Sarah Rutledge

Bias, Politics, and Identity in the News and *YouTube*

Introduction

Media bias has been a thoroughly studied issue, especially in connection with politics. In fact, "nowadays we cannot talk about politics without invoking media, and we cannot understand contemporary media without appreciating the role they play in the political system" (Perloff 7). In other words, we cannot look at media without politics being involved somehow. A study done by Elejalde et al. looks at Chilean newspapers for media bias. They show that "There is a growing body of evidence of bias in the media caused by underlying political and socio-economic viewpoints…Results show that the media have a measurable bias, and illustrated this by showing the favoritism of Chilean media for the ruling political parties in the country" (Elejalde et al. 1). Mark Dice, though extremely conservatively biased, makes a few interesting points in his book, *The True Story of Fake News*. He states, "Famed media analyst Neil Postman explains in his historic work *Amusing Ourselves To Death* that a drastic shift took place when Americans began getting their news from television instead of from newspapers, magazines and books…the reason for this is that the very nature of the television business is to get people to watch by any means necessary" (Dice 30). Dice, in this point, emphasizes the importance of shifting mediums. A different study, done by Bessi et al., establishes bias in social media, but more importantly, focuses on echo chambers. They conclude "that the early interaction of users with contents is an accurate predictor for the preferential attachment to a community and thus for the emergence of echo chambers. Moreover…the evolution of the polarization on Facebook and YouTube is so alike…" (Bessi et al. 7). They continue to discuss echo chambers; however, there

is no mention of the ramifications of these echo chambers in the study. If someone is stuck in an echo chamber, what does that mean for their identity? Their agency?

To dig deeper into these questions, I focus specifically on *YouTube* as my example of social media and potential bias. YouTube has been studied at length in different ways, and it should be, as the "second largest search engine in the world, with over 80 percent of users located outside the US" (Djerf-Pierre et al. 237). One study by Djerf-Pierre et al. "shows that journalism plays an important role on *YouTube* by generating audience discussions about social and political accountability" (Djerf-Pierre et al. 235). Though Djerf-Pierre et al. establish that journalism has a place in *YouTube*, Dinkov et al. look at the polarization and political issues with the switch to *YouTube* for news. They state, "Online news are currently increasingly being consumed as multimedia, including videos. As a result, many media started creating YouTube channels where they are posting videos online. Thus, we believe that we should also move media bias analysis to YouTube channels" (Dinkov et al. 1). Like Mark Dice, though their study is an important foundation, Dinkov et al. do not investigate how this affects the audience of these videos, not just politically, but in their identity, as well. In contrast to these scholars, in the study below, I address the impact of possible YouTube bias on audiences, as well as the ethical dilemma that political social media bias presents to us, especially in today's world.

Study

The Generational Shift from Television to Social Media

A recent Pew article discusses how "About six-in-ten of those ages 18 to 29 (61%) say the primary way they watch television now is with streaming services on the internet…" ("61%" 1). More importantly, however, the article found that

the internet and apps have shifted people's access pathways to media and some types of

content in recent years. The internet, for example, is now closing in on television as a

source of news in the U.S….the internet substantially outpaces TV as a regular news

source for adults younger than 50. ("61%" 2)

It continues by stating, "37% of the younger adults who prefer watching the news over reading it

cite the web, not television, as their platform of choice. Social media is also a rising source of

news: Two-thirds of adults – including 78% of those under 50 – get at least some news from

social media sites" ("61%" 2). Seventy-eight percent are under 50, which would be some Gen X

down to Gen Z. These numbers align with another Pew study seen in Fig. 1 in Appendix A that

states, "About 62 percent of American adults get news from social media, and 18 percent do so

frequently" (Perloff 110). Though television still has the most percentage of use overall, in those

under 29, half of their news comes from online, and the same can be said for those under 50 in

general. Below, I will display the consequences of this shift from television to social media in the

Millennial and Gen Z generations through analyzing a recent political issue through different

theoretical approaches and discussing the ethical ramifications.

