at work in this example, 'damage' (X damages Y) , 'handling' (X handles Y) and 'the kill' (X kills Y) all of which 'hide both the agent and the patient, who appears only as a modifier in the expressions 'bird damage' and bird struggle' (Stibbe, 2001). This distances both the actors of the killing i.e. humans and the patients of the killing i.e. animals therefore not materialising the process and distancing action from reality.

The linguistic features discussed above are just some of the features explored by Stibbe. Ultimately, his research highlights that society's understanding and perception of animals in discourse is polarising. Animals and humans are not perceived as equal species. This understanding of animal life is an important contextual factor in the background of veganism, as pro-vegans who centre their motivations for their diet on the welfare of animals contest the traditional ideas found in Stibbe's research.

Given the extent of Stibbe's research and the examples found from the corpus of data he compiled and analysed, it does reflect on society's naturalisation of omnivorous diets as, if society does not consider animals and humans to be represented in a similar way, then they are inevitably not going to understand the arguments posited by vegans. Consequently, it seems that one of the reasons why vegans advocate their ideas on animal welfare and diet is because their conceptual, cognitive and semantic understanding of animals is different to non-vegans.

2.22 Speciesism

Following on from the discussion on the Marxists' influences on CDA and the analysis of discourse representing animals, I will now introduce the field of research that emerged to critically investigate the exploitation of animals influenced by Sociology. Richard Ryder first ratified the notion of speciesism which was a theory that likened the 'prejudice against non-human animals' with sexism and racism (Cole and Morgan, 2011). In this regard, Ryder mentions speciesism analyses how non-human animals are 'overlook[ed] or underestimate[ed]' and how this mentality reflects 'a selfish disregard for the interests of others and for their sufferings' (Ryder, 1983: 5). Ultimately, speciesism highlights that like racial and gender prejudice, it also is a form of prejudice towards other living beings.

In order for speciesism to be seen from a sociological perspective, Nibert proposes that researchers must analyse 'the social construction of speciesist reality' which would require an understanding of how speciesism is reflected in society (Nibert, 2002:195). Nibert's proposition has inspired further research into the sociological stance of speciesism by Singer (1995) and Dunayer (2004). While, both Singer and Dunayer provide an invaluable insight into the idiosyncrasies of veganism and the individual reasons for adopting the diet, they do not explore the impact of anti-vegan discourse, particularly in 'perpetuat[ing] and legitim[ising] speciesist social relations' (Cole and Morgan, 2011). Arguably, this exploration of the connection between anti-vegan discourse and speciesist social relations is the crux of the research into speciesism that would make it an eligible subject of study for CDA. In this way, my research should help extend previous explorations of speciesism offered by Stibbe, Singer and Dunayer to CDA which would be a small step towards providing a research space for animal discourse related topics in CDA and Sociology.

It is also important to note that previous research into veganism that focuses on the motivations of vegans, predominantly considers veganism 'as a subset of vegterian[ism]' and is considered to be 'a form of dietary asceticism involving exceptional efforts of self-transformation' (Cole and Morgan, 2011). Hence, it is clear that in order to move the discussion on the polarisation of veganism through anti-vegan discourse forward, veganism ought to be explored in an exceptional manner that allows for a thorough analysis of the distinction between veganism and vegetarianism to establish why such a diet exists, who chooses to adopt the diet and how and why it is polarised. In this regard, a stylistic analysis of veganism in social media discourses will encourage a discussion on both the representation and reception of veganism, which is crucial in order to understand society's polarisation of veganism.

Social media is an incredibly important medium of delivering and representing ideologies. Cole and Morgan identify how, with regards to 'broader societal dispositions against veganism, the mass media are arguably of far greater significance than academia in that they represent a key site of contestation for the meaning of veganism' (Cole and Morgan, 2011). While they refer to mass media which encompasses many mediums of communications, social media provides a raw insight into society's response to subcultural ideologies.

Overall, from my discussion of speciesism, it is evident that further research that helps to bridge the gap between animal studies and sociology and specialist fields like CDA is needed. Also, more generally, the discussion highlights that in order for any subcultural practice and minority ideology to be recognised as relevant and valid subjects of study in Sociology and CDA, they must be recognised as subjects of unequal social relations as opposed to individual practices. Arguably, one of the reasons why subcultures become polarised further in society is because of the lack of research engagement they receive which subsequently fails to recognise and highlight the serious reality of society's reception of subcultural and marginalised ideologies.

2.23 Identity and Social Media

Identity is a complex notion that is susceptible to change and is a fluid process as opposed to a state. Butler proposes 'that identity is formed and reformed through actions, as opposed to being something innate to the individual.' (as cited in Griffin, 2017: Butler, 1990: 195). As a result of this, 'identity is at its core, unstable, flexible and

contingent' (Griffin, 2017). Bearing this in mind, the representation of subcultural and minority identities in society is important to consider because the framing of such identities would inevitably reflect how they are received. It is also important to note that identities can be represented personally and internally from within a subgroup, by members of the community and alternatively they can be framed externally from outside the subgroup. With subcultures like veganism, I propose that the polarisation of their ideologies occurs as a result of two diverging narratives of the vegan identity being represented, one gaining more attention due to it coming from authority and power. As is the case with all subcultures, if the understanding and perception of subcultural practices and beliefs was the same by the members of the practice and the mainstream non-members, then polarisation would not occur. However, unfortunately there are many examples of subcultural practices that are constantly polarised as a result of a deviating narrative coming from mainstream discourses. Consequently, 'counter-discourses are…in a more difficult position, competing against pre-existing terms of reference' (Hall et al., 1978: cited in Cole and Morgan, 2011). While 'pre-existing terms of reference' could mean competing with established ideologies and beliefs unrelated to the 'counter-discourses', the lack of attention drawn towards 'counter-discourses' also has the same effect: the ostracization of minorities.

With regards to the identity of vegans, it is important to understand how food and dietary choices and motivations for particular diets, in contemporary society, form an identity. Such an exploration would help answer the following questions, is the vegan identity an exclusive food choice that requires a strong sense of place in society or do all food choices construct a strong identity of oneself and their image in society? Stano, 2015 begins a discussion on this matter.

'Food preferences, taboos, and habits, by revealing our taste, express our identity. Moreover, as we live in an increasingly globalised world, characterised by a number of hybridisation processes, the crossing and overlapping among different "food identities" has become evident and consistent, incessantly relating identity to alterity.' (Stano, 2015)

Stano's discussion of the shift in food related identities, and the connection between identity and alterity is particularly interesting. It could suggest that vegans, due to adopting subcultural food practices and therefore being the 'other' feel more inclined to have a strong and distinct identity that recognises and represents their different

ideologies. This could be the case for many subcultural minorities in society, that feel very passionately, more so than members of mainstream cultures, about their self-image and the representation of their beliefs due to the lack of appreciation and the ostracization by wider society.

2.24 Social Media and Veganism

Social media is a product of new media that, due to its form, encourages the presentation and contestation of ideologies, minority ones but also established and mainstream ones too. The way this is possible on social media is due to its interactivity feature. Interactivity with regards to social media, as identified by Deumert, refers to:

'a) our ability to change what is represented online, not merely to read or consume it. (Cameron, 1995), and
b) the fact that we do so in social context where we are always also responding to others and their representations.' (Deumert, 2014: 25)

De Mul further expands this idea of the online space being 'a playing field that enables us to [re]configure all kinds of different worlds' (De Mul, 2005: 262). The way this is possible is due to the various features of social media that enable a fluid interaction between users and wider society. Features such as likes, comments, retweets, memes, emoticons, visuals, usernames, hashtags etc. enable users to creatively reproduce ideologies, contest ideologies and provide alternate perspectives on social issues. In this way, subcultural identities can be constructed and represented on social media. Of course, as with any identity online and offline, there is the opportunity for it to be contested too, however, the reconfiguration of worldviews and mainstream and naturalised ideologies is something that social media has enabled or at least made easier to do.

When institutionally created discourses (endorsed by the government, NHS and official bodies) are dominating the messages that society receives about a subcultural practice, then social media enables members of subcultural practices to recontextualise the mainstream narratives. With regards to veganism then, social media could be a tool that vegans use to propagate their ideologies and advocate for them as well as a means of identity construction in which they proudly present their vegan identity online.

2.3 Existing Discourse Analysis Research into The Representation of Veganism

As discussed, there is very limited research into veganism from a CDA perspective. Nevertheless, there has been some invaluable work done within the more general field of 'Discourse Analysis' which provide a scholarly background for my research. In order of most recent, the following are examples of some of the most interesting and relevant research into the discourse of veganism. Cook (2015) explores the different discursive representations of animals, particularly analysing the difference in perspective from advocates of hunting and advocates of animal rights. To inform his research, Cook analysed two interviews by two very different advocates: a spokesperson for the Vegan Society and a spokesperson for the Countryside Alliance 'a pro-hunting pressure group'. Cole and Morgan (2011) have carried out research that analysed UK national newspapers to investigate the reproduction of speciesism and the idea of 'vegaphobia'. Sneijder and Molder (2009) have analysed how ideologies regarding food choices are normalised in online discussions on veganism and how they construct an identity.

Evidently, the existing research discussed above is insightful and each uniquely provides a different research focus and goal. Due to reasons of space, I cannot evaluate and review all pieces of research mentioned above in great detail. For this reason, I have briefly identified the most relevant pieces of research carried out to create a research context for my study to be situated in.

However, in my exploration of previous research, there was a particular research that was exceptionally relevant to my study and the most recent to. Therefore, I chose to critically evaluate the research and use it as a primary research model to draw connections to as well as extend, with the aim of contributing to CDA and enhancing the scholarly context with regards to the subject of veganism.

2.31 Portraits of Veganism: A Comparative Discourse Analysis of a Second-Order Subculture

Christopher, Bartkowski and Haverda carried out a discourse analysis of two documentaries about veganism: 1. Vegucated (2010) and 2. Forks over Knives (2011). Their analysis had three umbrella foci: definitions of veganism, rationales for the adoption of and adherence to a vegan diet and lifestyle, and vegan negotiation within

the broader cultural mainstream. Before examining the results of their research, it is important to evaluate their methodology and frameworks of analysis to gain a better understanding of their research and what it aimed to do as well as reviewing the effectiveness of the approach they adopted. This will also help build a better picture of what sort of research has already been done and how the discussion could be extended and how further research could be adapted.

Methodology and Frameworks of Analysis

The authors discuss in great deal the process of selecting the films for their data analysis and provide good reasons as to why the films were chosen. They followed a systematic process when selecting the films, which they claimed is used for many qualitative analyses. The process ensured there were at least two films for comparative purposes; the films were current (produced in the last decade); they were easily accessible and widely viewed and lastly the samples from the films selected had to include explicit ideologies and practices of veganism. This procedure of collecting the data ensured a rigorous and replicable approach; however, it appears that the last criteria was not only ambiguous but also subjective and would have concentrated the data prior to analysis with only 'explicitly' ideological samples collected. As a critical stylistic researcher, it is important to recognise that often the more implicit and covert manipulation of language to portray ideologies provides an interesting discussion on the attitudes of the participants and reveals more about their ideological stance on particular matters than explicitly ideological examples. For instance, the feature of texts labelled 'equating' in Critical Stylistics, can discreetly be embedded in structures. In the example, '*Boris Johnson is brave being the Prime Minister',* equivalence is created through the use of the copula 'is' which naturalises the ideology that Boris Johnson is not an appropriate candidate for the role of Prime Minister. However, the presentation of this underlying ideology through equivalence hides the ideology by not marking it propositionally in the sentence, with the potential effect of naturalising it. As a result, for the authors of the research above to purposefully simply look for explicit ideological cases of the representation of veganism in the films, limits the scope of their research.

With regard to their methods of analysis, the authors chose to carry out a discourse analysis of the films to unpack the different ideological representations of veganism in the films. They adopt a very thorough approach in the categorisation of the data.

This was achieved by viewing, analysing and coding each film four times. The coding stage was used to create the three foci of their analysis mentioned above.

They noted that since they were going to carry out a discourse analysis of the films, they were required to 'convert' the 'narrative devices of' the films 'into a textual document'. While, as they recognise, transcribing data from the film would be a considerable part of their data organisation, they ignored the fact that the films are multi-modal forms of discourse therefore, not all aspect of the discourse needed to be 'converted' into textual data, but actually appreciated as a distinct form of discourse that contributed to the overall ideologies being represented. This is especially significant since they recognise that films are 'multi-layered mediums'; however, they chose not to deal with the different features of the multi-modal form of the films as unique pieces of data. It was particularly striking that the authors transcribed the 'visuals' as this seemed to undermine the nuances of multi-modal data. Therefore, a multi-modal discourse analysis would have provided a comprehensive analysis which would have highlighted the complexities of such data and the importance of the merge between frameworks of analysis like discourse analysis and multi- modal analysis.

Results

The authors found that both films offered different definitions and uses of veganism which highlighted the varying ideologies associated to them by the different producers of the films and the participants in the films. They found that the film Forks over Knives presented the ideology of 'health veganism' which focussed on 'dietary choices rather than broader political or ethical commitments'. Contrastingly, they found that the film Vegucated presented the ideology of 'holistic veganism' which defined veganism as a 'multipronged fashion in diet and lifestyle, animal welfare concerns, and environmental consciousness'.

Furthermore, in Forks over Knives, the word 'vegan' was scarcely used, in fact it was only used once. Rather than 'vegan', the participants chose to use the phrase 'plant-based diet' which provided a 'less value-laden and more nutrition-oriented' stance on the practice. On the other hand, in Vegucated as is expected, the word 'vegan' was used 'well over one hundred times'. Notably, 'the vegan or vegetarian identity markers presented in these films are rhetorical inversions of one another'. In Forks over Knives the word 'vegan' was used in just a single case while 'plant-based diet was used

predominantly, similarly, in Vegucated 'plant-based diet was used rather sparingly while 'vegan' was used primarily.

Moreover, the analysis revealed 'the elite-level cultural production of a vegan identity'. Interestingly, the authors found that veganism was represented as a healthier option and therefore more elite than the standard Western diet. The way this ideology was mediated was through the use of graphs, statistics, academic articles to signify the rigour of the claims in the films. Ironically, as discussed in the introduction chapter of this research, official institutional and organisational discourse endorsed by the Government in the UK also uses the same technique of naturalising their claims and making them appear official and valid.

The film 'Forks over Knives' generated an interesting discussion by the authors on the 'feminisation of veganism'. To resist the broader cultural perception of masculine meat consumption, Forks over Knives features Esseltyn climbing up a fire pole, while shouting, 'Real. Men. Eat. Plants! Real. Men. Plants!' The ideology represented highlights how in society eating meat has become a symbol of masculinity. This idea is also represented in Vegucated in which a participant, upon seeing a faux-leather jacket in a shop says 'There ain't nothing girly about being a vegan. If I had this jacket, I'd be like the most desirable man in the city because I would look like a bad boy. But then it's like sensitive, you know?'.

