


**COMMUNICATION PATTERNS OF EXTREME
LEFT- AND RIGHT-WINGERS ON YOUTUBE:
A NETWORK-ORIENTED VISUALISATION OF RADICALISATION**

Prof. Dr. Dennis Klinkhammer
2018

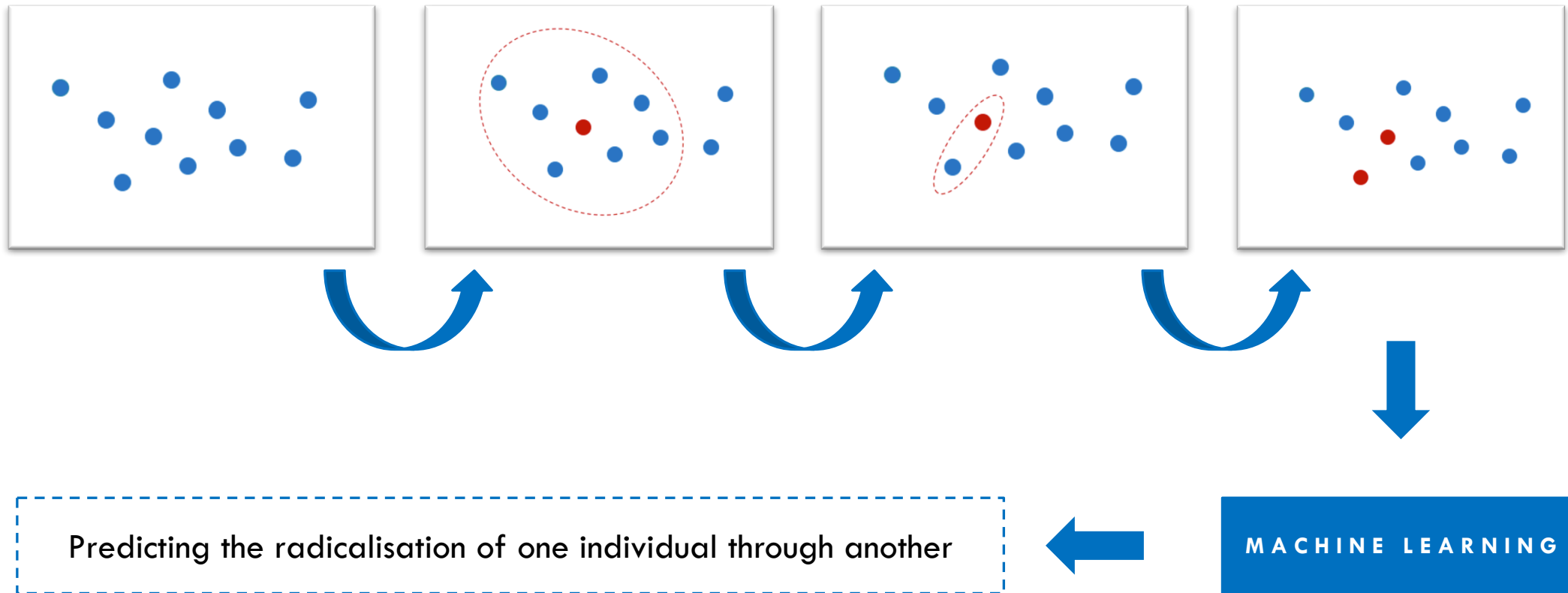
AGENDA

- Introduction: Forecasting
- Conceptual framework
 - Radicalism, extremism and radicalisation
 - Political goals of left- and right-wingers
- Sociological aspects
- Methodological approach
 - Exploratory analyses and examples
 - Methodological considerations
- Communication Patterns
- Conclusion



INTRODUCTION: FORECASTING

INTRODUCTION: FORECASTING





CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalism
 - Attitude that seeks a fundamental change of society (Neumann 2013)
 - Goals, ideas and actions diametrically opposed to social norms (Böckler/Zick 2015)
 - Non-violent and within the legal system possible (Sedgwick 2010)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- **Radicalism**

- Attitude that seeks a fundamental change of society (Neumann 2013)
- Goals, ideas and actions diametrically opposed to social norms (Böckler/Zick 2015)
- Non-violent and within the legal system possible (Sedgwick 2010)

- **Extremism**

- Subcategory of radicalism (Böckler/Zick 2015)
- Distinction: Cognitive and violence-oriented extremism (Neumann 2013)
- Actions that endanger the lives, liberties and rights of others (Böckler/Zick 2015)
- Interpretation in front of historical, geographical and national background (Mandel 2010)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)

Ideological Engagement

(Wiktorowicz 2005; Schmid 2013)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)

Ideological Engagement

Radicalisation

(Wiktorowicz 2005; Schmid 2013)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)

Ideological Engagement

Radicalisation

Catalyst Event

(Wiktorowicz 2005; Schmid 2013)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)



(Wiktorowicz 2005; Schmid 2013)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Radicalisation as process
 - Increased research focus on process of radicalisation and social structures (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Terrorism as the last stage of the radicalisation process (King/Taylor 2011)



(Wiktorowicz 2005; Schmid 2013)

- Premature criminalization or stigmatisation as potential promoters (van San et al. 2010)
- Variables at the micro-meso-macro levels are not deterministic (Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Political left
 - Different tendencies supporting the ideal of equality of all people (Smith/Tatalovich 2003)
 - Objective: Against inequality and oppression of the disadvantaged (Bobbio/Cameron 1997)
 - Ideological connection to socialist principles (Adams 2001)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Political left

- Different tendencies supporting the ideal of equality of all people (Smith/Tatalovich 2003)
- Objective: Against inequality and oppression of the disadvantaged (Bobbio/Cameron 1997)
- Ideological connection to socialist principles (Adams 2001)

- Political Right

- Belonging to an ethnic group, nation or race determines the value of a person (Ford/Goodwin 2014)
- Counter-proposal to pluralistic society and constitution (Mudde 2007)



SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

- Socialisation theory
 - Experienced social exclusion, identity crisis, search for meaning (Korteweg et al. 2010)
 - Disturbed family relationships and socialisation experiences (Lützing 2010)
 - Openness to alternative ideas and perspectives (Resch 2002)

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

- Socialisation theory

- Experienced social exclusion, identity crisis, search for meaning (Korteweg et al. 2010)
- Disturbed family relationships and socialisation experiences (Lützinger 2010)
- Openness to alternative ideas and perspectives (Resch 2002)

- Network theory

- Agitation and recruitment by third parties before “ideological engagement“ (Busher 2015)
- Social exchange (Weimann, 2012), confirmation and “frames“ as pull-factors (Pisoiu 2011)
- Indications of social inequalities and common values (Wiktorowicz 2005)
- Authorities as promoters in the recruitment process (Alonso 2010)

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

- Cultural theory
 - Attractiveness of youth-movements and learnable cultural norms (Schumacher 2013)
 - Experience of self-efficacy through low-threshold engagement (Glaser 2013)
 - Culture and discourse outside the mainstream media (Neumann 2013)
 - Collective identities enable mobilisation (Busher 2015)

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

- Relevant aspects for network-oriented visualisation of radicalisation
 - Radicalisation as a mental and emotional process (Pisoiu 2013)
 - Interactions between individuals and their social context (Böckler & Zick 2015)
 - Prerequisites and factors have different inter-individual effects (Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010)
 - Extremist propaganda can intervene meaningfully in socialisation processes (Böckler & Zick 2015)

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Radicalisation in the context of social media
 - Rising number of posts with radical content (Conway 2012)
 - Social media enables networking and exchange of information of radical actors (Jenkins 2006)
 - Emergence of new and global group constellations (Brachman 2009)
 - Flexibilisation of structures of extremist organisations (Jenkins 2010)
 - Social media offers quantitative and qualitative data for further analysis (Busher 2015)

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Radicalisation in the context of social media
 - Rising number of posts with radical content (Conway 2012)
 - Social media enables networking and exchange of information of radical actors (Jenkins 2006)
 - Emergence of new and global group constellations (Brachman 2009)
 - Flexibilisation of structures of extremist organisations (Jenkins 2010)
 - Social media offers quantitative and qualitative data for further analysis (Busher 2015)

“(...) empirical analyses highlighting how many of these individuals engage with wider networks of similarly-minded activists (...)”