Analytical Framework

<u>Political Communication</u>

According to Richard M. Perloff, political communication is "a complex, communicative

activity in which language and symbols, employed by leaders, media, citizens, and citizen

groups, exert a multitude of effects on individuals and society, as well as on outcomes that bear

on the public policy of a nation, state, or community" (12). This definition is imperative for this

study because it acknowledges the complexity of the genre, how it affects identity, and the power

relations within. Political communication argues that politics has its own language "laden with symbols. A symbol is a form of language in which one entity represents an idea or concept, conveying rich psychological and cultural meaning…Words convey different meanings to different groups" (Perloff 15). The discussion of symbols is particularly important because of my discussion later regarding the language choice of "riot" or "protest" in the four videos that I will analyze. Different political agendas choose linguistic symbols in how they portray an event, and this is one way to determine which way their bias leans politically. This idea ties directly to power relations, political culture, and identity. A term that emphasizes the connection of those three items to media is "mediatization," which shows this connection because it "emphasizes…how media have transformed the structural relations of politics in society" (Perloff 16). In other words, media are the gatekeepers of political knowledge and thus have the power to change the structure of politics and political identity in people because media is where politics occur, and it creates and influences politics. Since media are the gatekeepers of political knowledge, they can influence political attitudes and create echo chambers, which exist because of the issues of unethical political communication. The audience reaction to this unethical political communication is discussed in the theory of naïve realism.

Naïve Realism

Directly tied to political communication theory and political communication as a genre is the concept of naïve realism. Ross and Ward describe this as a sort of psychological response to differing worldviews. Ross and Ward start by discussing construals and social inference. They talk about how, with differences in construals, "the manipulation of labels and language can be used effectively to disengage normal mechanisms of moral evaluation, that is, to promote and justify individual or collective actions that might otherwise be constrained by moral or ethical

standards" (Ross and Ward 105). There is a sort of battle with language in political communication, and the idea of this manipulation of labels and language directly ties to the political communication discussion of symbols. Ross and Ward go on to describe three tenets of naïve realism. For the purpose of this paper, I am focusing on the third tenet: construal and social enmity. It "concerns the naïve realist's interpretation of differences in response and disagreements about issues" (Ross and Ward 116). It asks how people deal with opposing viewpoints, which is extremely important for my discussion of polarization, as a large part of polarization is a lack of understanding the other side of the argument. The typical layperson, when in a political argument or discussion, tends to assume the other person will listen to what they have to say and their evidence, but when that does not happen, frustration and tensions rise. What most people do not realize, of course, is that they are guilty of the same problem: "What generally seems lacking on the part of the naïve realist, however, is the recognition that his or her own interests, ideological beliefs, and construals of facts and evidence are similarly correlated, and that the relevant correlation is equally subject to unflattering interpretation" (Ross and Ward 117). With all of this in mind, it is important to acknowledge that individuals have their own bias, and the use of algorithms and media bias do not help an already widespread lack of understanding. The genres of political communication and naïve realism tie directly to Amy Devitt's discussion of genre theory and displays how interconnected and complicated genres can be through their ties to identity and power relations.

Genre Theory

Political communication, naïve realism, and genre theory tie together in many ways. One of those ways is how people use all three to their own advantage. Amy Devitt explains that "Genres have the power to help or hurt human interaction, to ease communication or to deceive,

to enable someone to speak or to discourage someone from saying something different" (1). The genres of politics and communication, for example, can be used to help or hurt culture, society, identity, and other ways, as well. If the news affects people's worldviews, then this genre can be used in a harmful way, deceptively framing the news to fit the media's bias. Like symbols, genre theory discusses language and how "studying genre is studying how people use language to make their way in the world" (Devitt 9). The news uses specific language to apply different political lenses to situations, and social media news does this, as well.

Different genres can be adapted to different mediums, and news media is a great example, since news media can be found on different social media platforms, such as YouTube. News stations have started adapting their broadcasts to be easily accessible on *YouTube* and other forms of social media. However, *YouTube* has news channels that are not from the television news stations, such as The Lotus Eaters and Philip Defranco. The genre of news broadcasting and journalism has changed to fit the new medium of the internet. It is important to note, though, that like different aspects of genre, "The political system, guided by an overall political logic, influences media, just as media influence politics" (Perloff 17). They are interconnected and influence each other. This goes along with how Devitt looks at genre: "Thus context of situation, context of culture, and context of genres all influence the actions of writers and readers, speakers and listeners, and they do it partly through genre." (29). She provides a chart (see Fig. 2 in Appendix B), to demonstrate how these ideas influence each other and how they connect to genre. As seen in Figure 2, genre ties directly to identity, power structures, and culture. They constantly interact with each other. Politics, similarly, has "three political actors—elites, media, and citizens—[that] influence policy complexly, through overlapping concentric circles" (Perloff 24). These three actors, like the different influences of genre, interact with each

other to create political communication. It is important to note that "Because genres operate within society, they are enmeshed in the complex relationships that are society, including such issues as power differentials and ideological identities" (Devitt 34). Thus, genre theory connects power and identity with genre, and the genre of political communication directly ties into this connection. Before continuing to my analysis, then, it is important that I discuss the theoretical frameworks of identity and power.

