

CORVINUS UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST

THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF EXPLICIT AND  
IMPLICIT POPULISM IN DONALD TRUMP'S  
TWITTER COMMUNICATION

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Supervisors: Ágnes Veszelszki, Ph.D. and Márton Demeter, Ph.D.

Tamás Tóth

Budapest, 2020

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

It has been, and continues to be, an honor to work with my supervisors, Ágnes Veszelszki and Márton Demeter. Their guidance consistently helped me to undertake the largest research I ever worked on.

I am especially grateful for my classmates, Jácint Farkas, and Balázs Zsolt Major, who challenged me to think about my work from different perspectives.

I am deeply indebted to Corvinus University of Budapest, and the professors and lecturers of the institute for their supportive attitude.

I would like to thank the programmers and coders, Levente Kóbor, György Pákozdi, Bettina Végh, Aliz Tóth, and Krisztina Kovács for their aid which was a vital element of finishing this dissertation.

Finally, I am grateful for Dóra Dercsényi's support and my friends' and family's patience. Without them, I could not have completed this work ever.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Populism has become an often-scrutinized research topic in social sciences, especially in the last two decades. Since the early 2000s, the phenomenon has started to affect the globe extensively. According to The Guardian's investigation, which was led by Kirk Hawkins, the population living under leaders who are considered to be 'at least somewhat populist' has increased by almost 2.5 billion from 2003 to 2019 (Lewis et al., 2019). In contemporary years, many significant occurrences in politics were affected by populism. As several scholars suggest, the rise of the Greek Syriza, the successful campaign for Brexit by the UK Independence Party, Donald Trump's and Jair Bolsonaro's ascendancy to lead, Vladimir Putin's and Recep Tayyip Erdogan's obtainment of their presidencies are just some instances that might be supported by populism (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018; Fish, 2017; Hunter & Power, 2019). As the specific instances above suggest, the analysis of populism is a crucial, if not an inevitable, task for scholars to understand the logic, the effects, and the causes of the successful, *rising* phenomenon (Hawkins et al., 2017). According to many experts, accurate responses to populism cannot be formulated without more in-depth knowledge on this hot topic (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018; Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017; Tóth & Demeter, 2019). Therefore, further observations and analyses are needed at grassroot level, namely the *content* of the discourse (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). This thesis makes an effort to follow this direction.

This study aims to operationalize and test a new theoretical and methodological refinement, namely Explicit and Implicit Populism.<sup>1</sup> The concept above accepts that populism is a specific political communication style (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007).<sup>2</sup> As such, it focuses on stressing dichotomies between the 'good' people and 'evil' others. EP and IP might show the degree and type of PPCS among political agents. The thesis also takes into account two features of PPCS, which might affect voter's negative emotions, namely fear and anger.

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, Explicit and Implicit Populism are referred as 'EP' and 'IP.'

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, populist political communication style and political communication style are referred as 'PPCS' and 'PCS.'

Recently, EP and IP were already tested on Hungarian language (Tóth, 2020), but this investigation aims to go further and implement them in English too. The essential goal of the thesis is to provide a feasible method for scholars who work on (textual) analyses to support the exploration of PPCS.

One of the most scrutinized political leaders is Donald Trump in the research field of populism. Therefore, providing a new aspect that analyzes his populist style is a challenging task. However, EP and IP have not been tested on Donald Trump's communication so far. This study also investigates Hillary Clinton's tweets to compare to what extent the two agents utilized the elements of PPCS. Consequently, Trump's PPCS is the reference point, while Clinton's is the test. The comparison of the two nominees' PPCS focuses on the last stage of the presidential election in 2016. It starts from the 1st of September 2016 and lasts until the 8th of November 2016. This part of the scrutiny was labelled Period One<sup>3</sup>, in which 738 and 1,595 tweets from Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were analyzed.

A second comparison also emerges in this dissertation. The study compares Donald Trump's PPCS in the campaign and after his victory. Therefore, the thesis aims to scrutinize 798 tweets from Donald Trump in Period Two. This phase starts from the election day and lasts until the very beginning of May 2017. The second comparative aspect was implemented to show how EP and IP might change in two dissimilar political situations. The thesis does not analyze Hillary Clinton's tweets in the second stage, because her tweeting frequencies significantly decreased after the defeat.

The third and final comparative method aims to highlight the typically emerging topics in Donald Trump's tweets. It introduces the characterization of his topics during the campaign period and the subsequent half a year by considering his adjustments to diverse situations. Moreover, this type of comparison in Donald Trump's tweets supports finding possible changes in his PPCS in the two examined phases. In a nutshell, characterizing and measuring topics supported the part of the analysis, which focused on the blame-shifting tactic of Donald Trump. Who are the prominent enemies in P1 and P2? Did Donald Trump shift his focus from one antagonistic agent to another after his victory? Is there one foe, or are there many in

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<sup>3</sup> In this study, Period One and Two are referred as 'P1' and 'P2.'

the different phases? The third comparative investigation tried to support the answers to the questions above.

It is important to note that the thesis implements research questions. The reasons for choosing research questions instead of hypotheses are threefold. First, the dissertation attempted to scrutinize an extensive database with a lot of possible trends, patterns, and outcomes. Consequently, to avoid vague concepts, the research questions seemed to be more appropriate than hypotheses. Second, reviewing the relevant literature on populism indicated additional accurate questions that might support the profoundness of this study. Finally, the thesis aims to provide a study that functions as a starting point for other analyses focusing on the same database to construct well-grounded hypotheses. The research questions of the thesis are presented below.

At this point, it is important to repeat the core sentence of the thesis because the research questions connect to the focal point of this study. *The concept of Explicit Populism, which might be between the thin and thick political communication style, and Implicit Populism, which attempts to explore fragmented dichotomies between the 'good' people and 'culprit' others, also function as methodological refinements in textual analyses by focusing on the content of the discourse.*

First, this subchapter introduces five research questions related to @realDonaldTrump's topics that featured his Twitter communication. As mentioned above, to conduct one of the comparative analyses in this thesis, the relevant content was separated into two periods. P1 lasted from the 1st of September 2016 until the 8th of November 2016, while P2 started from the 8th of November 2016 and finished on the 1st of May 2017. The separation of the two periods was made because Donald Trump's situation changed after the victory. There was a considerable possibility that the Republican politician focused on different topics and antagonist entities in P2 than in P1; he was not a candidate anymore, but the elected leader of the United States. RQ1-RQ5 attempt to highlight the shares of topics, antagonism, people-centrism, the portion of populist-like expressions, and topic correlations in Trump's tweets. The findings of these questions might precondition and support the subsequent questions and discussion related to Trump's EP and IP PCS.

RQ 1: *What is the most frequent topic<sup>4</sup> in realDonaldTrump's Twitter communication during the two periods?*

RQ 2: *Which entity occurs with the highest frequency as an 'Enemy' in P1 and P2?*

RQ 3: *Which period consists of more populist words in @realDonaldTrump's tweets?*

RQ 4: *Which element of the PPCS emerges with a higher frequency in @realDonaldTrump's tweets in P1 and P2? The antagonist entities or the people?*

RQ 5: *What are the most robust correlating topics in the analyzed sample?*

It is essential to note that other research questions also emerge below to provide a detailed analysis of the database.

The second comparative section also aimed to analyze Donald Trump's tweets from the 1st of September 2016 to the 1st of May 2017. Chapter 5 intended to examine the features of the Republican leader's PPCS. In order to provide a supportive in-depth analysis, a comparative method also emerged between P1 and P2. The analytical approach relies on the concept in which scholars state that populism is a thin-centered ideology and PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Wirth et al., 2016). In other words, the minimal criteria of populist discourse rely on appealing to the people and blaming the culprit elite or dangerous out-group(s) (Mudde, 2004). This section of the analysis focuses primarily on the Explicit and Implicit PPCS of the leader. Hence, new research questions appeared to support the results and the discussion of the dissertation:

RQ 6: *To what extent did Donald Trump utilize Explicit and Implicit Populist Political Communication Style? Which one's proportion is dominant in his tweets?*

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<sup>4</sup> This study uses 'topic' and 'category' interchangeably.

In order to support the investigation's qualitative nature, further research questions were created. Therefore, the scrutiny tried to characterize the actors of the perceived dichotomies. For instance, the harmful exploitation conducted by the corrupt elite that undermined the everyday lives of 'blue-collar workers.'

*RQ 7: What segments of the society do suffer from the culprit elite's deficiencies, according to Donald Trump? Does the Republican candidate characterize specific groups, or does he generally appeal to the people in his Explicit Populist Political Communication Style?*

The following research question, which intended to focus on the exploration of people-centrism *or* antagonism, refers to the actors of IP tweets:

*RQ 8: Which entity (antagonist actors versus the people) emerge with higher frequency in Donald Trump's Implicit Populist Political Communication Style?*

As discussed above, the PPCS relies fundamentally on affecting negative emotions (Bracciale & Martella, 2017), especially on fear and anger (Hameleers et al., 2017). This section also attempted to examine specific words in Donald Trump's tweets to seek expressions that may have influenced follower's negative emotions, namely fear and anger.

*RQ 9: What words might indicate negative emotions like fear and anger in Donald Trump's tweets? If there so, does he utilize any of them with considerable frequency?*<sup>5</sup>

Additionally, the thesis aims to analyze Hillary Clinton's tweets during the last couple of months of the 2016 electoral campaign. According to the author's knowledge, no analysis emerged in the research field of PPCS focusing on Secretary Clinton's tweets regarding the perspective of EP and IP. Although scholars do not refer to Hillary Clinton as a populist politician, this part of the scrutiny still assumed that she utilized PPCS in her tweets. The examination's analytical approach relied on the concept by which scholars state that there is no necessity to be a populist politician in order to employ PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Wirth et al., 2016).

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<sup>5</sup> In this case, the considerable frequency equals the minimum criteria of the Populist Dictionary (f=8).

The next research question relies on a quantitative perspective; therefore, the subsequent segment of the study sought the answer for the proportions of EP and IP:

RQ 10: *To what extent does Secretary Clinton utilize Explicit and Implicit Populist Political Communication Style? Which one's portion is dominant in her tweets?*

The eleventh research question was created to support the investigation's qualitative nature. Thus, the analysis attempted to characterize the actors of the emerging dichotomies in Clinton's PPCS.

RQ 11: *What segments of the society do suffer from the antagonist-challenger political force's deficiencies, according to Hillary Clinton? Does the Democratic candidate characterize specific groups, or does she generally appeal to the people in her Explicit Populist Political Communication Style?*

Similar to RQ 8, the following research question refers to the agents of IP tweets. In other words, seeking people-centrism *or* antagonism is the most important task to complete by the question below:

RQ 12: *Which entity (antagonist actors versus the people) emerge with higher frequency in Secretary Clinton's Implicit Populist Political Communication Style?*

As mentioned above, the PPCS relies fundamentally on affecting negative emotions (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). This section also aimed to examine specific words in Hillary Clinton's tweets to seek phrases that might influence follower's negative emotions, namely fear and anger.

RQ 13: *What words might indicate negative emotions like fear and anger in Hillary Clinton's tweets? If there so, does she utilize any of them with considerable frequency?*<sup>6</sup>

The thesis consists of eight main chapters. After the introductory chapter, the second unit highlights the literature review on populism. First, it presents several theoretical concepts in the research field, then it goes further and introduces the most relevant conceptualizations and their criticisms. Second, the detailed description of EP

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<sup>6</sup> In this case, the considerable frequency equals the minimum criteria of the Populist Dictionary (f=8).

and IP emerges in chapter two. Third, the core aim of the thesis is also supplied: *The concept of Explicit Populism, which might be between the thin and thick political communication style, and Implicit Populism, which attempts to explore fragmented dichotomies between the ‘good’ people and ‘culprit’ others, also function as methodological refinements in textual analyses by focusing on the content of the discourse.* Finally, to construct an abstract bridge between the theoretical background and the methodology, the literature on textual analyses ends the second part.

The third chapter introduces the methods, the data and the features of the emerging topics in Donald Trump’s tweets and highlights the specific characterizations of EP and IP related to the two specific politicians. The explanation of the computer-assisted mixed-method is also supplied in this part.

The fourth unit descriptively introduces the outcomes by focusing on the occurring topics and the utilization of EP and IP in Trump’s Twitter communication. This chapter also provides the results related to Clinton’s PPCS by taking into consideration EP and IP.

The fifth chapter discusses the possible explanations of blame-shift and the significant change in the balance of EP and IP in Trump’s tweets. The sixth unit tries to provide a clarification by which the ratio between antagonism and people-centrism might be understood from the ‘expert-like’ Democratic politician’s perspective. The previous two chapters also draw attention to the limitations of the thesis.

The seventh chapter attempts to describe the possible differences and similarities between the two rivals’ PPCS. The final part supplies the most important conclusions and ways which EP and IP might support future studies.

After the brief introductory chapter, the subsequent unit renders the essential theoretical backgrounds of the thesis.

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE INTRODUCTION OF EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT POPULIST POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STYLE**

The previous chapter introduced the research field connected to the thesis and its relevance to contemporary social science. Additionally, it collected the research questions related to the two scrutinized agents. Some questions drew attention to the emerging topics in Trump's tweets, and the rest of them focused on EP-IP ratios, the utilized elements of PPCS, and negative emotions such as fear and anger in both leaders' Twitter communications. This stage provides the description of the results separated by periods and leaders.

### **2.1. Mass media and campaign rhetoric in presidential elections in the United States**

Media have a significant role in influencing public opinion. Hence, there is also a vital fight to control it, especially among political and economic figures (McNair, 2018). Consequently, the media holds critical fields in political actor's communication. As a result, they utilize various channels to spread their core messages to the audience, namely the potential voters. (Aalberg et al., 2016).

Mass media and political persuasion emerged as early as the 1930s in the United States (Sears & Kosterman, 1994). Radio was so critical for political communication in the United States that successive presidents thought that it was crucially necessary to control the channel, which would perhaps help them to be in touch and manage the interwar society from the early 1930s. (Craig, 2000). For instance, Roosevelt who could '...mobilize a mass public separated from him by time and space.' utilized radio to create a series of 'Fire Side Chats' to inform citizens about the bank crisis, brief them on the Second World War, and quell political rumors from 1933 to 1944 (Ryfe, 1999, p. 89). As previous research shows, television and political communication in campaigns for the presidency are also crucially interrelated in the United States (Schroeder, 2000). One of the most prominent political events analyzed by researchers is the first Nixon-Kennedy debate in 1960, in which a drastic difference

emerged between the two nominees' appearance (Druckman, 2003). Kennedy looked like a fresh, handsome, and dynamic politician, while Nixon seemed like an exhausted person who was lacking energy (Stanton, 2000). On the other hand, according to different specific research and polls, radio listeners preferred Nixon to Kennedy, or they at least felt like the two 'came off almost equal' (Vancil & Pendell, 1987; White, 1961, p. 290). However, according to Druckman (2003), some significant problems emerged in the measurement of the debate: (1) unclear sample size, (2) unreliable 'self-reported measures,' and (3) time delay between data collection and the debate. In addition, as Joseph Campbell argues (2016), more than 70 million people watched the debate on television, while the sample of the survey was 2,138, of whom 282 listened to the radio and 178 of them expressed their opinions (Vancil & Pendell, 1987, p. 20). In sum, there were important limitations by which no direct and explicit evidence could have been supported between listener-viewer disagreements.

Television, radio, newspapers, and bulletin boards were still one of the most powerful and essential tools of political communication until the early 2000s; then, the web became part of the communication universe (Castells, 2010). Platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram do not replace the traditional mass media, but they change the way audiences reach the pieces of information (Chadwick, 2014; Enli & Syvertsen, 2016). Social media have given rise to interactive communication and facilitate collaboration among people. However, some scholars think that the internet polarizes the citizens political views (Sunstein, 2007). Now information is not a static mass anymore; people may easily interact with and become content creators themselves (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009).

## **2.2. Twitter and presidential elections: sending messages via the blogosphere**

'Communicating with the electorate is vital for politicians, and to do it proficiently, candidates must go where the voters can be found—online and using social media'(Hendricks & Schill, 2017, p. 121). The utilization of Twitter is advantageous for politicians because the microblog is rather more similar to a campaign tool controlled by the candidates than a debating platform (Davis et al., 2016). Furthermore, journalists do not filter the political agent's messages. However, the media can still

construct different kinds of realities about political tweets. The basic concept of political communication does not change via Twitter; therefore, persuasion is the essential goal of the messages.