Overall, Christopher, Bartkowski and Haverda's research is a great starting point for discourse analysis that seeks to understand the representation and reception of veganism in society. While the data yielded an interesting discussion on the different definitions of veganism and the different motivating factors and wider societal attitudes towards veganism in the form of stereotypes, the approach appeared to be quite scattered as opposed to systematic. This was primarily because the analysis was not informed by any specific framework or toolkit of discourse analysis. In cases with the token 'vegan', it was understandable why such a choice of word was used for exploration, however, when examining stereotypes there ought to have been a rationale outlined that would have explained how the authors found and selected the specific data. Following on from the scholarship provided by this research and drawing on the ideologies discussed, particularly the feminisation of veganism, further research, grounded in frameworks of critical stylistics would richly add to this area of research.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data

3.11 Choice of Data

Previous research into the discursive representation of veganism has analysed many interesting modes of discourse such as Film and Documentaries on veganism, interviews, online vegan forums, newspaper articles among others, to gain an insight into the representation and reception of veganism. These modes of discourse have provided an invaluable insight into the way society recognises and receives the notion of veganism. However, there does appear to be a noticeable limitation in the research where either due to methodological boundaries like the observer's paradox and the experimental settings of interviews or the pre-planned nature of films, documentaries and newspaper articles, such modes of discourse cannot provide enough insight into the way individuals create a vegan identity for themselves and how society perceives and engages with it. While discourse like online forums provide illuminating and authentic results and a contextual background on how inter-group discussions within the vegan community work and how members discuss their choices and project their ideologies, they do not offer much to the discussion regarding the construction of the vegan identity, which is an interesting but underexplored area of study.

Consequently, I believe social media is a mode of discourse that, for a contemporary Critical Stylistic researcher, is an incredible asset, methodologically, theoretically and analytically. Methodologically it is an easily accessible type of data that is readily available without any tampering of the data. This means there is no influence of the researcher or the research on the data, therefore providing a raw insight into the representations, ideologies and attitudes of users. Theoretically and analytically, the different features of social media allow for a rigorous and illuminating investigation. For example, features like hashtags, usernames, likes and comments, retweets and images, videos, memes and gifs etc. all help to 1. Creatively enable users to represent their ideologies, therefore proving more scope for analysis 2. They help researchers organise and structure their analysis in a systematic manner. For example, hashtags, usernames, likes and comments can all generate empirical, countable data that can provide testable comparisons and statistics. Internal search engines within social media provide an incredible opportunity for researchers to easily search keywords and lexical tokens in the form of hashtags, to filter through an extensive dataset. Therefore,

theoretically and analytically, social media is one of the most interesting and advantageous type of data to analyse in the modern day that can yield interesting findings on how we construct identities in society, how we represent ideologies that are marginalised and how society responds to those ideologies. These are questions and topics that require a close-textual and qualitative analysis which, without social media, would be difficult to access and replicate without compromising the ecological validity of the data. It is for this reason, I chose to collect data from Twitter, a popular social networking application, to inform my research and to gain an insight into the idiosyncratic and community-based representation and reception of veganism by vegan users, the vegan community collectively and also anti-veganism users and those who are neither pro nor against it.

3.12 Data Collection

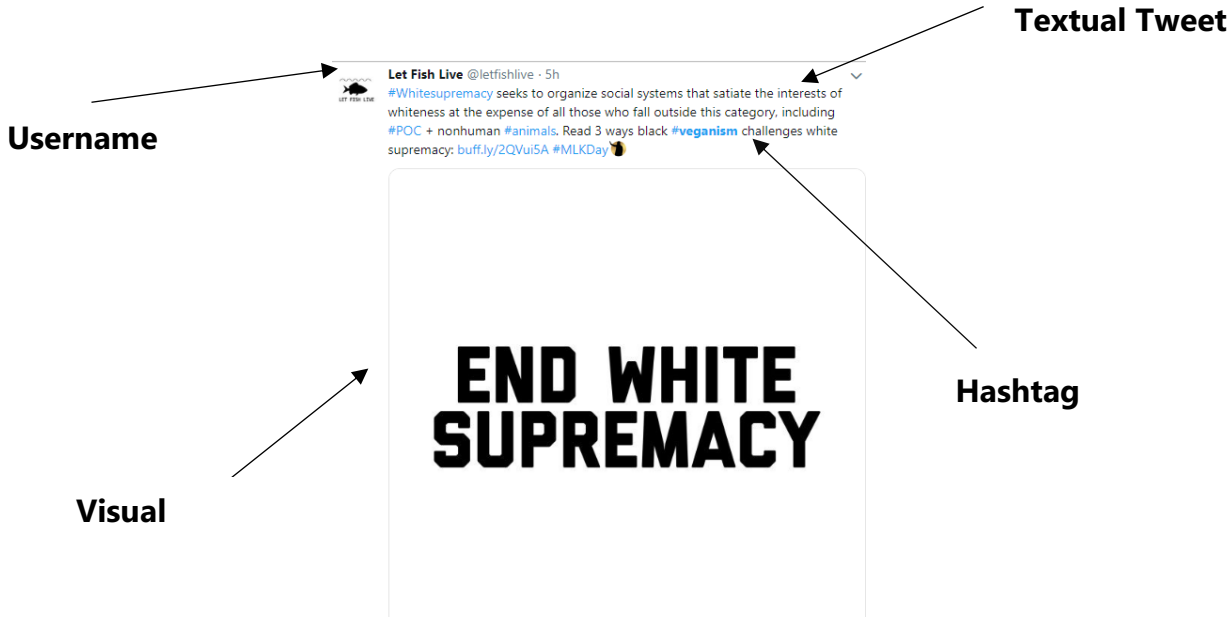
To gather my data, I chose to search the hashtag #veganism on Twitter's internal search engine to yield relevant tweets that included the hashtag. I then collected the top 50 tweets to ensure the tweets were topical and therefore representative of ideologies and attitudes that exist in society currently. This is important contextually, as topical current affairs surrounding the topic would provide a good contextual background that would help to unpack the ideological motivations of the users.

Subsequently, I collected the tweets including the usernames of the users of the tweet, the textual tweet itself, the visuals and all the hashtags used in the tweets. Given the limited scope of this research, I chose not to include the retweets of the tweets, I collected in my research. Theoretically, I believe the retweets actually form another discourse in which their textual tweet engages with an already existing tweet to form an entirely new tweet and discourse with a different user. Consequently, what I am proposing is that what is considered a discourse on social media, particularly Twitter, is the following: a username and profile image, textual tweet, the visual and the hashtag. Inevitably, in some cases there will be no visual or any hashtags and the tweet would still be considered a discourse. However, the moment someone retweets an existing tweet or comments underneath that tweet, the retweet and the comment create another discourse with another text producer (user). They are interesting to analyse to understand the reception of the original tweet; however, they are not part of the original discourse. Therefore, discursively I do not think it is of direct importance to analyse each retweet in my analysis as they are not just extensions of

the tweet but actually entirely new tweets and therefore new data. Also, it would be very time-consuming do so, as in many cases there can be hundreds of retweets.

3.13 Subjects of Study

In light of my theoretical discussion regarding what I propose constitutes a discourse on Twitter, the four discursive subjects of my study are: usernames, textual tweets, hashtags and visuals. Fig 3 below is an annotated tweet used to highlight the different features of the tweet discourse that I will be using to inform my analysis of the data.



3.2 Frameworks of Analysis

3.21 Choice of Frameworks

To ensure my analysis was rigorous, methodical and systematic, enabling it to be replicated, I chose to use the following tools of Critical Stylistics, as introduced by Jeffries: Naming, Opposition and Equivalence (Jeffries, 2010). After careful consideration, I found these frameworks were most suitable for my analysis. I found this to be the case for the following reasons. Firstly, my data is from social media therefore, a naming analysis tool would allow me to explore the different nominal choices of the users when constructing an identity online, both a pro-vegan identity and an anti-vegan identity. Secondly, the opposition and equivalence tools of analysis would provide me with a systematic framework to understand how ideologies are structurally naturalised and polarised in clauses. Many of the Critical Stylistic analytical tools offered by Jeffries could generate interesting discussion regarding how

ideologies are naturalised and polarised. However, opposition and equivalence specifically, elicit a discussion on how ideologies are synthesised within a structure or are separated for a particular ideological effect. Also, I find that both allow for detailed discussions that often can naturally lead to other linguistic features of analysis. This is because clause-level or whole sentence level analysis allows for a wider discussion on the different linguistic items in the structure therefore enabling me to draw upon other interesting linguistic concepts and features.

At this point, it is important to note that the tools of analysis proposed by Jeffries are for the analysis of linguistic text and not visuals. However, despite me also analysing the visuals in the tweet discourses, the tools are still applicable to my data analysis comprehensively, without the use of further frameworks. In the last section of my analysis, I propose an extension of Jeffries equivalence and opposition frameworks that enable the frameworks to be used to analyse multi-modal data, particularly data on social media, in this case tweets. I will discuss the modifications of the tools and how I intend to use them in the analysis chapter.

Since my research is a critical stylistics research, I will, where relevant, draw upon other stylistic concepts to address certain use of language or different linguistic features. I will use the following concepts to inform some of my analysis: external and internal deviation, foregrounding and members resources.

3.22 Naming Analysis

Jeffries' naming analysis tool breaks down the nominal choices made by text producers in their definition, description and representation of an entity or event. There are three main branches of the tool: 1. The choice of a noun to indicate a referent. 2. The construction of a noun phrase with modification to further determine the nature of the referent. And 3. The decision to use a 'name' as opposed to a process. (Jeffries, 2009: 20). These form the basis of a naming analysis and help researchers to unpack the ideological motivations of the text producer. What is interesting about the naming analysis tool is that it appears as a simple and easily applicable framework of analysis that can be used to inform many different types of analysis. However, while the foundations of the framework are simple, they can yield interesting ideological and theoretical discussions on topics such as nominalisation and the blurring of lexical categories which, from a discourse analysis perspective, are crucial when describing the effects of certain noun phrase choices that are packed with multiple processes.

For instance, the noun *persistence* is a nominalisation in which the verb *persist* has been nominalised with the *'ence'* suffix to create the word *persistence*. Consequently, although *persistence* is a noun, its original verb form packages both the process of *persisting* and the event of *persistence*. However, the noun, unlike the verb *persist* or *persisting* does not focus on the agent of the action and instead shifts the attention from the process to the event of *persistence*. In this way, ideologically, text producers can, for heightened effect, use nominalisation to hide agency by focussing on the event of a process as opposed to the process exclusively. This is just one example of the ideological effects of nominalisation and depending on the choice of the word and the context in which it is used, it allows for many different discussions on the use and ideological effects of nominalisation.

In this way, the naming analysis tool will provide an illuminating discussion on the discursive representation and reception of veganism, particularly when unpacking the different ideological effects of the choices of nouns and nouns phrases used in the usernames and hashtags.

3.23 Opposition and Equivalence

- Opposition

The opposition analysis tool highlights the different structural ways in which contrasts are created and represented in discourse. Fig 3.1 is a table of a range of different syntactic triggers of opposition as identified by Jeffries.

Negated Opposition	X not Y; some X, no Y; plenty of X, a lack of Y etc.
Transitional Opposition	Turn X into Y; X becomes Y; from X to Y etc.
Comparative Opposition	More X than Y; less X than Y etc.
Replacive Opposition	X instead of Y; X rather than Y; X in preference to Y.
Concessive Opposition	Despite X, Y; X, yet Y; X still, Y etc.
Explicit Opposition	X by contrast with Y; X as opposed to Y etc.
Parallelism	He liked X. She liked Y; your house is X, mine is Y etc.
Contrastives	X, but Y.

Such a tool of analysis identifies the linguistic ways in which contrasts are formed is hugely valuable for my data analysis that seeks to understand how marginalised ideologies are discursively represented and received, possibly in opposition to other groups.

- Equivalence

The equivalence analysis tool is used to identify how lexical items in a structure are represented as equals. Therefore, creating semantic connections between different lexis. Fig 3.2 is a table of three different types of equivalence with the relevant structures as indicated by Jeffries. The ideological effect of equivalence is particularly important for me to consider when analysing my data as in order to understand how text producers are able to naturalise an ideology one must unpack the way the different items in a structure are positioned to establish the ideology.

Intensive Relational Equivalence	X is Y; X seems Y; X became Y; X appears Y; Z made X Y; Z thinks X Y; Z cause X to be Y etc.
Appositional Equivalence	X, 7, (Z) etc.
Metaphorical Equivalence	X is Y (see above); The X of Y; X is like Y etc

3.3 Structure of Analysis

I will start with a naming analysis of the usernames followed by a naming analysis of the tweets and hashtags. I will then carry out an analysis of the opposition and equivalence in the tweets before lastly moving on to visual opposition and equivalence. The process of analysis and how I used the tools of analysis and/or modified them to use for a multi-modal analysis will be discussed in detail in the beginning of each of the respective sections of my analysis for clarity and to sustain a logical structure.

3.4 Research Questions

1. How do members of veganism, a subcultural practice, discursively represent their ideologies and construct their identity on Twitter?

2. Is veganism as a subcultural practice polarised in society and are vegans treated as 'others' on Twitter?

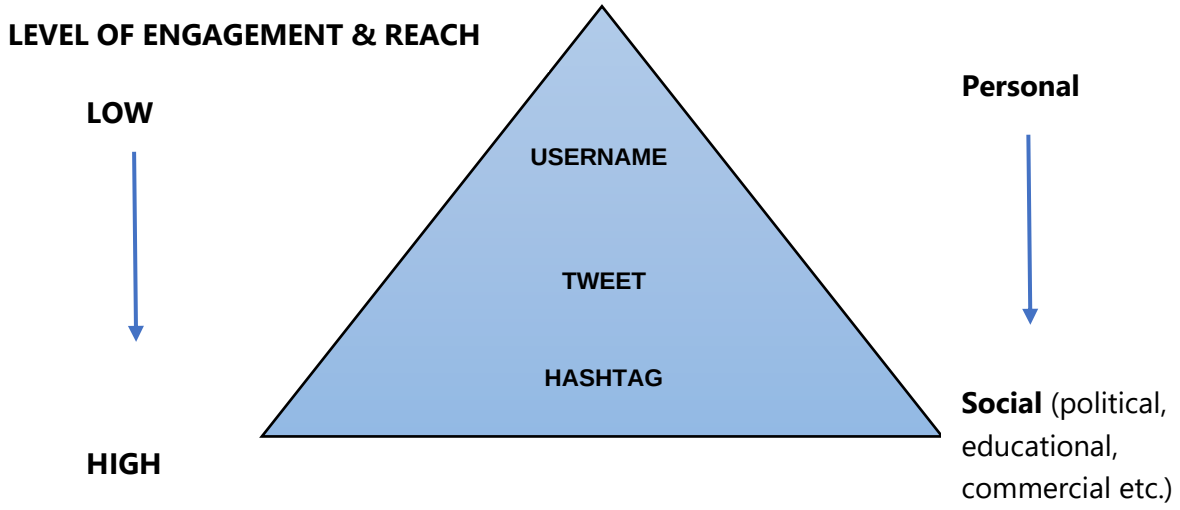
3. How do anti-vegans discursively represent their ideologies on veganism?

4. Does social media enable members of subcultural practices to project their identity online and therefore establish grounds for their place in society?

4. ANALYSIS

4.1 Naming Analysis: Defining and Describing veganism & its ideology

In order to understand how veganism is discursively represented and received on Twitter, it is important to take note of the choice and modifications of the nouns used to refer to 'veganism'. Therefore, in this section, I will analyse the choices of nouns and examples of noun modification that define and describe veganism. This section will be divided into three levels of analysis. The three different levels of analysis will be organised to represent the structure below in fig 4. Fig 4 is a graphical representation of the different modal features of Twitter that can be used to represent an ideology. The triangle and the order of the features (username > tweet > hashtag) reflect the stages and impact of the representation of an ideology on Twitter.