<u>Identity</u>

Many theorists discuss identity in relation to specific genres or theories. Similarly, for my research, identity should be discussed in terms of how it relates to genre, political communication, and power relations. The rise of social media has complicated our identities in several ways. For instance, how we portray ourselves online could be different from how we portray ourselves in person, and our identity also changes depending on what group we are with. Devitt agrees with this, since she states, "participation in some groups is more significant for constructing people's identity than participation in other groups[;] people do indeed participate in multiple groups and shift identity and motives from one group to the next" (Devitt 42). How this idea can be applied to the news is that different stations cater to different political ideologies through their bias and use of symbols. A conservative platform, for example, will portray conservatives in a good light while they portray liberals in a poor light. Because media are the gatekeepers of political knowledge, if they present the knowledge with a specific bias, then it can change the way people understand politics and thus their political identity over time. This could have even longer-term effects, since media could change public opinion if all or most media were to lean one way.

This dynamic then brings about the idea of agency and whether the media gives the individual agency over their own political views or not. If the media influences identity, then it could be argued that the media takes away agency, as well, because it takes away an individual's self-conscious action and does affect the change in the social world for them. Faber ties all of these ideas together, language symbols, agency, etc., in his description of identity and how "To change these structures is to change who we are, what we believe, and how we view each other" (62). If the media controls the linguistic features of politics and changes them, then based on this quotation from Faber, they have the power to change our political identities.

Power

I have mentioned before that the media are the gatekeepers of political knowledge. This is important to re-visit when discussing power and power structures. Perloff discusses this idea further when he states, "citizens necessarily rely on the media (and now the Internet) to learn what is happening…The media supply us with images that we use to construct beliefs about the political world" (77). The media, then, have constructed a power structure where citizens must rely on them to obtain political information. Since individuals rely on media, media bias is dangerous in that it can change how people perceive politics, but why are people so blind to this issue? Media has become intrinsic to our way of life and therefore has not been rigorously questioned, so much so that it has only just started facing public scrutiny (Moses and Katz 71). It is also important to note that "media discourse is designed for mass audiences, and there is no way that producers can even know who is in the audience, let alone adapt to its diverse sections" (Fairclough 49). This means that the media must choose what audience to cater to if they want viewership, which can contribute to the issue of polarization and gives the media a type of power that is not readily apparent. This hidden power can be seen "through the way it positions readers,

for instance[;] media discourse is able to exercise a pervasive and powerful influence in social reproduction because of the very scale of the modern mass media and the extremely high level of exposure" (Fairclough 54). The discussion of power and the media goes beyond this, however; the media, through gatekeeping, has restructured politics and political communication.

Restructuring political communication has caused individuals to change how they interact, and not just with technology, but with each other. One major issue with media having this power is that they create polarization. If the media focuses on "high-profile partisan combatants, [they] can increase perceptions of polarization; when media depict a divided citizenry, perceptions of polarization increase" (Perloff 48). Since media is designed for mass audiences, polarization is to their benefit, since then they have a targeted audience to cater to. The issue of polarization is also increased with social media platforms and the internet through algorithms that increasingly target content to specific audiences, based on previous viewing history. The genre of political communication enacts symbolic violence when in the hands of biased news outlets because the media is a naturalized communication technology. There are several ethical issues involved in these power dynamics, but first, I want to discuss different news outlets using such algorithms and how they portray their own bias.

Methods and Case Study

For this case study, I took four well-known news sources on their different platforms – two television networks and two YouTube channels – where one of each was left biased and the others right biased based on how others perceive them and my own personal experience with them. Each of the four videos are about the Kenosha, Wisconsin violence that happened in August of 2020, with some of the news media mentioning the 17-year-old who shot and killed two people, specifically. I created a table (see Table 1 in Appendix C) that charts my analysis of

each of the four news stations/channels and their persona, language use (or symbols), visuals,

political bias, and whether they use "protest" or "riot" to describe the situation. From television, I

chose CNN and Fox, and from *YouTube* I chose David Pakman and Steven Crowder: Pakman,

because of his liberal bias and 1.18 million subscribers, and Crowder because of his conservative

bias and 5.1 million subscribers. Though one has more followers than the other, over a million

subscribers are considered a significant fanbase on *YouTube*, since it far exceeds the YouTube

partner requirements of 1,000 subscribers. Though I tried to maintain as much neutrality as

possible in my analysis and discussion, I acknowledge that my own unconscious political bias

could have influenced this research.

