

American Populism in Digital Era: Strategies of Manipulation in Donald Trump's Election Tweets

Hanfu Zhang^a, Muhammad Afzaal^b, Chao Liu^c

Abstract

This paper examines the recurring perceptions emerging in social-media arena concentrating on Donald Trump's electoral Tweets. It mainly focuses on a language/discourse analysis of tweets posts by President Donald Trump interacting with the people of America. Drawing upon the operational settings of populism, a critical discourse analysis is carried out on the electoral tweets of Donald Trump. Data was collected through Python web-crawling and then analyzed to identify possible pattern. The study reveals Trump's strategy of manipulation remains classical populism. Trump mostly engages in promoting himself as an extraordinary and right leader, attacking rivals as part of the political establishment, proposing overly simplified solutions to problems and promoting alternative truth to enhance his creditability as well as political influence. The success of such strategy and its adoption by other politicians has led us to believe American populism has been enhanced by social media in the digital era.

Keywords: populism, political discourse analysis, CDA, Social media

Introduction

Populism emerged as a concept, and has caught the attention of linguist to examine the discursive and stylistic repertoire more particularly in political communication. De Cleen B, Glynos J, Mondon A (2018) argue that "populism as a concept, its status should be understood to be political through and through, while also possessing a logic – a distinctive set of formal discursive qualities". They further elaborate the concept of populism as "this goes against two common tendencies in how populism is approached, namely, to treat populism as a *symptomatic effect* of socio-economic and socio-cultural changes, or as an *ideology*. While keeping in mind, the concept of populism, this study provides a critical discourse analysis Donald Trump electoral tweets in the light of populism.

The election of Donald Trump in the year 2016 marked a tremendous turning point in International political community. As Carlo Ruzza & Milica Pejovic (2019) argue in their work, "the election of Donald Trump in the US had important consequences, which included a loss of legitimacy and power of international institutions, such as the United

Nations". Donald Trump has developed perceptible policy and chic patterns during his term as the president. His use of twitter as well as other social media stands out as one of them. In the 2016 presidential election, Trump harnessed social media to harvest tremendous support and influence, paving way to his ascension to the Oval Office. The messages conveyed and image constructed by his tweets played an indispensable role in the process. Studying Trump's social media operations, as compared to traditional politics, can possibly yield better understanding of the "Trump Phenomenon". The paper proceeds to argue that a vague divide between democracy and populism has enabled the latter's multiple rises in history; and that social media provide technical drive to the current wave.

Trump's "Norm-Breaking" Use of Twitter

Donald Trump is not the first American politician that regularly uses social media. In the 2008 presidential election, the campaign team of the then Democratic candidate Barak Obama used social media to send out targeted messages based on user data analysis, consequently mobilized a large number of "digital grassroots". (Owen, 2019) In the following 2012 election, the Obama campaign received over \$1 billion donations, with over 700 million being online donations via social media, e-mail and websites. In 2015, the Obama set up the "@POUTS" twitter account; it made the life

^aPhD Candidate, National University of Defense Technology, Visiting PhD at Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, Email: harvey.zh@jhu.edu

^bInstitute of Corpus Studies and Applications, Shanghai International Studies University, China, Email: muhammad.afzaal1185@gmail.com

^cPhD Candidate, Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Beijing, China, Email: liuchao@bfsu.edu.cn

of POTUS visible to internet users and promoted Obama's public image. Trump administration inherited the "@POTUS" account. In addition, Trump has accounts on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and Reddit. His tweets, however, stirs most controversies.