Firstly, a username is the first encounter someone has of another user's account on Twitter; therefore, it can be an ideological portrait of their account and their wider motivations for it. However, a username provides a micro insight into the user's account. The second level in the structure is the tweet level. Tweets are the main body of the text that are used to share an idea, frame an event, engage and connect with others; in fact, the list goes on of the different uses of tweets, given the multifunctional use of social media in contemporary society. Furthermore, similar to tweets are the

visuals that users can attach to their tweet. While the visual image is an important aspect of a tweet, I will be analysing it in a later section as it does not have the same naming quality as the other features. The last feature in the structure is hashtags and they are examples of metadata; they have enormous power to connect ideologies to a wider group of ideas through their linkable quality as a result of tagging. The three separate but connected features of Twitter, enable users to take a personal Twitter account and use it to post an opinion and then share it through means like hashtags to reach a wider audience and connect with other people.

In this way, fig 4 reflects the personal–social spectrum of the use of Twitter. It is important to note that the social use of Twitter is not limited to entertainment and engagement but also extends to the political, commercial, educational and infotainment purpose of Twitter. It is also important to note that this is a basic structure used as a model for analysis that will help to systemise the discussion of how features of Twitter differ in their discursive representation of an ideology. One of the many interesting discussions I will have in the following sections is the growing multi-use of the features of Twitter highlighted in fig 4, which blur the line between personal and social categories identified in figure 4, such as the creative, political use of usernames. This does not invalidate the structure but actually highlights the complex nature of identity and its representation on social media and in general, that cannot be accounted for in a simple diagram due to the fact that identity is a personal, complex and fluid notion. Therefore, fig 4 is not an absolute structure that is comprehensively applicable to all analyses but a scaffold for the naming analysis of the different features of Twitter and their ideological effects.

To inform my naming analysis of the different features, I will begin by collecting and analysing the usernames of the pro-vegan tweets using the naming analysis framework. I will then analyse the tweets by searching for all the noun phrases that described veganism, examining the choice of nouns and noun modifications. In some cases, the word ‘veganism’ was used, in other cases veganism was described in a more creative sense. Lastly, I will carry out a naming analysis of all the hashtags used in the tweets to gain a better understanding of what the users associated with veganism and the different communities of veganism that exist on Twitter.

4.11 Usernames

Usernames are an interesting idiosyncratic feature of social media that are used to identify oneself online. Unlike one's official name, usernames do not have to be real; they can be figurative, anecdotal, advocative, political, celebrity inspired etc. In fact, there are no real rules and one could create a bespoke name based on whatever they wish. It is also important to mention that due to the worldwide popular use of social media, usernames that are one's real names cannot always be used as they, for many people, could already have been taken. This, therefore, encourages creative and non-official usernames. Additionally, some users prefer to use pseudonym or creative names to conceal their identity online. Consequently, usernames serve as an insight into the personalities of users and they can provide information on their interests, ideas and worldviews. In stylistic terms, they are representation of one's identity and therefore can be an ideological portrait of users. For this reason, I chose to carry out a naming analysis of the usernames of the users of the tweets I used for my dataset.

I first collected the usernames of all the tweets and separated them into groups of 'pro-vegan' 'anti-vegan' and 'neutral'. Fig 4.1 is a table of my findings. As can be seen most tweets were by pro-vegan users; also, the group with the highest proportion of usernames that weren't official names was the 'pro-vegan' group.

From the 'anti-vegan' username group, it is evident that most users identified themselves on Twitter using their actual name and the few that didn't had usernames unrelated to veganism. The fact that the anti-vegan users mostly used their name as their username in comparison to the pro-vegan users is interesting in itself, as it suggests that vegan users have a different purpose for using social media. It also highlights how minority groups have to represent themselves and how the purpose of social media for them has become more fluid and is about creating an image of their ideas like a social campaign. I chose to limit my analysis of the usernames to just the 'pro-vegan' group as this group was the most ideologically rich in regard to the representation of veganism on Twitter.

Pro-Vegan	Anti-Vegan	Neutral
Plantfullness	Olly	Farming today
Anne- Marie Hewitt	Retiarius	James Stewart
FuturePlanet	Zorthius	Rebecca Dorsett
Scifashion08	Hilda Burke	

Bovine babe v Sentient Rights Girish Shah RatlamMP TC – Lifestyle Amy v Kari Vescio Dean Cole Alejandro Ladine-Macias BirdsofABone Jonathon Fox V Unbound FuturePlanet Thevegansupplementmarket BEE king Bracelets Vegan food recipe Veganism move Lois W Let fish live Sam Akhtar Monica Hewitt v Almira Gorus Coromandel Coast Northern Polytunnels Ellesmere Port Vegans v IBadassQueen Culinary Conscience v Jose Lis Franco [run a *** Node] Jill Godon Jasonlight MadVegans Crafty Bug Joei Chan	Sophie Wharfedale Mr. Noise Liz Stevenson WattsWhatMagazine Fien Barry	
Total No. of users: 36 Total No. of real Names: 11 Total No. of non-names: 22 Total No. of names with V symbol: 3	Total No. of users: 10 Total No. of real Names: 6 Total No. of non-names: 4	Total No. of users: 3 Total No. of real Names: 2 Total No. of non-names: 1

Political	Corporate	Social	Other
Plantfullness Sentient rights Bovine Babe (v) Let fish live Culinary conscience (v) Mad vegans unbound	Future Planet The vegan supplement market BEE kind Bracelets Northern Polytunnels Ellemere Port Vegans (v) Coromandel Coast	Vegan food recipe	Scifashion08 Ibadassqueen Crafty bug TC – Lifestyle Birdsofabone

Fig 4.2 is a table of all the non-name usernames of the 'pro-vegan' category from fig 4.1. I organised the usernames into four semantic categories (political, corporate, social and other). The categories reflect the ideological purpose of the accounts. The 'political category' consists of usernames that represent a philosophy of veganism. The 'corporate category' consists of usernames of businesses and official organisations. The 'social category' comprises of just one tweet which has a simple purpose of engaging and connecting with other members of the vegan community on Twitter. The 'other category' are the remaining usernames that do not fall into the others. The semantic category most noteworthy to my analysis is the political category as it represents usernames with an ideology that govern the whole account of that particular user and the choices they make with their content. For this reason, I will be focussing my analysis of the usernames solely on the political category.

Before analysing the different usernames of the political category, one interesting feature across the political and corporate categories was the use of the '(v)' symbol of 'vegan/vegetarian' in the usernames. The symbol is conventionally used on food labelling to mark the food as suitable for a vegan/vegetarian diet. In the context of a food label, the symbol serves as nothing more than dietary information however, in this context the usernames are not food labels therefore they do not have the same use. The use of the 'v' symbol draws on the readers' knowledge and awareness of the symbol which helps to make it a striking and noticeable feature. In this way the symbol is an example of a member's resource; the users are drawing on information that they know is recognisable within their community and beyond in order to create an identifiable account that connects other user's understanding and knowledge of veganism to their accounts.

Furthermore, it is uncommon to identify oneself with the 'v' symbol or something similar, even on social media, therefore, the use of the symbol is externally deviant in relation to the conventional use and form of usernames on social media. However, it is foregrounded to make a clear statement about the content that their accounts will post. In this way, before we even begin to analyse the nominal choices of the users, it is evident that the function of the accounts in question is to promote veganism which immediately suggests that their accounts are used for social campaigning. The use of the 'v' symbol is arguably like the use of a logo and brand icons in social campaigns

and advertisement discourse. Fig 4.3 below is an example of a campaign on the effects of smoking endorsed by the Indian Institute of Madras (IIM).

The IIM logo on the top left corner marks the campaign as approved and in collaboration with their company which helps to authenticate the campaign but also connects the campaign to a wider organisation. In the same way, the use of the 'v' symbol adds value and status to the usernames which help signify their message and also helps to simply brand them as members of the vegan community.

Political Category

I will now analyse each of the usernames from the political category above by examining the different discursive ways in which they project the users' pro-vegan ideology.

Plantfullness

The username 'plantfullness' is an interesting example of the coinage of a new word to represent an ideology that is difficult to otherwise define. One could use a noun phrase to describe the ideology however, by coining a word through suffixation allows one to draw on established meanings while creating a new word which helps to draw attention to it hence it is quite common in advertising discourse. It is also common of users of social media to create new words which become fashionable and gain a distinguished place in society. This is evident with the birth of the 'Urban Dictionary' which is an online database of new words and phrases created and used by the youth primarily. How these words become naturalised through social media with its ability to share ideas to a mass audience is interesting as it reflects the incredible power of social media and how it has allowed for a more representative method of highlighting neologisms in modern day society.

Regarding the construction of the neologism, there is a combination of two suffixes in the username: 'full' and 'ness' to create 'plantfullness'. Firstly, 'full' draws on the meaning of something being abundant which helps to brand the word as ameliorative straightaway. This thus helps to immediately represent veganism as a positive philosophy in society. The ideological effect of adding 'full' to plant highlights the idea that plants are a sustainable and resourceful product of the earth as there is an abundance of them. However, the meaning of 'full' particularly in this context is not limited to the physical abundance of plants but extends to the idea that plants are packed with nutritional value. Subsequently, the suffix 'ness' has a less semantically interesting role in the word 'plantfullness'; nevertheless, it does help to further project the ideology of the user, to naturalise it. The suffix 'ness' is used to simply refer to the state or quality of something, in this case the word 'plantfull' which is principally an adjective is turned into a noun with 'ness'. Ideologically, this reflects the user's intention to make 'plantfull' an entity that can be defined and referred to; therefore, recognising the ultimate ideology 'plants being resourceful, abundant and rich' and giving it a notable place in the linguistic world. Consequently, the user's coinage of the word 'plantfullness' with the suffixes 'full' and 'ness' is their attempt at naturalising their ideology.

Sentient rights

The username 'sentient rights' plays on the notion of human and animal rights to provide an alternate but merged notion that considers both human and animal entities as one. This ideology is represented using the abstract noun 'sentient' which connects humans and animals due to their ability to feel. Semantically, the noun 'sentient' does not restrict its meaning to specific entities or living beings; it simply describes the ability to feel emotion. Consequently, it simply but powerfully renders all other arguments about the difference between animals and humans as redundant and invalid as it doesn't focus on the lack of moral consciousness in animals or other arguments but instead focuses on the mutual ability between both animals and humans to feel emotion, offering a less polarising argument for the adoption of veganism. The discursive play on the notion of 'rights' is also interesting as it draws not only on human and animal rights, as established notions in society, but also draws on the contextual information surrounding rights, linking the username to the wider field of constitutional law. By doing this, the user attempts to naturalise the idea of

animals being the same as humans requiring the same constitutional rights but also the idea that sentient rights are constitutional rights that like any other rights must be respected and upheld. The message of humans and animals being equal could have been embedded in a noun phrase like 'sentient beings' however, the user chooses to use 'rights' to connect their ideology to official, reputable and already naturalised notions and organisations.

Bovine Babe

The username 'bovine babe' is an interesting example in which the user attempts to humanise cattle to reflect the ideology that animals and humans are equal and should be treated and considered as equal. This is achieved using the noun 'babe' which, in contemporary society, is a colloquial term of endearment often used by young people in casual and social contexts. The users choice to use 'babe' is interesting as it delivers the same message found in the username 'sentient rights' in a less serious and sombre tone. While the two words 'bovine babe' are not normally seen together and are therefore externally deviant, they are, within the domain of social media, foregrounded, as quirky, idiosyncratic and semantically unusual usernames are common on social media. It is also important to note that, phonetically, the username is memorable due the plosive alliteration and so while it seems that it is a light-hearted and quirky username, it is evident that the user has thought about how to represent their pro-vegan ideology in their username while not being overtly political about the matter. This method of implicitly representing their ideology by masking it under a colloquial discursive style, helps to make their account less harsh and more palatable and therefore likely to be accessed by other users, both pro-and-anti vegans.

Let fish live

This example is externally deviant generally, as grammatically complete structures are not normally used as usernames and in comparison to the other usernames in the dataset, the username 'let fish live' is not conventional however, it is foregrounded to highlight the purpose of the user's Twitter account and also their ideology on veganism. It is interesting how the user has used a complete sentence structure with a process to name their account as it suggests that the purpose of the username extends beyond just identifying the user's Twitter account. This discursively along with the actual choice of words, heightens the idea that the user's account is a type of a social

campaign with the goal of persuading others to go vegan unlike most personal Twitter accounts that do not have a designated rhetorical purpose.

The form of the username immediately draws attention to the user's account and sets it apart from others which appears to be a rhetorical device used to advertise the user's vegan ideology; this is also evident with the user's use of the imperative form of the verb 'let' which is a typical rhetorical device. Consequently, it is obvious that the user is deliberately advertising their perspective in a bold and transparent manner. It is also important to note that one's username is attached to all tweets they post on Twitter, therefore the user's choice to have such an overtly persuasive name means that their account will focus on vegan activism.

Structurally with regards to the framework of transitivity, the username is a causative construction with the causative verb 'let' as a material action intention process (MAI), the noun 'fish' as the goal and the verb 'live', a material action supervention (MAS) process as the effect of the causative 'let'. What makes the username interesting and complex is the combination of a MAI causative process and the MAS process. The MAI process 'let' emotively commands non-vegans to actively perform some sort of action that will enable 'fish' to 'live'. Semantically, the causative verb 'let' simply means to allow or permit an entity to do something. Therefore, by using the causative structure, the user connects the verbs in a cause-effect syntactic relationship to mirror the idea that there is a connection between the choices that humans make and the lives of animals. In this way, there seems to be a dichotomy of power and inability being represented in which humans are being described as having a detrimental effect on the animal's lives to such an extent in which they are implied to be in control of the lives of the animals. This represents non-vegans as cruel by focusing on the lives of animals as opposed to referring to them as produce or a source of nutrition. Consequently, it is evident that the user projects an extremely profound and philosophical perspective on the matter of veganism and is very much an advocate for the philosophy.

Culinary conscience (v)

The username 'culinary conscience' is a perceptive noun phrase that is ambiguous as it could refer to two semantically contrasting things. Firstly, and rather unusually, it could refer to food having a conscience like the term 'human conscience' or alternatively, it could refer to being conscientious regarding food choices. Semantically

and theoretically, it seems absurd to interpret culinary conscience as food having a conscience however, in this context with the user being pro-vegan, the ambiguity is a rhetorical device used to reflect the ideology that the food (animal-derived produce) non-vegans consume also has a conscience and is therefore not ethical to eat. In this way, the ambiguity equates two different meanings of the noun phrase 'culinary conscience' to highlight the idea that animals and humans both have a conscience. Also, the use of the ambiguity covertly sheds light on the obscure question of what's on one's plate, is it simply food for consumption and nutrition or is the food a life that has been lost which relates to the hierarchal assumptions of what food is and where it originates from.

Mad vegans

Like 'bovine babe, the username 'mad vegans' represents a more colloquial and less serious perspective on the matter of veganism. It is evident, through the use of the pejorative adjective 'mad' that the user of 'mad vegans' deliberately wants to play with the idea that vegans are peculiar and unusual in society to make their Twitter account and content on veganism stand out and therefore be more striking and accessible. Like the effect of reverse psychology, the user is manipulating the view held by their opponents as a strategy to reach more people and further advocate their pro-vegan ideology. Consequently, the user is not afraid of appearing different or afraid of being branded as strange. It seems that they are celebrating their ostracization as an attempt to fight the status quo. Another interpretation of their celebration of their peculiarity is that it highlights the irony between what they preach and their username to highlight how *mad* the anti-vegans actually are when they label vegans as odd. Also, in recent years 'mad' alongside 'sick' which are conventionally and etymologically defined as pejorative words have, in colloquial contexts, become ameliorative in use to highlight the enthusiastic response to an overwhelming positive event. In this case, such a use of 'mad' would ideologically reflect the uniquely elite position of vegans.