(Busher 2015; Weimann 2012)

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Network-oriented visualisation with R
 - Application Programming Interfaces (API)
 - R Programming Language
 - SocialMediaLab Package



Machine Learning

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Network-oriented visualisation with R
 - Application Programming Interfaces (API)
 - R Programming Language
 - SocialMediaLab Package



Machine Learning



Marsch der Kampfgruppen



homer0s33

Abonnieren 438

136.249 Aufrufe

+ Hinzufügen Teilen Mehr

335 53

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- “Marsch der Kampfgruppen“

(...) Wo Arbeiter, Bauern regieren,
zerschlagen der Ausbeuter Macht,
wo Arbeit als Pflicht gilt und Ehre,
wo die Flamme des Wissens entfacht,
da lohnt es, den Stürmen zu trotzen,
da lohnt es, im Feuer zu stehen,
da lohnt es, Gewehre zu tragen
und im Gleichschritt der Kämpfer (...)

Revolutionary Song

...to smash

...duty and honor

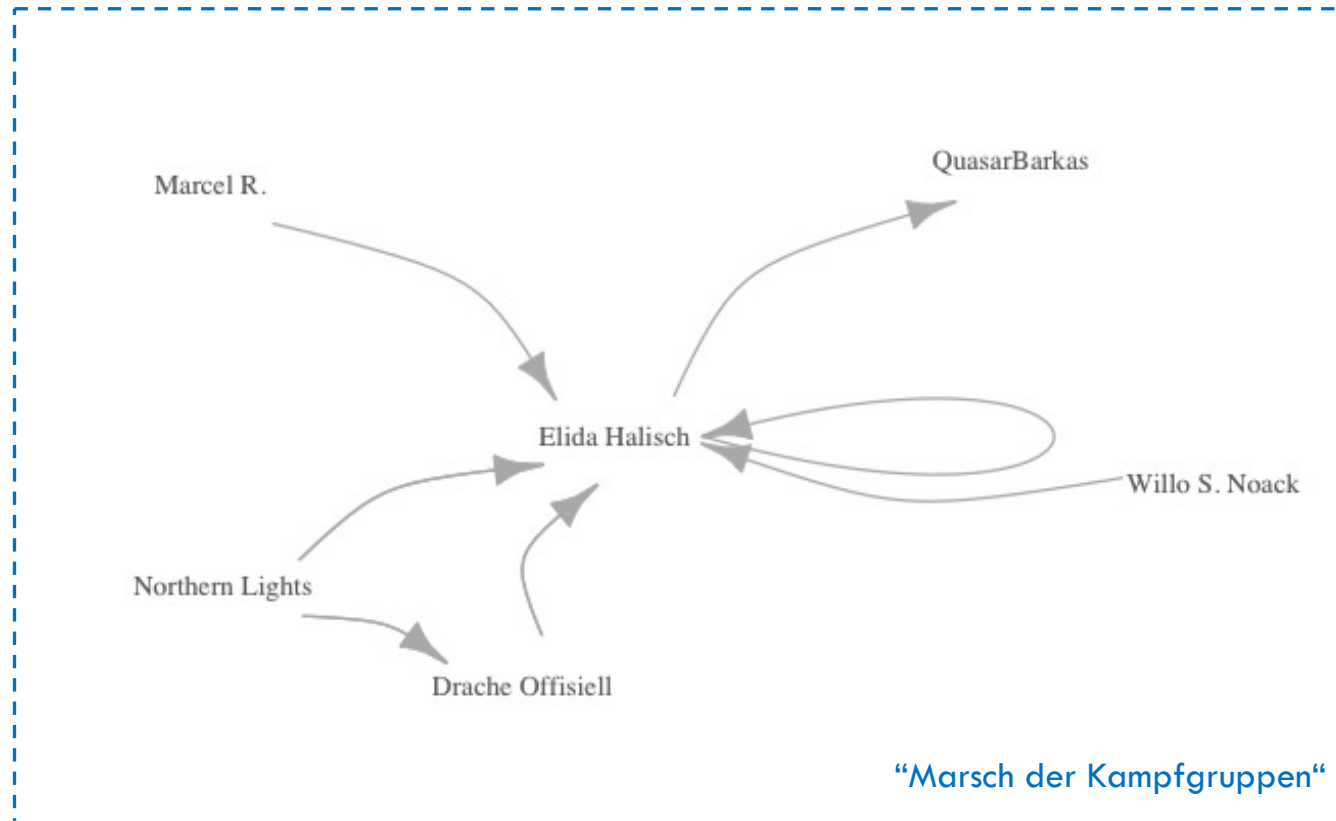
...to withstand storms

...carrying weapons

...marching in step

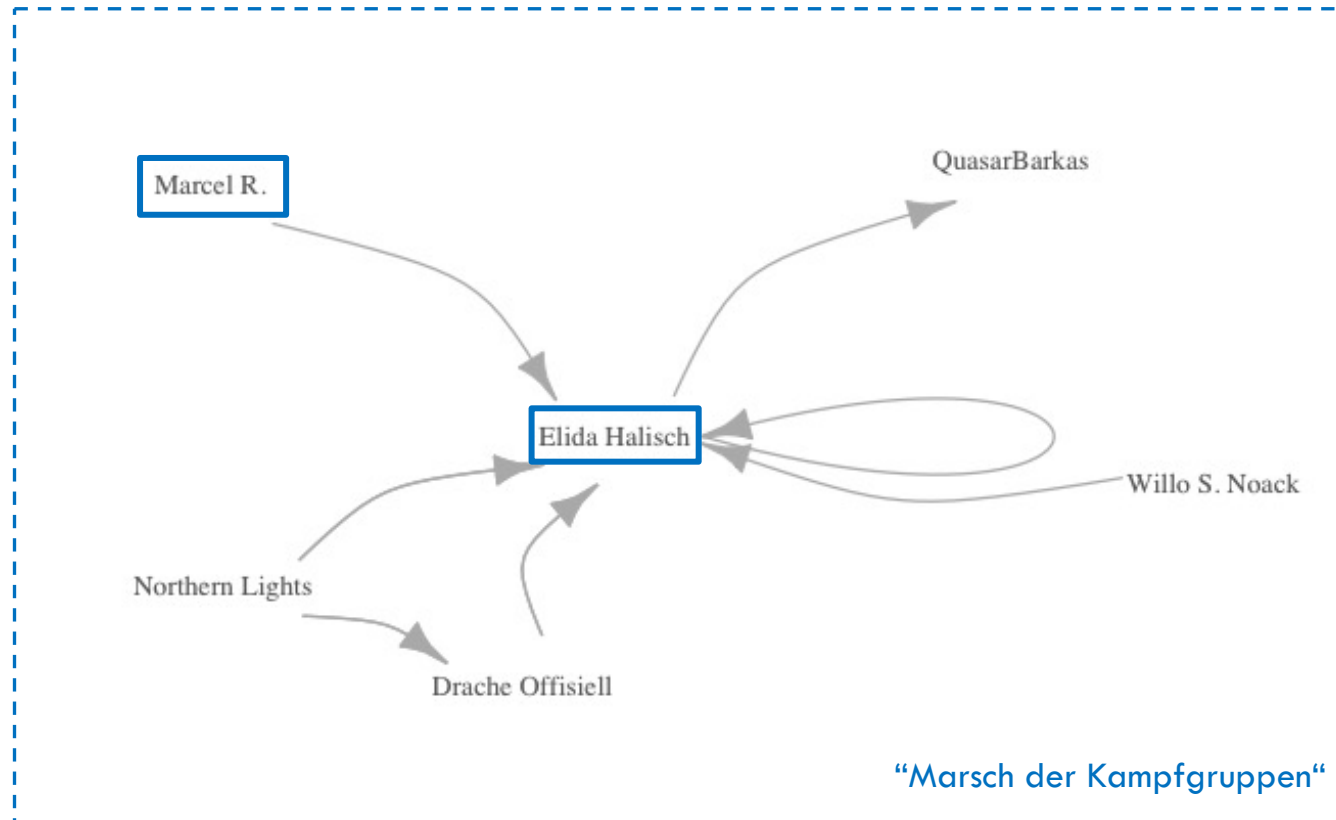
METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

EXAMPLE



METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

EXAMPLE



“DDR (Herz) (Herz) (Faust)
Das bessere Deutschland!“

EH

MR

“Es war in der Tat das bessere
Deutschland. Geschützt nach
Außen und Innen, einig in seinem
Klassenbewusstsein und wahrhaft
solidarisch im Miteinander!“

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Exploratory analyses of 50 (revolutionary) songs
- Identification of four main communication patterns

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

- Exploratory analyses of 50 (revolutionary) songs
- Identification of four main communication patterns

- **Agitation** The arousing of public concern about an issue and pressing for action on it
- **Solidarity** Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest
- **Identity** Similarity or affinity to historic persons or events
- **Confrontation** A hostile or argumentative situation or meeting between opposing parties

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

AGITATION



AnluvenRee vor 1 Jahr

+Christian Strelinski ... wir haben alle Hände voll zu tun und brauchen dringend Kräfte in der kommunistischen Partei ... so ein Sozialismus installiert sich leider nicht von allein, sondern muß bitterlich erkämpft werden.