Trump's ground-breaking-ness with social media is that he has and uses daily a private Twitter account "@realdonaldtrump" set up seven years before he joined the presidential race. "@realdonaldtrump" takes on his disregard of political correctness and jaw-dropping rhetoric, a sharp distinction from "@POTUS". His tweets regularly receive a considerable amount of comments and retweets, both positive and negative, a sign of the public seeing the account as his internet avatar. Since his campaign announcement in 2016, Trumps tweets dozens of times daily covering announcements, events, remarks and opinions. Trump himself once confessed Twitter contributed to his election success. (Pilkington, 2017) During that election, Trump retweeted ordinary people more often than any other candidates. His taking advantage of the vertically collapsed politician-voter relations on social media echoed with his claims of corrupted politicians turning their backs to the people and rigging the system. From his campaign announcement on June 16, 2015 to the day before his confirmed victory on November 8, 2016, Trump's twitter follower number soared from 2.95 million to nearly 13 million. An increase, while not necessarily meant public approval but most likely larger public influence, reflected his success with his "Operation Twitter"

As a means of political communication, social media beats traditional media in directness, customization and precision. First, interpersonal relations on social media are based on following, or friending; that drastically draw near politicians and voters, who used to rely on press release and traditional media to connect with one another; such proximity is further strengthened by interaction made possible by comment, reply and retweet functions. Social media bypasses the filter of press release and mainstream media. Politicians thus have larger liberty with contents and can post what mainstream media would not. Second, politicians and their teams can better grasp public preferences through user data analysis and post targeted contents only visible to certain groups to achieve maximum effects. Finally, social media allow finer control on public release, in terms of timing, scope and content. Messages can be conveyed and images built with post threads, be

modified overtime or be strengthened through repetition.

Trump tweets can, or are meant to influence his approval ratings given a large number of followers and the control he has over the tweets. Analyzing his tweets during the 2016 election might yield meaningful understanding to the logic behind "Trump Phenomenon".

Therefore, the study investigates tweets during the 2016 election period to unveil the linguistic strategies of Donald Trump. The study aims at the following research questions:

1. What are, if any, the patterns displayed by Trump's tweets e.g. central message, addressees and focus?
2. How much and in what ways do Trump's tweets embody populism as a political style?
3. What do Trump's tweets as a vital part of his strategy of manipulation tell about the current wave of American populism?

Data and Method

For the study of this paper, a collection of Trump tweets from his entire 2016 campaign span was collected by python web-crawler. Start and end dates were set on June 16, 2015, the day of Trump's campaign announcement, and November 9, 2016, the day after his confirmed election victory and of Hillary Clinton's concession speech. Crawler yielded a csv file containing "text", "retweets", "likes" and "time" of a total of 7808 tweets. Word counts and reaction analysis were conducted on the file subsequently.

Word count appears capable of revealing major topics of tweets given 1) twitter is mainly word-based; 2) the majority of Trump's tweets are word-based; 3) self-written program shows that average length of Trump tweets during the selected period is 16.0122 words, fitting observation of his tweeting habit of posting 1-2 sentences most of the time, which were not capable of carrying too many topics. A preliminary word count was done on the raw text file; results were output as python dictionary (key-value pairs) with functional words removed. Preliminary result showed that Trump had 1) a large number of tweets mentioning himself; 2) a large number of tweets attacking political rivals; 3) a considerable number of tweets attacking media that had covered him negatively; 4) a noticeable number of tweets mentioning the establishment, career politicians, truth, and media and individuals that he considered as friendly.

Tagging of Corpus

To better reflect potential concentration of

topics, additional tagging based on content and context was done later. The following steps were taken. 1) Lower casing all text; 2) Tagging tweets mentioning "Trump": exclude tweets containing "Trump" but referring other subjects, including "trump university", "trump tower", "trump international hotel", "trump hotel"; tag following names in listed order: "@realdonaldtrump", "donald trump", "donald trump", "trump", as "*trump". (To improve recognizability by the self-written program, "*" were added to the front and two spaces to the back, same with the following tags.) 3) Tagging tweets mentioning Trump's perceived political rivals, including "hillary clinton", "ted cruz", "marco rubio", "john kasich", "jeb bush", "mitt romney", "bernie sanders", "elizabeth warren", "barack obama", "lindsey graham", etc, as "*rival", removing names with other references and following a similar order in the previous step to prevent repeated tagging. 3) Tagging tweets mentioning individuals deemed friendly by Trump as "*friendly". For Ben Carson, Trump's attitude changed after a tweet on March 3, 2016: "Will miss @RealBenCarson tonight at the #GOPDebate. I hope all of Ben's followers will join the #TrumpTrain. We will never forget." Carson was therefore tagged as "*rival" before the tweet and as "friendly" after. 4) Making following tags accordingly "*fakenews", "friendmedia", "*maga", "*truth", "*gunrights", "*healthcare", "*immigration", "*build_wall", "*political_correctness". Results were output in the format of dictionary and ranked by value in descending order.