The 2008 United States presidential election has proved that social networks have a role in forming public opinion and mobilizing voters. The campaign above was the first effort in which new social media technologies became a remarkable part of political persuasion, similarly to the traditional media such as television, radio, and newspapers (Robertson et al., 2009). It was not the first time candidates utilized new media technologies; however, it was the first campaign in which they were used extensively (Baumgartner & Morris, 2010). The proper usage of social media momentarily contributed to Barack Obama's victory during the 2008 (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009) election and later the 2012 presidential campaigns. Among the social platforms, Obama also used Twitter in the 2008 electorate. Moreover, before the 2008 campaign stage, his first official tweet he shared in 2007 was about encouraging people to sign a petition against the war in Iraq (Solop, 2010). Nevertheless, it is questionable whether Twitter had a critical impact on Barack Obama's popularity. First, a study by the Pew Research Center found that about six percent of American adults had joined the site by 2008, which made Twitter only one slice of an enormous communication channel (Smith & Rainie, 2010). Second, in November 2008, Obama was followed by 118,000 users, which is an insignificant portion of the voters in the United States (Solop, 2010). In contrast, 24 percent of the American adult population used Twitter in 2016 (Greenwood et al., 2016).

Based on the statistics above, the significance of Twitter activity is controversial during the 2008 presidential election in the United States. According to the critics, the campaign was neither won or lost on Twitter, but the social platform was an important channel to communicate directly with supporters and to convey political conversations far beyond the reaches of the site. On the other hand, scholars point out that crucial tweeting patterns are not completely insufficient in terms of boosting the support of the citizens. The more a politician tweets, the more votes they gain during the elections (DiGrazia et al., 2013).

In the 2016 US presidential election, candidates actively embraced Twitter to communicate with masses and mobilize supporters (Enli, 2017). Therefore, this thesis also focuses on Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's Twitter communication.

### **2.3. Shifting the focus during and after the campaign via Twitter**

Presidential campaign and post-campaign communication may differ in politicians' public messages, even on social sites. Persuading people to gain electoral victory is one task, but ruling a nation is another. Consequently, modifying the topics or the frequencies of specific issues is essential; therefore, shifting the focus from one (or more) task(s) to another is a necessary part of the communicational strategy.

According to Frederic I. Solop (2010), Barack Obama emphasizes two essential topics in his tweets during the 2008 presidential campaign stage. First, he shares his exact location. Moreover, references to his particular position emerge almost eighty percent of his tweets. Second, directing Twitter followers to his campaign web site is the second-highest topic that occurs in two-thirds of Obama's messages. After the victory in 2008, Obama did not tweet for almost a month and a half, but after the 15th of January 2009, he tweeted fifty times until the 30th of July 2009. In other words, as a President-elect, Barack Obama almost halted tweeting, but as the President of the United States, he used Twitter actively again. In his messages, he asked his followers to support clean energy and healthcare policy, which were two vital topics that determined the campaign. Informing the audience was also a crucial issue in Obama's post-campaign Twitter communication. Public events and meetings, nominations, and House activities were among the topics which the President shared with his audience via Twitter. Moreover, Obama introduced a specific feature on his Facebook page, which is an icon with a hyperlink to direct his followers to his Twitter account. Coordinating the audience and keeping people informed about the essential events were also remarkable aspects of Obama's post-campaign tweets.

Contemporary literature examined the possible modifications in adversarial tweets of the prominent Dutch populist, Geert Wilders, from the radical right and Emile Roemer from the left-wing (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). As they pointed out (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016, p. 610) in their analysis: 'Our results indicated that

populists tend to be selective in choosing their enemies and that the targets of their criticism can change over time. This was clear in the Twitter behavior of the radical right PVV leader Geert Wilders in particular. From the outset, Wilders' criticism – in tweets as well as in the 2010 election manifesto – focused more often on cultural issues than on the economy, blaming primarily politicians from the “left.” Especially after his party withdrew its support from the center-right VVD-CDA minority government, Wilders shifted his targets.’ While specific studies emerged related to changing topics, objectives, and populist voices via Twitter, their portion is remarkably low. Therefore, the fifth chapter aims to provide an explorative analysis by depicting the possible perceived modifications in Donald Trump’s tweeting strategy.

In short, the fifth unit of the thesis also focuses on the changes in topics and populist-blaming PCS referred to targeted entities in Donald Trump’s tweets during the campaign stage and the following six months.

## **2.4. The early instances of populism**

Accounting for a brief historical review is necessary to characterize the populist phenomenon. In this chapter, the fundamental features of the two populist phenomena, which were possibly the most significant in the 1800s, are presented. The detailed examination of populism’s history is not present in the dissertation because the thesis mainly focuses on the conceptualization and operationalization of EP and IP. One of the most remarkable historical instances from the 1800s emerged in the United States, while the other appeared in Russia.

As Ernesto Laclau argues (2005a) in his work, by referring to Margaret Canovan’s (1981) analysis, there are two significant divisions within populism, namely agrarian populism and political populism. The former can be divided into three categories, while the latter consists of four classifications. The agrarian populism implies farmer’s radicalism (People’s Party in the United States), intellectual agrarian socialism (the Narodniki movement in Russia), and peasant movements (Green Rising in Eastern Europe). Political populism might apply politician’s populism (appealing to the sovereignty of the people during the elections), populist dictatorship (for example,

Perón), reactionary populism (George Wallace and his supporters), and populist democracy (acclaiming referendums and mobilization of the voters).

Historically, the agrarian populism provides the early formations of populism, namely the People's Party in the United States and the Narodniki movement in Russia. People's Party originates from the farmer's dependency of the railroad corporations in the Western Part of America. The farmers had ambivalent feelings about the railroad companies in the 1800s. On the one hand, the corporations provided an opportunity for them to move their products and the necessary equipment from one location to another by improving the infrastructure. On the other hand, the railroad companies had a monopoly on moving goods; therefore, they made an effort to increase taxes. The farmers felt that railroad companies abused their power over hard-working people; consequently, a need for opposing the unfair situation emerged. As Canovan states (1981), it is challenging to locate precisely the origin of the American Agrarian Populist movement. Nevertheless, Canovan argues (1981) that one of their starting points was Texas, a state where lecturers shared the idea that the working people became poor while the others acquired a massive profit. The People Party, which is the successor of Farmers' Alliance, might originate from the state above, but there is no definite proof for that. Even so, the People Party held its first national convent in Omaha, 1892. The party provided a candidate, James B. Weaver, to run for the presidency against the conservative and old-fashioned political elite. Finally, Weaver collected more than one million votes in the election. Despite the popularity of the People's Party in 1892, it could not acquire such a significant reputation within the United States to defeat the Republicans and the Democrats. Moreover, the People's Party lost its popularity in the next elections and could not affect politics significantly within the country (Canovan, 1981).

The other phenomenon, namely the Narodniki movement, arose in Russia. As Canovan argues (1981), there was no chance for providing dominant political parties or organizations in Tsarist Russia. Nevertheless, small groups of people made an effort to organize radical movements until the authorities crushed them. The 'intelligentsia' of Russia utilized the expression 'Narodnik' or 'populist' in a very narrow sense, referring to a peculiar circle in the late 1870s which activated itself for the needs of the people in a revolutionary way. According to Canovan (1981), the 'intelligentsia,'

inspired by Mikhail Bakunin's and Alexander Herzen's works, traveled to the Russian countryside and made a serious effort to persuade peasants about the necessity of change. The 'intelligentsia' suggested the peasants should proceed in the direction of socialism. In the year 1874, thousands of intellectuals left their studies to convince peasants and enter into direct relations to them as teachers and as propagandists (Field, 1987).

In contrast to the farmers in the United States, the people of the 'intelligentsia', most of them in their twenties, sought the solutions for the peasants' problems in Russia. Their original slogan was 'going to the people' as they attempted to make the freed serfs understand that the bourgeoisie exploits them by wage slavery. Moreover, they visited the villages and told the peasants that the land belonged to them, and they should rebel against the ruling political regime. Despite the mass pilgrimage of the 'intelligentsia,' the freed serfs were not enthusiastic about the cause highlighted by the young intellectuals. In other words, the peasants were not engaged in the issue above, but unconcerned, suspicious, and adversary. After the failed attempt of the young intellectuals, 770 members of the 'intelligentsia' were arrested by the authorities to prevent Russian peasants from receiving the messages that might turn the huge masses against the narrow political elite (Canovan, 1981).

## **2.5. Populism and its conceptualizations**

This subchapter summarizes the different conceptualizations of populism in social sciences. This subunit of the thesis does not provide a profound introduction into the theoretical background; however, it attempts to briefly characterize the most relevant connotations of the phenomenon among scholars. Nevertheless, Chapter 2.6. and 2.8. will introduce Cas Mudde's (2004) and Jagers' and Walgrave's (2007) concepts, which provide crucial theoretical support of EP and IP, namely thin-centered ideology and political communication style, in a more detailed way. The contesting ideas, which either reflect on the former or the latter concepts, are also provided in Chapter 2.7. and 2.8. Finally, the universal characterizations of EP and IP are supplied in Chapter 2.10. that intends to explain how EP and IP might contribute to the international literature.

First, the most commonly utilized approaches in the research field are presented briefly below.

Nearly half a century ago, scientists perceived that populism was an artificial, unnatural, and terrifying phenomenon, which has roots in almost every segment of the globe and keeps expanding worldwide (Ionescu & Gellner, 1969). Recently, populism became an exceedingly fruitful in the research field, if not an obsession, among scholars. The more attention populism gains in social sciences, the more types of conceptual classifications emerge in research papers and theories (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014). Defining populism is a challenging task, if not impossible, to provide (Arnold, 2018; Laclau, 2005a). A classic problem in conceptualizing populism is its conceptual slippage and practical flexibility (Aslanidis, 2018). Consequently, populism may be attached to entirely different (thin) ideologies. Therefore, political actors from the far-left to the far-right (and everything in between) use it to persuade people (Aslanidis, 2018). Hence, populism has no core ideological background as political actors with contradictory beliefs implement it (Philip & Panizza, 2011), but it occurs in a mixed format with other ideologies (Rovira Kaltwasser & Mudde, 2011). Scholars refer to populism in different ways, such as an ideology (Mudde, 2007), a political communication style (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007), a political style (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014), a political logic (Laclau, 2005a), a discourse, (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), and a strategy (Hawkins, 2010). Despite the conceptual vagueness, most experts admit that populism is a thin or thin-centered ideology (Mudde, 2004) in which two separated groups appear at the same time, namely the antagonist, ‘corrupt’ elite and the homogeneous ‘pure’ people (Abromeit, 2017; Abts & Rummens, 2007; Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Krämer, 2017; Mudde, 2007; Stanley, 2008).

On the one hand, this thesis and its core theoretical approach accept that populism is a thin-centered ideology (Mudde, 2004) while, on the other, it focuses primarily on populism as a PCS (Canovan, 2002; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Laclau, 2005a). As already mentioned above, a detailed explanation of the thesis’ theoretical background introduces how the former two approaches might support the third one, namely operationalizing EP and IP (see Chapter 2.6-2.8. and 2.10.). According to prominent scholars, populists make a clear distinction between the ordinary people and the antagonist others (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). Populist style is a useful

tool for political actors, at debates for instance, because they can make people feel that ordinary citizens are part of the decent silent majority (Benoit & Sheaffer, 2006). For example, Donald Trump regularly stressed the distinction between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ in the presidential debates in 2016, while Hillary Clinton disregarded focusing on the dichotomy above as cautiously as her political opponent used it (Demeter, 2017).

Vertical and horizontal oppositions may also appear in PPCS (Hameleers, 2018). Typical vertical clashes emerge between the people and the ‘Others’ in at least four ways. Consequently, PPCS might target the (1) political establishment, (2) the experts, (3) the economic elite, and (4) the media (Hameleers, 2018). The style of political communication mentioned above stresses the differences between the status of the hard-working people and the unreliable elite. One of the horizontal perspectives is the exclusionist, which depicts culturally or ethnically different people as the cause of the hard-working, honest in-group’s problems (Oesch, 2008). Another horizontal perspective is the welfare state chauvinist populism by which populists often emphasize that the asylum seeker’s intention is to get financial support for free from the common budget, and pull out money from struggling taxpayer’s wallet (De Koster et al., 2013). The third type of horizontal populism is in-group superiority, which enhances the national culture and habit’s pre-eminence compared to the foreign immigrant’s lifestyle and practices that may endanger the ‘superior’ cultural values (Hameleers, 2018). In sum, the corrupt elite and the dangerous others deprive sovereign people of prosperity, decision, voice, identity, and rights by their interests (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2008).

Studies on populist communication often focus on the populist leader (Block & Negrine, 2017; Demeter, 2017; Engesser et al., 2017a) and a vast portion of scrutiny examines one of the most prominent populist politicians in charge, namely Donald Trump (Engesser et al., 2017a; Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018). Some scholars claim that populism is based on performance, including a collection of prominent people (Bucy et al., 2020; Pal et al., 2017; Piontek & Tadeusz-Ciesielczyk, 2019). On the contrary, Twitter ensures a platform that does not demand outstanding performance because the political agent has the opportunity to focus solely on written messages.

In recent years, PPCS emerged in several countries, especially during the final stages of the general elections (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014). Moreover,

researchers conclude that populist style is used with higher frequency in political outsider campaigns than in the incumbents communication in the United States (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016). For decades, Republican and Democratic candidates also implemented PPCS in their presidential campaigns in the United States, but they enhanced different perspectives for the voters. The Republican candidates tend to emphasize that the corrupt political establishment is responsible for ordinary people's suffering, while the Democratic nominees blame mostly the economic elite for causing a crisis in ordinary people's lives (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016).

Contemporarily, social media sites like Twitter have become potent communication tools for populist political actors. Therefore, several authors started to examine the phenomenon above (Bartlett et al., 2011; Gerbaudo, 2014). Populist political actors attempt to utilize Twitter, which was limited to 140 characters, but from the 7th of November 2017 the company expanded this to 280 (Perez, 2017), except in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean languages, because it functions as a top-down marketing tool. Consequently, it might have boosted the impact of PPCS and parties by providing an unmediated channel in which unambiguous criticism of (political) elites can be spread (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). Although PPCS has started to emerge through Twitter in the last couple of years, studies on how populist political actors shape and distribute their topics during crucial periods, like campaigns, have remained sparse.

Presidential elections, especially in the United States, provide an excellent opportunity for scholars to analyze candidates communicational strategies (Demeter, 2017; Enli, 2017). Recently, the researchers of populism also tend to focus on presidential campaigns (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). Not surprisingly, the 2016 Presidential Campaign in the United States is a popular research field in which scholars mostly focus on Donald Trump's PPCS (McNair, 2018). Moreover, several scholars analyze the Republican politician's communicational patterns and strategy via social sites, primarily Twitter (Gonawela et al., 2018; Wells et al., 2016). In contemporary years, experts have published some comparative analyses of Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's communication, relying on their live debates (Demeter, 2017), their tweets (Enli, 2017), and performance (Bucy et al., 2020). As scholars point out, Trump is a populist political

actor (Babones, 2018; Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018) while Hillary Clinton acts like a liberal politician; yet, she utilizes some elements of PPCS in her campaign (Nai & Maier, 2018). Despite the scholar's significant activity on the campaign period above, the research field does not place a large focus on the specific analysis of the former Democratic nominee's communicational strategy in terms of PPCS. Although Hillary Clinton is not a populist politician, she employs a PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017) in her campaign to adjust to her primary opponent's populist style. Therefore, her tweets imply specific elements of the method above. This thesis also aims to investigate Trump's and Clinton's communicational patterns via Twitter by utilizing a new perspective to divide their tweets into explicit, implicit, and neutral categories.<sup>7</sup>

In the last couple of decades, scholars focusing on populism presented their studies from broad and different perspectives (Aslanidis, 2018); however, the conceptualization of populism is a difficult, if not impossible, task to do (Arnold, 2018; Laclau, 2005a; Taggart, 2000). Despite the conceptual vagueness (Canovan, 1999; Laclau, 1977), scholars make an effort to provide many aspects that might help to understand the features, nature, and the utilization of populism (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014). Therefore, as discussed above, populism emerges in social sciences as an ideology (Mudde, 2007; Pauwels, 2011; Rovira Kaltwasser & Mudde, 2011), a political logic (Laclau, 2005a), a political style (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014), a PCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007), and an organization/strategy (Roberts, 2003; Weyland, 2001). Contemporarily, scholars tend to agree that populism has no exact or a well-developed basis, but rather a loose-compliant ideology as its attributes are flexible and slippery (Pauwels, 2011; Philip & Panizza, 2011). On the contrary, political actors like politicians and parties with different ideologies emphasize populist features in their communication, especially in their campaigns (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2008; Kriesi, 2014).