Wir leben gerade in einer Zeit in der der Faschismus als logische Konsequenz des Mehr anzeigen

ANTWORTEN 2



Christian Strelinski vor 1 Jahr

+AnluvenRee Ich bin sofort dabei !

ANTWORTEN 1



Elida Halisch vor 1 Jahr

+AnluvenRee Ich bin auch sofort dabei 🤝

ANTWORTEN 2



Kolya the Great vor 1 Jahr

+Elida Halisch

Genossin, deine Kommentare sind immer wieder sehr hilfreich, verliert man für kurze Zeit den Glauben an die bessere, rote Zukunft.

SOLIDARITY

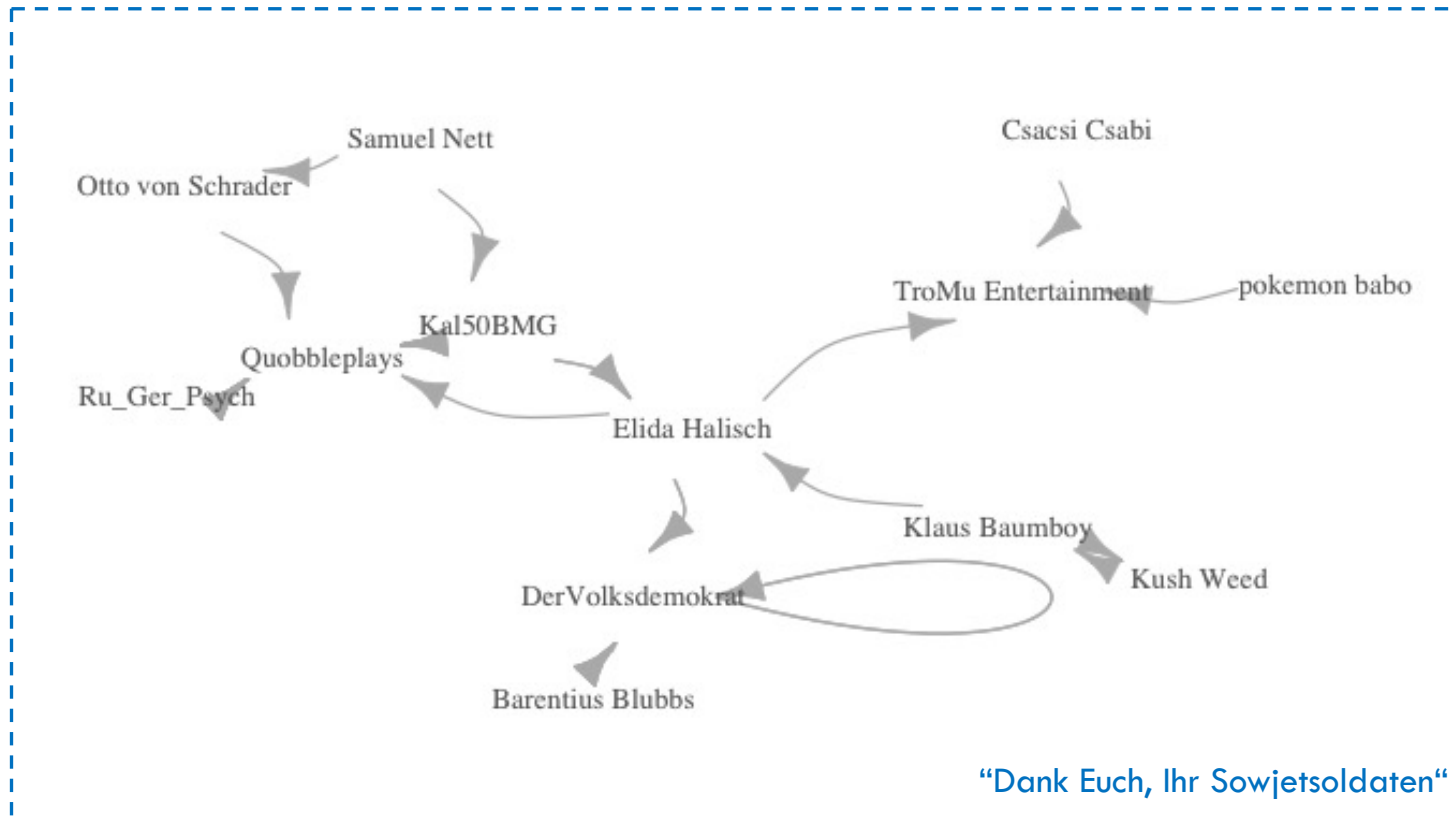