Theoretical Framework

The study followed political discourse analysis while employing populism theory as a theoretical framework. Populism, despite being termed as a "-ism", does not constitute an ideology. (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017) Its lack of ideological core necessitates that it emerged in combination with other ideologies or elements of ideologies. Historically populism has been adopted by politicians across the political spectrum to mobilize support. It therefore makes sense to view populism as a political style. (Panizza, 2005; Laclau, 2005; Oliver & Rahn, 2016) Researches suggest the traits of populism are largely found in discourse as language is a natural carrier of style. (Kazin, 1998; Hawkings, 2009) That leads our research to the tweets of Donald Trump: discourse of a proven populist.

The term "populism" has enjoyed considerable popularity. It is used frequently by academics,

politicians and media to label various political phenomena and political actors. Such abusive use derives from and adds to the unsettled debate over the definition of populism (Canovan, 1981; Taguieff, 1995; Taggart, 2000; Mudde, 2004; Abts & Rummens, 2017). The bulk of related literature suggests that so far there have been at least three waves of populism. The first wave was 19th century agrarian populism exemplified by the Narodniki movement in Russia and the People's Party Movement in the U.S.; the second wave was Latin American populism from 1930s featuring charismatic strongmen eventually becoming dictators; and the third wave was populism as reaction to globalization since late 20th century. Statistics shows a fourth wave should be separated from the third as the number of populist politicians plummeted around 2000 before peaking once again around 2008. (Kyle, Jordan & Gultchin, 2018).

Appealing to the people is the defining feature of populism. (Taggart, 2000) Populism centers on a people as a homophilic group representing the bulk of a society and considers the will of group supreme authority given its sheer number; it does so while labeling certain groups as outsiders, e.g. immigrants, for various reasons. With people established as the rightful sovereign, populism then naturally turns to elites, who create the establishment to keep power away from the people to serve their own needs. (De la Torre, 2017) To maximize "volonté générale" populism supports direct democracy and sees complicated political processes as conspiracies. (Mudde, 2004; Crick, 2006) Populism worships charismatic leaders as substitute for its disregard of system. In turn, charismatic leaders strengthen and prolong populism by supplying goals, principles and organization. (Moffit & Tormey, 2014; Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017) In light of these features, we expect the Trump's tweets as the case of this study on populism as a political style in discourse would (1) frequently address the people; (2) attack "the enemy of the people" e.g. elites, members of the political establishment and outsiders; (3) interact with or claim to respond to the people's concern; (4) celebrate a charismatic leader.

Reaction analysis was conducted as an attempt to understand how Trump's Twitter followers reacted to his tweets. Previous research showed that retweets and likes are viable indicators of public attention. (Kim, Sung & Kang, 2014; Xie, Hoang, Zhu & Lim, 2013) Retweeting normally means a user thinks a tweet of value and deserving sharing for others to see (Wang, Luo, Niemi, Li & Hu, 2016), though retweeting out of disapproval cannot

be ruled out. The “like” option has a strong positive psychological indication. Twitter algorithm automatically pushes tweets with high number of likes, therefore, liking a tweet also promotes it. (Lua, 2018) Whether or not retweeting and liking mean approval, these acts constitute user response; that justifies using the two acts as parameters in response analysis. To compensate for the effect of increasing followers, the two parameters should most desirably be matched with real time follower number. As that number was unavailable, a reference number was used instead. Trump had 2.95 million followers on Twitter on June 16, 2015 and 13.55 by November 9, 2016, a daily increase of 20698.53 or a monthly increase of 623391.06. The reference number for daily followers was set to be the sum of the original follower number on June 16, 2015 plus average daily increase. Response index to a tweet was the sum of total retweets and likes of the tweet divided by the reference number, shown in the form of percentage.