Analysis and Discussion

Analysis

Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 (in Appendices D-G) depict the four videos that I analyzed for this

research. The visuals of the two news stations are different from the two YouTube videos. Both

CNN and Fox use tickers with their headlines, and both use red and white in their color scheme.

Fox uses the American flag as a background, which could be an appeal to patriotism. The logos

of both news stations are prominent as well; similarly, indications of the channel are shown for

both YouTube videos, with "The David Pakman Show" and "Louder with Crowder" depicted

behind the two speakers. The YouTube videos, however, differ in visuals. Pakman is well-lit and

has a blue background, and it is just him at the microphone whereas Crowder is in a dark, brick

studio room with a microphone and headphones. Crowder is also not by himself and has a team

of people in the room with him that join in on his conversations. Both he and Pakman use clips

from other news media in their discussion.

Their personas are all very different, as well. CNN uses an on-the-spot reporter that

stumbles over his words and wears regular clothing, which could be an appeal to the audience, as

it makes him appear like the typical layperson. He seems to also have protective goggles, a gas

mask, and a backpack on, which demonstrates the danger of where he is reporting from. Fox

News, however, shows Tucker Carlson in a suit, complete with tie and pocket square, and he has

a clear, critical, raised voice. David Pakman also has a critical, clear, raised voice and wears a

button-down shirt, but unlike Carlson, he uses visible hand gestures. Steven Crowder's persona

is the most different out of all of them, as it seems like he and the others on the show are wearing

robes with button-down shirts. Crowder also uses hand gestures but has a loud personality with

exaggerated faces and voices. Though these personas seem different, they all have a purpose,

especially when tied to the kind of language they use. CNN's on-the-spot reporter seems to

defend the riots with the quotation I have in Table 1. Thus, his persona is used to garner

sympathy while also portraying a serious news broadcast with the use of the ticker underneath.

Fox News portrays itself as more serious, with Carlson in the suit and tie and the use of a ticker,

but Carlson's language use is not unbiased, and in fact he spends almost the entire video

criticizing Democrats. So the persona of a serious news broadcast does not match the language

used. David Pakman is like Fox News, in that his persona is very serious, but he criticizes right-

wing media for most of the video. Steven Crowder, however, was hardest to analyze. The use of

a house robe seems to suggest a casualness that goes along with political commentary, as

opposed to political news, but the others in the room and his analysis of different news stations

suggest he sees himself as a political news source. Most of his video is critical of the left, which

is shown through his exaggerated faces and voices, which show his political bias. However, most

news channels on *YouTube* are set up similar in tone to Crowder's video in that they are a

conversation, as if the audience are in the room. So, through this, he does at least affirm his YouTuber status.

The important symbols of these different news outlets are whether they describe the Kenosha, Wisconsin violence as a "protest" or a "riot." Interestingly, only the two TV stations made a stance either way, with CNN using "protest" and Fox using "riot." Crowder uses both, and Pakman says "situation." So one would have to look at the other language symbols to determine the two *YouTube* channels' bias. As I mentioned before, whom they criticize in their videos shows their bias.

Ethical Discussion

So what does this mean? Millions of people watch all these biased news sources, which can be a huge problem. Perloff states that, "Despite their different prescriptions for democratic communication, theorists embrace the need for ethically based communication, a respect for process, and free expression of a multitude of ideas" (Perloff 57). Currently, there is no way to keep the media in check so that what they present is unbiased and ethical. *The Social Dilemma*, a Netflix Documentary, details the issues that social media companies have brought for power, identity, and politics. The algorithms that they use are one part of that problem, as seen by what Justin has to say in *The Social Dilemma*: "Algorithms and manipulative politicians are becoming so expert at learning how to trigger us, getting so good at creating fake news that we absorb as if it were reality, and confusing us into believing those lies" (01:08:58 – 01:09:14). These algorithms create echo chambers, where users of social media only get news and results about what they agree with politically, because the whole point of the algorithm is to keep the user engaged in the media, so it learns what the user likes and dislikes. Justin uses the word "trigger" in this quote, but it could easily be replaced with using symbols. In this way, algorithms and

politicians use these symbols to trigger a response in the user or reader to reinforce or distance them from what is being said.