SOLIDARITY

IDENTITY

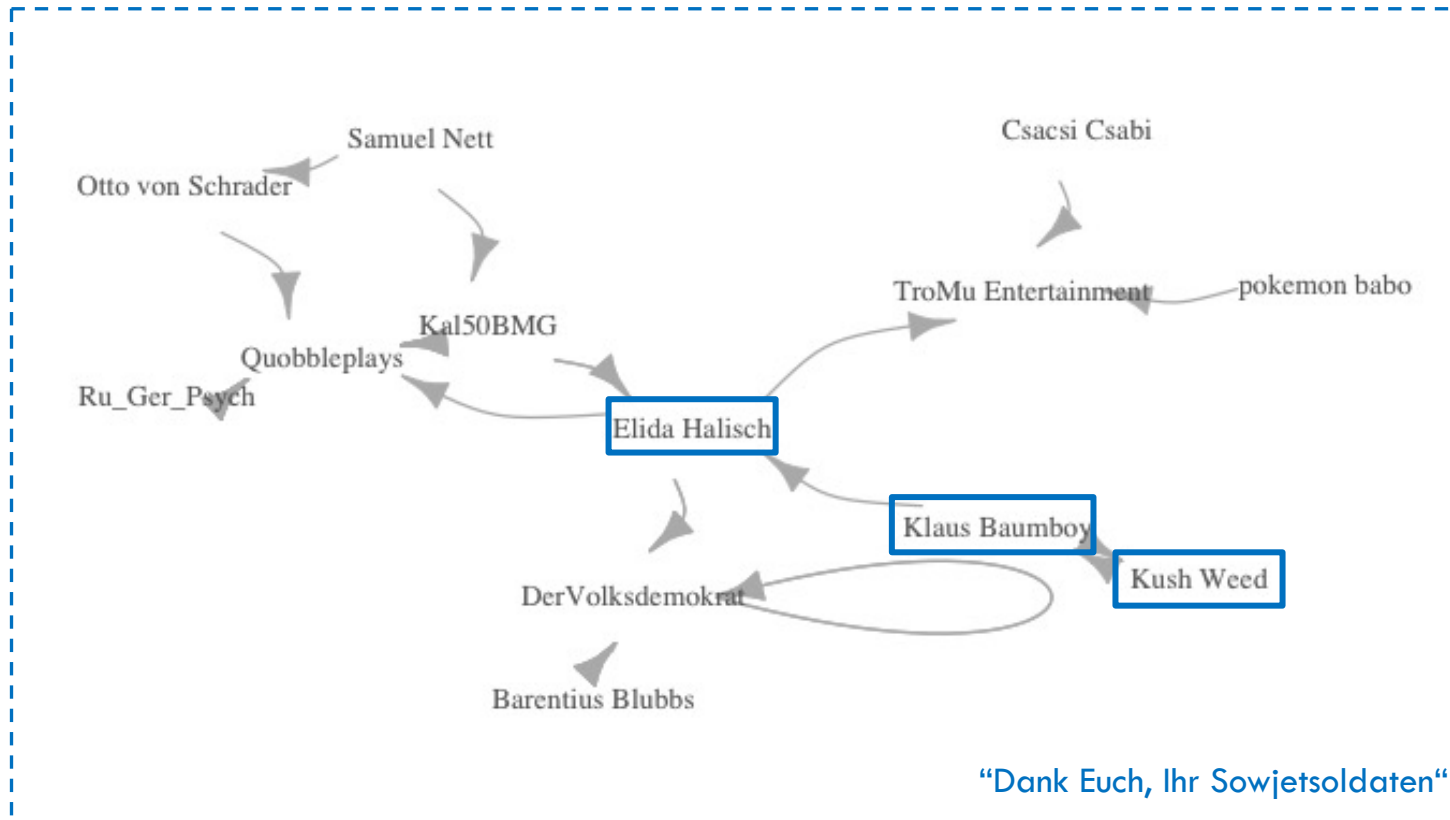


COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



IDENTITY

E H

“Dank Euch, Ihr Sowjetsoldaten“

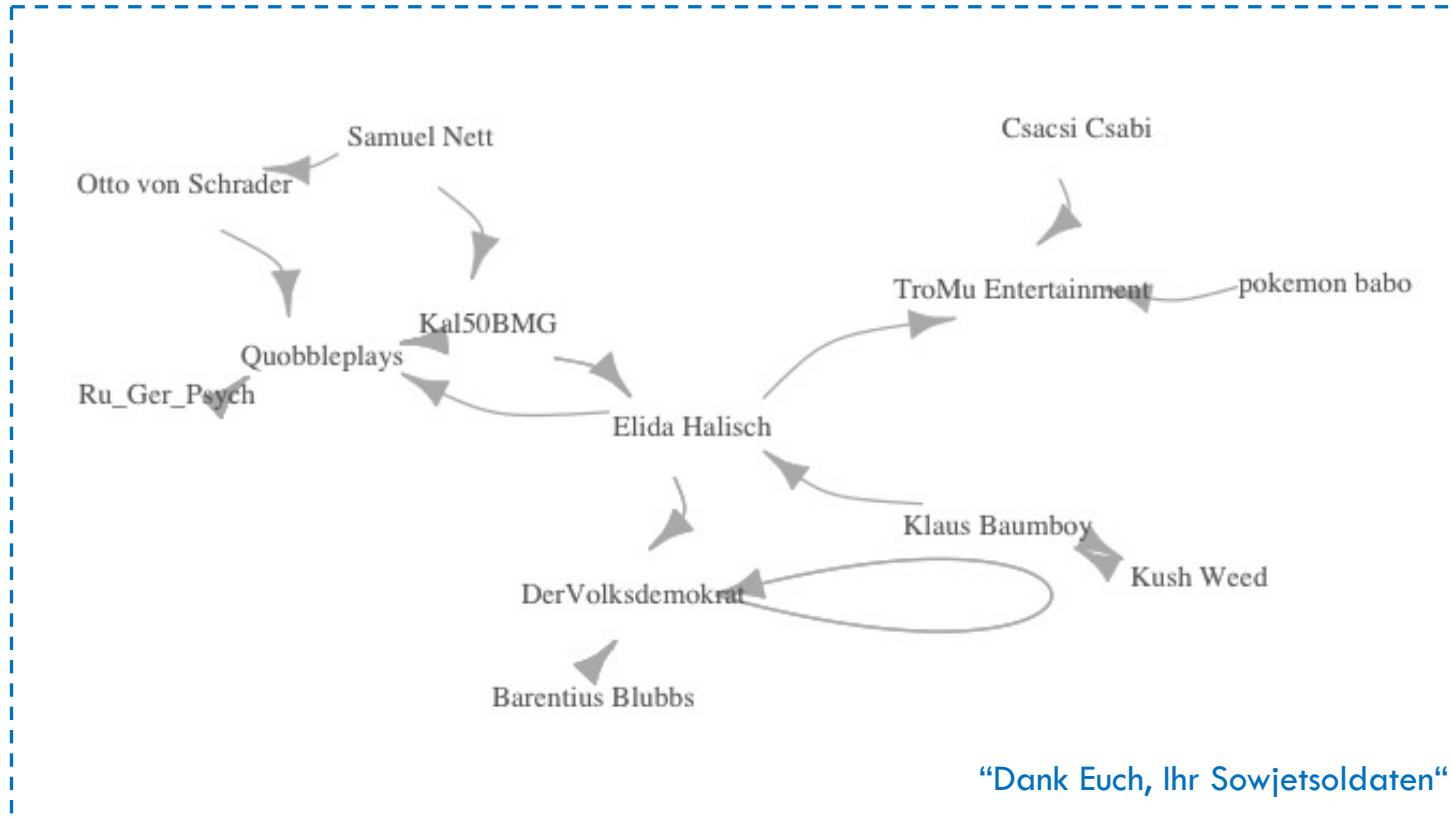
“Den Namen kennt man. Das Bild bislang nicht.“

K B

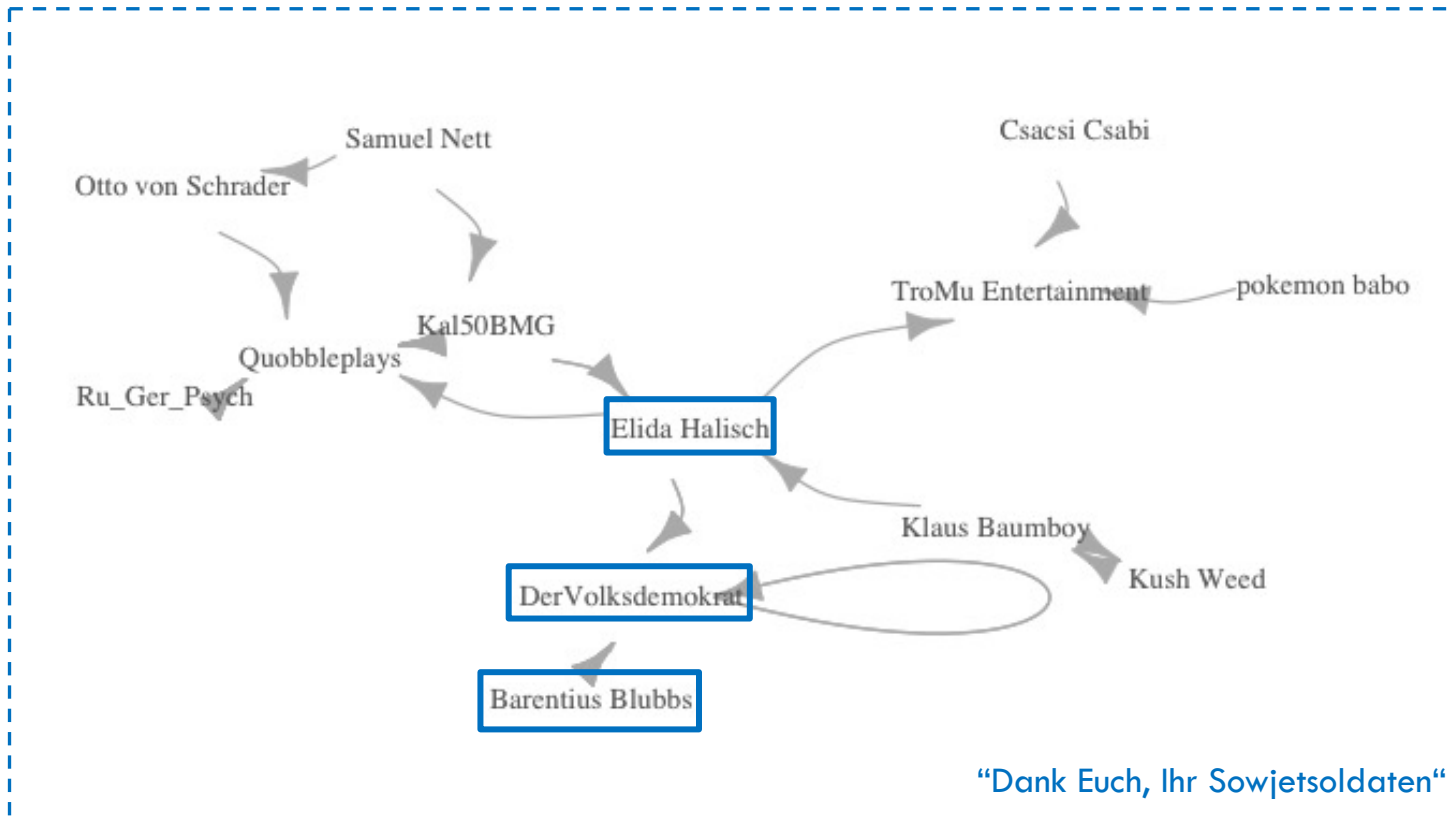
K W

“Das ist Tamara Bunke (Smiley)“

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



AGITATION

CONFRONTATION

“Stoppt den roten Schuld-
kult und die Islamisierung,
wählt NATIONAL!”