Although conceptual struggles appear in the research field, most scientists agree with the idea that populism is a thin-centered ideology (Abromeit, 2017; Krämer, 2017; Müller, 2017). As such, it stresses the core concept of the corruptness and goodness between the exploiting-culprit political, economic, cultural, or scientific *elite*

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<sup>7</sup>In this analysis, Neutral Sentences are referred as 'NS.'

and the homogenous mass of the hard-working, decent or ordinary *people*. On the one hand, *appealing to the people* is one crucial element in populism (Canovan, 1981). On the other hand, the *characterization of the antagonist entities* is the other vital feature to emphasize the difference between good and evil (Hameleers, 2018). Populists depict this dichotomy to claim that the group of ‘people’ has every right to take the power back from the elite (Canovan, 2005). As Canovan points out (2005), the former group is excluded from the privileged circles, namely the elite. Additionally, politicians who employ the PPCS do not rely only on populism to stress the dichotomies above, but to differentiate themselves from their opponents to keep the distance from the failing elite. According to Benoit’s *Functional Theory*, this blame attribution is an aggressive tactic in rhetoric that might persuade supporters to ‘realize’ that the *attacking* politician represents something other than their rivals in public issues (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999).

According to scholars (Block & Negrine, 2017; Demeter, 2017; Engesser et al., 2017b), studies on PPCS and its patterns refer to prominent, populist political agents or core topics they use to highlight whether they are in charge. Therefore, presidents, prime ministers, party leaders, representatives, ruling, or oppositional politicians, and activists are among the entities who are under the scope of experts. Based on the international literature, Donald Trump in the United States, (Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018) Vladimir Putin in Russia (Fish, 2017), Geert Wilders in the Netherlands (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016), Marine Le Pen in France (Abromeit, 2017), Alexis Tsipras in Greece (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014), Matteo Salvini in Italy (Bracciale & Martella, 2017), Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil (Finchelstein, 2017), and Viktor Orbán in Hungary (Csigó & Merkovity, 2016; Finchelstein, 2017; Tóth, 2020) also represent the main characteristics of populist leaders.<sup>8</sup>

The thesis aims to contribute to international literature by the utilization of in-depth analysis from at least three perspectives. First, the scrutiny makes an effort to supply the literature in which scholars examine the blame-shifting tendencies in two different periods (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). The thesis focuses solely on Donald Trump’s blame-shifting tendencies because Hillary Clinton merely tweets after the

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<sup>8</sup> The list is non-exhaustive.

electoral defeat. Second, it examines Trump's and Secretary Clinton's tweets, in terms of the thin-centered ideology (Mudde, 2004) and PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). In other words, this study seeks the emergence of PPCS in the Republican and the Democratic nominee's political communication; namely, stressing the dichotomies between the antagonist (political) elite and the ordinary citizens during the last stage (68 days) of the electoral campaign. Finally, the thesis intends to test and introduce the concepts of EP and IP to provide a more detailed and profound analysis of the research field above to *refine* analysis methods. Nevertheless, before the presentation of the findings, the following subchapters introduce Mudde's and Jagers' and Walgrave's concepts, which, based on their nature, might connect to each other, by a more detailed review.

## **2.6. Populism as a (thin) ideology**

Without any doubt, one of the most important theoretical perspectives among scholars is Cass Mudde's ideational approach by which he argues that populism is an ideology (Mudde, 2004). He claims in his famous study that populism is 'an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite," and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people' (Mudde, 2004, p. 543). Mudde emphasizes the homogeneity of the circles above; while the former is honest and decent, the latter is dishonest and culprit. In other words, according to Mudde's concept, populists think that the people are authentic, but the elite is not. In his argument, Mudde focuses on a vital contradiction between the two groups by stressing the moral feature of populism (Mudde, 2017). Populism presupposes that the ruling elite was once part of the people, but it does not listen to the people's voice anymore and betrays them. Therefore, the elite does not serve the people but abuses its power and creates a (relative) deprivation for the vast masses. Mudde claims that the ideational perspective has been influential in most of the studies related to populism. He also relies on Laclau's examination (Laclau, 1977) in which the Argentine philosopher observed that the *ideological* feature of populism is a vital element of the phenomenon. Note that Mudde also acknowledges (Mudde, 2017) Laclau's influential *discursive* approach (Laclau, 1977) that argues that the specific

element of populism, namely the people, is an empty content; therefore, it can be filled with different messages.

Moreover, Mudde claims that populism consists of four features: (1) ideology, (2) the people, (3) the elite, and (4) general will (*volonté général*). Mudde accepts that populism is one of the *thin-centered* or *thin ideologies*, which does not reach *the same level of refinement* and consistency as the thick (or full) ones, such as Marxism or liberalism (Mudde, 2017). He cites Michael Freeden, who claims that thin ideologies have ‘a restricted core attached to a narrower range of political concepts’ (Freeden, 1998, p. 750). Besides, Mudde highlights Freeden’s idea: thin ideologies do not provide answers or alternative solutions for core questions and problems affecting social or political issues (Freeden, 2003). Mudde also argues that populism might connect to several ‘other ideologies, including communism, ecologism, nationalism, or socialism’ and it ‘is moralistic rather than programmatic’ (Mudde, 2004, p. 544). Mudde concludes in one of his theoretical studies (Mudde, 2017) that determining populism as a thin or thick (full) ideology is not a primary task in the research field. However, the essential opposition between the elite and the people is the core feature of populism.

Mudde emphasizes the vital role of the *people* in populism, who seem to be uncharacterized and contentless; therefore, they might be, according to Laclau, ‘empty signifiers’ (Laclau, 2005b, p. 43) . In contrast, Mudde claims (2017) that the ‘purity’ of the people fills the empty shell and provides the opportunity to stress the moral differences between the ‘ordinary’ masses and the ‘evil’ elite by the utilization of the Manichean friend or foe aspect (Mudde, 2004).

The antagonist agent of the moral struggle, according to Mudde, is primarily the elite, which does not care about the people but abuses power. Who should listen to the people’s voice if not the elite who might have certain tools to help them, and what should happen if they leave the masses demands unheard and unanswered? As Mudde states, populists do not want to co-operate with the elite but intend to end its reign, without any compromise (Mudde, 2004). Nevertheless, specific minorities like immigrants and asylum seekers might also be excluded from the pure mass mostly on ethnic criteria. The latter feature of populism emerges when other hosting (thin)

ideologies, such as nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and nativism,<sup>9</sup> fuel the political context (Mudde, 2017).

As Mudde claims, the general will of the people magnets two fundamental features: special interests and common sense. The former is attached only to the elite, which focuses on maintaining its wealth and power; therefore, it paves the way for antagonism, whereas the latter is the list of common issues which need to be taken care of. However, the concept of the *volonté général* presupposes the abstract homogeneity of the people depicting them as a collective, imagined community (Anderson, 1983), which has the very same common problems (Mudde, 2004). Populists, who claim that they are the authentic members of the people, attempt to be the voice, the helper, and the problem-solver of the masses.

Mudde also demonstrates the advantages of his ideational approach by stressing its (1) distinguishability, (2) categorize-ability, (3) travel-ability, and (4) versatility. First, Mudde claims that the ideational approach supplies the distinguishability between populism and non-populism. For instance, according to elitism, the elite are pure, while populism opposes that idea by enhancing the corruptness of the group. Pluralism depicts the people as a group which is fragmented into several circles, whereas populist highlight that people shape one homogeneous mass (Mudde, 2004).

Mudde claims that by transforming populism into an adjective (populist), it might help to categorize and characterize the ideal-based particularities of the left-wing and right-wing alternates of the phenomenon. While the former subtype often implements some features or forms of socialism, the latter might connect to, for example, nationalism. Mudde also argues (2017) that several variations of the phenomenon exist, including agrarian, authoritarian, civic, Latin American, presidential, reactionary, Republican, and xenophobic populism.<sup>10</sup> All of them have the core attribution of the ‘us versus them’ dichotomy, but implementing at least one extra and relevant feature of the political/ideological context/guidelines (Mudde, 2017).

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<sup>9</sup> The list of possible and relevant hosting (thin) ideologies is non-exhaustive.

<sup>10</sup> The list is non-exhaustive.

According to Mudde, the travel-ability of the ideational approach reflects on the problematic feature of populism rooting in its dissimilar attributions based on periods and territories. Mudde participated in specific studies (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2013), which examined cross-regional cases, including ten scholars and eight investigations (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2012). In other words, the ideational perspective might be applicable when populism is analyzed or measured in diverse countries.

The versatility of the ideational approach creates opportunities for scholars to analyze populism not only on the sender's, but also on the receiver's side. Consequently, voters' attitudes, whether they are committed to the populist ideology, might be scrutinized for seeking the region-specific subtopics by which citizens might be influenced to vote for populist politicians, parties, and join to movements. In sum, both sides of the political communication could be under the scholar's radar by implementing the ideational perspective (Mudde, 2017).

In a nutshell, Mudde considers populism as an ideology; however, he states that it is a thin one by emphasizing that its only core feature originates from the articulated dichotomy between the 'good people' and the 'corrupt elite.' Therefore, it is not such a well-developed ideology as, for instance, a full one such as 'Marxism' is; however, the conceptual slipperiness allows populism to be an applicable tool for political agents with other hosting (thin) ideologies (Mudde, 2017).

## **2.7. The criticism of Mudde's ideational approach**

While Cass Mudde's theoretical perspective, which defines populism as a (thin) ideology, is shared by many scholars, it is also severely contested by others. This subchapter relies mostly on Paris Aslanidis' study (2016), in which he summarizes the focal points of the criticism on Mudde's ideational approach. He also suggests the *discursive aspect*, as a feasible perspective of the analysis related to populism.

Referring to John Gerring's study (1997), Aslanidis suggests that populism lacks a unique feature of the full or thick ideologies, namely *coherence*. A plausible explanation might be, as already discussed above, that populism is a phenomenon

emerging in the broadest range of the political spectrum: from the far-left to the far-right. Moreover, according to Aslanidis, there is no Populist International, fundamental programmatic papers on populism, grand visions for solving universal social, economic or ecological problems, prominent icons, and the permanent historical emergence of populism. These features might be part of a coherent ideological perspective. Aslanidis, relying on Michael Freedman's work (1996), claims in his study that ideologies have a three-layered structure 'containing core, adjacent and peripheral concepts, conditioned by means of elaborate proximities and weights idiosyncratic to each ideological variant' (Aslanidis, 2016, p. 90). Populism, with its restricted core and narrow political perspective, does not have a concise concept like full ideologies do. It also lacks (1) internal integration, (2) a rich core attached to political approaches, (3) the ability to provide political concepts, (4) the provision of answers for political questions, (5) extensive ideational scope, (6) cohesive ideological background, and (7) unification among ideologists; all elements which might be vital parts of the thick conceptualizations (Aslanidis, 2016).

Why does the debate around dropping the concept label of the ideology matter in the case of populism? According to Aslanidis, the source of the problem is 'degreeism' (Aslanidis, 2016, p. 92), which emerges in textual analyses where scholars try to investigate to what extent the political agents utilize populist discourse or, as related to this thesis, the *discursive part* of PPCS.

As Aslanidis states (2016), accounting for the ideational approach, or more precisely, the ideological aspect brings forth a dichotomous characterization. The 'take it or leave it nature' (Aslanidis, 2016, p. 92) of the category arises when scholars implement the ideological approach in their analyses. Following the ideational logic means that a politician is either populist or not. There is nothing in between. However, Aslanidis claims that if scholars employ Laclau's discursive approach, the extents of populism can be measured. He also goes further by emphasizing several studies focusing on the degree of populism: 'Yet there has recently been a surge of quantitative research which, on the contrary, clearly acknowledges degrees of populism. Works such as Jagers and Walgrave (2007), Hawkins (2009), Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2009), Reungoat (2010), Pauwels (2011), Rooduijn and Pauwels (2011), Gemenis et al. (2012), March (2012), Vasilopoulou et al. (2014), Rooduijn et al. (2014), Bernhard

et al. (2015), Pauwels and Rooduijn (2015) and Aslanidis (2015) have distilled the necessary dimensions of populism and operationalized them using various methodologies of text analysis to arrive at interesting conclusions illustrating variation across the unit of analysis (political parties, leaders, etc.).’ Therefore, focusing on the degrees of the discursive elements provides the opportunity to analyze to what extent political agents implement the features above in their communication.

Despite the fact that Mudde’s ideational concept is contested, this thesis does not drop the theoretical background of the thin ideology; however, the study and the new concepts presented below do not accept that populism is a thick one. The dissertation implements the fundamental piece of Mudde’s approach, namely the investigation of the ‘us versus them’ dichotomy. Also, it utilizes the moral aspects of thin ideology in the discussion. The current and the subsequent subchapters aim to introduce why the discursive approach of the PPCS is essential for this textual analysis: ‘As many analysts have pointed out (e.g. Hawkins, 2009; Rooduijn et al., 2014), formal discursive elements are implicit in Mudde’s (2004) ideological definition’ (Aslanidis, 2016, p. 98). Consequently, the ideational approach and the discursive feature of PCS might shape a theoretical background by which the operationalization of EP and IP might be supported. They might provide the degrees of populism among the analyzed agents by focusing on discursive elements to explore to what extent do two sharply different politicians employ them.

As Aslanidis claims (2018), Jagers and Walgrave (2007) focused on the degree of populism in their study by which the concept of PCS was operationalized. The theoretical concept of this thesis, namely EP and IP, is primarily attached to the aspect of PCS. The contribution of EP and IP to the approach above will be introduced in Chapter 2.10. Before the profound introduction of EP and IP emerges, it is essential to supply the concept of PCS, which is a fundamental theoretical basis of EP and IP above.

## **2.8. Political communication style and its ties to the thin concept**

First, this subchapter provides the characterization of PPCS by mostly relying on Jagers’ and Walgrave’s study (2007). Second, other scholars’ outstanding

contributions to the definition are also supplied here. Third, the subchapter will briefly introduce how the thin ideology and PPCS might connect. Finally, the summarized criticism on the discursive part of PPCS ends this subchapter.

As Jagers and Walgrave argue (2007), PPCS has three significant elements: (1) reference to the people, (2) stressing the harmful role of the corrupt elite, and (3) excluding some particular, dangerous groups from the society to keep the relevant territory ‘safe’ for ordinary citizens. As they point out: ‘We will use the thin definition, only relying on the first element of merely referring to the people, as an operational definition. The thick definition comes close to the classic concept and consists of a combination of the three elements...’ (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007, p. 322). They stress that the thin concept is based exclusively on the people, and, in contrast, the thick approach consists of all the three elements above. Additionally, they claim that the only central feature of PPCS is referring to the people. According to Jagers and Walgrave (2007), without appealing to the monolithic and homogeneous circles, the PCS cannot be considered populist.

Additionally, the authors above took into consideration four types of populism: (1) complete populism, (2) excluding populism, (3) anti-elitist populism, and (4) empty populism (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). The first type contains references to all three key elements; the second stresses the dichotomies between the ‘decent’ people and other minorities that risks the inhabitant’s culture, welfare, and security (Hameleers, 2018); the third blames the elite, which does not listen to the citizens’ voice (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018), and the last one focuses solely on the people (Bobba & Roncarolo, 2018).

However, at least one question emerges if one takes into account Jagers’ and Walgrave’s theoretical perspective. What happens if the PPCS lacks one antagonist element but implies the other two features? The theoretical background of the thesis assumes that appealing to the people and highlighting the role of the anti-establishment’s destructive presence and activity might appear in PPCS alone. However, stressing the differences between the ‘decent’ homogenous masses and the ‘threatening’ specific minorities (e.g., asylum seekers) is also part of EP. To strengthen the theoretical concept, the thesis also relies on Mudde, who theorizes that populism,

as a thin-centered ideology, separates society into the groups of ordinary people and the corrupt elite (Mudde, 2004).

Based on the literature review, the fundamental elements of PPCS might be:

- actualization (Krämer, 2014),
- antagonism (Arnold, 2018),
- blaming the enemy (Laclau, 2005a),
- emotionalization (Bos et al., 2011),
- emphasizing negative pieces of information (Caiani & Graziano, 2016),
- informality (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014),
- people-centrism (Bracciale & Martella, 2017),
- simplification (Moghadam, 2018),
- stressing the idea of 'Zeitgeist vision' (Mouffe, 2005),
- taboo-breaking (Krämer, 2014),
- vulgarism (Bracciale & Martella, 2017).

Interestingly, politicians who do not utilize or exploit populist ideology still might apply the elements of PPCS in their communication (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). The exploration of PPCS in politicians' communication who are not considered primarily as populists, supports the allegation that populism has the attribute of a chameleon that adjusts to the situations, to the circumstances and to the political spheres (Taggart, 2000).