Unbound

The username 'unbound' is an interesting example of suffixation used to highlight an ideology. The base verb form 'bound' has connotations of something being confined or restricted and therefore not fully open. In regard to the etymology of the word bound it is related to 'bind' and 'binding' which are used in the contexts of books i.e. pages

being bound to create a book. Therefore, in this context, unbound ideologically highlights the idea that the content on the user's Twitter account will be free from any restrictions therefore implying that it will be honest, wholesome and of integrity.

From my analysis of the usernames, it is evident that usernames that are not official names of the users have an incredible discursive power and advantage to represent an ideology. In some cases, the usernames were boldly defiant of the status quo surrounding veganism and further polarised veganism from society, in an attempt to draw attention to it. In other cases, the usernames were used to represent ideologically complex notions and arguments of veganism to highlight the philanthropic and social activist goal of the Twitter accounts. It was particularly interesting to see how the usernames varied discursively; there were examples of verb phrases used as the username, a whole sentence structure, colloquial language and even rhetorical use of language too. Naturally, the framework of analysis I chose to use for my analysis of the usernames was naming analysis, yet in many of the usernames the users used verbs and whole sentences to identify themselves and their Twitter account. Consequently, highlighting the fact that the ideological process of naming a Twitter account is a complex and multi-layered one, since the use of Twitter is varied. In this way, my analysis echoes the assumptions made earlier: the use of social media is so vast and varied in the current day, it is a medium of communication, advertising, socialising, campaigning, educating etc. therefore users may use verb phrases and whole structures to reflect their advertisement-like goal of their Twitter account among others in combination with nominal choices to creatively represent their identity through their usernames.

Overall, the username naming analysis highlights the incredible opportunity that has arisen in the modern day as a result of social media, that enables Critical Stylistic Linguists and researchers of other disciplines to gain a direct insight into how polarised ideologies are represented to reflect ones identity, through the close-text analysis of usernames. It is evident from the analysis that there is an ideological connection between usernames and account holders, their content and worldviews on specific matters (in this case veganism). Further research investigating a different context could test this proposition and provide evidence for the usefulness of the analysis of usernames.

4.12 Tweets

I will now be analysing the nominal choices of the users when referring to veganism. Below are examples of tweets in which the user either modified the noun veganism or referred to it in a more abstract sense.

[a] Now can you tell @n1g3 to stop forcing his food fascism on others…

[b] Popularity in #plantbaseddiet is on the rise.

[c] Militant veganism is not cool.

[d] Read 3 ways black #veganism challenges white supremacy.

[e] Can a vegan diet lead to depression? [rp of an article]

Tweets [a] – [e] are examples in which the users modified the noun 'veganism' or its reference. There appears to be two radical oppositions regarding veganism, both offering critical perspectives. Fig 4.4 is a graphical representation of the opposing ideologies attached to veganism.

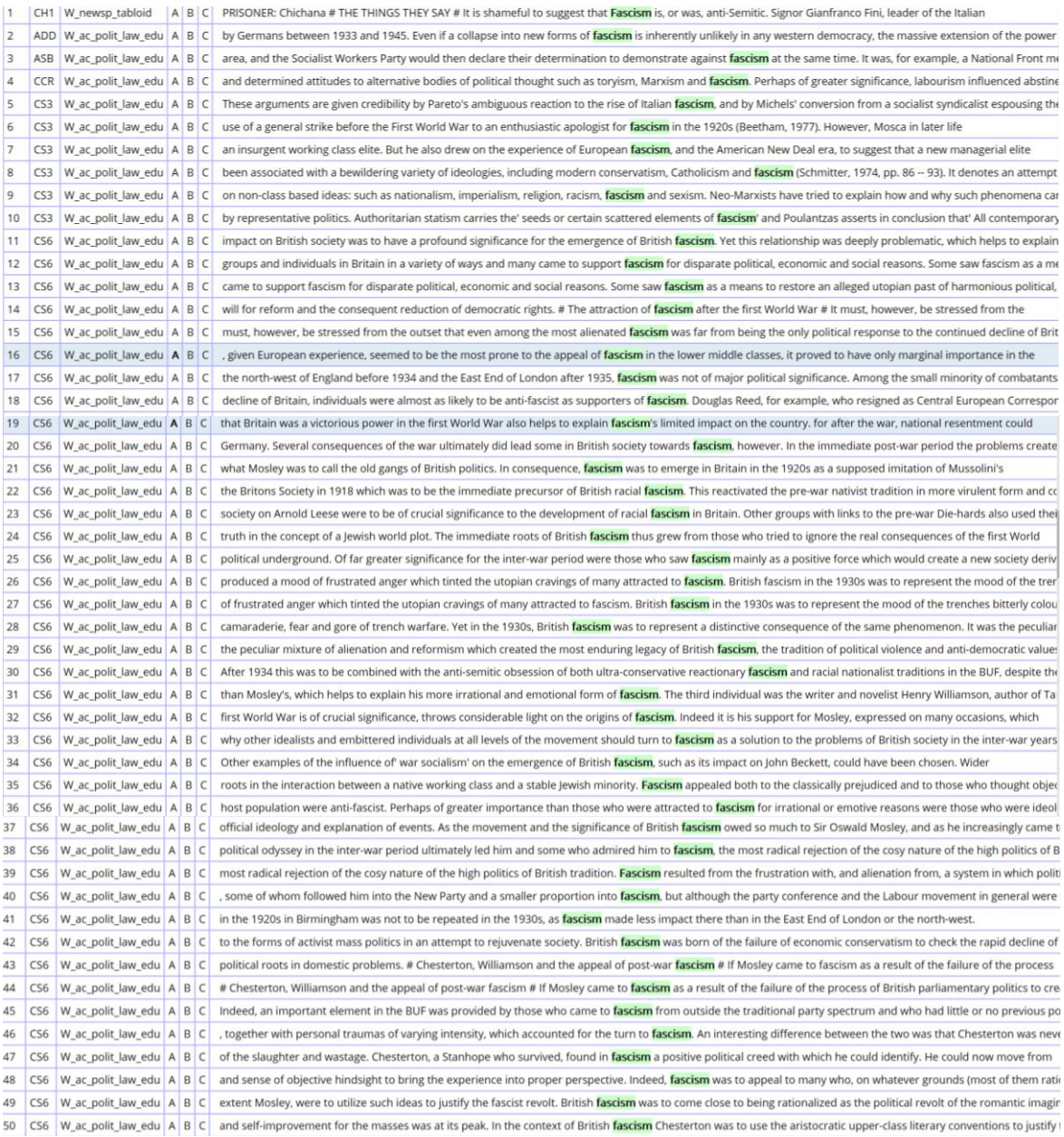
It is interesting to see how in tweet [d] the user pre-modifies the noun 'veganism' with the adjective 'Black' to refer to a minority subgroup of vegans. While 'Black' is an adjective, it contextually serves as a reference to an entity, a race of people. Consequently, the reference to the Black community is deeply ideological as it heightens the idea of minorities being marginalised and mistreated by placing two minorities, namely the Black community and veganism, side by side. It also pragmatically suggests that 'veganism', like the Black community and other minority groups, contrasts with dominant ethnocentric White ideals which govern politics, entertainment, health and education in the Western world and beyond as a result of globalisation. Also, because Black rights and equality in general be it gender, class,

religion, sexuality etc have, in postmodern society, begun to be tackled through education and social policy, the user's use of 'black' side by veganism covertly elicits the question: should veganism as a philosophy, behaviour and choice be put side by side with race, religion, gender etc? This question is interesting as it touches on how one identifies oneself and how their identity is accounted for in society. Therefore, 'Black veganism' appears as an attempt by the community to rationalise the diet, based on societies' understanding of equality. On its own 'veganism' appears as a dietary choice or a way of living be it for health reasons or ethical reasons, however 'black veganism' extends the value beyond the diet and lifestyle to the identity of a community of people which becomes difficult to challenge and criticise. In this way, the user has, by effect of noun modification, packaged an ideologically rich perspective of the concept of vegan identity in 'black veganism'.

While [b] is also a tweet by a pro-veganism user, it offers a less political perspective of veganism. The 'plant-based diet' reference to veganism is a popular alternative to the identification of veganism. What is most interesting about 'plant-based' is that it downplays the importance of the whole ideology to simply the diet as opposed to the philosophy behind it. Before we begin to look at the pre-modification of the noun, diet' itself, it is interesting to compare to veganism as it immediately detaches its association from anything other than the choices that one makes regarding their food consumption. This could be due to the backlash many vegans have faced as a result of identifying as vegan or perhaps to distance themselves from the behaviour that some vegans have shown towards non-vegans. The pre-modification of 'diet' with the adjective phrase 'plant-based' is also interesting as it ultimately suggests that the centre of diet for vegans is plants which implicitly negates the idea of omnivorous diets. Consequently, though the user chooses to replace 'veganism' with 'plant based', there is a dichotomist approach in their representation of veganism, be it subtle, which highlights the difference between omnivorous diets that are centred on animals and plant-based diets that are centred on plants. 'plantbased' could have been replaced with vegan to form the phrase 'vegan diet' which would have omitted the blatant difference between vegan and omnivorous diets. Notably, there is an implied opposite of 'plantbased', i.e. 'animal-based' therefore through the choice of using 'plant-based' the user, albeit not as overtly politically, polarises the two diets from each other. In this way, the choice to highlight difference in both tweets [d] and[b], and conflict in

[d] by pro-veganism users, indicates that they do in varying degrees share the purpose of not just representing their diet but advocating for it too.

Examples [a] and [c] are tweets by anti-veganism users and are quite radical in their reception of veganism. Firstly, the post-modification in [a] with 'food fascism' uses the noun 'fascism' to portray the user's ideology that veganism is like a right-wing, extreme philosophy that unlike 'vegan diet' or 'plantbaseddiet' is a radical movement with negative motivations, therefore making a political statement. This is exemplified in the context search of the noun 'fascism' on the BNC (British National Corpus). Below are the top 50 results of the context search for 'fascism'.



1	CH1	W_newsp_tabloid	A	B	C	PRISONER: Chichana # THE THINGS THEY SAY # It is shameful to suggest that **Fascism** is, or was, anti-Semitic. Signor Gianfranco Fini, leader of the Italian
2	ADD	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	by Germans between 1933 and 1945. Even if a collapse into new forms of **fascism** is inherently unlikely in any western democracy, the massive extension of the power
3	ASB	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	area, and the Socialist Workers Party would then declare their determination to demonstrate against **fascism** at the same time. It was, for example, a National Front me
4	CCR	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	and determined attitudes to alternative bodies of political thought such as toryism, Marxism and **fascism**. Perhaps of greater significance, labourism influenced abstine
5	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	These arguments are given credibility by Pareto's ambiguous reaction to the rise of Italian **fascism**, and by Michels' conversion from a socialist syndicalist espousing the
6	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	use of a general strike before the First World War to an enthusiastic apologist for **fascism** in the 1920s (Beetham, 1977). However, Mosca in later life
7	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	an insurgent working class elite. But he also drew on the experience of European **fascism**, and the American New Deal era, to suggest that a new managerial elite
8	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	been associated with a bewildering variety of ideologies, including modern conservatism, Catholicism and **fascism** (Schmitter, 1974, pp. 86 -- 93). It denotes an attempt
9	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	on non-class based ideas: such as nationalism, imperialism, religion, racism, **fascism** and sexism. Neo-Marxists have tried to explain how and why such phenomena car
10	CS3	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	by representative politics. Authoritarian statism carries the' seeds or certain scattered elements of **fascism**' and Poulantzas asserts in conclusion that' All contemporary
11	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	impact on British society was to have a profound significance for the emergence of British **fascism**. Yet this relationship was deeply problematic, which helps to explain
12	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	groups and individuals in Britain in a variety of ways and many came to support **fascism** for disparate political, economic and social reasons. Some saw fascism as a me
13	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	came to support fascism for disparate political, economic and social reasons. Some saw **fascism** as a means to restore an alleged utopian past of harmonious political,
14	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	will for reform and the consequent reduction of democratic rights. # The attraction of **fascism** after the first World War # It must, however, be stressed from the
15	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	must, however, be stressed from the outset that even among the most alienated **fascism** was far from being the only political response to the continued decline of Brit
16	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	, given European experience, seemed to be the most prone to the appeal of **fascism** in the lower middle classes, it proved to have only marginal importance in the
17	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	the north-west of England before 1934 and the East End of London after 1935, **fascism** was not of major political significance. Among the small minority of combatants
18	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	decline of Britain, individuals were almost as likely to be anti-fascist as supporters of **fascism**. Douglas Reed, for example, who resigned as Central European Correspor
19	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	that Britain was a victorious power in the first World War also helps to explain **fascism**'s limited impact on the country. for after the war, national resentment could
20	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	Germany. Several consequences of the war ultimately did lead some in British society towards **fascism**, however. In the immediate post-war period the problems create
21	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	what Mosley was to call the old gangs of British politics. In consequence, **fascism** was to emerge in Britain in the 1920s as a supposed imitation of Mussolini's
22	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	the Britons Society in 1918 which was to be the immediate precursor of British racial **fascism**. This reactivated the pre-war nativist tradition in more virulent form and cc
23	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	society on Arnold Leese were to be of crucial significance to the development of racial **fascism** in Britain. Other groups with links to the pre-war Die-hards also used thei
24	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	truth in the concept of a Jewish world plot. The immediate roots of British **fascism** thus grew from those who tried to ignore the real consequences of the first World
25	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	political underground. Of far greater significance for the inter-war period were those who saw **fascism** mainly as a positive force which would create a new society deriv
26	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	produced a mood of frustrated anger which tinted the utopian cravings of many attracted to **fascism**. British fascism in the 1930s was to represent the mood of the trer
27	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	of frustrated anger which tinted the utopian cravings of many attracted to fascism. British **fascism** in the 1930s was to represent the mood of the trenches bitterly colou
28	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	camaraderie, fear and gore of trench warfare. Yet in the 1930s, British **fascism** was to represent a distinctive consequence of the same phenomenon. It was the peculiar
29	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	the peculiar mixture of alienation and reformism which created the most enduring legacy of British **fascism**, the tradition of political violence and anti-democratic values
30	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	After 1934 this was to be combined with the anti-semitic obsession of both ultra-conservative reactionary **fascism** and racial nationalist traditions in the BUF, despite the
31	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	than Mosley's, which helps to explain his more irrational and emotional form of **fascism**. The third individual was the writer and novelist Henry Williamson, author of Ta
32	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	first World War is of crucial significance, throws considerable light on the origins of **fascism**. Indeed it is his support for Mosley, expressed on many occasions, which
33	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	why other idealists and embittered individuals at all levels of the movement should turn to **fascism** as a solution to the problems of British society in the inter-war years
34	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	Other examples of the influence of' war socialism' on the emergence of British **fascism**, such as its impact on John Beckett, could have been chosen. Wider
35	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	roots in the interaction between a native working class and a stable Jewish minority. **Fascism** appealed both to the classically prejudiced and to those who thought objec
36	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	host population were anti-fascist. Perhaps of greater importance than those who were attracted to **fascism** for irrational or emotive reasons were those who were ideol
37	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	official ideology and explanation of events. As the movement and the significance of British **fascism** owed so much to Sir Oswald Mosley, and as he increasingly came t
38	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	political odyssey in the inter-war period ultimately led him and some who admired him to **fascism**, the most radical rejection of the cosy nature of the high politics of B
39	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	most radical rejection of the cosy nature of the high politics of British tradition. **Fascism** resulted from the frustration with, and alienation from, a system in which politi
40	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	, some of whom followed him into the New Party and a smaller proportion into **fascism**, but although the party conference and the Labour movement in general were
41	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	in the 1920s in Birmingham was not to be repeated in the 1930s, as **fascism** made less impact there than in the East End of London or the north-west.
42	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	to the forms of activist mass politics in an attempt to rejuvenate society. British **fascism** was born of the failure of economic conservatism to check the rapid decline of
43	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	political roots in domestic problems. # Chesterton, Williamson and the appeal of post-war **fascism** # If Mosley came to fascism as a result of the failure of the process
44	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	# Chesterton, Williamson and the appeal of post-war fascism # If Mosley came to **fascism** as a result of the failure of the process of British parliamentary politics to cre
45	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	Indeed, an important element in the BUF was provided by those who came to **fascism** from outside the traditional party spectrum and who had little or no previous po
46	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	, together with personal traumas of varying intensity, which accounted for the turn to **fascism**. An interesting difference between the two was that Chesterton was neve
47	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	of the slaughter and wastage. Chesterton, a Stanhope who survived, found in **fascism** a positive political creed with which he could identify. He could now move from
48	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	and sense of objective hindsight to bring the experience into proper perspective. Indeed, **fascism** was to appeal to many who, on whatever grounds (most of them rati
49	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	extent Mosley, were to utilize such ideas to justify the fascist revolt. British **fascism** was to come close to being rationalized as the political revolt of the romantic imagir
50	CS6	W_ac_polit_law_edu	A	B	C	and self-improvement for the masses was at its peak. In the context of British **fascism** Chesterton was to use the aristocratic upper-class literary conventions to justify