D V

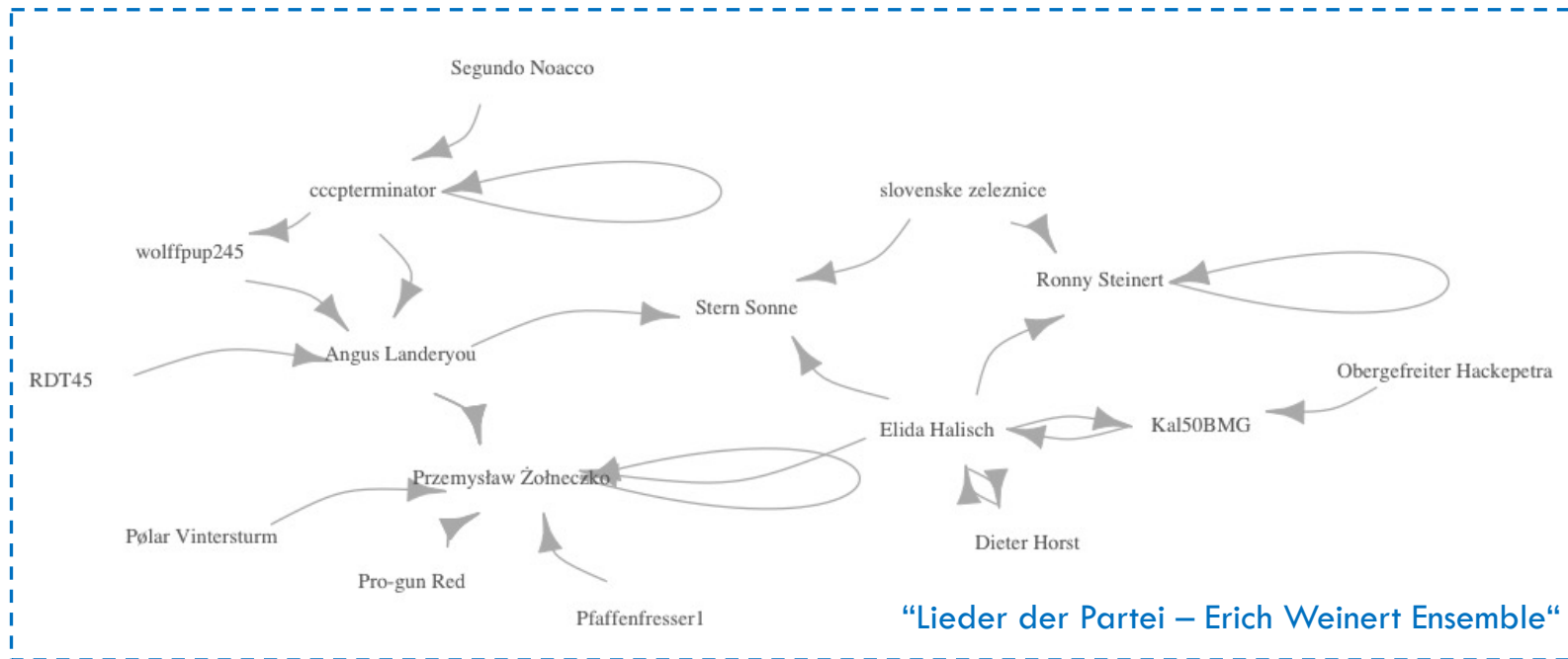
B B

“Faschist! Never
again Naziscum!”

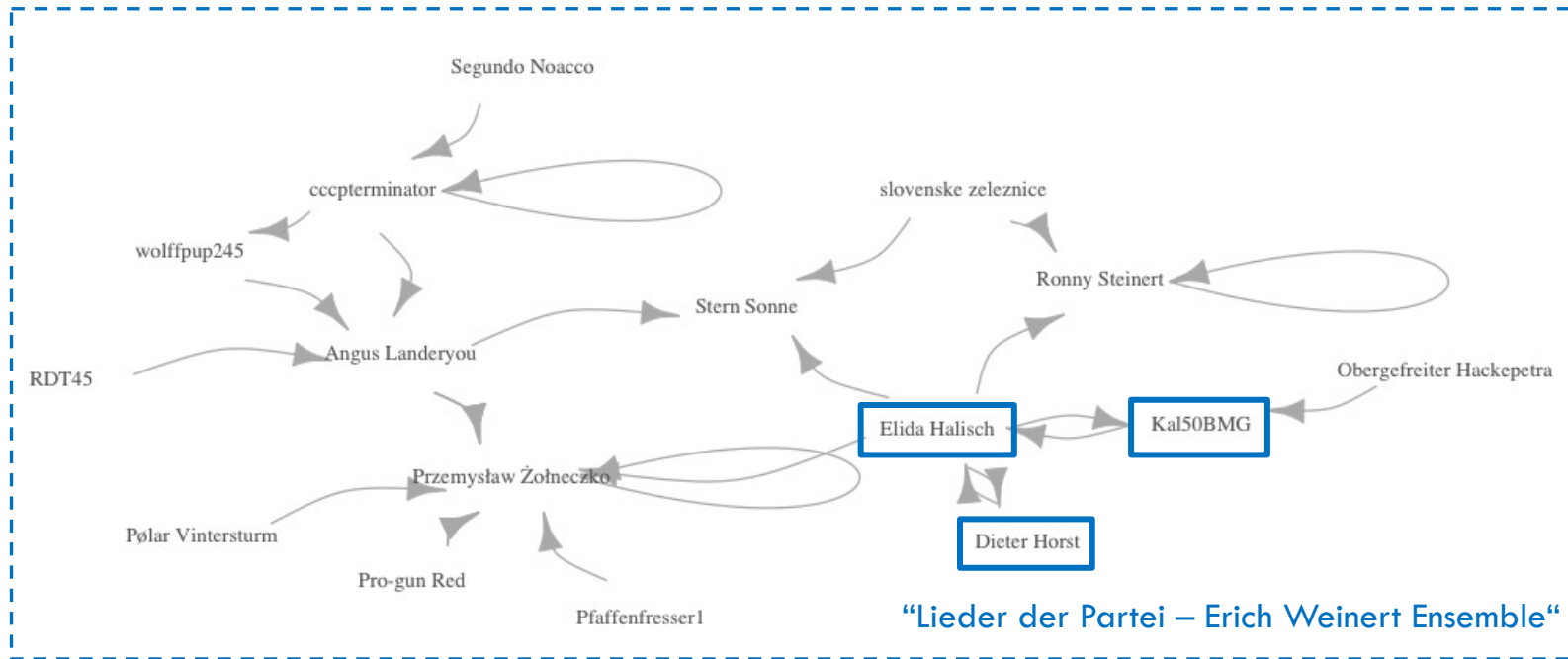
“Tod den Hänkern und
Verrätern, allen Armen
Brot. Vorwärts ist die große
Losung, Freiheit oder Tod...
Verpiss dich, Du kapital-
istisches Arschloch!”