YouTube uses an algorithm that does this. Guillaume, who worked on that algorithm states, "[Guillaume] It worries me that an algorithm that I worked on is actually increasing polarization in society. But from the point of view of *Watch Time*, this polarization is extremely efficient at keeping people online" (*The Social Dilemma* 00:58:40 – 00:58:57). Algorithms, such as this one, are used in all types of social media, from Facebook to Google, and increase the danger of polarization as individuals get more and more stuck in their political opinions. The implications of this polarization are that "We all simply are operating on a different set of facts. When that happens at scale, you're no longer able to reckon with or even consume information that contradicts with that world view that you've created" (*The Social Dilemma* 00:57:11 – 00:57:28). If nothing being relayed to us is attempting to be objective, then how do we consume information? How do we deal with others?

News stations are not completely innocent of this, either: "One interesting result is that bias in the news is found to be correlated to political inclinations of readers, showing a tendency in these news outlets to maximize profit by 'catering' to a certain audience" (Elejalde et al. 3). Both news outlets and social media do this to maximize their profit, which is a huge ethical issue. Social media companies take this knowledge of users' economic and political interests and use it for profit, as well (*The Social Dilemma* 00:12:58 – 00:13:16). They maximize their profit at the expense of their users' identity and agency. The problem is that this also relates to ethical power relations, because "…as the media grows in power, the political and economic interests of news outlets and the ones who control it have grown as well, which has its impact on the news that the population of a territory gets served" (Elejalde et al. 2). It is not just the profits that

interest them, but other economic interests, as well. For instance, *The Washington Post* is owned by Jeff Bezos, the owner of Amazon. The news articles that they post could be influenced by his and his company's economic and political interests. *The Social Dilemma* emphasizes these issues by stating, "Surveillance capitalism has come to shape our politics and culture in ways many people don't perceive" (00:05:03 - 00:05:07). This also goes back to the idea of social media as a sort of communication technology that seems innocuous because of how entrenched it is in our daily life.

Conclusion

Users do not understand that they are being influenced politically in a dangerously subtle way, that their very identity can be changed by this and that they lack the agency that social media companies say they have. Unfortunately, "Not much is known about the role of cognitive factors in driving users to aggregate in echo chambers supporting their preferred narrative. Recent studies suggest confirmation bias…eventually leads to the emergence of polarized communities where users acquire confirmatory information and ignore dissenting content" (Bessi et al. 1-2). As this continues, without anything to stop it, our society will only get exponentially polarized, and our news will only get increasingly biased to cater to its viewers. Though this issue has begun to be acknowledged, it has already impacted society: "A huge new Pew Research Center study of 10,000 American adults find us more divided than ever, with personal and political polarization at a 20-year high" (*The Social Dilemma* 00:57:59 – 00:58:09). There is a very real ethical exigency to this issue. If we cannot rely on the media to get our political information, to be kept informed, then where do we turn? How do we keep from falling prey to these algorithms? More research needs to be done.

In October of this year (2020), social media executives testified on social media content moderation before the United States Senate. Thankfully, there are conversations happening in government about the ethical issues of social media content, and this is one example. One of the main issues is determining whether different outlets are publishers or platforms because they are afforded different legal liabilities, under Article 230 of the Communications Decency Act, depending on which identity they lay claim. It will be interesting to see how this continues in the future, but for now, it is enough to know these discussions are happening. However, there are serious future implications for what happens if news bias continues at this scale. The cultural implications of this are also important to note. Because there is a lack of research on this, we may not even understand the full picture of how this is changing our lives, not just politically, or through our identities, but psychologically, and through our mental health, too. News bias can harm relationships, as well. In 2016, after the results of the presidential election, friendships were breaking apart because people could not understand the political choices of the other person. This is also not just a problem in the United States: "Bias in the media is a global phenomenon, not exclusive to one kind of economy or particular political system" (Elejalde et al. 2). News media across the globe are experiencing these same issues because of the bias taking over news outlets for various reasons. From a technological communication standpoint, this is also a problem because people can no longer rely on the communication they are receiving. This should be further studied by technical communicators simply because "We have gone from the information age into the disinformation age" (*The Social Dilemma* 00:05:27 – 00:05:32). These companies that are controlling the news are creating a lack of trust between communicator and reader, which adds further complications and questions in the field of ethical technical communication.