As is clear in the BNC results above, 'fascism' is used in contexts related to pervasive politics as many of the topics included antisemitism, WW1, Nazism among others, all of which are seen as radically unjust and negative in society. It is important to note that 'fascism' is used in discourses of politics, law and education primarily as is evident in the results. Consequently, the use of 'fascism' to identify veganism, criminalises the ideology of veganism by portraying it as an authoritarian regime. The use of the noun 'fascism' also creates fear and hysteria as it suggests that, like Nazism and far right members of groups, members of the group of veganism work in large groups and are powerful. It also creates scepticism as it appears that veganism as a fascists ideology is openly attacking omnivorous diets. This polarises the ideas of veganism and the philosophy further by depicting it as something to be afraid of and naturally an opposition. It is interesting how the post-modification of 'food' with 'fascism' to represent an anti-veganism ideology, has subverted the ideas of veganism that the pro-vegan user of [d] puts forward against omnivorous diets. Also, the ideas of 'black veganism' suggest that omnivorous diets are a manifestation of white supremacy that have become naturalised; this draws on ideas of racism and inequality. Thus, it seems as if both opponents use a similar strategy to criminalise each other's ideologies. Both associate their ideologies with, politically perverted notions to negatively portray their opposition. By using adjectives and nouns like 'black' and 'fascism' which are contextually and ideologically packed with layers of associations to events, history, politics, law etc. add semantic value to the words and exploit the opposing perspective.

Like tweet [a], tweet [c] is also by an anti-veganism user and draws on the ideologies of extremism and far right views to portray veganism as a socially detested phenomenon. The noun phrase 'veganism' is pre-modified by the adjective 'militant' which has connotations of physical battle, conflict and war. This immediately portrays veganism as a threat to society in the same way that war is. This helps to create a sense of otherness as it separates the two oppositions in such a way that likens it to war, which represents veganism as a combative opposition rather than a difference of perspective. Ironically, 'veganism' is an abstract noun, it isn't a tangible entity but an ideology. It is perhaps for this reason that the user uses the adjective 'militant' to materialise the ideology and make it appear like a physical threat.

My analysis of the nominal choices of the users when describing veganism in the tweets highlighted some interesting discursive ways in which veganism is represented and

received. On its own the noun 'veganism' itself is ideologically complex as it is abstract and is a way of living which makes it several different things for different people. Therefore, the ambiguity of the word enables those who ardently oppose against it an opportunity to redefine the word through noun modification. However, the ambiguity of veganism also inadvertently helps vegans to represent their ideas in any way they wish. There appears to be a clear spectrum of the attitude held by the users regarding veganism. Both ends of the spectrum are occupied by extreme oppositions and both extremes seem to be dominating the discussion of veganism on Twitter while the views that were more neutral or of a lesser extreme than the ends of the spectrum, do not have as much of a community on Twitter based on the dataset.

4.13 Hashtags

I will now carry out a naming analysis of the hashtags used by the users in their tweets. Below is a table of all the hashtags used across all 50 tweets (fig 4.5). I have organised the hashtags into two main semantic categories: political and interactional. The neutral category consists of hashtags that were neither political or interactional and were more factual used to mark the topic of the tweets. Therefore, I chose not to analyse the neutral category as it would not have provided an illuminating discussion on the representation or reception of veganism.

The categories political and interactional denote the purpose of the tweets in which the hashtags were used. Hashtags have a very specific purpose on Twitter, they are a tagging feature that connect isolated tweets to a community of tweets. Therefore, the hashtags used in the tweets give readers a direct insight into the purpose of the tweet.

POLITICAL	INTERACTIONAL	NEUTRAL
#vegansuk	#veganfood	#veganism
#veganadvice	#vegansofinstagram	#vegan
#vegansupport	#veganlife	#vegans
#ethicalhour	#veganlifestyle	#vegetarians
#govegan	#vegantwitter	#animals
#whyimstillvegan	#veganstrong	#organic
#animalrights	#vegansource	#dairyfree
#oxymoron	#vegancooking	#raw
#animalcruelty	#veganrecipes	#wholefoods
#animalwelfare	#veganeats	#breakfast
#animallovers	#vegandinner	#plantbased
#equality	#vegano	#animals
#feminism	#veganuary2019	
#toxicmasculinity	#veganshow	

#socialism #climatechange #democracy #fakenews #yes2meat #ethical	#vegancommunity #veganpower #thevegansupplement	

Political Hashtag Category

I split the political category into a further three subcategories: socio-political, rhetorical and social based on the purpose of the hashtags. The socio-political subcategory included hashtags that were used to make a political statement covering topics pertaining social issues. The rhetorical subcategory included hashtags that had a prime purpose of persuading users to go vegan. Lastly, the social subcategory included hashtags that were used to highlight the organisational and community spirit of veganism and the support offered to vegans.

- Socio-political

#Democracy
#Climate change
#Fake news
#Socialism
#Toxic masculinity
#Feminism
#Equality

From the socio-political subcategory of the political hashtags above, it is interesting to see how users have connected their tweets related to veganism to other wider social issues. The social theories of feminism and socialism and topics like democracy, equality and climate change are all complex social contexts that have a range of motivations, but all have the goal of some form of social change. Consequently, this method of *tagging* veganism to other more well-known and respected phenomenon of social change, highlights the users' intention to naturalise veganism by associating it to other notions; therefore, gaining the attention of a wider audience like feminists,

socialists, environmental activists etc. Similar to the effect of a members resource, by connecting with members of other social groups highlights that the resources, principles and ideologies that for example feminists and socialists value are also, to some degree, compatible with and similar to veganism. This highlights that in order for sub-cultural theories and ideologies of social change to gain a respectable position in society, they ought to draw on other notions that offer a similar motive. Contextually, this indicates that the validity and social acceptance of ideologies relies on how society perceives them in connection to existing notions. This suggests that perhaps there is a categorical process in which society evaluates ideologies, if they are somewhat similar to what already exists then there is more chance of acceptance. It is difficult to determine a universal categorical process of how ideologies, particularly ones that have the purpose of social change, are validated and gain social acceptance, however this would be an area of sociological research that would provide an insight into how society deems ideologies as normal or radical in the same way that in politics parties are identified as Left wing and Right wing. Such a divisive political spectrum suggests that there must be a systematic categorical process that helps us organise ideologies into categories and onto a spectrum. From a Critical Stylistic perspective, such research would help to configure a framework of analysis that would enable researchers to identify specific labels and discursive strategies used to determine the normalness or the radicalness of an ideology. It appears that the motivations of the users of the socio-political subcategory of the political hashtags are that they would like veganism to be involved in the sociological sphere as a respected and recognised theory and notion.

- Rhetorical

#govegan
#animalrights
#animallovers
#ethical
#ethicalhour

The hashtags above in the rhetorical subcategory of the political hashtags overtly highlight the users intent of advocating and persuading others to adopt veganism. Unlike in the socio-political category in which the users wanted their ideologies on veganism to be accepted like other notions of social change, the rhetorical category highlight the users intent to actually convert non-vegans into vegans. In this way, there is a clear difference between the motivations suggesting that not all vegans have the same outlook on the world in regard to their dietary and ethical choices. The example '#go vegan' is an imperative form which is a typical rhetorical device that like synthetic personalisation is used to singularly address the mass audience and persuade them to adopt the ideology in question. In this way, the rhetorical category is much more overt in their mediation of their ideology in comparison to the socio-political category in which the users covertly advocate for the normalness of veganism by drawing on existing and naturalised notions of social change. The socio-political use of the hashtags seem to follow a discursive pattern in which the users represent their ideology through association to established ideologies. On the other hand, the rhetorical subcategory of hashtags offer a more explicitly persuasive purpose in which the users use the hashtags in order to reach more people and therefore have a better chance of converting them to the vegan lifestyle.

- Social

#Vegans UK #Vegan advice #Vegan support #Why I'm still vegan

The social subcategory of the political hashtags above reflect the use of social media by vegan users to offer and receive information on veganism, support from fellow vegans and also connections to organisations that can advise and guide vegans. In this way, the vegan community on Twitter offer social support but also help to validate veganism by offering the same services that other social activist campaigns and organisations would have to reflect that like any organisation or social group, veganism is just as valid and requires the same services of support like any other group. It also inadvertently projects the idea that there is a need for support groups and an online

community since it is a marginalised and underrepresented community which explains the use of the hashtags ‘vegan advice’ ‘vegan support’ ‘why I’m still vegan’ all pragmatically implying that there are challenges that vegans face as a result of adopting veganism, some maybe internal challenges coming from within the community as a result of the diet and others maybe external as a result of the backlash from society, the lack of options and the marginalisation of the vegan community in general.

Interactional Hashtag Category

The interactional hashtag category (see below) consists of hashtags that are used primarily for interactional purposes in which they engage with users of the vegan community on Twitter. It is evident from the hashtags that there is a community of vegans on Twitter that use social media as a tool to engage with other vegans through challenges like #vegano and #veganuary2019. The neologism ‘vegano’ and ‘Veganuary’ are examples of linguistic blending. Firstly, in ‘vegano’ parts of the nouns ‘vegan’ and ‘manifesto’ have been blended together to create the term ‘vegano’ which is used to describe the motivations and goals of the vegan community. Similarly, in ‘Veganuary’ the nouns vegan and January have been blended together to form the term ‘Veganuary’. The ideological effect of such blending in this context is that the vegan community on Twitter are externally deviating from the use of conventional lexicon which would not combine words like manifesto and January with vegan in an attempt to foreground their ideologies and appear as a subculture, that provides an alternate niche on diet and ethics. Consequently, suggesting that at least for some vegans their way of naturalising their ideologies on veganism is through the conscious divergence from mainstream society in their representation of veganism. Which suggests that they would like to appear different in order to gain the attention of the public to highlight their alternative way of living. This idea of vegan users on Twitter diverging from mainstream society is also apparent through the redefinition of everyday things for example the hashtags ‘veganfood’ ‘vegansofinstagram’ ‘veganlife’ ‘vegandinner’ ‘vegantwitter’ etc. all separate veganism from the everyday activities like dinner and socialising by modifying these everyday activities with the noun ‘vegan’ therefore suggesting that vegans conduct their life and everyday things in a different manner to non-vegans.

#veganfood	#vegandinner	#veganstrong
#vegansofinstagram	#vegano	#vegansource
#veganlife	#veganuary2019	#vegancooking
#veganlifestyle	#veganshow	#veganrecipes
#vegantwitter	#vegancommunity	
#veganeats	#veganpower	
	#theveganssupplement	

Overall, my analysis of the hashtags revealed some interesting findings on how hashtags are used and what they are used for. It is evident that hashtags are an important tagging tool on Twitter. In the context of my research, vegan users vary in their motivations for using hashtags to represent their ideologies on veganism. Some users used existing and established notions of social change to connect veganism to in order to reflect that they are similar in their view of social change. Other users used the hashtags to persuade non-vegans to adopt the vegan lifestyle.

Furthermore, it was evident that like other groups of social change, the hashtags were used to provide the vegan community with links to social support and connect with others. The interactional hashtag category highlighted that not all vegans wanted to disseminate into society but wanted to be regarded as a separate niche group in order to highlight that veganism is different to mainstream views on food, diet and ethics.

In regard to the discursive tools used for the different ideological purposes discussed above, the users used neologisms like blending to externally deviate from conventional uses of the words in order to draw attention to veganism; imperative structures for synthetic personalisation; noun pre-modification to highlight that veganism is a separate way of living.

I will now move to the next major section of my analysis: opposition and equivalence. I will start by analysing examples of both in the body of the tweets. Subsequently, I will move onto visual opposition and equivalence by analysing the ways in which opposition and equivalence is created in the images used in the tweets.

4.2 Opposition and Equivalence

4.21 Opposition and Equivalence in the Tweets

In this section, I will analyse all cases of opposition and equivalence in the tweets and the images to understand how the pro vegan ideology is naturalised and how the anti-vegan ideology is polarised. I will begin by analysing the simultaneous use of opposition and equivalence in the tweets. Subsequently, I will analyse the use of equivalence on its own in the tweets before analysing opposition and equivalence in the images.

> [f] If they see a lion savagely eat a zebra they don't care, but they see me eat a fucking burger it's like all-out war starts.
> [g] Dairy is a gift of civilisation.
> [h] Veganism is an ethical lifestyle not a diet.
> [i] Animal activists should emphasise reduction, not elimination of eating meat.
> [j]And perhaps we're being dim, but what's with a vegan sausage roll if you choose not to eat meat or dairy then why?
> [k] There's no diet that's more delusional or toxic to human and animal health than veganism.

[f] If they see a lion savagely eat a zebra they don't care, but they see me eat a fucking burger it's like all-out war starts.

1. If they see a lion savagely eat a zebra they don't care,
2. but they see me eat a fucking burger it's like all-out war starts.

Tweet [f] is an interesting example in which the user simultaneously uses equivalence and opposition to highlight different sides of the same ideology, by using different discursive tools. Although the tweet is formatted as one sentence with multiple clauses, I have separated the clauses into two structures: structure 1. has a subordinate clause and a main clause and structure 2. has a coordinating conjunction but functions as a subordinate clause and also has a main clause. This is purely for ease of reference in my analysis of the structures.