E H

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



K 5 { “Freut mich, dass Dir der 03. Oktober 1990 heute noch stinkt!“ }

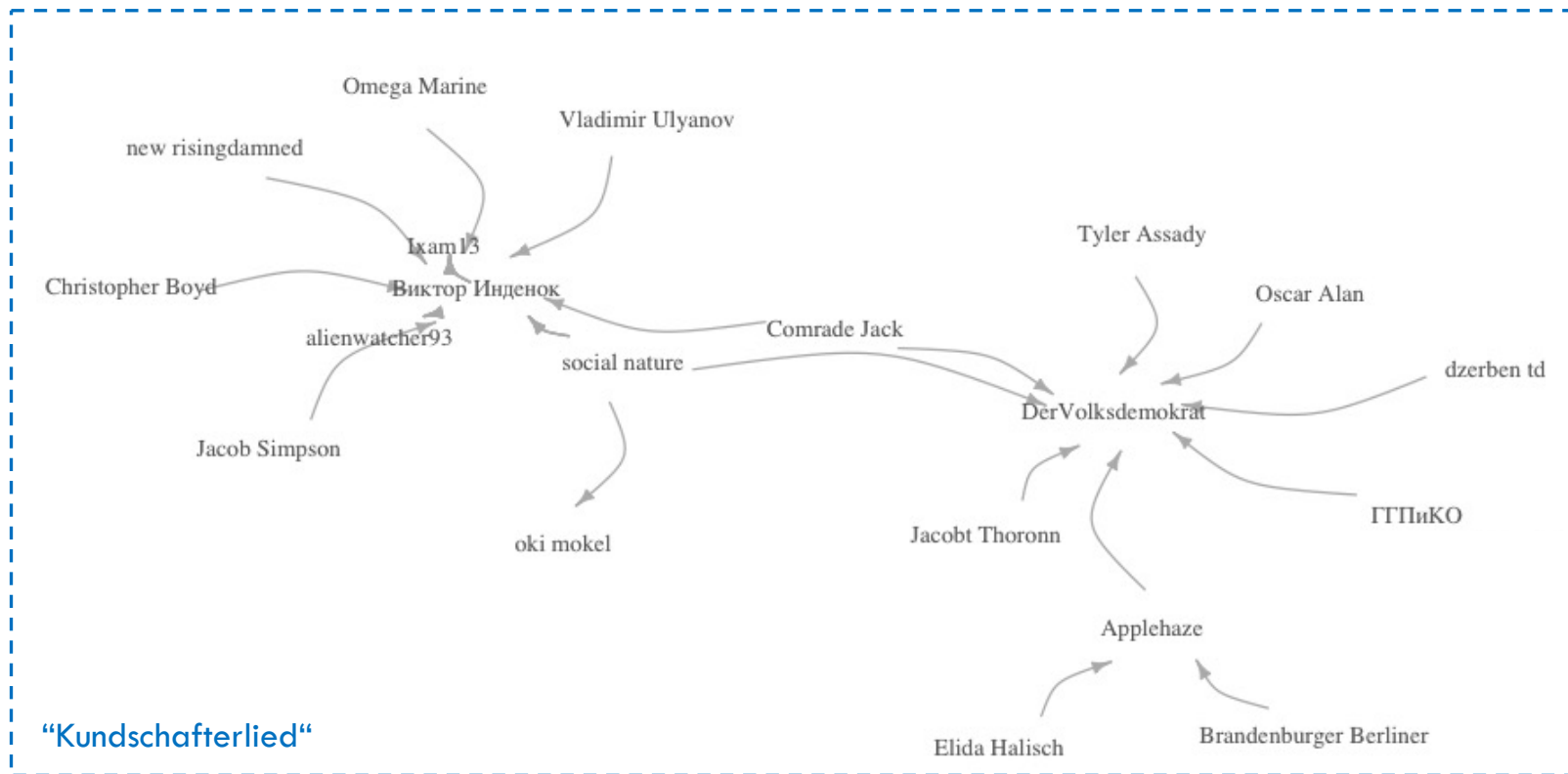
{ “Kapitalistisches Arschloch...” } **E H**

D H { “Nicht nur Elida Halisch stinkt der 3. Oktober, bei mir stinkt dieser Tag zum Himmel“ }