Appendix A

About 4 in 10 American often get news online
% of U.S. adults who <u>often</u> get news on each platform

TV Cable, local, network nightly	57%
Online Social media, websites/apps	38
Radio	25
Print newspapers	20

% of each age group who <u>often</u> get news on each platform

	18–29	30–49	50–64	65+
TV	27%	45%	72%	85%
Online	50	49	29	20
Radio	14	27	29	24
Print newspapers	5	10	23	48

Note: Just 1% said they never got news on any platform (not shown).
Source: Survey conducted Jan. 12-Feb. 8, 2016.
"The Modern News Consumer"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 4.3 Where Americans get their news. While about 40 percent of U.S. adults report they often receive news online, an even higher percentage of young Millennial adults indicate they often get news from online outlets. Interestingly, close to 60 perce of adults get news from television.

About 4 in 10 Americans often get their news online.
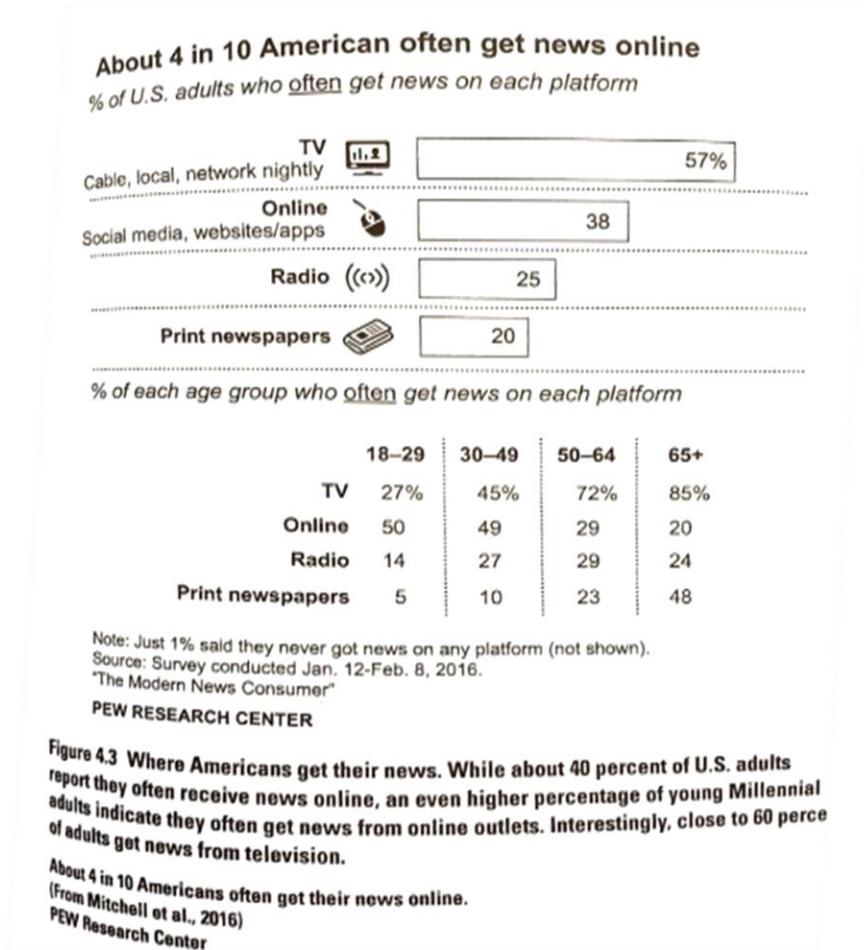(From Mitchell et al., 2016)
PEW Research Center