Moreover, scholars observed specific, pragmatic adjustments in the PCS of populist politicians on Twitter when the current political situation demands the relevant shifts in communication (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). For instance, blaming the enemies with higher frequency, attacking them from different perspectives, or shifting the focus of targeting messages from one opponent to another might be vital adjustments in PPCS.

It is important to note that the three elements of PPCS emphasized by Jagers and Walgrave (2007), also emerged in other scholars' studies:

- i. the emphasis of people's independence and sovereignty (Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Canovan, 1981; Canovan, 2002; Kazin, 1995; Moffitt & Tormey, 2014; Mudde, 2004; Rovira Kaltwasser & Mudde, 2011; Taggart, 2000),
- ii. targeting the elite by attacking it (Aslanidis, 2018; Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Canovan, 1999; Hameleers, 2018; Taggart, 2000),
- iii. exclusionism or, in other words, 'ostracizing' specific groups (Hameleers, 2018; Mudde, 2004).

Referring to people's sovereignty highlights that politics should serve the general will (*volonté général*) of decent citizens (Mudde, 2004). As such, politics and politicians should work as servants of the people, not as masters of them. The populist actors tend to emphasize their closeness to the people by using a simple, easy-to-interpret form of communication to make the masses feel that they are equivalent entities (Caiani & Graziano, 2016). In PPCS, political agents stress that they represent the people directly by lacking insufficient intermediaries (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). Moreover, PPCS provides a promise that the hard-working citizens will be as glorious and thriving in the future as they were once in the past (Finchelstein, 2017), and enhance the 'attempt to construct what has been lost by the present' (Taggart, 2000, p. 95).

Anti-elitism and anti-establishment attributes are fundamental tools both in populist ideology and PCS for the sake of making a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). On the one hand, 'us' represents the decent people who are suffering from declining incomes and disappearing prosperity (Akkerman et al., 2014; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). On the other hand, the group of 'them' acts on behalf of the minor (political) elite, huge economic corporations, or specific segments of the media that abuse their power and influence (Canovan, 1981; Hameleers, 2018; Taggart, 2000). In general, the critical aspect of anti-elitism manifests in the infinite distance between the people and the elite (Pauwels, 2011). According to populists, there is a wide range of antagonist actors (Aalberg et al., 2016). First and foremost, politicians are the primary enemies who do not have concerns about the voters; they only want to maintain or obtain power (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). Populists stress that they will not co-operate with the elite, which is a morally corrupt

group, and there is no opportunity for compromises (Mudde, 2017) between ‘us’ and ‘them.’

Furthermore, according to agents who utilize PPCS, institutions like state administration, jurisdiction, and law enforcement that should protect the citizens are corrupt, ineffective, and they are interconnected. As specific populists claim, mass corporations, banks, trade unions, and brokers exploit citizens financially by taking advantage of their naive trust, and collect their saved incomes to gain even bigger profits for the wealthy minorities but not for the ordinary people (Ramiro, 2016; Rooduijn, 2018). According to populists, the media might mislead people by hiding the truth, or telling fake or modified stories of reality (Pauwels, 2014). Additionally, scholars and other prominent experts engaged with destructive and false oppositional aspects might also mislead ordinary citizens (Engesser et al., 2017a; Hameleers, 2018).

The concept of ‘ostracizing others’ (Mudde, 2004) relies on horizontal PPCS (Hameleers, 2018), especially in right-wing populist communication (Oesch, 2008). In the opinion of right-wing populists, asylum seekers, immigrants, isolated minorities, or people who want to exploit the welfare state’s financial support are among the groups which threaten ordinary citizens’ prosperity, culture, and safety. The features of ‘ostracizing others’ might support the welfare state chauvinist perspective, by which ‘hard-working’ taxpayers might feel that (unemployed) others are benefitting from their labor. In other words, according to populists, the ‘others’ attempt to live from financial supports provided by the working people’s fees (De Koster et al., 2013). On the contrary, left-wing populists utilize oppositions stressing that small, extreme-rich groups make a significant profit while the vast masses are suffering from destitution (Ramiro, 2016). The groups mentioned above are stigmatized, and the dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’ becomes more spectacular by stressing the danger that emerges with the collective enemy (Cranmer, 2011).

As scholars suggest (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014), there are a few problems with the discursive part of PPCS. First, as Pauwels argues (2011), coding bias and doubtful reliability might be considerable limitations for qualitative content analyses. Second, there is no comprehensive agreement on what type of contents should be analyzed

from debates to party manifestos, public speeches, Facebook posts, or tweets.<sup>11</sup> Third, quantitative methods also have limitations as specific populist-like keywords might not connect to the context of PPCS. Finally, content analyses mostly do not focus on visual, aesthetic, performative, or transgressive nonverbal elements (Bucy et al., 2020) by which political actors might affect the voters' decisions (Moffitt & Tormey, 2014).

The dissertation endeavors to expand the concept of PPCS by setting the categories of EP and IP. The first category demands the implementation of two key factors' (a) people and the elite or (b) people and dangerous others presence explicitly mentioned in the very same coding unit. In contrast, the second, which is IP, requires the presence of one crucial feature and the indirect suggestion to the other. It is important to note that the 'thick definition' in which all the three actors are emerging, is part of EP but not the IP.

For the sake of avoiding conceptual vagueness as far as it is possible, a summary related to the deductive characterizations of PPCS, and the vital attributes of thin populist ideology were provided above. The detailed and specific description of EP and IP will be introduced in Chapter 2.10. At this stage of the dissertation, a brief introduction of the possible effects of PPCS's blame attributions on negative emotions like anger and fear is also supplied in the subsequent chapter.

## **2.9. Blame attributions and negative emotions in populist political communication style**

The utilization of blame attributions in which negative emotions are affected might be a vital tool in the PPCS. In other words, the examined style is supported by an 'emotionalized blame attribution' (Hameleers et al., 2017, p. 872). This communicational style can be understood as a framing technique in which populists make a serious effort to focus on their audience's negative emotions. As Entman argues (1993) in his famous research, there are four essential functions in framing, namely *defining the problem, causal interpretation, moral assessment, 'and/or a treatment recommendation'* (Hameleers et al., 2017, p. 872).

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<sup>11</sup> The list is non-exhaustive.

In the PPCS, the primary framing technique that relies on the blame attribution is the casual interpretation. The antagonist outgroups like the political elite, the economic moguls, the media, the experts, isolated minorities, immigrants, asylum seekers are blamed for several reasons by the politicians who utilize PPCS. Corruption, disregarding people's interests, exploiting ordinary citizen's work, harming familiar people's budget, destroying general welfare, threatening the inhabitants' culture or safety, and misleading the innocent persons by providing 'fake news' are among the fundamental reasons that support PPCS. The theoretical part of the dissertation also takes into account the characterization of the blaming tweets of the two presidential candidates to support an in-depth analysis relating to the PPCS. Yet, we must first look at the basic summary of the relevant literature that relies on the examinations of targeting negative emotions in PPCS is supplied below.

Focusing on the emphasis of the political elite's responsibility in democratic systems is a crucial part of political communication (Gomez & Wilson, 2008; Malhotra & Kuo, 2008). The most relevant part of negative framing is the *casual* attribution in PPCS (Hameleers et al., 2017). From the politicians' perspective, it is essential to make people understand why they are a better choice than their prominent rivals. Therefore, they tend to make a distinction between themselves and the 'others.' As Benoit and Harthcock point out (1999) in their Functional Theory, there are three elemental ways by which the politicians might keep the distance from their opponents: (1) attack, (2) defense, and (3) acclaim. As a scrutiny, which examines PPCS, the thesis primarily focuses on attacking (blaming) aspects. The elements above provide the opportunity for a communicator who utilizes the PPCS to define himself as the only person who is fit for a specific role. Hence, causal and blaming attributions maintain another vital difference that must be emphasized by the politicians. This dissimilarity appears between the exploited 'good' people and the 'culprit' out-groups, which is the core element of PPCS.

Despite the conceptual struggles and the vagueness of defining populism universally, most scholars agree in contemporary years that populism is based on stressing the dichotomy between the blameless people and the evil others (Canovan, 1999; Taggart, 2000). Blaming the enemy might affect citizens' negative emotions and, therefore, can strengthen the idea that the corrupt elites or outgroups are

responsible for crises, recessions, disappearing prosperity, the feeling of being unsecured, neglected, and unheard (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018; Taggart, 2000). There are two circles with strictly deviating attribution in the example above. The former consists of decent inhabitants who always suffer from being exploited, while the latter takes advantage of its situation, abuses power, and does not focus on serving the people (Mudde, 2004). In other words, the latter causes the former's fundamental problems and struggles. However, what kind of negative feelings do politicians want to affect by utilizing the PPCS? What labels might be appropriate to achieve the blame attribution's essential goal, which is to persuade people not to vote for the culprit political elite and ignore the media's messages?

Based on international literature, fear and anger are the most prominent negative emotions in the 'Populist Blame-Game' (Hameleers et al., 2017, p. 876). As Gadarian points out (2010), emotionally charged pieces of information have different effects on citizens' opinions in contrast to information that lacks emotional messages. The PPCS often focuses on simple but emotionally charged words in which the actor might attack and blame the so-called enemy. Anger and fear might have different effects on people's emotions (Ruzza & Fella, 2011); however, these effects might also connect.

On the one hand, blame attributions emphasize that the culprit elite functions as a dishonest and corrupt entity. Moreover, blame attribution refers to the ignorance of the fundamental purpose of the elite, namely serving the people. As populists state, political elites should work to create a livable sphere by providing affordable and fair circumstances for citizens. Instead, they care selfishly with their interests to acquire and maintain their political power. Populists also blame the media by highlighting that they construct false information and poison ordinary people's minds to maximize their profit by reaching the broadest audience. In other words, if the elite undervalue informing the people honestly, it then focuses on misleading them. Leading and keeping inhabitants informed should be for the people and not for the elite. Therefore, citizens might feel that the elite deprives them of their fundamental rights and abandons ordinary citizens. Moreover, according to populists, the elite blocks hard-working people's desires, namely enjoying the fruit of their labor in prosperity. In line with international literature, anger provides the perception of certainty and

controllability (Hameleers et al., 2017). Therefore, it might bring attention to people's dependency on the will of others (Lerner & Keltner, 2001).

On the other hand, blame attributions suggest that the culprit elite or outgroup threaten the future of the people (Mudde, 2004). The blame attributions vital features, like danger and threat, might have a considerable effect on citizens' emotions. In contrast to anger, fear is used to bring attention to uncertainty about the danger that might risk decent inhabitants' welfare, culture, and security (Hameleers et al., 2017). The deprivation of stability in people's lives might be a fundamental factor that can catalyze fear. The blame might indicate that the corrupt elite failed to represent the people's collective will (*volonté général*) to provide a predictable and stable life for them (Mols & Jetten, 2014). Fear predicts uncontrollability in which chaos might appear and spread all over the inhabitant's country. As specific populists declare, the nationwide threat might originate from politicians' incapability of protecting the country (Tóth et al., 2019).

Consequently, dangerous and foreign people with different cultures and languages can invade the territory and insult the inhabitants. The appraisal tendencies of the fear might attract the need for a charismatic and popular leader who challenges the status quo (Laclau, 1977), and elaborate national security precautions to avoid the 'existing' threat. Therefore, populist politicians highlight that the former or the current establishment is not capable of providing security and stopping chaos. In contrast, populists stress that they prevent people from danger, and tend to promise that they purify the ordinary citizens' lives from the culprit and dangerous outgroups accused of exploiting and depriving the people of prosperity, or risking the nation's inner stability (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Stavrakakis et al., 2017).

In sum, entities who utilize one of the core elements of PPCS, namely affecting negative emotions, make a serious effort to distinguish themselves from the culprit elite. As international scholars claim, populist politicians might employ blame attribution more than the old-fashioned or mainstream politicians do (Vasilopoulou et al., 2014). Populists suggest that they are morally different from their opponents because they are trustworthy. Along with this, populists introduce themselves as the humble servants of the nation. As such, they promise the reconstruction of the country, which was a great and glorious land once. They pledge to provide significant,

predictable growth in the economy, and most importantly, in contrast to the corrupt elites, always listen to people's voices and keep in mind the nation's desires first.

## **2.10. The conceptualization of Explicit and Implicit Populist Political Communication Style**

This subchapter aims to introduce the concept of EP and IP. This theoretical and methodological contribution accepts Jagers' and Walgrave's perspective (2007), by which they suggest that populism is a PCS. They also argue (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007) that the *content of the discourse* is the most important part of the analyses. The concept relies on the existing international literature in which scholars highlight that the pivotal definitional elements of populism might be fragmented, clustered, or isolated from each other in the coding units (Engesser et al., 2017a). Therefore, in certain instances, direct dichotomies do not appear in every populist-like message; however, specific features might emerge alone. The reasons for the above observation might be (1) reducing the complexity of ideology to make it an easy-to-understand message, (2) to keep the thin populist ideology suitable for people with differing political attitudes, (3) avoiding pure PPCS to make it harder for political opponents or experts to label communicators as populists (Engesser et al., 2017a). Nevertheless, the thesis also attempts to detect the fragmented elements of PPCS using this concept. It also provides listed characterizations on EP and IP, which are adjusted to the specifications of the American political situation from the 1st of September 2016 to the 1st of May 2017, to indicate the theoretical approach (see subchapter 3.4. and 3.6.).

Appealing to the people is one of the critical aspects of PPCS, as Jagers and Walgrave (2007, p. 323) state: 'Without reference to the people, populism is simply unthinkable. In all available definitions appealing to the people is a minimal and necessary condition.' Populism is a thin centered ideology that often stresses the harmful activity of the elite or other minorities. For instance, how the political elite abuses its power over ordinary people is revealed by emphasizing that it (the elite) *let* refugees threaten the culture and general welfare of the inhabitants through their traditions, receive extra financial benefits, and occupy the homeland (Hameleers, 2018). Moreover, in specific PPCS, the economic elite might have an interest in

immigration for specific reasons, like destabilizing the country, increasing financial income, and expanding political influence (Tóth, 2020).

First, this subchapter operationalizes EP and IP to provide support in understanding this concept. EP appears, for instance, when Donald Trump directly refers to the *elite* or *specific out-groups, like immigrants*, who abuse power, exploit *people*, mislead the *citizens*, and threaten the *inhabitants'* security. A relevant instance is provided below:

*'Thank you NH! We will end illegal immigration, stop the drugs, deport all criminal aliens & save American lives!'* Date: 2016-11-04.

The central idea of EP relies on the concept that the antagonistic actors and the people have to appear in the very same coding unit. In other words, if the homogeneous 'good' masses and the 'culprit' out-groups occur in the same coding unit, EP is present. Matrix 1 provides possible scenarios to supply an overview of EP messages. It is important to notice that the category of EP does not demand the specific characteristic or identity of the enemy but the apparent presence of the antagonistic agent. As the tweet above shows, Trump lacks the precise definition of the 'illegal immigration' and 'all criminal aliens' but still stresses the 'us versus them' dichotomy. When an exact identity of the enemy occurs (e.g., Hillary Clinton), and the dichotomy appears in the message, the coding unit also falls under the category of EP.

**Matrix 1. Scenarios in Explicit Populist Political Communication Style**

	S I	S II	S III	S IV	S V	S VI	S VII	S VIII <sup>12</sup>
'Corrupt' Elite	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗
'Dangerous' Minorities	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗
'Good' People	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
Explicit Populism	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

The operationalization of EP and IP might refine the research methods of textual investigations. EP, on the one hand, shows the PPCS in a pure and unambiguous form. As presented above, the conditions of EP are strict and rigid; therefore, it is much

<sup>12</sup> The abbreviation of 'S' refers to 'Scenario.'

easier for coders to categorize the coding units. One might think that this concept can be equated with thick populism, which consists of the three elements of (1) referring to the people, (2) anti-elitism, and (3) homogeneity/exclusion (Jagers & Walgrave 2007). However, it is between the thin and thick definitions. As such, only one type of apparent dichotomies (e.g., people versus elite, or people versus minorities/immigrants) is required to categorize a message as EP, and there is no need to implement the third element, which is either attacking the elite or showing hostile attitude towards immigrants or other specific minorities. In other words, EP provides a bridge between the thin and thick definitions.

At this point, it might be useful to note another perspective (Aslanidis, 2018), suggesting that full populism consists of people-centrism and anti-elitism. According to the aspect above, the two elements have to appear in the very same coding unit to label it as a full-populist frame. Yet, the thesis's theoretical concept still relies on the thick and thin concept (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007) to position EP between the two. EP might implement the 'people versus the elite' or 'the people versus minorities' dichotomies to suggest an extra understanding of textual analyses. Consequently, by the utilization of EP, researchers might have an opportunity to measure which antagonist agents appear more frequently in different PPCS: the elite or the 'dangerous' minorities.