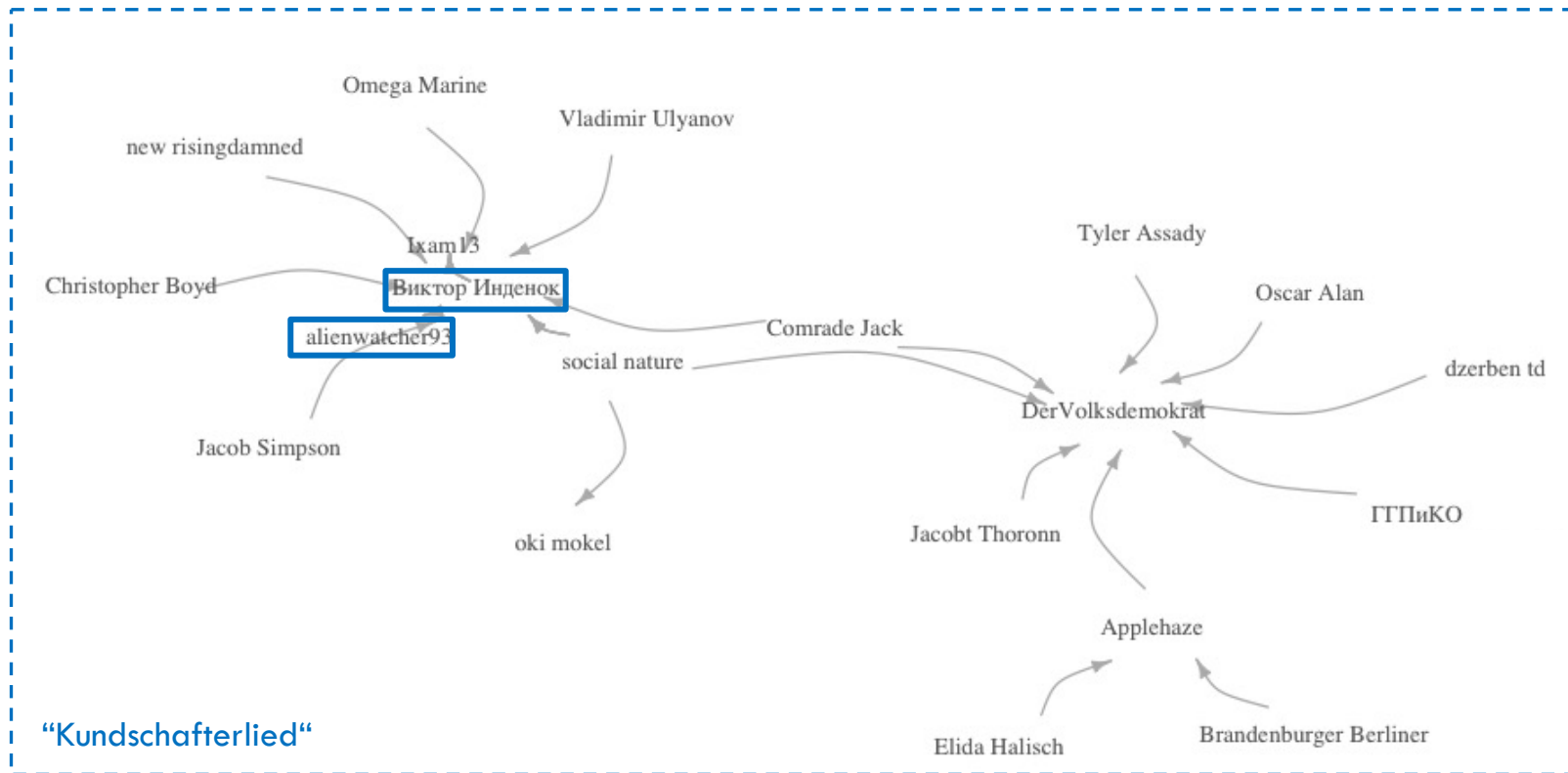
CONFRONTATION

SOLIDARITY

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



W I

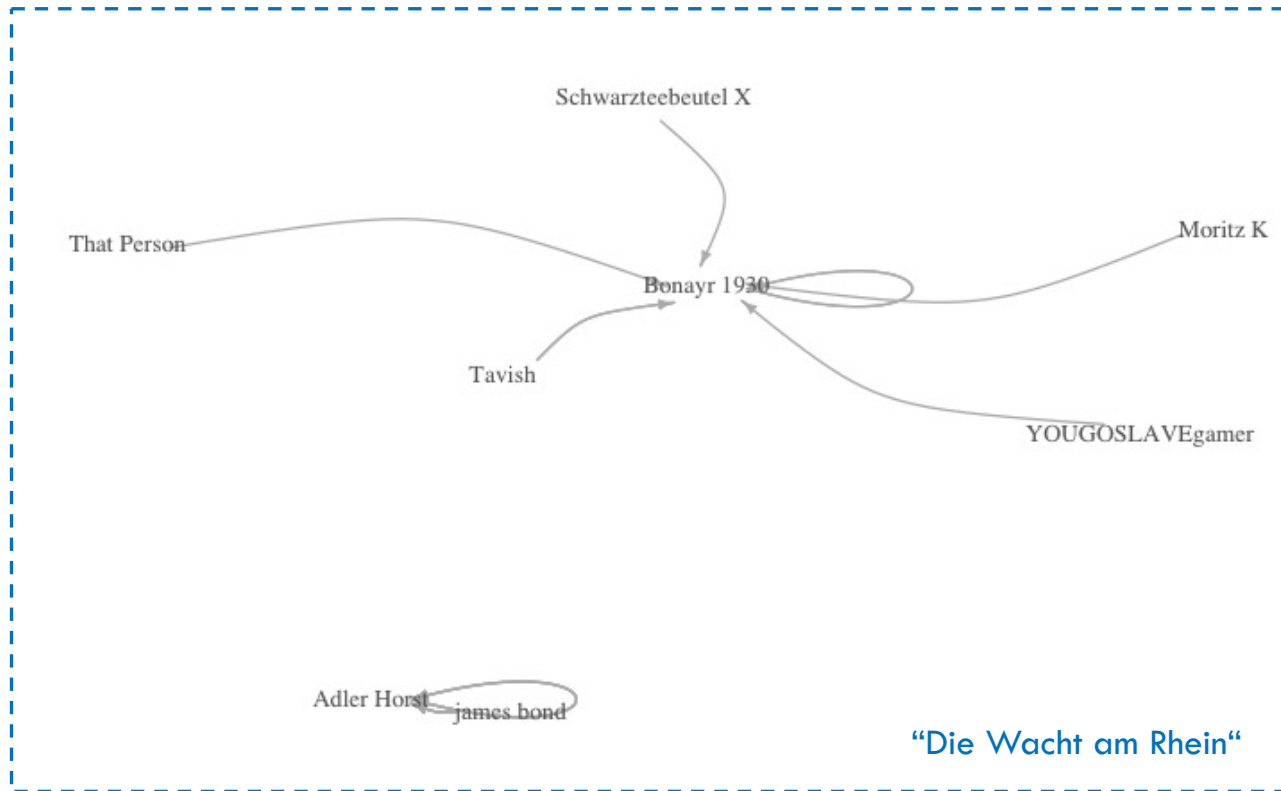
“No Israel without Stalin.“

“Israel never became communist, so it deserves no support. We’ll never side with US imperialist puppets. We must stand with palestinian people, like the DPRK does.

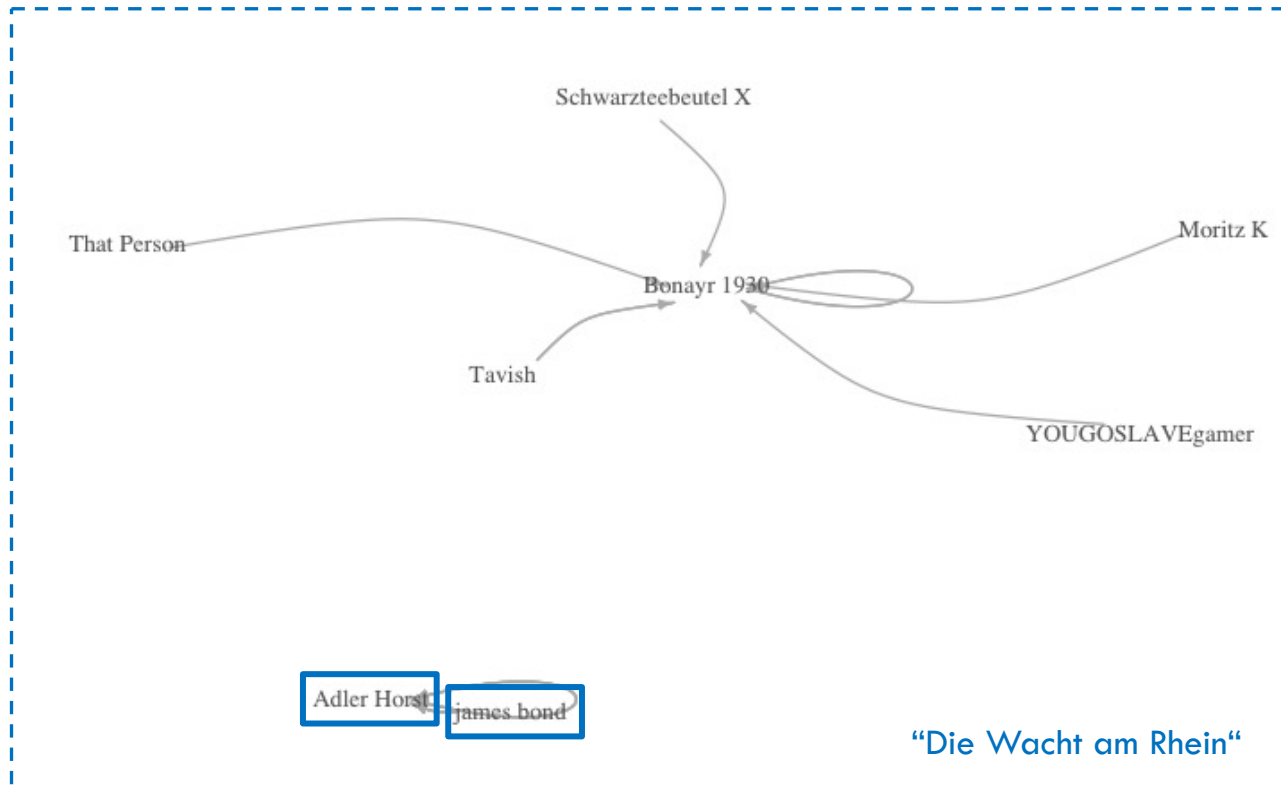
A 9

AGITATION

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



COMMUNICATION PATTERNS



A H

“Tja, scheiß Ausländerstadt (Duisburg).
Kennst Du Melanie von der NPD?
Immerhin ist sie Stadträtin. War
mir gleich sympathisch.“

“...nee die kenne ich nicht. Also ich
war gar nicht wählen. Aus welchem
Stadtteil kommst Du?”

J B

A H

“Mitte. Aber Dich stören wahrscheinlich
Die ganzen Ausländer, gell...?”

AGITATION

IDENTITY



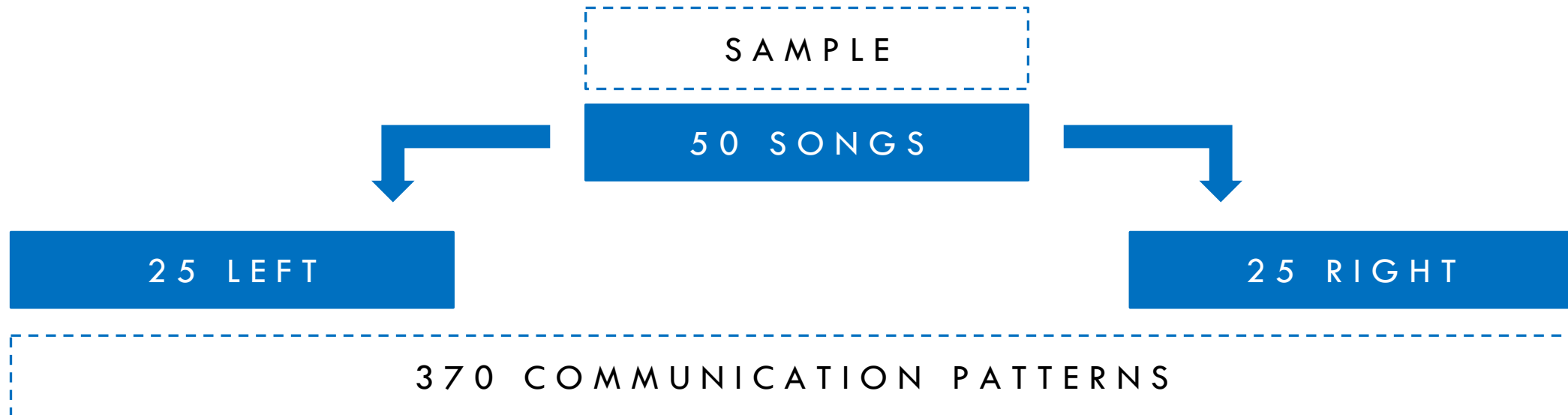
CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