Fig. 1. Pew Research Study from Perloff, Richard M. "Chapter 4: Media and Political Knowledge." *The Dynamics of Political Communication: Media and Politics in a Digital Age*, Routledge, 2018, p. 111.
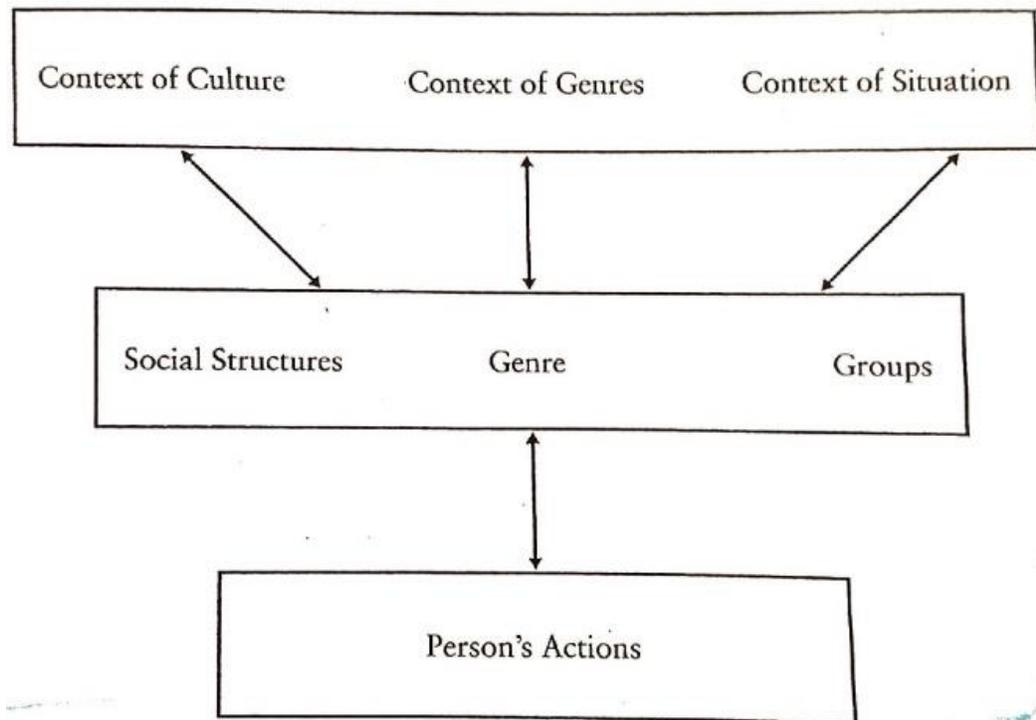
Appendix B

Fig. 2. Interaction of Genre, Context, and Actions from Devitt, Amy J. "A Theory of

Genre." *Writing Genres*, Southern Illinois University Press, 2004, p. 30.

Appendix C

	CNN	Fox	David Pakman	Steven Crowder
Persona	On-the-spot reporter, stumbling over words (maybe appeal to audience?), donning regular clothes	Suit and tie, slightly raised voice and critical tone, clear words	Plaid, button down shirt, hand gestures, critical but steady tone, slightly raised voice	wearing robes with regular button down shirts?, hand gestures, loud, exaggerated faces, uses purposeful whiny voice occassionally
Language Use	"The common theme that ties all of this together is an expression of anger and frustration over what people feel like has become an all-too-familiar story…"	"chaos, dozens dead, kids in the streets with guns, Americas cities on fire, why did that happen? Because the left neutered the police…"	"The broader narrative of Republicans for months now have been harping on the streets are out of control, Joe Biden wants to defund the police, which he doesn't…the rhetoric from Trump and the conservative movement…"	"If people can assault you…burn down cities and commit…over a billion dollars in damage…Black Lives Matter activists saying 'Oh, you have insureance money' and you can't protect yourself…you don't live in a free country."
Visuals	Red and white ticker with headline, CNN logo on bottom right	Logo on left, American flag pattern as a background, White ticker with headline	Blue background, at microphone, "The David Pakman Show" in the background, by himself, uses clips from other media	Dark, Brick studio-like wall/room, microphones and headphones on everyone, neon "Louder with Crowder" sign behind him, others with him, uses clips from other media
Bias	Left - almost defending the rioters/protestors	Right - blames the Democrats for how the Police are being treated and that they have constructed a lie that the police are the enemy	Left - most of the video is criticizing right-wing media	Right - mostly commentary about left-wing issues/media, BLM, etc.
Protest vs Riot	"Fiery But Mostly Peaceful Protests After Police Shooting"	Riots	Situation	Both

Table 1. Analysis of Fox, CNN, David Pakman, and Steven Crowder

Appendix D

Fig. 3. CNN Report on Kenosha, Wisconsin from "CNN Claims Kenosha Protests Are 'Fiery But Mostly Peaceful' As City Burns Behind Reporter." *YouTube*, uploaded by Grateful American, 27 August 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=klVhCkhOTRQ.