IP emerges in the analyzed sentences if Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton blame the elite or other out-groups, but without direct reference to the people. Additionally, IP also emerges if the communicator mentions a severe threat related to ordinary people but does not define the specific source of the danger. IP is a flexible method by which texts with different languages and (political) contexts might be perceived and measured by considering a visible and concealed part of PPCS at the same time. Nevertheless, IP supports the in-depth analysis of the PPCS; consequently, it helps to detect populist messages more efficiently. Moreover, IP might be a tool to measure whether specific political actors focus on the *general will* by enhancing the sovereignty of the people, or the *enemy* by stressing the harmful role of the elite or the 'dangerous others' (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2008, p. 3; Engesser et al., 2017a, p. 1111). In other words, IP might support the measuring of whether people-centrism or antagonism is the more dominant feature of the scrutinized PPCS.

IP might be perceived from at least two perspectives. First, even though the political agents tend to speak or write about only the people who suffer from relative deprivation (Hameleers, 2019), or being under risk from an invisible, common threat, this thesis still suggests that those messages are not necessarily parts of empty populism. For instance, Donald Trump utilizes IP as it follows:

*‘Instead of driving jobs and wealth away, AMERICA will become the world’s great magnet for INNOVATION & JOB CREATION.’* Date: 2017-01-03.

IP might support realizing how the causes and sources of the deprivation or risks connect hiddenly to the messages in which the people, in this case, ‘AMERICA,’ appear, but the ‘enemy’ does not. In the tweet above, the antagonist actor does not emerge, and it is not characterized. The receiver of the message does not know who brings ‘jobs and wealth away’ because there is no explanation. Donald Trump suggests that a severe economic deprivation is in progress, that affects people’s household incomes. The persons, committees, companies, or parties who might be responsible for the threatening situation are not mentioned, referred to, or named. In short, the minimal necessary feature, namely the collective group of people, occur explicitly in the content with the emphasis of a common problem. However, there is no reference to the agent, not even in a vague way, who is responsible for the destructive processes.

A specific instance might demonstrate how IP works from another perspective:

*‘The failing @nytimes writes total fiction concerning me. They have gotten it wrong for two years, and now are making up stories & sources!’* Date: 2017-02-06.

In this message, there is no direct reference to the people; therefore, it does not make sense to characterize it as an instance of EP. However, the message above implies that, by lying about somebody (e.g., the leader), the media also lie to the people because they are not writing truthful accounts. The receivers of the message are the people, not only the person who is being referenced. In other words, the people are present in IP messages but in an unseen way. Additionally, according to Kurt Weyland’s political-strategic approach in the research field of populism (2017), the personalistic leader, who is Donald Trump in this case, represents the general will of the people. If the media attack the person who embodies the ‘the will of the people’

and fight against ‘the enemy of the people,’ they also attack the huge masses. Therefore, IP supports the minimum concept of populism, that of appealing to the people, as stated by Jagers and Walgrave (2007), by searching for them in messages in which, at first glance, they seem to be missing. The authors above argue that if a message lacks reference to the people, but anti-establishment rhetoric still arises, the coding unit does not fit the PPCS (Jagers & Walgrave 2007). As they state (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007, pp. 334-335): ‘If discourse does not refer to the population yet fiercely criticises the establishment and at the same time stigmatises popular categories, it cannot be considered as populism since the required appeal to the people is missing (the size of the bubble will be small or even non-existent).’ In contrast, the thesis endeavors to show, by operationalizing IP, that despite the absence of explicit references to the people in specific texts, they might be the invisible part of individual coding units. Thus, IP is a possible unit for measuring the PPCS. In sum, the political agents might focus explicitly on either the people or the enemy in IP messages; however, another entity is still part of the coding unit in a concealed way.

At this point, it might be practical to mention that several international studies focus on different features of PPCS, such as people-centrism (Rooduijn et al., 2014), anti-elitism (Aslanidis, 2018), popular sovereignty (Bernhard et al., 2015), blame-shifting (Vasilopoulou et al., 2014), exclusivity (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007), or claim for democracy (Reungoat, 2010). For instance, one of the recent textual analyses labels a coding unit as a ‘partial populist frame’ (Aslanidis, 2018, p. 1255) if either people-centrism or anti-elitism appears in it. Nevertheless, the differences between Aslanidis’ partial populist frame and IP are at least twofold. First, the above-mentioned frame avoids implementing specific minorities or out-groups, which are often depicted as dangerous circles in PPCS (Engesser et al., 2017a, p. 1112), while IP takes them into account. Second, IP suggests that despite one of the missing elements of the dichotomies, the ‘good’ and ‘evil’ agents are still present but in an unrevealed way.

Many relevant contesting questions might rise at the operationalization of IP. One of the most plausible questions might refer to differences and similarities between negative political campaigns and IP. According to the literature, a concise definition of a negative campaign might be: ‘...to what extent competing candidates attack their rivals instead of promoting their own programme’ (Gerstlé & Nai, 2019, p. 411).

Therefore, there *is a specific segment* of IP, which might have very similar features to negative political campaigns: attacking the political rival. If the communicator targets *the prominent political opponent solely* by PPCS and fails to mention the people, the differences between this specific segment of IP and the negative campaign are minimal, and they might also overlap. As Gerstlé and Nai suggested (2019, p. 416): ‘...negative campaigns are more likely to contain fear appeals (Crigler et al., 2006)’, and populist communication seems to go hand in hand with the use of more negative and offensive messages (Nai, 2018a). From a theoretical standpoint, conceptual equivalences and overlaps undoubtedly exist between, for instance, the more ‘aggressive’ components of populist communication (e.g. the use of a brash rhetoric and the lack of respect towards political adversaries) and the use of a negative tone and political attacks.’ However, IP messages where the media, experts, or business interests are directly attacked, primarily on a moral aspect (Mudde, 2017), do not fit the definition above. Gerstlé’s and Nai’s definition (2019) contradicts this by (1) praising the masses and (2) suggesting a hidden enemy are not the unambiguous elements of negative campaigns. Gerstlé and Nai also suggested (2019) that negative campaigns do not focus on evoking and praising the ‘people’ directly, but on attacking the rival. On the other hand, according to them (Gerstlé & Nai, 2019), PPCS implements the (1) people, (2) anti-elitism, and (3) informal tone.

In a nutshell, future textual research with differing languages can adopt the method above to find the invisible components of PPCS and explore the deeper layers of coding units. Even though the majority of the words in the populist topic dictionary might attract a populist context and spread populist messages, there are certain instances in which these words arise in a neutral or a non-populist setting. In other words, the NS appears in texts in which populist-like words emerge, but neither the EP nor IP dichotomy occurs in the analyzed sentence.

Finally, the core statement of the thesis is supplied below to summarize the fundamental idea of this study: *The concept of Explicit Populism, which might be between the thin and thick political communication style, and Implicit Populism, which attempts to explore fragmented dichotomies between the ‘good’ people and ‘culprit’ others, also function as methodological refinements in textual analyses by focusing on the content of the discourse.*

## **2.11. Measuring populist political communication with text analysis – emerging methods**

In the last decade and a half, a considerable portion of studies have appeared in the research field of populism that focus on measuring populist communication. Despite the many attempts for providing results relating to populist semantic text analysis, Aslanidis points out (Aslanidis, 2018) that there is no universal research method in which perfect reliability and validation can be supplied. Therefore, he argues in his paper, impeccable reliability and validity scores are impossible to provide (Aslanidis, 2018). In semantic text analyses, the core idea of the investigations relies on the construction of a social dichotomy between the ordinary citizens and the culprit others. In line with the concept above, scholars who examine PPCS via text analyses make an effort to collect references to the people and the dangerous outgroup(s). The following paragraphs intend to briefly summarize the possible methods that might support text analyses in which researchers investigate PPCS.

In order to avoid human coder's bias, scholars tend to utilize quantitative methods. The benefits of quantifying populism are three-fold. First, the quantification helps to ignore the researchers and coders individual decisions and prejudices. Second, the interpretation of the results can be shifted from dichotomous (populist or non-populist) findings to weighted outcomes (more or less populist). Finally, the usage of quantitative methods provides the opportunity to examine large databases, which would be challenging to determine for human coders. It is essential to mention what type of data the scholars are analyzing. Researchers might focus on public speeches at campaigns (rallies), inauguration speeches, debates, party manifestos, tweets, Facebook posts, interviews, press releases, conferences, party magazines, and party newspapers<sup>13</sup> (Aslanidis, 2018; Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Demeter, 2017; Rooduijn et al., 2014).

In the fundamental quantitative methods, scholars apply dictionaries in which keywords are referring to the people and the antagonist outgroups. The process of setting up the dictionaries can be at least three-fold. First, the researchers might create their dictionaries based on the literature review to operationalize the fundamental

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<sup>13</sup> The list is non-exhaustive.

definition of populism (Aslanidis, 2018). In other words, they provide dictionaries deductively. Second, which is the inductive approach, scholars supply word lists using the software, and they choose the words that might be an appropriate part of the PPCS. Finally, academics might use both methods simultaneously if they have broad enough knowledge about common keywords from the literature of populist semantic text analyses.

Additionally, they intend to employ the relevant populist words from the dataset they examined. For obvious reasons, the more specific to the political situation and its vocabulary utilized by scholars who study populists, the higher the reliability which can be provided mostly by the second (inductive) or the third (mixed) approaches. After the construction of the dictionaries, scholars utilize the relevant program in order to quantify the emergence of populist-like words. Scholars tend to use the dictionary-based method on large samples; therefore, they can measure to what extent different texts are populists. The limitation of the dictionary-based process is the disregard of the manual reading and interpretation. Therefore, several hidden populist references can be ignored by decontextualization. Besides, populism in different cultures with different languages might utilize divergent words and expressions. Consequently, the proportion of dictionary words might be deviating. For instance, in particular scientific papers, researchers use twenty-eight (Pauwels, 2011), thirty-six (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016), and ‘about two-hundred-and-thirty’ words (Aslanidis, 2018, p. 1247; Bruter & Harrison, 2011).

Rigorous quantitative text analyses focus on the proportion of specific populist words emerging in the examined data but disregard qualitative perspectives. Therefore, some notable limitations occur in quantitative methods that might avoid both researcher’s bias and contextual specifications as well. In thematic text analysis, scholars divide the relevant data into coding units like paragraphs, Facebook posts, tweets, (core) sentences, and clauses. Before the qualitative examination starts, researchers establish coding frames. The coding frames might guide persons who code the text by utilizing the pertinent criteria. The more detailed the coding frames are, the more challenging to interpret and employ them for the coders. Consequently, specific training sessions are needed to make coders understand the characterizations of the codes. Moreover, demo coding sessions can also be useful in which coders might

practice and ask their questions about the coding process. Although the qualitative semantic investigation might support in-depth analysis, it still has some core limitations. First, as mentioned above, scholar's and coder's bias might affect the outcomes. Second, the manual coding process is appropriate in small or medium-sized datasets because manual coding takes a very long time, and the larger the analyzed sample is, the higher the chance that coders make mistakes. Finally, the training sessions are remarkable elements for providing reliable outcomes. On the one hand, the well-detailed and repeated training sessions might increase reliability and validity, on the other hand, the lack of well-constructed code attribution and disregarding of the explanation of the coding process via specific instances might severely decline the reliability and validity of the results.

In order to provide a reliable text analysis in the research field of populism, some scholars take into account the ways that the core elements of PPCS emerge (Aslanidis, 2018). They focus on whether the features mentioned above appear together in the same coding unit, or they occur solely in the investigated texts. This method supports providing results where specific populist attributions of the data can be explored.

To what extent do specific agents utilize people-centrism or anti-elitism in their PPCS? Which one is dominant in the research? Are the two vital attributions emerge together in the analyzed sample? These are the fundamental questions that might also appear in thematic text analyses. Aslanidis (2018) argues in his research that clause-based semantic analysis, where scholars employ the examination method above, provides a more detailed, in-depth insight into the PPCS. Applying a complete dictionary is an impossible task, primarily if researchers investigate an extensive database.

Nevertheless, seeking the occurrences of people-centrism, anti-elitism, or, additionally, specific dangerous minorities, by taking into account apparent dichotomies, opens a new opportunity for scholars. First, researchers might supply weighted results of the sole appearances and the stressed dichotomy. Second, the investigation might go further in terms of manually analyzing and interpreting the contexts in which the direct comparisons are perceived. Hence, the contexts referring to any results, such as stressing people's sovereignty, highlighting the role of

antagonist elite/out-groups, and comparing them, might support the fundamental characterizations of the contextual relationships. As a result, a more detailed explanation can be provided to understand what contexts may attract the people-centrism surrounded by (hidden) antagonism. Stressing the ordinary citizen's essential right to have prosperity, safety, a leadership that listens to them, media in which proper and honest news is delivered can be among the desires depicted in PPCS. In contrast, the culprit out-group that deprives the decent citizens of welfare, security, new public services, but exploits them financially, morally, and mislead them using false information might be part of the coding frames.

In sum, scholars are struggling with defining populism in order to contribute semantic text analyses. However, most of them agree with vital theoretical conceptualizations (Canovan, 1999; Mudde, 2004) and their ground-breaking implications (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007) in which populism emerges as a menacing phenomenon of the bad, evil, corrupt, or dangerous out-group that takes advantage of the good, ordinary, innocent, and blameless people. As stressed above, defining populism is almost an impossible mission. Providing an utterly reliable and valid text analysis by measuring PPCS is also an unachievable exercise. Although scholars make a serious effort by using various computer-assisted quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods to measure populist communication by supplying as many ultimate outcomes as possible, the limitations of the procedures above prevent scholars from delivering universal results. Different situations magnet deviated findings (for instance, the weights of the results) and discussions (interpreting the results within unique circumstances). Despite the conceptual and methodological limitations, the core dichotomy in PPCS still unfolds, namely speaking to the citizens in the name of the people and targeting the culprit others.

The thesis applies a mixed-method analysis in which a dictionary-based and computer-assisted study are combined with the manual coding process to provide as reliable and valid a result as possible to support the discussion and interpretation of PPCS in the examined sample. This scrutiny also takes into account the sole appearances of people-centrism or the culprit out-group and seeks the possible occurrence of the explicit-direct dichotomy between the elements above to make

distinctions between EP and IP. Thus, the characterization of the mixed-method analysis is introduced below.

### **3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA**

The former main chapter briefly presented the relevant literature on mass media and some instances on the presidential campaigns in the United States. Afterward, the theoretical background of populism was established from a broad perspective. Then, two significant approaches in the research field, namely the (thin) ideology and political communication style were characterized. Nevertheless, the contesting ideas and concepts were also launched. Additionally, the operationalization of EP and IP was proposed in the second chapter. Finally, a summary on the textual analyses' methodology ended the second main chapter.

#### **3.1. Measuring topics in Donald Trump's tweets**

This section of the research focuses on @realDonaldTrump's tweets and hashtags, but not his retweets, by utilizing mixed methods. In the quantitative, computer-assisted approach, 738 tweets in P1 and 798 in P2 were analyzed by MAXQDA 2018. The total number of unique words in P1 was 2,230 (the entire sample with word duplications was 7,311 in this period), while the frequency of the individual words was 2,618 (7,879 words total) in P2. The thesis also analyzed the near correlation of the topics to quantify which topics emerged together in the tweets. The near correlation method showed how many topics were in two paragraphs. If one topic belonged to 'Enemy,' and the other was connected to 'Election' in two paragraphs next to each other, the number of correlations between the two topics was equal to one. The thesis applied the two-paragraph-method because tweets and hashtags occurred in two different paragraphs within the same message. Consequently, this scrutiny made an effort to keep the computer-assisted analysis working with a lower margin of error. The number of the entire correlation in the 'near topic method' was 4,230.

The examination aimed to find similar patterns in @realDonaldTrump tweets to characterize specific topics in his messages. After cleaning the irrelevant and general language units, the thesis focused on the explicit, targeting words that support the characterizations of the categories. As a result, a list of specific words, which may support the results, is provided (Aslanidis, 2018; Kriesi & Pappas, 2015; Pauwels,

2011; Ribera Payá, 2019). Similarly to previous quantitative research (Pauwels, 2011; Ribera Payá, 2019), a list of specific individual words was supplied, and a topic dictionary shows the weights of issues quantitatively from the sample (see Table 1). The table below relies on both periods' results. The table is not separated because Donald Trump did not complete his Twitter communication in P2 with another category. In other words, he still focused on the same six main topics that emerged in P1.