Firstly, equivalence is created through the use of parallelism; the repetition of the subject ‘they’ and verb ‘see’ at the beginning of the two subordinate clauses ‘they see a lion’ and ‘they see me’ shows the connection made between the objects of both structures. In the first structure, the object of the verb ‘see’ is ‘a lion’ and in the second structure, the object of the verb ‘see’ is ‘me’. The equivalence highlights the ideology that there is no difference between a lion and a human in regard to food and diet. The ideology offers a traditional perspective of food chains which is being represented as an organic process of nature for all living beings. Also, the user is drawing on the ideology that eating animals is natural by exploiting the opinion of vegans. As established earlier, veganism is centred on animal welfare and ethics and on the proposition that animals and humans are equal and therefore should have the same rights. The user of [f] draws on the same idea of animals and humans being equal to ridicule the ideas of veganism by suggesting that the proposition offered by vegans is not consistent since animals, if equal to humans, should not be consuming other animals. It is clear that the user is offering a hyperbolic perspective on the matter and intentionally using semantically and theoretically incongruous ideas and concepts as a form of social satire.

Subsequently, the user creates opposition by negating the idea of lions eating a zebra; therefore, representing a contrast in meaning and association. As well as being structurally interesting, this example is also semantically unusual and complex. Firstly, the negator ‘but’ syntactically separates the two structures and semantically separates the two eating practices (of animals and humans) and separates the association of the food being consumed by the two participants (animals and humans). The opposition is further highlighted with the difference in the modification or lack of modification of the verb ‘eat’ and the choice of noun used as the object of ‘eat’ in both structures. In structure 1, the verb ‘eat’ is pre-modified with the adverb ‘savagely’ which portrays the act of animals eating other animals as malicious and cruel. Notably the user specifically identifies the object of ‘eat’ as a ‘zebra’, an identified animal species.

Contrastingly, in the second structure, the user does not pre-modify the verb ‘eat’ with an adverb like ‘savagely’ but rather naturalises the idea of eating animals, thus drawing on the idea that eating meat is a natural need for humans. Furthermore, the object of the verb ‘eat’ is ‘a fucking burger’ which is interesting because, the user has chosen to

replace the object of eat with a hyponym of meat or chicken. It is very clear, that semantically the user is referring to an animal-based burger, however, the type of meat or chicken has been omitted. This idea is interesting as it suggests that there is a subconscious conceptual understanding that meat products consumed by humans and meat products consumed by animals are different, which is ironic because the user is suggesting that there is no difference between a lion eating a zebra and a human eating a burger. This highlights that the conventional names of food in society like 'burgers' have detached our understanding of the source of the food.

In the main clause there is also an example of metaphorical equivalence. This is achieved in the following way: the subject 'it' which is a referent of the previous object complement 'eating a burger' is connected to the complement 'all-out war starts' through the use of the copula verb (to be) 'is' and the simile form 'like'. By associating the action of 'eating a burger' with 'war', the user ridicules the idea of veganism by creating an illogical and extreme link between the two to highlight the ideology that omnivorous diets are natural.

Evidently, tweet [f] yields an interesting discussion on societies semantic and conceptual understanding of animal derived foods. It highlights that food labels have a much wider use in society than the ingredients themselves and they affect the way we perceive and use food.

[g] Dairy is a gift of civilisation.

Tweet [g] is another example of metaphorical equivalence. It is a simple SPC structure with 'dairy' as the subject, the copula verb (to be) 'is' as the predicate and 'a gift of civilisation' as the complement. The copula verb (to be) equates 'dairy' (subject) with 'gift of civilisation' (complement). The equivalence suggests that 'dairy' is a produce that has become a part of society as a result of societal development. Dairy is a hypernym of cheese, milk and butter all of which are naturally occurring products of animals. While milk is a completely organic product, cheese and butter are manufactured by combining different animal-based ingredients. Therefore, the ideological motivation of the metaphorical equivalence is that dairy is something to be enjoyed and celebrated like a 'gift' and anything that 'civilisation' has been able to discover and manufacture as it is a resource for mankind to use.

[h] Veganism is an ethical lifestyle not a diet.

In [h] the user equates veganism to an ideology but also uses negated opposition to highlight the difference between two ideologies. Firstly, the copula verb (to be) 'is' equates the subject 'veganism' with 'ethical lifestyle' which indicates that veganism is not a practice or a type of eating behaviour but a philosophy which makes it bigger than just diet. The equivalence discourages refutation therefore naturalising the ideology. In this way, the tweet acts as a definition mirroring the style in which dictionary definition of words are expressed even though it is the ideas of the user. Also, the user's manipulation of their expression, without the use of hedges or preliminary clauses like 'I believe' or 'in my opinion', allows them to further naturalise their ideology by making it appear like a fact. It is also an example of a categorical utterance, which highlights the user's absolute certainty in their view of veganism. All these discursive choices enable the user to naturalise an opinion they hold. Subsequently, the user differentiates, through the negator 'not', the ideologies 'lifestyle' and 'diet'. Interestingly, lifestyle is pre-modified with the adjective 'ethical' while 'diet', the ideology that is negated, is not modified at all. The negated opposition is used to highlight the triviality of the idea of a 'diet' which is something quite ordinary in contrast to a 'lifestyle' particularly one that is 'ethical' which is indicative of an individual's morals and values.

[i] Animal activists should emphasise reduction, not elimination of eating meat.

Tweet [i] is another example of negated opposition with the negator 'not' separating the oppositions 'reduction' and 'elimination'. Both have a similar effect of gradable antonyms in that they both reflect states on a spectrum, in this case related to the amount of meat one should omit from their diet. The use of nominalisation with the nouns 'reduction' and 'elimination' highlight the idea that animal activists should be doing things to represent their beliefs. It further heightens the idea that veganism is a principle of action, like an organisation or charity, it has a purpose to inform, educate, advocate etc. society on its values. The redefinition of what 'animal activists' should be doing highlights an approach that is less radical as 'elimination' implies control and total omission of animal-based products. In this way, tweet [i] attempts to soften the motivations of vegans by providing an alternate goal. Notably, the tweet offers a less overtly critical perspective on veganism that doesn't scrutinise either sides of the argument. In fact, it is not entirely clear if the user is pro-vegan or anti-vegan. The user identifies vegans as 'animal activist', uses the deontic modal verb 'should' and the verb

‘emphasise’ to form the tweet. All three discursive choices could have been replaced with choices that would have represented a more biased and critical perspective. For instance, ‘animal activists’ redefines vegans as individuals with philanthropic motivations rather than representing them as people with starkly different views on diet or as a threat to society or as anomalies. Subsequently, the use of the deontic modal verb of necessity ‘should’ as opposed to using a structure without a modal verb helps to portray the statement as a piece of advice that isn’t matter of fact but on a degree of necessity. This helps to downplay the criticism and make it appear as a constructive comment. Furthermore, the verb ‘emphasise’ is interesting as it is an ambiguous process that doesn’t really hold much meaning on its own, because ‘emphasis’ is an abstract notion it cannot be measured and does not represent an ideology. The verb could have been replaced with a verb like ‘argue’ or ‘protest’ which inherently would have packaged ideas of opposition and disagreement. Thus, the user of tweet [i] has presented an ideology that appears to offer a middle ground rather than an extreme on either ends of the argument.

[j]And perhaps we’re being dim, but what’s with a vegan sausage roll if you choose not to eat meat or dairy then why?

Tweet [j] is an example of contrastive opposition with the subordinate conjunction ‘but’ and ‘not’ as the negators. This example is interesting as it appears as the user’s stream of consciousness due to the topic of discussion, the way the tweet is discursively formed with the conjunction ‘and’ and the adverb ‘perhaps’ and the open question to the public. Firstly, it is evident in regard to semantics, that ‘sausage roll’ is a hyponym of meat particularly pork and this is seen as a generally accepted idea in society. In the last few years, major food chain outlets like McDonalds and Greggs have diversified their menu to cater for vegan customers. The user’s reference to ‘vegan sausage roll’ in the tweet is a reference to Gregg’s new sausage roll that is vegan which was a very hot topic when it was first introduced earlier this year. The contrastive opposition in the tweet structurally places vegan sausage rolls and meat and dairy on two separate sides while semantically equating sausage rolls with meat and dairy. The overall ideology being represented here is that sausage rolls cannot be vegan because they are traditionally made with meat. The opposition, on the surface, polarises the sausage rolls and vegans but on a deeper level it seems that vegans are being polarised from mainstream society through such an ideology as sausage rolls especially in British

society are a popular option for many people. Therefore, the ideology suggests that sausage rolls are not compatible with veganism and therefore veganism is also not compatible with mainstream cultural norms of food in society. This is also implied by the fact that Greggs is a mainstream British food outlet, therefore the ideology suggests that they should not be offering 'vegan sausage rolls' which pragmatically suggests that vegans should not be catered for by mainstream outlets.

Another interesting observation of the tweet is the presumption the user has of vegans as demonstrated in his questioning. The question pragmatically implies that vegans do not like meat or dairy and completely dismisses the prospect of them actually liking the taste of meat and dairy products but choosing not to eat them for ethical reasons. This dismissal of the intentions of vegans and the skewed perspective on vegans shows how the user is downplaying the serious and philanthropic reasons people choose to go vegan while exasperating the idea that vegans dislike animal-based products which makes the argument that many vegans hold weaker by trivialising it.

[k] There's no diet that's more delusional or toxic to human and animal health than veganism.

Tweet [k] is an example of comparative opposition that also uses equivalence to highlight the user's ideology that veganism is an exceptionally damaging diet. This ideology is reflected in the comparative opposition structure 'more X than Y' that is used to negate all other diets and equate veganism to a delusional and toxic practice. Consequently, there seems to be a clear sense of otherness created between veganism and other diets which is heightened to such an extent that 'no diet' compares to the difference and 'destruction' of veganism. This extreme polarisation of the vegan diet highlights the reservations and negative image people have of the diet. It also highlights the idea that veganism is not part of mainstream society in any way, as all diets have been put on a side while veganism is isolated. This shows how far veganism is from being naturalised in society and gaining mainstream recognition and understanding.

Notably, the user not only identifies the health of humans as being impacted by veganism but also animal health too. For vegans this is a contradiction to what they stand for as their motivation for the diet is animal welfare. It appears that the user is

adopting a traditional food chain ideology by stressing that being on an omnivorous diet is part of the natural order of life. It is interesting to see the confident claim that veganism is 'toxic to human …health' this idea is not surprising when omnivorous diets exclusively are naturalised by official bodies like the NHS and Governmental policies, as discussed in the previous chapters.

Overall, it seems that the tweets fall into different strengths of ideological presentation. Some of the tweets overtly polarise different ideologies to highlight the difference between veganism and omnivorous diets, while other tweets offer a less black and white image of the debate, by portraying their ideology in a neutral manner. It does seem that from the six examples of tweets, four were posted by anti-vegans and clearly polarised the idea of veganism from not just their ideology but from society. The remaining two tweets were both different, one offered a pro-vegan ideology that advertently separated ideas of what 'diet' means in a mainstream sense however this contrast was created and used to highlight the philanthropic and social activism centre of veganism. The remaining tweet offered a more balanced and neutral perspective on veganism but using discursive tools like modality and noun modification to soften the ideas of veganism in an attempt to make it appear more accessible.

4.22 Equivalence through Intensive Relational Process

In the examples below, equivalence was created to naturalise the ideologies being represented through the use of intensive relational processes**.** It is important to note that from the previous examples of opposition and equivalence, most of those tweets were by anti-vegan users while the tweets below are mostly by pro-vegan users and only use equivalence. It does appear that the pro-vegan users limit confrontational language or language that addresses their opposition. However, it appears that while opposition overtly polarises two separate ideologies, equivalence offers a more subtle form of naturalisation that seamlessly highlights certain ideologies.

[l] Veganism is an act of non-violent defiance.

[m] It is very important to protest for animal lives.

[n] Popularity in #plantbased is on the rise.

[o] The popularity of #veganism, is taking off.

[p] It is always preferable to discuss the matter of #veganism in a non-judgemental way.

[q] Militant veganism is not cool.

Tweets [l] – [p] are by pro-vegan users and [q] is by an anti-vegan user, though it could also be interpreted as a tweet by a member of veganism who does not approve of the militant style adopted by others when advocating for the diet. Equivalence created in these tweets with the intentional relational process using the X is Y structure is a very simple way in which the users present their ideas on veganism as matter of fact and therefore avoid rebuttal. In this way, though opposition seeks to polarise and criticise ideas, equivalence seems to have a bigger purpose and role of naturalising a perspective, informing and defining an idea rather than discussing it or debating it. This thus makes equivalence more biased than the use of opposition in this context, as it makes it more difficult for people to read and interpret the tweet in more than one way. Oppositional language is confrontational and polarising but both ideologies have to be mentioned.

Furthermore, in tweets [m] and [p] the users further naturalise the pro-vegan ideologies they are representing by accentuating their ideology, through the use of intensifiers and adverbs like 'very' and 'always'. These help to sustain the importance of the ideologies they are representing, and they also create an affirmative and positive image of their view which helps to make their views convincing to the readers.

It is evident in the pro-vegan tweets above that the users signify the importance of advocating the ideas of veganism and carrying out action that creates awareness on veganism. Consequently, suggesting that the purpose of the users discussing veganism on Twitter is to campaign for their beliefs and ideas. This is exemplified in the following way: in tweet [l] the attribute of the carrier 'veganism' is the noun phrase 'an act of non-violent defiance', in [m] the material action intention process 'protest' and in [p] the material action intention process 'discuss' all represent some form of action towards change, be it physical action through 'protest' and 'discuss' or more of a social action like in 'non-violent defiance' , ultimately representing veganism as a social movement for the betterment of society.

4.23 Visual Opposition and Equivalence

The previous analysis revealed that, as frameworks of analysis, both opposition and equivalence are invaluable tools to use when trying to understand how polarising ideologies are discursively represented and how they are discursively naturalised.

Furthermore, since I am analysing tweets, the visuals are a crucial part of the discourse and therefore I believe using the same frameworks to analyse the visuals would yield interesting results that would highlight the importance of the interjection of Critical Stylistics and Multi-Modal analysis. Therefore, in this section, I will analyse the visual representation of opposition and equivalence in the tweets.

Rationale

Since I chose to extend my analysis of opposition and equivalence to the visuals in the tweets, it is important that I detail the way I methodologically organised the analysis and how I used the frameworks, which were designed for the analysis of textual discourse to inform my analysis of the visuals in the tweets. The reason I chose to extend the opposition and equivalence tools of analysis as opposed to using and adapting other Critical Stylistics tools of analysis offered by Jeffries is because I wanted to methodologically map the effectiveness of adapting certain tools of analysis for visual discourse, which could only be done if I compared both a textual analysis and a visual analysis.

In terms of graphology, there are a few features of the visuals that helped create visual opposition and equivalence and are what I used to inform my analysis. Below are a list of the graphological features used to create opposition and equivalence. Like the syntactic triggers of Opposition and Equivalence detailed by Jeffries (discussed in the methodology) the graphological features below are visual triggers that can be manipulated to create opposition and equivalence.

- Colour: contrasting colours, complimenting colours, symbolic use of colours.
- Typography: style of font, cursive, block script, italicised, bold etc.
- Layout: sizing, spacing and alignment.
- Props: different visual features attached on top of image or used to create image.
- Icons: recognisable symbols and logos.
- Text: text used on top of visual.
- Memes: comical discourse created through the text-visual interface.

Visual Opposition

Below are two examples of visual opposition from the tweets.