Appendix E

Fig. 4. Fox News Report on Kenosha, Wisconsin from "Reporter on the ground in Wisconsin

details 'chaos', devastation." *YouTube*, uploaded by Fox News, 27 August 2020,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G64tTlcdZw4.

Appendix F

The Kenosha Protests Turn Fatal | Good Morning #MugClub

LOUDER WITH Crowder

7:28 / 51:45

Fig. 5. Steven Crowder Reports on Kenosha, Wisconsin from "The Kenosha Protests Turn Fatal

– Good Morning #MugClub." *YouTube*, uploaded by StevenCrowder, 26 August 2020,

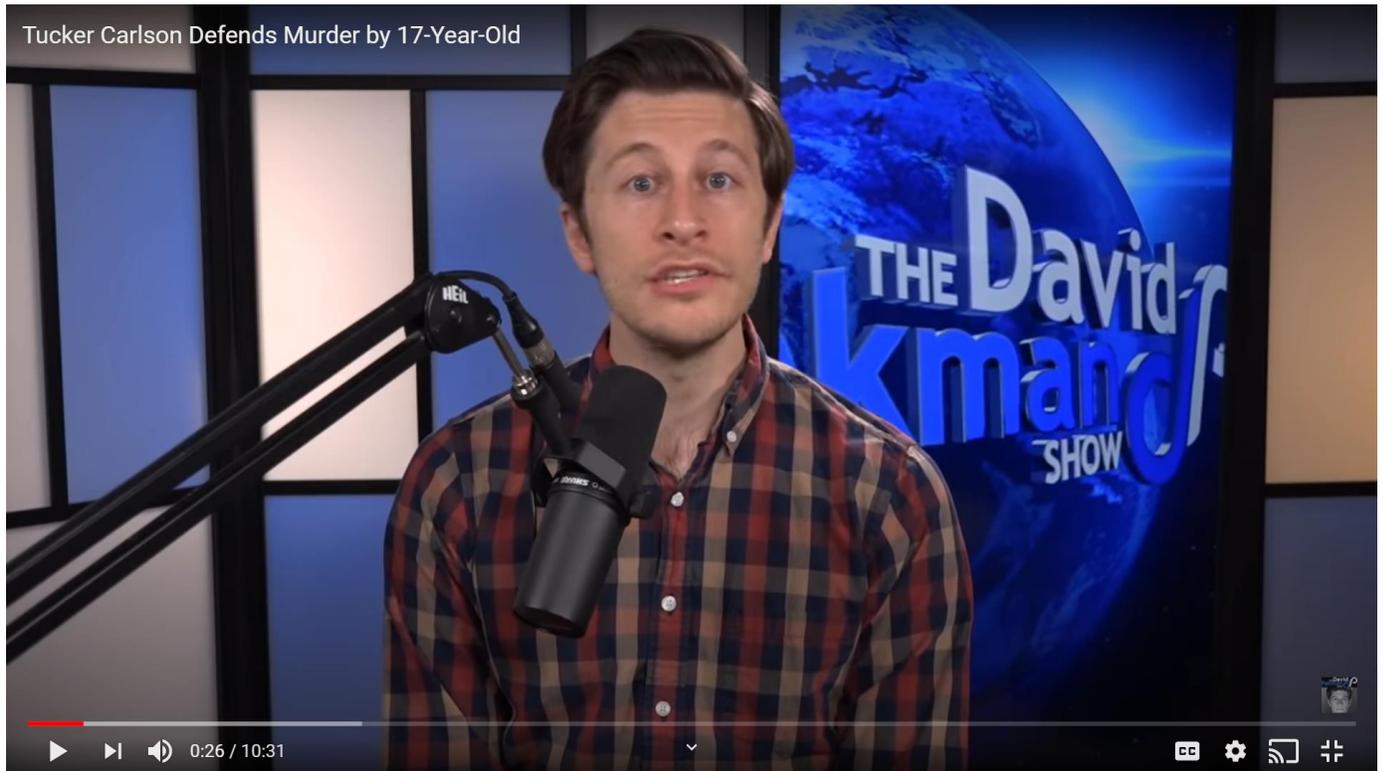https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fylHh64W-i8.

Appendix G

Fig. 6. David Pakman Reports on Kenosha, Wisconsin from "Tucker Carlson Defends Murder by

17-Year-Old." *YouTube*, uploaded by David Pakman Show, 27 August 2020,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOLTtF8xUKg.

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