**Table 1. Topic Dictionary in @realDonaldTrump tweets between Period One and Period Two**

DICTIONARY
ECONOMY: Business, companies, deals, healthcare, job, jobs, Obamacare, tax, taxes
ELECTION: #Americafirst, debate, debates, #debatenight, #draintheswamp, election #maga, #makeamericagreatagain, movement, polls, rally, vpdebate
ENEMY: #Bingleaguethruth, Clinton, CNN, crooked, #crookedhillary, her, Hillary, #hillaryclinton, isis, media, NYTimes, Obama, she, terrorists
FOREIGN POLICY: Border, China, from, Iran, Iraq, Korea, Mexico, North, Russia, Russian, Syria, world
NOMINATIONS & POLICIES: Congratulations, court, general, healthcare, judge, Obamacare, order, repeal, replace, Republicans, secretary, security, tax, taxes
OTHER: Crowd, debate, #debatenight, debates, enjoy, Florida, interviewed, join, live, meeting, Ohio, safe, schedule, thank, #thankyoutour, tickets, #vpdebate

The Topic Dictionary consists of words that gain the minimum frequency of eight and the share of 0.05% from the database. Moreover, populist words in a specific

Populist Dictionary are also collected (see Table 2) by utilizing a computer-assisted method to examine the occurrences of the two core segments of the PPCS, namely the people and antagonist entities. The thesis's populist dictionaries (see Table 2 and 3) were created by deductive and inductive methods. Similar to Pauwels (2011), the methodology by which the dictionary was created operationalized Mudde's (2004) sufficient dimensions: antagonism and people-centrism. Besides, Jagers' and Walgrave's (2007) exclusivity feature, which might relate to 'dangerous minorities,' was also added to the keyword selection process. *Law and order*, which might be an essential topic in PPCS (Pauwels, 2011) identifies words such as 'drug' and 'illegal.' The *negative xenophobic identity* might connect to 'terrorists' and 'ISIS' (Bruter & Harrison, 2011).

The *moral aspect* of populism (Mudde, 2017) detects words such as 'bad,' 'biased,' 'failed,' 'failing,' 'lie,' 'lies,' 'dishonest,' to name a few. 'Immigration' connects to the *migrational context*, while *economic* issues identify 'tax' (Pauwels, 2011). *Resisting* might also be an appropriate attribution of PPCS, a feature that identifies words such as 'stop' (Tóth, 2020). Referring to the *negative identity* of the elite might consist of words such as 'system,' 'Clinton,' 'Obama,' 'dems,' 'media,' 'CNN,' and so on (Bruter & Harrison, 2011). The implementation of words such as 'incredible' and 'disaster' might be severely contested; however, Harrison and Bruter (2011) also utilized similar expressions such as 'nonsense' and 'chaos' in their study, while Pauwels (2011) took into account 'absurd.'

It is important to notice that reading the texts and identifying potentially relevant populist terms inductively is also a feasible method to refine the dictionaries (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016). Due to the reading, hashtags and words such as 'crooked,' 'fake,' 'repeal,' 'replace,' 'rigged,' 'weak,' and 'worse' appeared in the dictionary. Seeking words that might refer to the people was based on data collection, which 'incorporates references to any 'group[s] of people having explicit constant features in common' (Reungoat, 2010, p. 311).

The minimum necessary criterion in listing the populist words was the same as in Topic Dictionary. The words were automatically listed by MAXQDA 2018, and the scrutiny found a significant number of targeting words. In this research, targeting words mean specific unique words which may support topics characterizations. For

instance, ‘crooked’ refers to Hillary Clinton; as it strengthens the antagonist character of the Democratic nominee. As such, the targeting word mentioned above attaches Secretary Clinton to the topic of ‘Enemy.’

**Table 2. Populist Dictionary in @realDonaldTrump’s tweets between Period One and Period Two**

Antagonism	People
Bad, badly, biased, #bigleaguetruth, CNN, Clinton, crooked, #crookedhillary, dems, democrats, disaster, dishonest, #draintheswamp, drug, failed, failing, fake, Hillary, #hillaryclinton, horrible, illegal, immigration, incredible, ISIS, lie, lies, media, nbcnews, NYTimes, Obama, Obamacare, politics, repeal, replace, rigged, stop, system, tax, terrible, terrorists, weak, worse, wrong	Alabama, America, #Americafirst, American, Americans, Arizona, Carolina, Charlotte, Cleveland, country, crowd, Florida, Georgia, Hampshire, Iowa, jobs, #imwithyou, Michigan, #maga, #makeamericagreatagain, movement, national, Nevada, Ohio, Orlando, people, Pennsylvania, supporters, together, US <sup>14</sup>

On the one hand, the computer-assisted method helped to provide results in terms of quantifying tweets in which PPCS appeared. On the other hand, manual reading was essential to understand the context, as a couple of general words like ‘she’ could also refer to specific topics, like the ‘Enemy.’ In this case, the results support that ‘she’ referred almost exactly to Hillary Clinton 56 times out of 58 in P1 as the primarily targeted person by @realDonaldTrump.

In order to establish the main topics of Donald Trump’s tweets, the analysis also utilized an inductive, qualitative approach. After listing specific words, which could refer to particular categories, six main topics appeared, namely ‘Economy,’ ‘Election,’ ‘Enemy,’ ‘Foreign Policy,’ ‘Nominations & Policies,’ and ‘Other.’ The investigation also examined the specific targeting words and listed them with the

<sup>14</sup> In some cases, the word ‘US’ refers to the United States, in other contexts, it might connect to an imagined collective community.

software. The minimum share of the targeting words in the relevant corpus was 0.33%. To support the characterizations of the topics, trained coders examined the categories above on a random sample of 10 percent. After the coding process, the intercoder reliability by using Krippendorff's Alpha was calculated (Freelon, 2013).

To acquire more reliable results, coders were trained by emphasizing that every main category has its own specific words. For instance, 'join' correlates to public events, which is part of 'Other,' or 'vote' belongs to the 'Election.' If the word 'join' emerges in the tweets, it automatically labels the topic as 'Other'. However, coding is not essential in several cases as a couple of expressions and word combinations may be part of two or more categories. For instance, the tweets in which 'Mexico' is mentioned may belong to even three topics, namely 'Economy,' 'Enemy,' and 'Foreign Policy', but not necessarily, only if the context supports it. In order to demonstrate the complexity of coding, a concrete example is provided. As @realDonaldTrump tweeted on the 27th of January 2017:

*'Mexico has taken advantage of the U.S. for long enough. Massive trade deficits & little help on the very weak border must change, NOW!'* Date: 2017-01-27.

In the example mentioned above, 'Mexico' was part of the three topics above. In order to provide a spectacular comparison between the occurrence of Donald Trump and his opponent, Hillary Clinton, the examination also utilized a specific lexical search within MAXQDA 2018. To quantify the number of co-occurrences for the sake of supplying a fundamental contrast between Trump's and Clinton's appearances, the investigation sought the word couples referring to the two candidates based on the highest frequencies presented in Table 4 (see Chapter 4.1.). Additionally, the research method implied the word combinations of 'Donald Trump' and 'Hillary Clinton' for the sake of supporting the in-depth analysis. The latter results can be found in Table 7 (see Chapter 4.1.). The next subchapter presents the detailed features of topics in Trump's tweets.

### **3.2. Emerging Topics in @realDonaldTrump's tweets**

According to international scholars, the ‘Topic’ dimension supports the main argument of the examined messages, also including tweets (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2016). In this analysis, the examined tweets are divided into six main topics. The key aspects of Donald Trump’s tweets can be listed as follows: ‘Economy,’ ‘Election,’ ‘Enemy,’ ‘Foreign Policy,’ ‘Nominations & Policies,’ and ‘Other.’ The specific subcategories in the following chapters will also be introduced below. In the analyzed database, tweets are graded according to whether topic words appear in Donald Trump’s messages. The specific words above can be found in the Topic Dictionary (see Table 1). Despite the usefulness of the computer-assisted method in categorization, every tweet from @realDonaldTrump was read manually and graded, relying on topic characterizations, to support detailed, in-depth analysis.

This section has been included for several reasons. First, it illustrates how the former Republican nominee utilized communication strategy in the campaign period and the following 173 days as a President-elect and the President of the United States. Second, it demonstrates what the core issues were in Trump’s tweeting universe. Third, it shows how the topics were correlating in the two periods. Finally, it supports the description of the possible change in the tweeting patterns, more precisely in emerging categories, in which Donald Trump shifted the weight of themes from one set of specific issues to another in P2.

In the following sections, the topics characteristics are provided in detailed chapters in which the vital attributes of the six main categories are also introduced. To strengthen the features of the main topics, coders, who also examined a random sample of ten percent in the database, were trained at specific sessions. The supportive outcomes of intercoder reliability (illustrated below) show that topic characteristics might be acceptable to utilize them in ‘Results’ and ‘Discussion’ sections.

### **3.2.1. Economy**

Donald Trump’s tweets implied the ‘Economy’ in at least two ways. On the one hand, he promised new jobs for American people and a tax reform program, which might indicate that big corporations stay within the United States. On the other hand, @realDonaldTrump blamed his predecessor and his actual political challenger, namely

Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, for generating and possibly maintaining Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act – in short, Obamacare – which is, according to him,

‘...a total disaster.’ Date: 2016-11-03.

Consequently, Trump stressed the necessity of severe change in the healthcare system by using his ‘Repeal and Replace’ slogan referring to Obamacare. From Trump’s perspective, Obamacare’s premiums were too expensive; moreover, he highlighted that the nation loses massive amounts on the legislation above. Therefore, the reform created by the former President is a failed one. The Republican nominee enhanced the insufficiencies of the current healthcare system by setting up the hashtag of #ObamacareFail in his tweets.

Buying American products was one of the essential programs in Donald Trump’s plans referring to the country’s financial resources. By emphasizing a protectionist attitude, the Republican candidate brought attention to the ‘Buy American and Hire American’ aspect; a proposal which suggested that the United States’ financial situation will be stable, and unemployment will decrease even in the short term. Nonetheless, in his tweets, he kept stressing the failure of the former establishment’s economic policy. Trump pointed out:

‘The U.S. recorded its slowest economic growth in five years (2016). GDP up only 1.6%. Trade deficits hurt the economy very badly.’ Date :2017-04-26.

Blaming the incompetent political opponents and emphasizing the lack of success in Barack Obama’s administration provided an opportunity for Trump to keep a distance from failed politicians and highlight extensive differences between him and the inexperienced representatives. Distinguishing by attack is one of the three core elements (acclaim, attack, defense) of *Functional Theory*, in which scholars bring attention to the key elements of aggressive rhetoric in political communication (Benoit et al., 2003). The Republican politician chose to attack his primary opponent, namely Hillary Clinton, by accounting for economic issues to demonstrate the mandatory connection between financial deficits that have severe adverse effects on the lives of ordinary Americans. Appointing those responsible for ineffective (Obamacare) regulations made by the government, which make crucial cuts from the budget of the United

States, might be an essential element of @realDonaldTrump's Twitter communication because the issue of health care system affects broad social communities within the country.

Trump did not focus only on political actors when he shared his concerns about business and economy; the private sector, which also has a crucial role in the United States productivity, was also included. Consequently, Trump indicated in his 'Economy' rhetoric, that a significant number of (American) companies produce their goods in cheap foreign countries like Mexico and China, and then they sell their items to the United States. In this progress, the corporations realize an enormous profit, but the American nation suffers from severe trading deficits because of the financial exploitation indicated by the companies. Moreover, China and Mexico also gain remarkable incomes while the United States' stagnant 'Economy' does not have the opportunity to reach an outstanding growth in terms of wealth because of the ineffective trading deals.

### **3.2.2. Election**

Three major subcategories appear in Donald Trump's 'Election' tweets, namely 'mobilizing supporters,' 'emphasizing the fundamental slogans,' and 'persuading people.'

Updating voters about the nominee's campaign activities is part of the *function* dimension, which refers to the primary purpose in the examined messages (Jungherr, 2015). Mobilizing voters and getting supporters to participate in the actions during the campaign stage is a large research area where scholars find that social media has a considerable role (Stein, 2009). Moreover, Gibson argues (2015) that political communication via social sites may produce 'citizen-initiated' campaigns 'in which digitally registered supporters who are not necessarily members make use of online tools created by the party or candidate team to campaign both online and offline on its behalf' (Gibson, 2015, p. 187). Keeping followers informed about the candidate's attendance at rallies or interviews is an essential factor in campaign tweets (Solop, 2010).

Similarly, Donald Trump consequently utilized mobilization and informing his followers about his location. In the last months of the election, he did not only share the place of his public speeches but invited people to join the rallies nationwide. He shared hyperlinks that conveyed people to available tickets for the events above or provided links where the online broadcasts and records of the public speeches were obtainable for users. Trump tended to send positive feedback about the rallies afterward. The characteristics of the positive feedback consisted of being grateful, praising the ‘beautiful’ crowd, and encouraging voter’s activity at the 2016 Elections.

The emphasis of brief political messages, namely slogans, might be part of propaganda. Simplification supports the PPCS by utilizing easy-to-interpret core messages (Caiani & Graziano, 2016). Consequently, slogans have precise and straightforward meanings, and political actors use them to make promises and influence supporter’s emotions in order to encourage their participation in actions (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2013). The abbreviated form of the Republican candidate’s primary campaign message was ‘MAGA’ which referred to the original slogan, namely ‘Make America Great Again.’ @realDonaldTrump utilized both hashtags, which are hyperlinks that help to index tweets for the social site and keep visible the messages labeled with the tags above for Twitter users.

The slogan and abbreviation sound like an up-to-date message which contribute to persuading people of at least two core messages. First, the American nation has every opportunity to acquire results that provide prosperity again. From Trump’s perspective, a definition of greatness could be that the country must become a global central power in the economy. This achievement can be reached by and for the American citizens. Trump’s promise also implemented the possible prosperity that contemporarily the country has lacked, except for the very few who already reached financial security. Second, the word ‘Again’ suggested that the United States used to be a great place in which general welfare could have been reached, but nowadays, the nation is in a relatively bad position compared to a couple of decades after the Second World War.

Furthermore, a hidden, problematic trend appeared in the slogan above. The slogan suggested that something wrong was happening to America during the contemporary years. If the United States used to be a great, moreover a leader country

in terms of 'Economy' and prosperity, then it has been sucked into a stagnant position. Consequently, there must be responsible political actors, namely the failed establishment, which played a critical part in ignoring the future of the country. 'Make America Great Again' is a slogan that perfectly connects to one of the fundamental populist ideas: bringing back glorious times for the nation which had been destroyed by the elite (Finchelstein, 2017; Taggart, 2000).

Whereas ineffective former administrations did not reach vital results that may provide the greatness of the nation, Trump brought attention to the necessity of change by using '#DrainTheSwamp.' The phrase above was also part of 'Enemy,' but it is important to note that it occurs primarily in the last stage of the campaign. Getting rid of the former and current political actors who are already failed politicians was one of the underlying messages of '#DrainTheSwamp.' Donald Trump ensured voters that his ambition to become the President of the United States was for the people. In other words, as Trump suggested, the citizen's primary interest was to vote for him. The usage of #AmericaFirst and #ImWithYou were the two slogans that might have made Twitter followers feel that the Republican nominee expresses their support both in formal and informal ways. The nation's common concern, first and foremost, was to elect a new, morally, and politically clean challenger who looks at the United States' situation as a primary task to handle. On the other hand, Trump made his followers feel that he will take care of them by creating #ImWithYou.

Interestingly, mobilizing and hashtag slogans connected directly and actively to each other in Donald Trump's tweets in the campaign stage. Before the second presidential debate, the Republican nominee asks his supporters to join a fact-check action (Jamieson, 2016), which is called 'Big League Truth.' Donald Trump encouraged people to use social media to combat the 'rigged' mainstream media and check the facts on Hillary Clinton during the debates. To join the fact-checking movement, Trump asked his followers to sign up on his website through their e-mail address, Twitter account, and their phone numbers. After the registration, the system sent e-mails to the users in which the message referred to Trump's official (@realDonaldTrump) and his communication team's Twitter accounts (@TeamTrump). The e-mails encouraged supporters to re-tweet and like tweets and Facebook posts in which #BigLeagueTruth appeared (Jamieson, 2016). By setting up

the #BigLeagueTruth hashtag via Twitter, the Republican politician also mobilized his followers on the web. First, @realDonaldTrump tweeted his core messages to the engaged supporters. Second, the committed followers made tweets visible for a wider audience. The second step may have gained extra support from uncertain or shifting voters in the very critical stage of the campaign.