A

Colour opposition - grey vs green

Props: Rounded plate vs flat plate

Props: Colourful fruit vs fried food and black coffee

B

Colour opposition

White vs black

Sizing and alignment: background majority white, black, block narrow and capitalised typography in the middle

The user of visual **A** has creatively used different graphological features to create opposition. Most striking is the colour opposition of the captions of the two images:

'Breakfast 2009' vs 'Breakfast 2019'. Breakfast 2009 is in a pale grey colour while breakfast 2019 is in a bright green colour. The colour opposition reflects the difference in the diet of the user now. The 10-year challenge itself and the timespan highlighted inherently represents growth and change; subsequently, the colour opposition mirrors the idea that the user has evolved in regard to their diet by suggesting that their pale, lifeless and bleak life is now vibrant and fruitful. Moreover, the use of black coffee as a prop in the 2009 image immediately catches the eye due to the stark difference between it and the 2019 bowl of vibrant fruit of exotic colours. Also, opposition in the props is created with the difference in the product in which the breakfast is served. In the 2009 image, the breakfast is served on a flat plate whereas in the 2019 image, the breakfast is served in a rounded bowl. Furthermore, in terms of the opposition created through the layout of the visual, the user divides the image into two separate parts to divide the years and the breakfast choices. All the graphological features used create multiple levels of opposition through the choice of colour, props and layout manipulation. The ideological effect of such features of opposition in this context is that the user has developed and become a more wholesome and healthier individual as a result of changing diets and adopting veganism. The different examples of visual opposition help to polarise the user's past omnivorous choices from their vegan choices currently to signify the extent of development. This ideology is mirrored in the tweet itself in which the user writes 'when you know better, you do better!!' which complements the visual and echoes the idea that by converting to a vegan diet, the user has progressed.

In **B,** the user creates opposition through the contrasts in colours: black and white to mirror the message of the text and highlight the polarisation of Black people in Western society. From the actual tweet itself, it is evident that the user is associating the marginalisation of vegans with white supremacy. The ideological effect of drawing on social notions like 'black veganism' have been discussed in the previous sections of my analysis. What is interesting, graphologically, is how the visual represents the opposition between black and white people and vegans. Visually the opposition is created through the contrast in colours white and black also through the layout of the visual which means that the white background dominates the image. Additionally, the choice of font further highlights the opposition; the font is narrow, crowded and capitalised. The ideological effect of the graphological choices reflect how society

marginalises and also criminalises minority groups; this is achieved through the narrow, dramatic font in contrast with the dominant white background.

Visual Equivalence

Below are two examples of visual equivalence from the tweets.

C

Meme creates text-prop equivalence

D

Textual equivalence through nominalisation-

Sustainable – sustencace

Layout – alignment equivalence – nominalisation represented in a mirroring effect

Visual **C** is an interesting example of a contemporary form of humour on social media, namely the meme. Memes are very popular on social media and are interesting visual examples of equivalence as humour is created through the connection made between the text and the visual. The humour arises from the incongruent marrying of the text and the visual, representing an exaggerated message. In C, the text 'what people see when I say I'm vegan' is equated to the image of a man dressed as a unicorn. Evidently, the visual is used for comic effect, however, the equivalence highlights two ideological points. 1. Vegans are so different to humans that they are like imaginary, fictional creatures and 2. Vegans are ridiculed and not taken seriously in mainstream society.

In **D,** equivalence is created through the mirroring of the text and the layout choices. Firstly, the textual equivalence in the visual with the use of nominalisation 'sustainable sustenance' reflects the intrinsic connection between veganism and sustainability. This is further highlighted through the layout of the text on the page. Sustainable and sustenance are aligned one on top of the other which visually represents the already connected lexemes.

Visual Equivalence through labelling with Icons

F

Icon equivalence – tagging 'vegan' Fairtrade' icons to connect product to standards and organisation

G

Icon equivalence – multiple icons stamped on visual 'staff pick' 'bafta nominee film' and award icons connect the visual of the film to other well-known organisations

In examples **F** and **G** equivalence is created through the use of icons like the vegan, Fair Trade, staff pick and Bafta Film symbols etc. The use of these icons on the images equates their standard and validity to the organisations that the icons are representing. In this way, the icons serve as tags a bit like hashtags in that they connect products and ideologies to help gain approval and recognition from society. In both examples, the vegan products, (vegan ice cream or a documentary on veganism) are being advertised. This form of equivalence would been seen in many advertisement and official discourses that use icons to validate the discourse and also to connect the discourse to an established organisation and their ideologies.

Interestingly, in both F and G, the companies endorsing and promoting vegan products are well-known and respected brands and organisation in the Western world. I.e. Ben and Jerry's and the Bafta Awards. Thus, it is evident that the users chose to post these visuals to highlight the impact of veganism on society and how society is becoming more diverse in regard to the representation of dietary choices.

Overall, my analysis of the different features of graphological opposition and equivalence in the visuals of the tweets revealed some interesting results which are a

small testament to the effectiveness of the interjection of Critical Stylistics and Multi-Modal Analysis. The Critical Stylistic tools of analysis, opposition and equivalence, are invaluable tools that can easily be adapted to analyse a range of different multi-modal discourse, outside of social media too.

In regard to my analysis of the visuals, it is evident that through the discursive manipulation of colour, props, memes, texts, icons and the layout of the visuals, users are able to create opposition and equivalence just as vividly as they would in the tweets, textually. In regard to opposition, it is evident that veganism is a sub-cultural belief, diet and lifestyle. As a result of this, vegan users exaggerate the opposition between vegans and omnivores for different reasons. In A, the difference between vegan breakfasts and omnivore breakfasts was stressed to highlight the benefits of the vegan diet and how it is an evolved way of living. Contrastingly, in B, opposition between White and Black people was stressed to reflect how marginalised groups like veganism are polarised in society as a result of mainstream White ethnocentric culture dominating the narratives of society.

My analysis of the examples of visual equivalence revealed that many users drew on established notions and organisations to help naturalise veganism. This was apparent in examples F and G in which icons like Fair Trade, Bafta awards etc were tagged on the images to reflect their connection to the products. Furthermore, example C with the use of the meme to create equivalence was a particularly interesting example that encourages further analysis of memes using the equivalence framework.

5. FINAL REMARKS

5.1. Conclusion

Research Questions

1. *How do members of veganism, a subcultural practice, discursively represent their ideologies and construct their identity on Twitter?*

2. *Is veganism as a subcultural practice polarised in society and are vegans treated as 'others' on Twitter?*

3. *How do anti-vegans discursively represent their ideologies on veganism?*

4. *Does social media enable members of subcultural practices to project their identity online and therefore establish grounds for their place in society?*

Referring back to the research questions posited earlier, my analysis revealed that veganism, while being a minority practice in society, does have a strong community on Twitter. Based on my dataset, there appears to be more overtly ideological vegans than anti-vegans online; this was apparent in the number of vegan users with non-name usernames. The strong community of vegans online highlights the idea that subcultural groups feel the need to represent their identity more boldly online; why this is the case could be a for a variety of different reasons. An obvious explanation would be the defiance of mainstream ideologies of food and nutrition but a more subtle reason appears to be related to the construction of the vegan identity. More research needs to be undertaken in this area; however, my research does suggest that subcultural ideologies, due to being marginalised and often times ridiculed, rely heavily on their presentation online to reflect their part in society.

Overall, the different ideologies pertaining veganism on Twitter were disproportionately represented online. There were more pro-vegans than anti-vegans; therefore, the otherisation of veganism was not as overtly prevalent. This is not to say it did not exist; there were many cases of anti-vegan discourse ostracising veganism in the tweets. However, my research does suggest that there are more vegans representing their pro-vegan ideologies on Twitter than in mainstream discourses. Consequently, it is difficult to gauge whether or not veganism is largely ostracised on Twitter. While this provides inconclusive results, it points towards a more striking

matter that my research stumbled across: social media, particularly Twitter is an online space for the subcultural, marginalised groups in society.

5.2. Evaluation

My research has provided an interesting theoretical discussion on the different ideologies of veganism in society and more broadly it has started a scholarly discussion on the self and societal presentation of identities of subcultural groups in society. It has also provided a methodologically unique insight into the dominant medium of the presentation of the vegan ideology i.e. Twitter, which has enabled me to explore, from members of the subgroup, the representation of veganism.

At this point, it is important to note that while my research provided a real insight into the subgroup of veganism and the different ideologies held by vegans, it also limited the scope of my analysis as the medium of Twitter appears to be concentrated by subcultural ideologies and groups. Therefore, the anti-vegan ideology did not dominate the discourse, which could suggest that anti-vegan discourse does not dominate the narrative of food in society; however, I believe that this was a result of the disproportionateness of the pro-vegan ideology compared to the anti-vegan ideology on Twitter. In this regard, if I had to repeat my research, I would consider a contrasting medium to collect data from, to help generate a more representative discussion on mainstream cultures vs subcultures, in order to unpack how minority ideologies are represented as the other.

I hope my research inspires further Critical Stylistic research into the representation of other subcultural ideologies, practices and groups in society, especially on social media. The socio-political and economic demographic image of contemporary Western society is constantly changing. Recent times have seen an influx in subcultural ideologies gaining power and recognition in society. From climate change activism to the flat earth theory, ideologies that have existed for decades and in some cases centuries (flat earth theory) have recently become more accepted in society. I believe this influx of subcultural ideologies gaining recognition is to some degree due to social media and its ability to nurture subcultural ideologies and grant them a platform to present themselves to the rest of the world. For this reason, I believe it is of paramount importance that Critical Stylistic researchers carry out multi-modal

analyses of ideologies represented on social media in order to gain a deeper understanding of subcultural, marginalised ideologies that are, in mainstream society categorised as the other.

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7.APPENDIX

Top 50 Tweets with the hashtag #veganism (retrieved on 21/01/2019)

[1]

[2]

[3]

Retiarius @Retiarius_ · 3h
.@veganshirtsuk Thanks for the retweet!
Now can you tell @n1g3 to stop forcing his food fascism on others, comparing meat eaters to paedophiles, Nazis and rapists... while wishing total strangers a long, painful death from cancer!
All in the name of #veganism!!
#Veganuary
Nigel Burton-Power
Imagine a paedophile saying "don't tell me who with" that's EXACTLY your argument. So lame.
Retiarius
No it's not!
Paedophilia is ILLEGAL...
Eating meat is not!
You are a crazy, horrid old man!
2

[4]

Farming Today @BBCFarmingToday · Jan 18
All this week we've been discussing #veganism and whether there's a way for vegans and #farmers to have constructive conversations about the future of food. Tomorrow from 06:30 @charlottebsmith joins farmer @AbiReader and @vivacampaigns' Tony Wardle to put that to the test...
NFU
11
20
49

[5]

Zorthius @zorthedemon · 11m
Vegans make no sense, animals were made for humans to eat. And if they see a lion savagely eat a zebra they don't care, but they see me eat a fucking burger it's like all out war starts. #Vegan #veganism
1

[6]

Anne-Marie Hewitt @ammahew · 1h
Great to see #Veganuary and #veganism being covered on @MidlandsToday @BBC but Nick rudely interrupted @TheVeganSociety interviewee several times. Disappointing :(
1

[7]

FuturePlanet @OurFutureRocks · 3h
Tribe! Need some motivation in switching to #veganism this year? Join us on Tuesday 29th where @Georgina_WP @pebblemag @freedombrewery will be giving us inspiration! bit.ly/sustysustenance
FUTURE PLANET
PRESENTS
SUSTAINABLE SUSTENANCE
act now!
2

[8]

scifashion08 @DarTerry78 · Jan 17
When you know better, you do better!!
#veganism
10 YEAR CHALLENGE
BREAKFAST 2009
BREAKFAST 2019
PLANT · CONSCIOUS · ENERGY
2
4

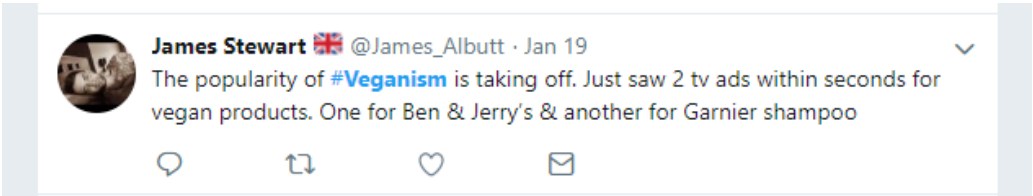
[9]

Mashed great northern beans on Daves killer bread with nutritional yeast & red pepper flakes ✨✨ #vegan #veganism #veganfood
1
8

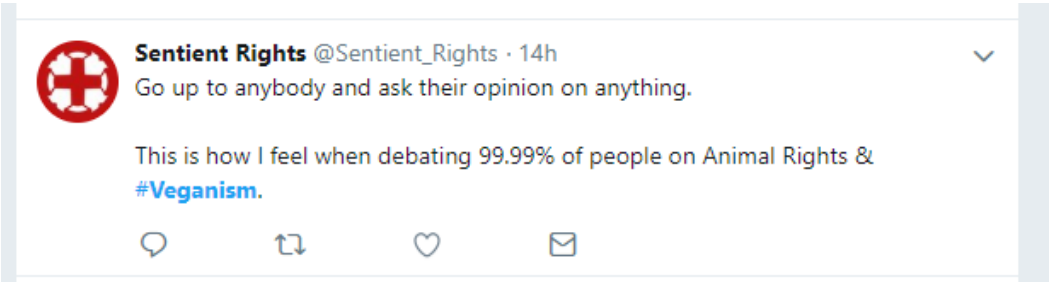
[10]

bovine babe @bovine_babe · 7h
Made a lovely little tofu stir fry today for lunch packed with lots of veggies, a pad thai inspired sauce, and topped off with cashews 😍
.
.
.
.
#vegan #veganism #veganfood #stirfry... instagram.com/p/Bs5gTr9A47m/...
1

[11]


James Stewart @James_Albutt · Jan 19
The popularity of #Veganism is taking off. Just saw 2 tv ads within seconds for vegan products. One for Ben & Jerry's & another for Garnier shampoo

[12]


Sentient Rights @Sentient_Rights · 14h
Go up to anybody and ask their opinion on anything.
This is how I feel when debating 99.99% of people on Animal Rights & #Veganism.