Results and Discussions

Word count results showed “*trump” was

Trump’s favorite topic. Trump liked to refer to himself using “trump” instead of “I”, which fit his philosophy of building the family name into a brand. (Trump & Schwartz, 2015) Attacking “rivals” was Trump’s second most favorite topic, with most tweets in this category targeting Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. Trump’s third most favorite was “*maga”, which was often used as a policy tweet tag or posted solely as an abstract policy slogan. Trump began to label media that covered him unfavorably in this period as “failing”, “dishonest”, “low-rated”, etc. He did not use terms “fake news” until a tweet on January 22, 2018: “Reports by @CNN that I will be working on The Apprentice during my Presidency, even part time, are ridiculous & untrue - FAKE NEWS!” The tweet was posted more than a month later than when Hillary first used “fake news” in a speech. Trump liked to stir the debate on “*truth”, often accusing media and rival politicians of lying. In comparison, Trump mentioned substantial policies far less often than the aforementioned topics; the more frequently mentioned include building border wall, immigration, anti-establishment, corruption, terrorism, healthcare and gun rights.

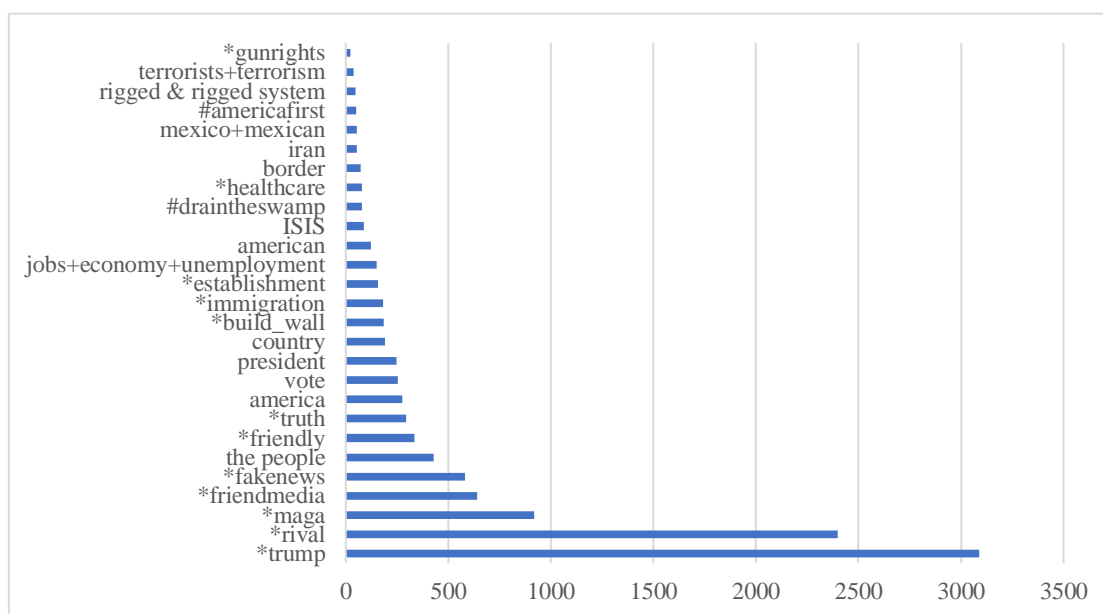


Figure 1. Trump Tweets Major Topics Count

Response analysis showed Trump’s tweets averaged a response index equivalent to 0.15% of his follower number. The tweet with the highest response index was “TODAY WE MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!” from November 8, 2016, which had a response index of 6.78%; the second highest was “Such a beautiful and important evening! The forgotten man and woman will never be forgotten

again. We will all come together as never before” from November 9, 2016 with a response index of 6.30%. It is worth noting that the third highest was an attack tweet on Hillary “How long did it take your staff of 823 people to think that up--and where are your 33000 emails that you deleted?” with an index of 4.49%. Only the top 24 of the 7808 tweets had a response index higher than 1%. Pearson correlation

indicated a strong correlation of 0.90 between retweets and likes.