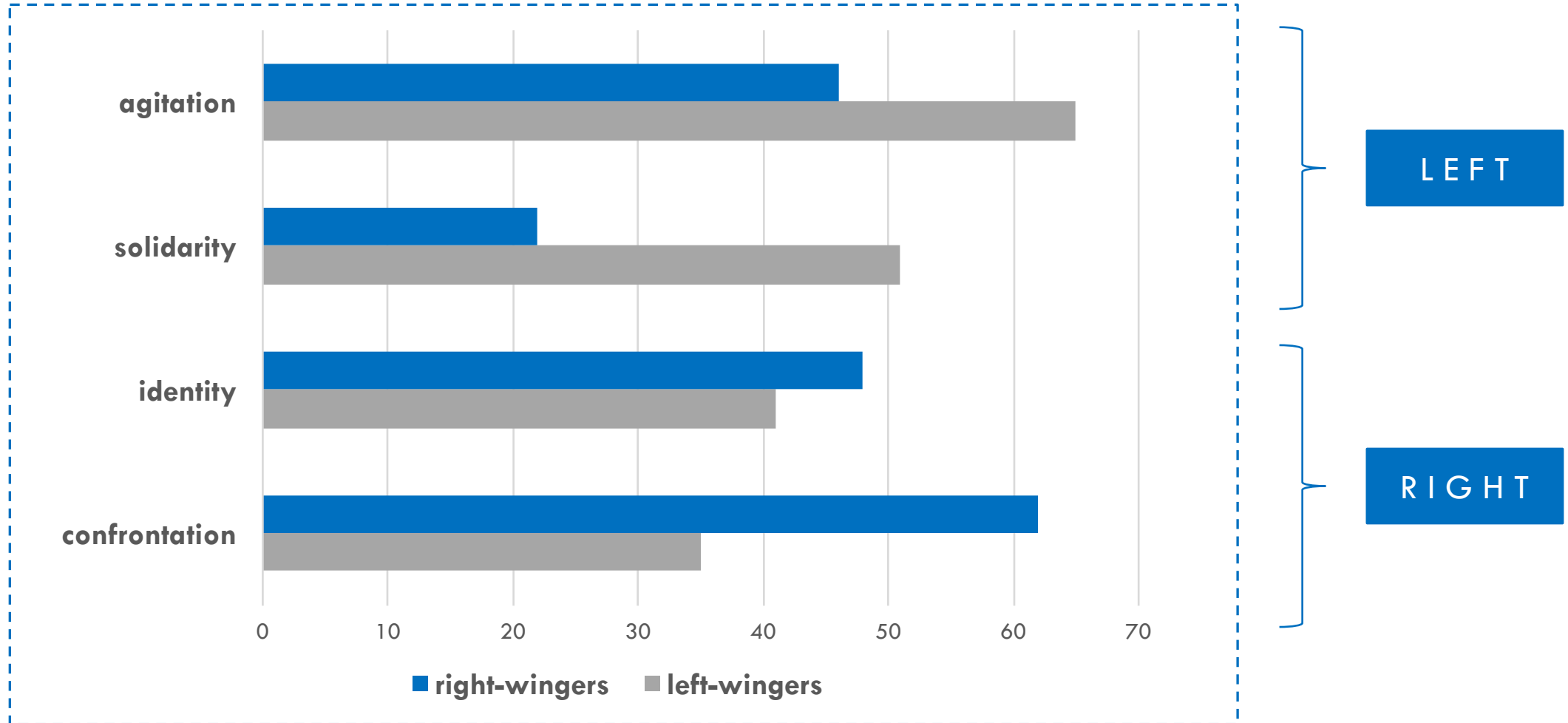
- Communication patterns of left- and right-wingers on Youtube are differentiable
 - Different application of “agitation“, “solidarity“, “identity“ and “confrontation“
 - Role allocation within left- and right-wingers networks identifiable, but different

CONCLUSION

- Communication patterns of left- and right-wingers on Youtube are differentiable
 - Different application of “agitation“, “solidarity“, “identity“ and “confrontation“
 - Role allocation within left- and right-wingers networks identifiable, but different



CONCLUSION



CONCLUSION

- Agitation and solidarity are more common for left-wingers
- Identity and confrontation are more common for right-wingers

CONCLUSION

- Agitation and solidarity are more common for left-wingers
- Identity and confrontation are more common for right-wingers

▪ However: Left- and right-wingers use identities, but differ in subsequent action

CONCLUSION

- Agitation and solidarity are more common for left-wingers
- Identity and confrontation are more common for right-wingers

- However: Left- and right-wingers use identities, but differ in subsequent action



CONCLUSION

- Left-wingers using identity, agitation and solidarity show signs of extremism
- Right-wingers using identity and confrontation show signs of extremism
- Level of extremism is highest in small and strong-tied networks



FISHING STRATEGY

MOST RELIABLE
INDICATOR



- ACCURACY 83 %
- KAPPA 72 %

LITERATUR (I)

- Adams, I. (2001): *Political Ideology Today (Politics Today)*. Manchester University Press. Manchester.
- Alonso, R. (2010): *Radicalisation and Recruitment among Terrorists in Spain: Main Patterns and Subsequent Counter-Terrorist Measures*. In: *Understanding Violent Radicalisation*. Routledge Press. Abingdon.
- Bobbio, N., Cameron, A. (1997): *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago.
- Böckler, N., & Zick, A. (2015): *Wie gestalten sich Radikalisierungsprozesse im Vorfeld jihadistisch-terroristischer Gewalt? Perspektiven aus der Forschung*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Berlin.
- Brachman, J. (2009): *Global jihadism theory and practice*. Routledge Press. London.
- Busher, J. (2015): *What Part do social networks play in radicalisation?* In: *Radicalisation Research (Online)*.
- Conway, M. (2012): *From al-Zarqawi to al-Awlaki: The Emergence of the Internet as a new form of violent radical milieu*. *Combating Terrorism Exchange* 2(4), 12-22.
- Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2010): *Violent radicalization in Europe: What we know and what we do not know*. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33(9), 797-814.
- Della Porta, D. (1995): *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Eubank, W., & Weinberg, L. (1994): *Does democracy encourage terrorism?* *Terrorism and Political Violence* 6(4), 417-443.
- Glaser, M. (2013). *Linke Militanz im Jugendalter – ein umstrittenes Phänomen*. Deutsches Jugendinstitut (Hrsg.). München.
- Jenkins, B. M. (2010): *Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001*. RAND (Online).
- Jenkins, H. (2006): *Convergence culture. Where old and new media collide*. New York University Press. New York.
- King M., & Taylor, D. (2011): *The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence*, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23(4), 602-622.

LITERATUR (II)

- Korteweg, R., Gofel, S., Heisbourg, F., Ranstorp, M., De Wijk, R. (2010): Background contributing factors to terrorism. In: Understanding Violent Radicalisation. Routledge Press. Abingdon.
- Lützing, S. (2010): Die Sicht der Anderen – Eine qualitative Studie zu Biographien von Extremisten und Terroristen. Luchterhand Verlag. Köln.
- Mandel, D. R. (2010): Radicalization: What does it mean? In: Pick, T. M., Speckhard, A., & Jacuch, B. (Eds.): Home-grown terrorism: Understanding and addressing the root causes of radicalisation among groups with an immigrant heritage in Europe. IOS Press. Amsterdam, 101-113.
- Neumann, P. (2013): Radikalisierung, Deradikalisierung und Extremismus. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 63(29-31), 3-10.
- Neumann, P., & Kleinmann, S. (2013): How Rigorous Is Radicalization Research? Democracy and Security 9(4), 360-382.
- Pisoiu, D. (2011): Islamist Radicalization in Europe. An occupational change model. Routledge Press. London.
- Pisoiu, D. (2015): Subcultural Theory Applied to Jihadi and Right-Wing Radicalization in Germany. Terrorism and Political Violence 27(1), 9-28.
- Post, J. M. (2005): Psychology. In: Neumann, P. (Ed.): Addressing the Causes of Terrorism. The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism. Volume I. Club de Madrid. Madrid, 7-12.
- Schmid, A.P. (2013): Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion. ICCT Research Paper.
- Schuhmacher, N. (2013): Gewalt in der Antifa: Mythos und Realität. DJI Impulse 1, 11-13.
- Sedgwick, M. (2010): The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion. Terrorism and Political Violence 22(4), 479-494.
- Smith, T. A., Tatalovich, R. (2003): Cultures at War: Moral Conflicts in Western Democracies. Broadview Press. Toronto.
- Van San, M., Sieckelinck, S., & De Winter, M. (2013): Ideals adrift: An educational approach to radicalization. Ethics and Education 8, 276–289.
- Weimann, G. (2012): Lone Wolves in Cyberspace. Journal of Terrorism Research 3(2), 75-90.
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2005): Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West. Rowman & Littlefield. London.