[13]

Girish Shah RatlamMP @girishgshah · Jan 17
@iamsnehaullal
#Veganism is from Future
Thanks for raising voice for them
Nice to Meet one more
VEGAN
girishgshah
girishgshah
QuoraGirish-Shah-9
girishgshah
Now I am following you on

[14]

Hilda Burke @HBtherapist · 6h
Interesting piece by @tanithcarey with some input from me looking at whether there is evidence of a link between #veganism and #depression @UKCP_Updates
Telegraph Food @TelegraphFood
Can a vegan diet lead to depression? @TanithCarey investigates.
telegraph.co.uk/food-and-drink...
2

[15]

TC-Lifestyle @LifestyleTc · Jan 15
Spinach and banana´s are a great combination in a smoothie . We love it.
#veganfood #govegan #veganism #organic #veganfoodporn
#vegansofinstagram #veganlife #dairyfree #veganlifestyle #raw #rawfood
#wholefoods #breakfast #plantbased pic.twitter.com/ImJDS3xwwJ
2
1
6

[16]

Sophie Wharfedale @sophie_wharf · 11h
Replying to @bbcgetinspired
Mental health issues seem to be as trendy as #veganism these days
1

[17]

Amy @amyythevegan · Jan 19
‼ ‼ NEW VIDEO OUT ‼ ‼
This week in #veganism including things like new quorn products, new menus and activist news
If there's anything I've missed let me know and please give this a retweet n subscribe if you haven't already
youtu.be/UElzO1qfWs8
Updates af
#2
Weekly vegan news

[18]

Updates af
#2
Weekly vegan news
8
23
68
Show this thread
Mr. Noise @ChaosofArt · Jan 19
I don't hate anyone for the diet they choose to have, I just hate the diet. That said, fuck #veganism! Dairy is a gift of civilization and should be enjoyed as such.
1

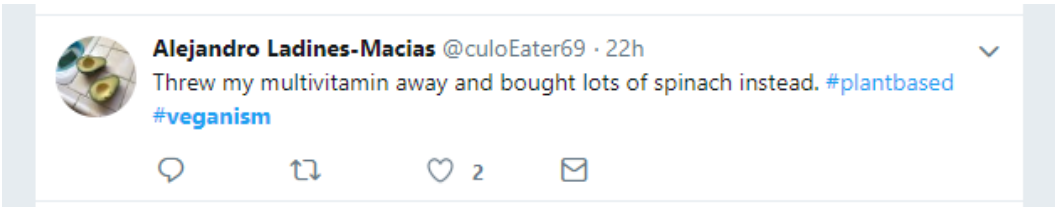
[19]

Kari Vescio @KarinaVescio · 21h
I don't comment on what you eat so don't comment on what I eat. #veganism
1

[20]

Dean Cole @DeanColeWriter · Jan 20
Militant veganism is not cool. It's disrespectful and harms the movement. Everybody is trying to do their best. And I still have to purchase meat for my cat to live and not die. It's about incremental change. Sensible words from Chris and his stepdaughter Megan #veganism
Chris Packham @ChrisGPackham
2:02
Being Vegan : Day 19 . About to eat out at @coastbar - who have a vegan menu (uptake is on the up!) and I ask my environmentally aware , cruelty free , lifetime vegetarian stepdaughter @MeganMcCubbin why she...

[21]


Alejandro Ladines-Macias @culoEater69 · 22h
Threw my multivitamin away and bought lots of spinach instead. #plantbased #veganism
2

[22]

Liz Stevenson @tamgoddess · 2h
Vegans and vegetarians need to read this. Twice.
#Veganuary2019 #vegantwitter #veganism
Dr Sarah Taber @SarahTaber_bww
In a minute.
So, taking it that you said you live in Arizona and "your family has a farm in Chihuahua," a quick congratulations are in order. You're an absentee...
Show this thread
1
1

[23]

BirdsOfABone @BirdsBone · Jan 17
Really glad #Yes2Meat also has #vegans in it who are disturbed and disgusted by the hashtag. I dont understand how people can spout so many lies about the meat industry and #veganism and be ok with their morality.
1
5

[24]

Rebecca Dorsett @lushlibrarylass · 1h
Took a chance on these as a #veganuary treat and oh my days these are the nicest, most flavourful sauces I've ever had! ❤️ thank you @BeFriesOfficial for creating these beauties! #veganlife #vegansauce #befries #vegancooking #veganism #VeganStrong #trufflesauce #garliclife
befries
VEGAN
GARLIC
VEGAN
BLACK
TRUFFLE

[25]

Jonathan Fox @Jonathan_R_Fox · Jan 19
#vegan #vegans #veganism #animalrights Calling all the fellow vegansto join #whyimstillvegan ! Let's combat all the negativity that recently hit the community. Post your reasons for being vegan!
2
4

[26]

WattsWhatMagazine @wattswhatmag · 11h
And perhaps we're being dim, but what's with a Vegan Sausage Roll- if you choose not to eat meat or dairy then why? #veganism #oxymoron

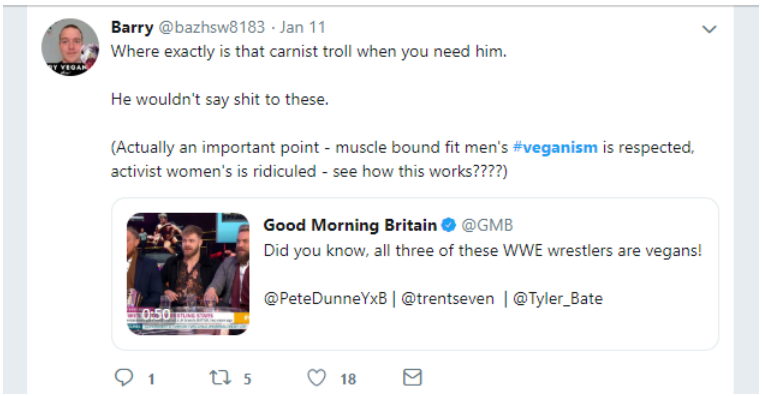
[27]

Fien @fawnfawnie · 6h
There's no diet that's more delusional, or toxic to human and animal health than veganism.
#dontgovegan #vegancat #veganism
84% of Vegetarians and Vegans Return to Meat. Why?
Animal activists should emphasize reduction, not elimination, of eating meat.

[28]

Unbound @unboundproject · Jan 20
"One day I decided to take responsibility for my choices. It is one of my proudest accomplishments. That day changed my life." World champion figure skater, Meagan Duhamel (@LutzofGreens) shares her journey to #veganism with @SwitchForGood
Athlete Spotlight: Olympic Figure Skater Meagan Duhamel - Switch4...
Olympic figure skater Meagan Duhamel explains her dairy-free journey.
switch4good.org
9
17

[29]


Barry @bazhsw8183 · Jan 11
Where exactly is that carnist troll when you need him.
He wouldn't say shit to these.
(Actually an important point - muscle bound fit men's #veganism is respected, activist women's is ridiculed - see how this works????)
Good Morning Britain @GMB
Did you know, all three of these WWE wrestlers are vegans!
@PeteDunneYxB | @trentseven | @Tyler_Bate
1
5
18

[30][

FuturePlanet @OurFutureRocks · 11h
Is this the year of the #vegan? Read this article from @guardian to find out why record numbers are pledging to go meat-free bit.ly/2RRozlU
#Veganuary2019 #Veganism
1

[31]

TheVeganSupplementMarket @SupplementVegan · 24h
Le Pain Des Fleurs Organic Buckwheat Crispbread 125g
#thevegansupplementmarket #veganrecipes #veganeats #vegandinner #vegano #veganshare #veganism #vegancommunity #veganaf #veganpower...
instagram.com/p/Bs3targgxlU/...
1

[32]

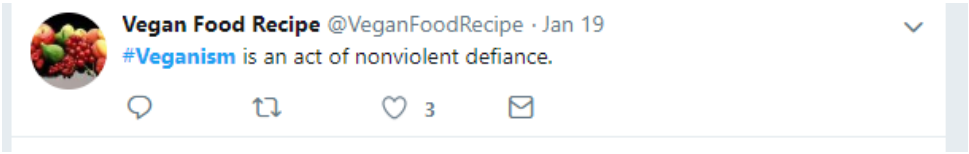
BEE KIND Bracelets @supportbeekind · 3h
All of our bracelets are carefully handcrafted in Madison, Wisconsin. They're waterproof, durable and adjustable from 2-5 inches, so they will fit on almost every wrist.
#AnimalRights #AnimalCruelty #AnimalWelfare #AnimalLovers #Animals #Vegetarian #Vegan #Vegans #Veganism
BEE KIND
$1 from every bracelet sold will be donated to support animal welfare
BEE KIND

BEE KIND
BEE KIND
$1 from every bracelet sold will be
1

[33]

Vegan Food Recipe @VeganFoodRecipe · Jan 20
It is always preferable to discuss the matter of #veganism in a non-judgemental way.
2

[34]


Vegan Food Recipe @VeganFoodRecipe · Jan 19
#Veganism is an act of nonviolent defiance.
3

[35]

Veganism Move @veganismmove · Jan 16
It's very important to protest for animals' lives. #Veganism #Vegan
VEGAN
FOR THE
ANIMALS
AND FOR THE
FUCKING
EARTH
2
8

[36]

Lois W @LovexxNature · 7h
No number of studies funded by the animal ag industries or those with a vested interest can change this. Feed more people using less resources #plantbased #veganism #veganuary #vegan
Compton @TheTrueCompton
1 pound of beef = 12 pounds of grain + 2,500 gallons of water + 1 gallon of gasoline
Plant-based food production requires only 5% of the farm land needed...
4

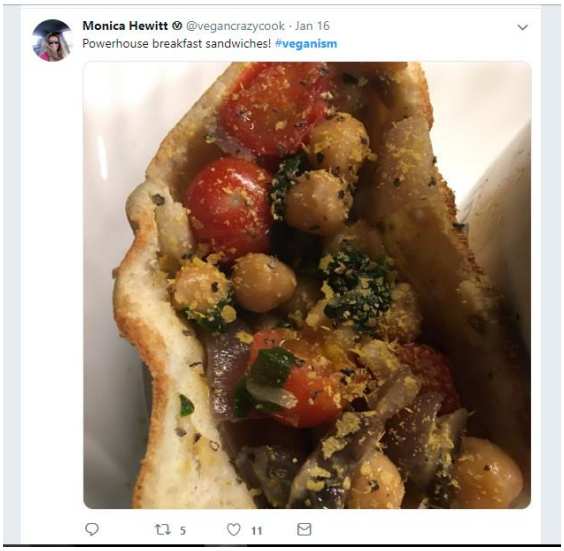
[37]

Let Fish Live @letfishlive · 5h
#Whitesupremacy seeks to organize social systems that satiate the interests of whiteness at the expense of all those who fall outside this category, including #POC + nonhuman #animals. Read 3 ways black #veganism challenges white supremacy: buff.ly/2QVui5A #MLKDay
END WHITE SUPREMACY
2
1

[38]

Sam Akhtar @MrSamAkhtar · 22h
Veganuary still going strong! #megansbalham #megans #balham #veganuary
#veganism #plantbased #veganism #london
5

[39]


Monica Hewitt @vegancrazycook · Jan 16
Powerhouse breakfast sandwiches! #veganism
5
11

[40]

Almira Gorus @gorusalmira · 25m
#plantbased #vegan #veganism I'm a unicorn b**ch!!
WHAT PEOPLE SEE
WHEN I SAY I'M VEGAN
imgflip.com

[41]

Coromandel Coast @coromcoast · 35m

Replying to @the_eco_Logical @EthicalHour

Absolutely! And with @GreggsOfficial selling #plantbased sausages, **#veganism** is mainstream now! #EthicalHour #Veganuary2019

4

[42]

Northern Polytunnels @NPolytunnels · 5h

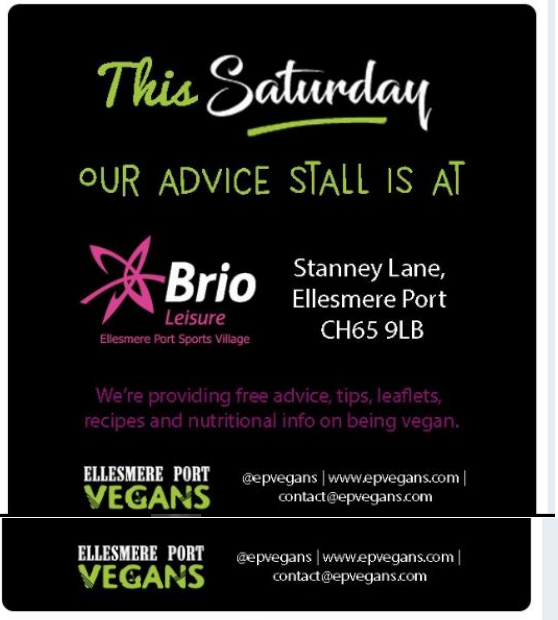
What used to be seen as a niche trend a few years ago has now expanded into the mainstream, with a wide variety of household brands now offering vegan options of their products without any sign of slowing down.
ow.ly/kJYn30nossi

#Veganuary #Vegan #HomeGrown **#Veganism**

[43]

Ellesmere Port Vegans @epvegans · 4h

Saturday 26th January we're at @brio_leisure @BrioEPSV #ellesmereportsportsvillage to provide free advice on going vegan. We have loads of recipe cards for you to try!! #vegan **#veganism** #vegansuk #plantbased #ellesmereport #vegans #veganadvice #vegansupoort



1 2

[44]

iBadassQueen @iBadassQueen1 · Jan 20

Where do vegans eat?
-Chipotle
-Taco Bell
-Chipotle
#Vegan #veganfood #**Veganism** #Veganuary #veganyourway #veganrecipes #veganlife

3 6 10

[45]

Culinary Conscience @Ethica11y_Vegan · Jan 11

73 COWS - a compelling short movie about a dairy farmer's transformation to #**veganism**

#vegan #veganuary #SaturdayMotivation #FridayMotivation #weekend #

'It Was Soul Destroying'— UK Beef & Dairy Farmer Goes Vegan, Grows Vegetables Instead

By Ashley Capps | December 31, 2018 | Categories Animal Farmer Turned Vegan

5.9k Shares 5.8k 81 22

Jay Wilde is a former UK beef and dairy farmer whose recent decision to retire his herd to sanctuary and take up growing vegetables instead is the subject of the powerful short film, *73 Cows*.

1 29 33

[46]

Jose Luis Franco [Run a ⚡🔑 Node] @DJoseLuisFranco · 23h

Obviously, control freak establishment elites are the ones that have the most to gain from popular Marxist ideologies about #Equality, #Feminism, #ToxicMasculinity, #Socialism, #**Veganism**, #ClimateChange #Democracy propaganda on MSM #FakeNews, #EATLancet #Yes2Meat #Bitcoin

Claire Lehmann @clairlemon
Would it be too much to ask the ABC to interview an actual forensic psychologist who works with violent & sexual offenders? Why is violence against women ALWAYS politicised? Who exactly benefits here?
Show this thread

1

[47]

Jill Gordon @jgordon5 · Jan 17

Replying to @ChrisGPackham

And it wouldn't hurt @BBCNews to be positive or even support #**veganism**. It would certainly make for a kinder society as well as saving our planet.

1 29

[48]

Jill Gordon @jgordon5 · Jan 17

Replying to @ChrisGPackham

And it wouldn't hurt @BBCNews to be positive or even support **#veganism**. It would certainly make for a kinder society as well as saving our planet.

1 29

[49]

Jasonlight @jasonlig · 12h

abetterfuture_podcast Episode 2 now live on iTunes and Spotify. Alongside our usual environmental updates this episode focuses on **#veganism** #veganfood with an interview with the... instagram.com/p/Bs49aovgjVS/...

[50]

MadVegans @MVegans · Jan 18

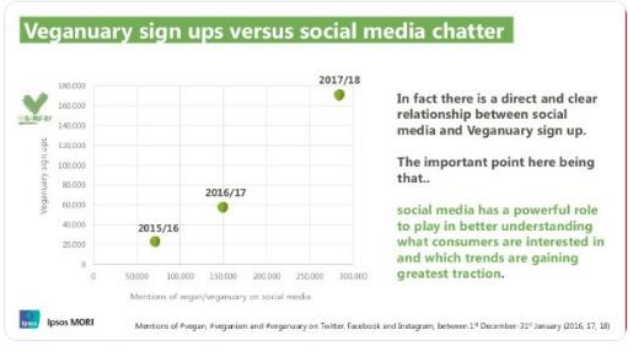
#Veganism is an #ethical lifestyle, not a diet!

3

Crafty Bug @craftybug2 · 12h

Brownies made vegan. goo.gl/bAo7rf #Baking **#Veganism**

Joei Chan @joeei · 11h

"There's a direct and clear relationship between social media and #Veganuary sign up." -@Ipsos

Check out my latest blog post about how **#veganism** became mainstream and what it tells us about predicting future trends on social media: hubs.ly/H0gfms90