Another round of word count was later conducted on the top 100 tweets. Results indicated "hillary" was the most favorite topic, mentioned 39 times in total and in 18 times mentioned as "crooked hillary". The "*rival" category was mentioned 54 times in the top 100. Besides, 8%

tweets mentioned "rigged system". These two combined showed attacking rivals and the establishment were the most influential topic of Trump tweets. The finding is also corroborated by other studies. (Lee & Xu, 2018) Terrorism was the only substantial policy topic appearing in the top 100 tweets, which indicated public concern over terrorism and possible lacking sense of security.

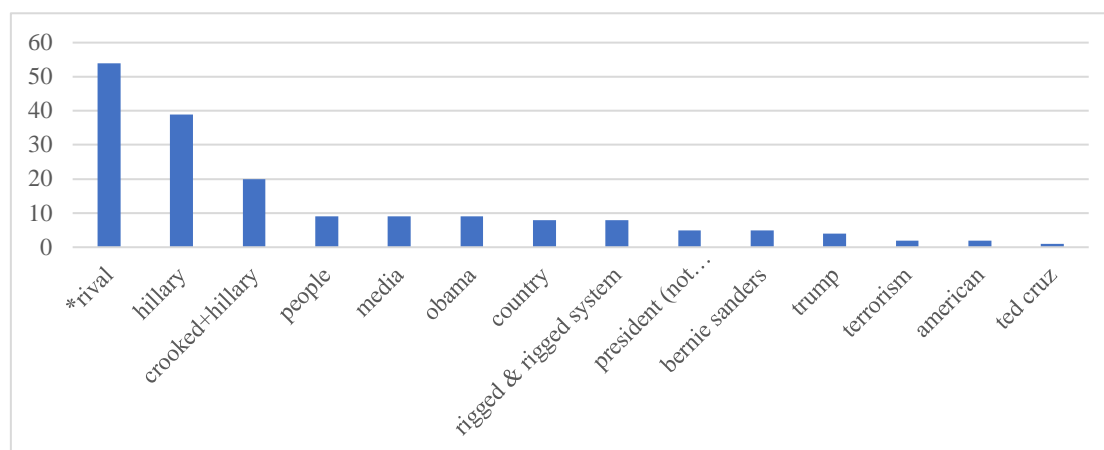


Figure 2. Top 100 Tweets Major Topics Word Count

The analysis on Trump's tweets indicated Trump, throughout the 2016 election was keen on promoting himself, attacking political rivals and news media but spent relatively less effort to elaborate his policies on twitter. Trump appeared to have drawn a picture of corrupted establishment politicians colluding with mainstream media to betray the interest of the people while the country was under threat from immigrants, terrorism and hostile states; Trump was the candidate outside the establishment and was capable of "making America great again". Trump took advantage of the decentralized social media to establish alternative truth and his own creditability. When faced with media criticism he did not have to defend or refute but needed only to discredit the media as fake news. In this way, Trump magnified both immunity against criticism and his attacks on others. Trump's tweets displayed clear signs of populism including, inter alia, conflict between the people and the elite (Kazin, 1998), direct interaction between politician and voters (Crick, 2006), and anti-mainstream-media (Manucci, 2017), corroborating with previous academic as well as media classification of him as a populist.