Donald Trump tended to reflect on the results of the election via Twitter, even if those were temporary. The Republican politician stressed his popularity and success during the campaign as it follows:

*‘Big news to share in New Hampshire tonight! Polls looking great! See you soon.’* Date: 2016-11-08.

@realDonaldTrump intended to persuade voters that he had a serious chance to win the elections. In the campaign stage, Trump shared concrete results about his popularity if it showed that he had the lead against Hillary Clinton. One may think that as a President-elect, and as the President of the United States, Donald Trump ignored statistics referring to his popularity, but the analyzed database supports a different picture. On the one hand, @realDonaldTrump tweeted about the ‘phony election polls’ that were created and emphasized by the culprit out-group that disrespected him. On the other hand, he mentioned temporary ‘approval polls’ which showed his acceptance nationwide. In sum, @realDonaldTrump referred to the election; however, he also kept his followers up to date about his current popularity, referring to his approval statistics.

### **3.2.3. Enemy**

Blaming rivals, establishments, candidates, the media, experts, foreign countries, immigrants, and generally emphasizing the danger that may threaten the nation is a widely-used communication pattern in PPCS (Hameleers, 2018). In this subchapter, based on the investigation below, the ‘Enemy’ is the most complex, detailed, and developed category in Donald Trump’s tweets. Therefore, six subcategories were created under the ‘Enemy’ topic deductively as it follows:

- 1) Antipathetic Countries,

- 2) Democrats and Other Home Affairs' Opponents,
- 3) Fake News (Media),
- 4) Hillary Clinton,
- 5) Moderate Generalization,
- 6) Terror Organizations/Attacks.

### **3.2.3.1. Antipathetic Countries**

Donald Trump mostly referred to specific countries like China, Iran, Mexico, and North Korea, at least in two ways. First, he stressed the vital trade deficits that China and Mexico caused for the United States' economic and financial status. Trump consequently highlighted that China and Mexico made a massive profit by producing goods for a relatively low price and then selling them to the United States. Exploiting Chinese and Mexican low-cost blue-collar workers has had a recessive impact on the American economy, in which ordinary people desire proper jobs, but did not have the opportunity of working because big corporations moved their factories to the territories above. Therefore, the unemployment rate was increasing within the country and annoyed citizens who may boost the nation's economy by their hard-working attitude.

Second, Trump brought attention to the nuclear threat that Iran and North Korea represented for the Earth, but first and foremost for the United States. Hence, the atomic powers above emerged as pure enemies. The Republican politician thought that the United States, more specifically Barack Obama, kept Iran alive. As Trump stated:

*'Iran was on its last legs and ready to collapse until the U.S. came along and gave it a life-line in the form of the Iran Deal: \$150 billion.'* Date: 2017-02-02.

The nuclear danger was one key aspect which put Iran in the 'Enemy' topic. Besides this, the massive financial cost strengthened the negative characteristics of Iran in @realDonaldTrump's messages. North Korea appeared as a small, problematic country, which meant a problem for the U.S. Interestingly, if Trump made comments on the communist state, he also mentioned China's role in the issue of North Korea

with significant frequency (nine times out of thirteen). The President hinted that China had the opportunity and the necessary background to help in an unpleasant and dangerous problem represented by North Korea. As Trump claims:

*‘I have great confidence that China will properly deal with North Korea. If they are unable to do so, the U.S., with its allies, will! U.S.A.’* Date: 2017-04-13.

On the one hand, Trump demonstrated his hopes on China’s interference in the issue above, on the other hand, he suggested implicitly that the United States and its allies will contribute strict regulations or possible military strikes on the antagonist land if China was incapable of stabilizing the situation in the region.

### **3.2.3.2. Democrats and Other Home Affairs’ Opponents**

Besides Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump focused mostly on two opponents in the analyzed sample, namely Barack Obama and the other members of the Democratic Party.

In @realDonaldTrump’s Twitter communication, Barack Obama, who was the President of the United States between 2009 and 2017, was one of the main characters to blame during the two examined periods. On the one hand, referring to Obamacare was part of the Republican politician’s attacks, but on the other, more perspectives also may have emerged in the adversarial tweets.

*‘The weak illegal immigration policies of the Obama Admin. Allowed bad MS 13 gangs to form in cities across U.S. We are removing them fast!’* Date: 2017-04-18.

The Republican politician drew attention to the many mistakes his predecessor had made to persuade the citizens about the failure of the previous establishment and his challenger political opponents who are almost the same as the former President. In Trump’s tweets, inconsistent foreign affairs politics, weak immigration policy, spending massive amounts in ineffective ways, spying on political rivals (primarily on Donald Trump himself), and lying to the people were also the fundamental characteristics of Obama and his former administration.

Moreover, the winner of the 2016 election utilized a much more general expression as he made references to the ‘Dems.’ In order to stress the incompetency of the rival political force, Trump intended to keep the image of the ‘Enemy’ as universal as he could by using ‘Dems.’ The President-Elect, and then the President, pointed out that the targeted political opponents did not accept his victory after the election. According to the new Republican President, the Democratic Party acted as an unfair political opponent. As such, according to Trump, there were crucial, internal and moral crises within the Democratic Party, vital problems that were mentioned by other prominent foreign leaders like the Russian President.

*‘Vladimir Putin said today about Hillary and Dems: “In my opinion, it is humiliating. One must be able to lose with dignity.” So true!’* Date: 2016-12-24.

Besides, Donald Trump highlighted that the ‘failing’ and ‘demoralized’ Democrats spent a severe amount of money on the presidential election, and they kept investing significant amounts into the Congressional elections. Emphasizing the dominance of campaign investments by political opponents was a crucial factor in the Republican politician’s tweets. The international researchers suggested that Hillary Clinton outspent Donald Trump by more than two to one in the campaign (Voth, 2017). The Democratic nominee spent more than one billion dollars during the election; however, she was not able to win against the Republican candidate. Therefore, @realDonaldTrump sent tweets in which the facts referring to high campaign costs by the oppositional political force could be checked easily by almost any American citizen.

### **3.2.3.3. Fake News (Media)**

The media might also be an antagonist actor in PPCS; therefore, populists tend to emphasize their critical role in misleading ordinary people (Hameleers, 2018). One of the leading opponents blamed in Donald Trump’s Twitter communication was the ‘Fake News (Media).’ Similarly, the subcategory of ‘Democrats and Other Home Affairs’ Opponents’ @realDonaldTrump simultaneously utilized the aforementioned general words and word combinations, but he also targeted media channels in a

specific, exact way. Moreover, he stressed that the media's antagonist role did not affect him detrimentally, but the nation:

*'The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes, @NBCNews, @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!'* Date: 2017-02-17.

In the analyzed data, Donald Trump reflected on the emerging news in the media in which he was being accused of having problematic ties with Russia. He denied the alleged connection between him and any specific interests in terms of foreign interference in the 2016 Presidential Elections. Lying about the new President's possible relations to Russia (or to any alien government), creating conspiracy theories about him, questioning the Republican politician's capability in making decisions, and disregard for his popularity referred directly to Donald Trump. The aforementioned factors altogether constituted the characterization of the 'Fake News (Media)' subcategory. Additionally, Trump also brought attention to 'crooked' rivals who tried to discredit the new leader's victory by utilizing false news or, more precisely, fake, embarrassing stories that may have confused his supporters. The Republican leader highlighted that the media function as a tool that may have destabilized his authority by spreading ambiguous information about him.

In contrast, from the new leader's perception, there was one proper and decent medium that worked by the 'right' method, namely Fox News. As such, the medium mentioned above appeared not in a hostile way in @realDonaldTrump's tweets, but as a channel in which honest and objective work proceeded to unmask the antagonist opponents like failing politicians and deceiving media channels which may have co-operated spectacularly.

#### **3.2.3.4. Hillary Clinton**

Focusing on and blaming the prominent political rivals in electoral campaigns, especially at the official debates, are essential and necessary tactics in contemporary politics to control the narrative (Demeter, 2017). Consequently, the Democratic first nominee, namely Hillary Clinton, was the primary antagonist political opponent in Donald Trump's tweets.

The Republican candidate referred to his competitor in various ways: ‘Clinton,’ ‘Crooked,’ ‘Crooked Hillary,’ ‘Hillary Clinton,’ ‘Hillary,’ ‘she,’ and ‘#CrookedHillary.’ By stressing the dishonesty of his electoral rival, Donald Trump put his rival into a situation that may have discredited her. The fraudster political opponent appeared as a dishonest person in Trump’s tweets. Therefore, the fact-checking movement of setting up the hashtag #BigLeagueTruth was a consequent product of the challenger Republican politician to emphasize that Clinton was just one of the liar actors of the ‘rigged’ system in which the United States’ citizens cannot trust anymore.

Trump also demonstrated Hillary Clinton’s mistakes both from decades previous and the last couple of months, like voting for invading Iraq, being responsible for the chaos in the Middle East, irresponsibly treatment of classified e-mails, and ignoring the provision of jobs for the American people. In contrast, Trump stressed that he was the only person who could provide jobs for the people:

*‘I have created tens of thousands of jobs and will bring back great American prosperity. Hillary has only created jobs at the FBI and DOJ!’* Date: 2016-10-02.

Not only was the past under the scope in @realDonaldTrump’s communication when he tweeted about his rival, but the future also. The Republican politician brought attention to the present in which Hillary Clinton makes promises that should have been done in that time when she was part of the administration. Furthermore, Trump drew attention to his opponent’s Machiavellian attitude to achieving power. For instance, Trump tweeted about a possible alliance between Hillary Clinton and the former beauty queen, Alicia Machado:

*‘Did Crooked Hillary help disgusting (check out sex tape and past) Alicia M become a U.S. citizen so she could use her in the debate?’* Date: 2016-09-30.

The tweet above received significant attention via the social site, as 17,819 re-tweets, 18,000 responses, and 35,458 likes emerged after the Republican nominee posted his message (Marx, 2017). It refers to the former Miss Universe (1996), namely Alicia Machado, who is originally from Venezuela and criticized Donald Trump for his prior hostile behavior. According to Machado, Donald Trump made rude comments towards her because she gained weight after the Miss Universe. Moreover,

Machado stated that Trump also humiliated her regarding her Latin-American origin. @realDonaldTrump focused on Machado because she spoke for Secretary Clinton, and the Democratic candidate quoted the insults at the first presidential debate that the former Miss Universe attributed to the Republican nominee (Barbaro & Twohey, 2016). Hence, Trump reacted via Twitter to highlight that Machado was only a puppet for Hillary Clinton, who provided citizenship in exchange for blaming the Republican challenger.

The opponent's private life also might play a role in the PPCS (Stanyer, 2012). Hence, intimidation was appearing in Trump's tweets referring to Secretary Clinton's health condition. First, the Republican politician mentions that Clinton's coughing attack was a trending topic among the voters. Second, and most importantly, he suggested, that his primary political opponent was a person who

*'...is unfit to serve.'* Date: 2016-11-03.

Nevertheless, there was one character who showed a strong and fit image of a decent man; a leader who can rule and govern the American nation towards the right direction and reforms, namely Donald Trump.

### **3.2.3.5. Moderate Generalization**

The subcategory of 'Moderate Generalization' appeared in specific tweets in which Donald Trump mentioned universal, unnamed, and unknown entities, groups, or interests that might harm the present and the future of the American Nation. Single words and word combinations like 'bad people,' 'danger,' 'dangerous people,' 'evil,' and 'threat' regularly emerged in the Republican leader's tweets in order to appeal to emotions of fear by a populist indicator, namely the adverse effect (Alvares & Dahlgren, 2016). PPCS and the ideology also consist of 'ostracizing others,' an indicator based on the narrative which maintains the exclusion of dangerous entities from the heterogeneous group of ordinary people (Mudde, 2004). Extensive and conventional references predicted danger as they occur in the following tweet:

*'The judge opens up our country to potential terrorists and others that do not have our best interests at heart. Bad people are very happy!'* Date: 2017-02-05.

The tweet above did not show a precise, but rather a universal image of the problematic situations. Neither the ‘judge’ nor the ‘terrorists’ are defined. Moreover, ‘bad people’ are the most widespread expression in the tweet above. On the one hand, the leader stressed a vague danger that haunted the United States and the person who was responsible for that threat. On the other, he did not specify the exact name of the magistrate, nor characterized the origin of the terrorists. The utilization of widespread expressions referring to problematic actors but lacking the specifications of the villains and opponents provided Trump an almost limitless opportunity to defend his communicational strategy. The leader may have referred to the tweets in which he had highlighted the vital problems and hazards that may affect the United States harmfully. On the contrary, he would not target the opponent directly to avoid losing his popularity among his supporters if the media brought attention to his specific adversary tweets referring to exact individuals or groups of people with different ethnicities, origins, and faiths. Nonetheless, @realDonaldTrump tweeted in a particular and detailed way if he genuinely focused on terror attacks and organizations (see the next subchapter).

### **3.2.3.6. Terror Organisations/Attacks**

However, as presented in the former subchapter, terror attacks provided an opportunity for the Republican leader to express his thoughts in a universal style; the analysis showed that terrorist groups and attacks were indicated through tweeting mostly by utilizing more specific characterizations. The Republican leader used involved actualization in which he exploited particular events (like the terror attacks in Brussels and Paris) to strengthen his political stereotypes and support his inductive reasoning (Krämer, 2017). Specific locations affected by terror attacks, the religious characteristic(s) of the aggressor(s), the origin(s) of the striker(s), or the exact name of the terrorist group(s) also appeared in the analyzed data.

*‘A new radical Islamic terrorist has just attacked in Louvre Museum in Paris. Tourists were locked down. France on edge again. GET SMART U.S.’* Date: 2017-02-03.

Donald Trump tweeted about terrorism as a radical Islamic phenomenon five occasions out of thirty-two. Furthermore, he mentioned the Islamic State as ‘ISIS,’ thirteen times. Also, he stressed ‘Palestinian’ terror attacks, emphasized the possible connection between Iran and terrorism, and utilized common expressions like ‘terrorist’ as well. In this analysis, the category of ‘Terror Organisations/Attacks’ consisted of at least one specific or concrete expression that refers to terrorism. The identification of specific terror organizations, designating the act of ‘terrorism’ or ‘terror’ at the minimum are sufficient criterion to label a tweet with the category above.

### **3.2.4. Foreign Policy**

The mixed-method analysis suggested that the category and subcategory of ‘Foreign Policy’ and ‘Antipathetic Countries’ have specific correlations. Although Donald Trump tended to tweet about foreign countries in an adversary style, there were individual tweets in which some territories appear as allies or at least neutral partners of the United States.

*‘I look very much forward to meeting Prime Minister Theresa May in Washington in the Spring. Britain, a longtime U.S. ally, is very special!’* Date: 2017-03-23.

In the categorization process, labeling the tweets was based on a pure perspective. Every tweet in which foreign countries explicitly occurred belongs to the ‘Foreign Policy’ topic. Nonetheless, messages referring to alien territories also might be part of other categories. The ‘Topic relation matrix’ supports (see Table 6) that Foreign Affairs had a considerable correlation besides ‘Antipathetic Countries.’ For the sake of drawing a more specific picture of Donald Trump’s tweets relating to Foreign Affairs, it is crucial to characterize the fundamental concepts which constitute his communication in the latter analyzed topic.

As mentioned in the ‘Antipathetic Countries’ subcategory, the Republican politician brought attention to the danger(s) that few countries might have represented, including nuclear hazard situations, terrorism, financial deficits, destabilizing the election system, and last but not least, immigration issues. Therefore, ‘Foreign Policy’

had two significant elements (see Table 6) which support the construction of the topic above, namely, 'Economy' and 'Election.'

However, several possible 'threats' emerged in the analyzed data, and other perceived characterizations appeared in the examined tweets. First, the emphasis on creating acceptable co-operations and relationships was a vital perspective both on universal and specific issues. Trump alleged that good relations between the United States and Russia relied on shared interests, whereas domestic political opponents did not support the two nations oncoming. Although China emerged in specific tweets as an antagonist and economically harmful country from Trump's perspective, there was at least one case in which it might have acted as a powerful ally, namely solving the problematic nuclear issue in North Korea. At this point, one might ask whether the 'Foreign Policy' could be an appropriate segment of the 'Enemy.' If this examination aimed to analyze P1 solely, the idea above would be reasonable, because Trump mostly focused on 'Antipathetic Countries' in P1 and tweeted in an adversary style about them in 'Foreign Policy.' In contrast, as the tweet above showed, in P2, diplomatic and business meetings were also remarkable parts of 'Foreign Policy.'