The Blurred Line between Populism and Democracy

One definition of populism states that it is a situation when people try to exercise their power

more directly than the extent allowed by the political institution. (Zuckert, 2019) In the U.S., the fundamental institution is established by the Constitution. Thus, constitutionalism is the line separating democracy and populism. The bicameral legislature, for example, was designed to prevent the tyranny of the many. (Feulner, 2018) However, the Constitution and Declaration of Independence also provide respectively, that the Constitution reflects the will of "We the people" (*Constitution of the United States of America, 1787*), and that "Governments...deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed...becomes destructive of these ends...it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it." (Jefferson, 1776) When populists demand to exercise their power more directly, they often claim the people as the sovereign can override legal institutions; they are able to find legal basis in the two documents. In recently years, approval ratings of the three branches of the government have reached new lows. (McCarthy, 2015) This can also be used by populists as reality basis for their agendas. U.S. history has witnessed multiple democratization movements, such as democratization during the Jackson administration, African Americans acquiring citizenship after the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement. To an extent, these were empowerment movements that extended the degree of democracy.

The divide between democracy and populism

may be even less clear-cut in practice. U.S. founding father and presidents sometimes make ambiguous statements. James Madison once wrote “a government...derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people.” (Madison, 1788) Andrew Jackson called for the removal of “all intermediates” in presidential elections. (Jackson, 1829) Abraham Lincoln believed the country was built on the “people’s ability to govern themselves.” (Lincoln, 1838) The concept of democracy also varies. Rousseau’s democracy was close to direct democracy. (Wade, 1976) Democracy in ancient Athens presupposed all citizens had equal qualification and therefore decisions were made by drawing lots. When neither the political left nor the right, within existing institutions, has a viable solution for current problems, naturally some will demand overhauling the system, believing it is within their rightful power to do so.

Trump’s appealing for anti-globalization, anti-establishment, anti-immigration and bring manufactures back to U.S. at least addresses some problems directly and responds to the demand of some. A stable Trumpism may not exist at all, given Trump had changed party affiliation multiple times in the past and said he was “very flexible over a number of issues”. (Johnson, 2016) Coincidentally, populism is considered by some as a thin ideology and was once used by both secular and religious, left and right wings in politics. (Mudde, 2004) What has remained stable is the constant conflict between constructs of the people and the elite.

Institutionalization of Social Media in U.S. Politics

The entrance of Twitter and other social media into U.S. politics has catered to the need of both ordinary people as well as populists to reestablish relevance in politics and the economy. Social media make political communications more direct in a two-fold manner. First, social media have lowered the threshold of the public sphere, an arena where people gather to discuss topics of common interest and which connects civil society with the state. (Habermas, 1991; Fraser, 1994; Thompson, 1995; Hauser, 1998) Compared with traditional public spheres like salons, clubs, dinner parties, newspaper, magazines and the internet, social media are free of charge, portable, real-time, interactive, decentralized, user-absent, all-inclusive and user-controlled. Social media public sphere lowers the threshold and costs of political participation and make it a truly affordable activity. Second, social media enhance mutual influence in direct interaction. In the top-down lane, the voice

of a politician echoes louder in a tribalized environment made of homogeneous users, a product of user choice and push algorithms. Multi-media and fragmented reading permit all forms of round-the-clock political persuasion. Direct interaction amplifies the charm of eloquent and charismatic leaders. In the bottom-up lane, with massive user data, politicians can better understand public opinions and more frequently address issues of public concerned; public opinions thus have strong upward influence. Social media actually provide a means of political communications without intermediates.

Social media public sphere appears to have begun institutionalizing. As of 2018, all Congress members had opened accounts on social media. (Murphy & Sevastopulo, 2019; Egan, 2020) At the same time, 20% Americans had turned to social media as major news source, surpassing print media. Among Americans under 30, the ratio was 36% (Shearer, 2018), meaning social media would most likely see its market share increase in the coming years, taking up the lost market share of traditional media.

Social media have brought visible changes. With its prevalence, “twitterverse” grows in popularity and acceptance. Politicians are changing their ways to appeal to voters. Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren posts picture with her dog. Beto O’Rourke livestreamed his dentist appointment. Trump sells his abilities more often than his policies. Politicians appeal to voters with themselves instead of what they stand for. If their personalities get accepted, they likely meet less objective judgement on their policies. Social media provide a stage for charismatic leadership and emotional appeals. Combined with direct interaction and decentralization, social media serve as a technological drive for the new wave of populism. Through social media, politicians like Trump can set agenda, attack rivals, mobilize voters and stir emotions in real time and round the clock. A vertically collapsed relations, direct interaction and emotional appeal, carried by social media, might represent a new form of populism in the social media era, exemplified by Trump.

Social media also appears to further advance the POTUS’s political influence. The President possesses various powers under the Constitution. These powers, however, are subject to check and balance. Trump’s using of a private Twitter account demonstrates that a president can enlist social media as an unchecked presidential power which can be used to undermine other government branches, politicians and media, seen from Trump’s

tweets during impeachment and his endorsing candidates and calling on voters to the ballots on social media since the last midterm election.

Joe Biden, who beat Trump in 2020, has reportedly been listening to briefings from social media companies. (Schwartz, 2019) Again, this shows the irreversible arrival of social media public sphere.

Conclusion

This article discusses American Populism in the digital era using a typical case i.e. Donald Trump's tweets during the 2016 presidential election. Empirical analysis shows Trump mostly engaged in promoting himself as an extraordinary and right leader, attacking rivals as part of the political establishment, proposing overly simplified solutions to problems and promoting alternative truth to enhance his creditability as well as political influence. We further believe Trump's populist strategies of manipulation is especially effective because of the blurred divide between populism and democracy as both of them appeal to the people. Populism gains in strength while democracy becomes vulnerable during times of crisis as people lose faith in the governing system giving the will of the people an edge over the governing system. Trump's success has noticeably inspired American politicians to mimic his populist style e.g. Joe Biden in the 2020 election where he defeated Trump to the White House. It further indicates the current wave American populism is enhanced by social media and might continue to be around in near future.

References

- [1] Abts, K., & Rummens, S. (2017). Populism Versus Democracy. *Political Studies*, 55, 405-424. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00657.x
- [2] Canovan, M. (1981). *Populism*. London: Junction.
- [3] Constitution of United States of America. (1787). Retrieved from <https://billofrightsinstitute.org/founding-documents/constitution/>
- [4] Crick, B. (2006). Populism, Politics and Democracy. *Democratization*, 12(5), 625-632. doi: 10.1080/13510340500321985
- [5] De Cleen, B., Glynos, J., & Mondon, A. (2018). Critical research on populism: Nine rules of engagement. *Organization*, 25(5), 649-661. doi: 10.1177/1350508418768053
- [6] De la Torre, C. (2017). Populism in Latin America. In C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo & P. Ostiguy (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Chapter 10). Oxford University Press.
- [7] Egan, P. (2020). Elections 101 - The Role of Social Media in U.S. Elections [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/elections-101-the-role-of-social-media-in-us-elections>
- [8] Feulner, E. J. (2018, May 7th). Preventing "The Tyranny of the Majority". Retrieved from <https://www.heritage.org/conservatism/commentary/preventing-the-tyranny-the-majority>
- [9] Fraser, N. (1994). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. In H. A. Giroux & P. McLaren (Eds.), *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies* (Chapter 3). New York, NY: Routledge.
- [10] Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- [11] Hauser, G. A. (1998). Vernacular Dialogue and the Rhetoricity of Public Opinion. *Communication Monographs*, 65(2), 83-107. doi: 10.1080/03637759809376439
- [12] Hawkins, K. A. (2009). Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(8), 1040-1067. doi: 10.1177/0010414009331721
- [13] Jackson, A. (1829). First Annual Message to Congress [Speech]. Retrieved from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-8-1829-first-annual-message-congress>
- [14] Jefferson, T. (1776). The Declaration of Independence. Retrieved from https://language.chinadaily.com.cn/trans/2012-07/05/content_15550582.htm
- [15] Kazin, M. (1998). *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- [16] Kim, E., Sung, Y., & Kang H. (2014). Brand Followers' Retweeting Behavior on Twitter: How Brand Relationships Influence Brand Electronic Word-of-Mouth. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 37, 18-25. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2014.04.020
- [17] Kyle, J. & Gultchin L. (2018). Populists in Power around the World. Retrieved from <https://institute.global/sites/default/files/articles/Populists-in-Power-Around-the-World-.pdf>
- [18] Laclau, E. (2005). Populism: What's in a Name? in F. Panizza (Ed.), *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (pp. 32-49). New York, NY: Verso.

- [19] Lee, J. & Xu, W. (2018). The More Attacks, the More Retweets, Trump's and Clinton's Agenda Setting on Twitter. *Public Relations Review*, 44, 201-213. doi: 10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.10.002
- [20] Lincoln, A. (1838). The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions [Speech]. Retrieved from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jala/2629860.0006.103/--perpetuation-of-our-political-institutions-address?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
- [21] Madison, J. (1788) The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles. The Federalist Papers (39). https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed39.asp
- [22] Manucci, L. (2017). Populism and the Media. In C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo & P. Ostiguy (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (pp. 467-488). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- [23] Moffit, B. & Tormey, S. (2014). Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style. *Political Studies*, 62, 381-397. doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12032
- [24] Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 541-563. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x
- [25] Muddle, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- [26] Murphy, H. & Sevastopulo. D. (2019, February 22). Why US Politicians Are Turning to Instagram ahead of 2020 Election. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/737d2428-2fdf-11e9-ba00-0251022932c8>
- [27] Oliver, E. J. and Rahn, W. M. (2016). Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 election. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 667, 189-206. doi: 10.1177/0002716216662639
- [28] Owen, D. (2019). The Past Decade and Future of Political Media: the Ascendance of Social Media. In M. Bradley (Ed.), *Towards a New Enlightenment? A Transcendent Decade* (pp. 347-365). Turner.
- [29] Panizza, F. (2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. New York, NY: Verso.
- [30] Pilkington, E. (2017, March 15). Trump Heaps Praise on Twitter and Denies Using It to Spread Falsehoods. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/15/donald-trump-twitter-fox-news-interview-wiretapping>
- [31] Ruzza, C. & Pejovic, M. (2019) Populism at work: the language of the Brexiteers and the European Union. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16(4), 432-448, doi: 10.1080/17405904.2019.1605300
- [32] Shearer, E. (2018). Social Media Outpaces Print Newspapers in the U.S. as a News Source. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/10/social-media-outpaces-print-newspapers-in-the-u-s-as-a-news-source/>
- [33] Schwartz, B. (2019, February 28). Joe Biden Is Getting Advice from Social Media Executives on How Best to Appeal to Young Voters. *CNBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/27/joe-biden-is-getting-advice-from-social-media-executives-on-how-best-to-appeal-to-young-voters.html>
- [34] Taggart, P. (2000). *Populism*. Buckingham, PA: Open University Press.
- [35] Taguieff, P. A. (1995). Political science confronts populism: From a conceptual mirage to a real problem, *Telos*, 1995 (103), 9-43. doi: 10.3817/0395103009
- [36] Thompson, J. B. (1995). *The Media and the Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- [37] Trump, D. & Schwartz, T. (2015). *The Art of the Deal*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.
- [38] Wade, I. O. (1976). Rousseau and Democracy. *The French Review*, XLIX(6), 926-937.
- [39] Wang, Y., Luo, J., Niemi, R., Li, Y., & Hu, T. (2016, May 17-20). Catching fire via Likes: Inferring Topic Preferences of Trump Followers on Twitter. Paper presented at the 10th International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, Cologne, Germany.
- [40] Xie, W., Hoang, A. P., Zhu, F., & Lim, E. P. (2013) Information vs. Interaction: An Alternative User Ranking Model for Social Networks. In A. Jatowt, E. Lim, Y. Ding, A. Miura, T. Tezuka, G. dias, K. Tanaka, A. Flanagan & B. T. Dai (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of Social Informatics: Vol. 8238. Lectures Notes in Computer Science* (pp. 227-240). Springer.
- [41] Zuckert, M. P. (2019). Populism and Our Political Institutions. *National Affairs*, Spring, 170-182.