Second, mistakes that were made by political opponents in Foreign Affairs supported Trump's communication at least from two aspects. On the one hand, he consequently blamed the former administrations, including the President (Barack Obama), the Secretary of State (Hillary Clinton), and the whole Democratic Party for the wars in the Middle East and for the increasing crime rates indicated as resulting from criminals who entered into the country as illegal immigrants. On the other hand, he provided a 'solution' for the situations mentioned above. However, his promises did not include precise methods, with one exception; building the wall on the Southern border in order to keep dangerous foreign villains out of the country. Consequently, further plans and possible regulations also turned up in the tweets. Trump promised that he will make big corporations come back from abroad to the United States and produce within the country. Besides, the Republican politician suggested punishments for traitor officials who co-operated with foreign countries. Furthermore, he planned to ban dangerous foreign people who came from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Mexico, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen (Collingwood et al., 2018).

Third, the President tended to tweet about friendly meetings with prominent politicians. Successful meetings, negotiations, and working dinners were written in a

very optimistic tone. The diplomatic events, whether they were useful or not, also constituted the fourth main topic.

Finally, Trump highlighted one friendly country in which the situation demanded the support of the current President of the United States, namely Israel, with a remarkable frequency ( $f=7$ ). He stressed the disrespectful treatment by the United Nations, which disdained Israel. In contrast, the Republican politician ensured Israel his and America's support in order to keep peace and security within the territory in question.

### **3.2.5. Nominations & Policies**

The fifth main category consists of planned or ratified internal regulations which might have affected domestic issues in terms of Home Affairs, nominations, national security policy, agreements with big corporations, and making inquiries about immigration, hacking, and wiretapping within the United States.

*'Despite the long delays by the Democrats in finally approving Dr. Tom Price, the repeal and replacement of ObamaCare is moving fast!'* Date: 2017-02-17.

In this main topic, one of the core legislations that emerges periodically is Obamacare. The former President's healthcare reform occurred as a specter in the tweets, which must be changed by the new administration. Trump tended to declare that the Affordable Care Act was expensive for the American Nation. In order to save money for the people, Trump claimed that the legislation above must be ceased. Moreover, he stated that healthcare was falling apart, and there was only one way to save it by repealing and replacing the deteriorative reform, which was an already-failed product of the former, incompetent establishment.

Informing his Twitter followers about the new, evolving administration, was one of the key features of the Republican leader's tweeting patterns in 'Nominations & Policies.' Although the nominated and accepted politicians' identities emerged in a straightforward style among the analyzed messages, the President tweeted occasionally that there were excellent opportunities by allowing his regulations to convey the country to greatness. On the one hand, he presented his planned bills like

there were sure, ratified legislations. On the other, Trump tweeted about the same rules as mere possibilities, which would help to reach the ultimate goal: ‘Make America Great Again.’

Donald Trump also shared the results of successful business negotiations. Furthermore, he referred to the productive meetings above as a result of his presidency. Moreover, he made an effort to persuade his followers that he fulfilled his promises by creating tax reforms and new jobs for the people by putting the pressure on specific corporations, whereas the former establishments failed in taking care of the hard-working citizens.

In this main topic, judges, courts, orders, the well-known politicians (Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Mike Pence) and other influential individuals emerged. Signing laws like ‘Executive Order Concerning Extreme Vetting’ needed to be published for the supporters. Additionally, Donald Trump attempted to persuade the citizens. He spotlighted that the ban of people from seven Islamic countries was not an exclusionist, Islamophobic act, but a necessary regulation for the sake of security. Besides, he tweeted not only about the planned or ratified bills, but also the reactions they induced in the political sphere, the jurisdiction, and the media.

As Bracciale and Martella argue: ‘firstly “Champion of the people”, a style geared towards defending the people against the elite, which mainly covers political issues, position-taking, simple and informal; and secondly “Man on the street”, characterised by a more vulgar language exploiting anxieties, fears, news and local policies’(Bracciale & Martella, 2017, p. 1323). Likewise, regarding domestic and located problems within the country constituted @realDonaldTrump’s communication via Twitter. The President kept stressing that his colleagues’ main task was to maintain safety for the decent citizens. In contrast, he also pointed out that if the mayors, the representatives, and senators are incapable of defending the people, he has every right and resource to interfere. The emphasis of his opportunities for interference suggested that the President of the United States is the Supreme leader who always concerned himself with the inhabitants; therefore, he did not let politicians ignore one of the voter’s fundamental desires, namely security. Bringing attention to his active and energetic attitude characterized the image of a fast-acting, self-confident person even in times when the slow bureaucratic procedures in law enforcement might have slowed down the fight against criminals in crime-infected territories. Acting as a strong leader

was a tool that strengthened his authoritarianism, the part of the populist ideology that helped to contraposition Donald Trump and the powerless political elite (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). The former suggested that he brings attention to the citizen's desires, while the latter did nothing but exploited the blameless masses.

### **3.2.6. Other**

Current affairs and reactions to them were also significant segments of @realDonaldTrump tweets. Based on the literature review, contemporary issues that refer to non-political events such as television shows, interviews, and sports events are among the essential elements of topic indicators in the PPCS (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2016). Therefore, and not surprisingly, interviews and private meetings also emerged in Donald Trump's tweets during the two analyzed periods. Conversations with journalists on Fox Network, negotiations with inner and foreign political/business partners were also frequent topics in his Twitter communication. Moreover, rallies also emerged in the campaign stage as public events. To sum the category of 'Other' up, tweets were labeled as the topic above if the leader attended a private or public event, praised the crowd which participated in the regional gatherings, and made comments on universal happenings like catastrophes.

*'My wife, Melania, will be interviewed tonight at 8:00 pm by Anderson Cooper on @CNN. I have no doubt she will do very well. Enjoy!'* Date: 2016-11-03.

Similar to 'Election,' the Republican politician informed his followers of the forthcoming and latest events in which he participated, or his accompaniment took apart. Hence, there was a significant correlation between events during the electorate campaign and the above-examined category; however, other particular happenings like meeting the former President (Barack Obama) or hosting the 2017 Super Bowl Champion New England Patriots at the White House.

Interestingly, Donald Trump feedbacked to his supporters with a significant frequency. As the quantitative analysis shows, the word 'thank' unfolded 210 times in the two periods altogether. In other words, acknowledgment was a crucial factor of the Republican leader's tweeting strategy. As a populist political actor, Trump praised the

movement, the crowd, the people, and the citizens of America who supported him to shift the way of old-school politics into a new, clean, and straightforward direction (Block & Negrine, 2017).

Finally, specific tragedies like deaths caused by terror attacks or by military strikes and becoming homeless or needy by ecologic catastrophes like hurricanes, tornados, and storms also constituted the topic of 'Other' in the analyzed database. Donald Trump commemorated the injuries/victims of terrorists and American veterans in his tweets, despite the tragic events that happened recently (bombings in New York and New Jersey in 2016) or bygone years. @realDonaldTrump expressed his best wishes, ensured people that he supports them also in difficult times, and made people feel that they will not be forgotten. According to Eatwell and Goodwin (2018), being forgotten and unheard are remarkable indicators that support PPCS by which it can emphasize that even though the elite was once part of the people, it does not listen to the masses' voice anymore; therefore, there is a need for a leader who considers the general will.

### **3.3. Measuring explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Donald Trump's tweets**

The results in the last months of the presidential campaign phase were weighted to support further analysis in the comparison between Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's tweets. Therefore, the scrutiny also took into account the portion of tweets ( $n=1,595$ ) provided by the Democratic candidate. Thus, the relevant ratio referring to the two politicians' tweets in P1 was 738:1,595 in favor of Clinton. Hence, the results provided the weighted outcomes in terms of quantifying the populist words. In other words, the proportions of the relevant results in P1 were divided by  $1,595/738$ . Despite the supportive nature of the weighted results, the analysis introduces and interprets them in Chapter 8.

It is important to note that Chapter 5 focused on only the outcomes that characterize Donald Trump's tweets without a peculiar comparison between his and Hillary Clinton's PPCS. Also, the examination tried to contrast P1 with P2 in the Republican leader's tweets in terms of possible perceived patterns in his PPCS.

Besides, it is essential to notice that the hashtag of ‘#BigLeagueTruth’ referred to the fight against Hillary Clinton and the fake media that supported her. Therefore, if the hashtag above appeared, the measurement is twofold. In other words, the presence of ‘#BigLeagueTruth’ in specific tweets provided one hit for the antagonist Democratic candidate and another for the misleading media.

Based on the Populist Dictionary in @realDonaldTrump’s tweets (see Table 2), the implied method intended to list the tweets in which possible populist words and dichotomies emerged. A random sample was collected from the tweets (ten percent) in both periods. Therefore, trained persons coded 225 tweets considering EP and IP. The numbers of decisions are 140 in P1 and 85 in P2. Intercoder reliability was analyzed and validated by Krippendorff’s Alpha. After the validation, the results provided the agreements, disagreements, and reliability in reference to P1, P2, and the entire analyzed sample (see Table 8). To seek a supportive answer for RQ 7, this analysis aimed to check quantitatively and qualitatively whether the Republican leader mentioned specific, isolated groups like women, young people, ethnic minorities, asylum seekers, veterans, and people in need in EP tweets. This part of the study also examined whether Donald Trump appealed to the people universally. In order to characterize IP tweets, a mixed-method was utilized for exploring the portions and ratios between people-centrism and antagonism in IP tweets during the whole period and separately in P1 and P2. For the sake of exploring Donald Trump’s blame attribution, antagonist words<sup>15</sup> were chosen from the Populist Dictionary that might have functioned as negative labels to affect voters’ negative emotions. Again, the keyword-in-context method was utilized in which the following words emerged from P1: ‘bad,’ ‘crooked,’ ‘#crookedhillary,’ ‘draintheswamp,’ ‘disaster,’ ‘failed,’ ‘failing,’ ‘never,’ and ‘rigged.’ Based on the computer-assisted method, a different set of words appears in P2: ‘bad,’ ‘dishonest,’ ‘failing,’ ‘fake,’ ‘never,’ ‘sad,’ and ‘terrible.’ To supply an in-depth analysis, P1 and P2 were compared to provide supportive results about the negative labels used by Donald Trump.

Before the fourth chapter presents the most relevant results, there is a crucial need for making an important note on the findings. MAXQDA 2018 calculated

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<sup>15</sup>In this case, the minimum necessary frequency was eight, while the minimum share was 0,5% from the entire database.

intercoder agreements twice while Krippendorff's Alpha took them into account only once. Coder 1 and Coder 2 made 225-225 individual decisions. The software counted and listed the agreements and disagreements twice. Hence, the results can be divided into two. Still, the outcomes were presented as the computer-assisted method supplied them.

After the fundamental introduction of the analyzed data and the employed method, the study presents the relevant characteristics of EP and IP in the following subchapter.

### **3.4. The characteristics of explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Donald Trump's tweets**

Trained coders marked tweets with the code of EP if the following dichotomies *directly* and *explicitly* emerged when Donald Trump blamed Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, the Democrats, other inner or foreign political rivals, the media, antipathetic countries, 'dangerous' groups, and other prominent antagonist entities. Note that the following dichotomies must be written explicitly in the tweets to demonstrate the emergence of EP. If Donald Trump highlighted the opposition between the antagonist elite (or minorities) and the people in the same tweet explicitly, the coding unit is part of the EP. The characterization of the EP is the following:

- 1) stressing that Secretary Clinton disregards ordinary peoples' interests,
- 2) highlighting that Hillary Clinton is a crooked person, who does not intend to provide prosperity for the Nation,
- 3) bringing attention to the Democratic candidate's lies by which the voters are misled,
- 4) demonstrating that Clinton insults Trump's supporters or every citizen of the United States by utilizing an adversary and disrespectful communicational style,
- 5) emphasizing that Barack Obama's decisions have severe effects on the country's economy and inner security,
- 6) tweeting about the harmful effects of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), that puts the nation's economy into a disastrous position,

- 7) focusing on Democratic politicians who do not care for people of the United States, but for their interests,
- 8) pointing out that Republicans do not co-operate in terms of providing a better future for the country,
- 9) writing about the rigged system in which failed politicians and the fake news media exploit, disregard, and control hard-working people,
- 10) utilizing the hashtags of #CrookedHillary, #DrainTheSwamp in contexts referring to the inhabitants who deserve better and honest leadership,
- 11) calling attention to the media (CNN, NBC, CBS, New York Times, and Washington Post) which creates false information or fake news about the President's or his ally's possible ties to Russia, to mislead people,
- 12) making a point of the trade deficits caused by the NAFTA Agreement, that makes the United States' economy stagnant or decline,
- 13) stressing that antagonist nuclear powers like Iran and North Korea threaten the nation and the entire world,
- 14) highlighting that terrorists or terror organizations, especially ISIS, are dangerous globally,
- 15) emphasizing the threat that hazardous people mean for the United States; therefore, they must be banned from the country,
- 16) characterizing illegal immigrants' harmful activities that risk the security and welfare of the people by selling drugs or committing other crimes, participating in voter frauds, and taking advantage of the financial support system.

IP appears in the analyzed sentences if Donald Trump blamed Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and their political allies, the media, and other antagonist entities but with the lack of direct reference to the people. In other words, if antagonist actors appear in the analyzed tweet, but there is no direct reference to the people they still part of IP messages. For instance, statements stressing that 'fake news media' create false allegations about Trump might lack reference to the people. Although the media, according to Trump, lie *about him*, he also *suggests* that *media lies to the people*. Thus, from the perspective of the method utilized in the dissertation, implicit and hidden references to the people can be perceived. However, IP tweets might lack any explicit

appearance of the antagonist agents like ‘Hillary Clinton,’ ‘Obama,’ ‘fake news media,’ antipathetic countries, or any direct references to them. Nevertheless, they might still be the hidden source of the threats affecting the ‘people,’ ‘voters,’ ‘US,’ ‘country,’ ‘crowd,’ ‘Americans,’ ‘together,’ specific states like ‘Alabama,’ ‘Arizona,’ ‘Carolina,’ ‘Florida,’ ‘Georgia,’ ‘Iowa,’ ‘Michigan,’ ‘Nevada,’ ‘Ohio,’ ‘Pennsylvania,’ peculiar cities like ‘Charlotte,’ ‘Cleveland,’ and ‘Orlando.’ Trained coders made decisions about sentences in which the code of IP might be apparent because clear, direct, specific, and explicit dichotomies are not perceived:

- 1) stressing Secretary Clinton’s dishonest attitude,
- 2) emphasizing that Hillary Clinton is a ‘crooked’ person,
- 3) highlighting that Obamacare is an economic ‘disaster,’
- 4) bringing attention to Barack Obama’s ‘weak inner’ and foreign policies,
- 5) calling the political establishment and fake news media as a ‘rigged system,’
- 6) focusing on Democrats who failed at the elections,
- 7) stressing that the former security system allowed some entities to hack the presidential race or the democratic institutes of the country,
- 8) blaming Republicans who do not support Donald Trump,
- 9) referring to media and correspondents as the elements of ‘fake news media,’
- 10) make people remember that an uncharacterized ‘danger’ is coming from foreign territories; therefore, deportations and bans are needed,
- 11) highlighting the harmful activities of ‘bad people,’ without mentioning the ‘good’ citizens of the United States
- 12) tweeting about criminals, in some cases without specific characterizations, who are making a significant profit of illegal activities,
- 13) bringing attention to ‘losing jobs’ and opportunities to work within the United States,
- 14) emphasizing that the country had been a place of prosperity and there is a need for new leadership that will ‘Make America Great Again’ or in an abbreviated form ‘#MAGA,’
- 15) stressing that Donald Trump believes that the nation’s cause is the primary issue to handle, so he utilizes the hashtag of ‘#Americafirst,’

16) the lack of direct, specific dichotomies if the Republican nominee tweets the hashtag of ‘#DrainTheSwamp.’

It is important to note that the word ‘we’ lacks the populist dictionaries because the methodology of the thesis considers the word above from a hybrid perspective. On the one hand, the expression above is way too universal, which might have referred to Trump and his staff, the Republican candidate’s supporters, and the people of the United States. On the other hand, trained persons coded tweets as EP messages if ‘we’ emerged as a reference to ordinary citizens with the direct dichotomy of the antagonist out-group. In this light, ‘we’ could also be part of IP and NS codes.

### **3.5. Measuring explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Hillary Clinton’s tweets**

The following segment of the methodology still employed a mixed-method analysis. In order to provide quantitative results, the study used the same software. Again, the database consisted of all tweets but not the re-tweets from @Hillary Clinton from the 1st of September 2016 to the 8th of November 2016. The relevant part of the thesis focused on written texts but disregarded other multimedia content like photos, gifs, videos, and shared hyperlinks.

Hillary Clinton tweeted 1,595 times during the analyzed period. To provide a list of tweets in which the PPCS appeared, populist words, which might have referred to antagonist actors and the people from the cleaned database, were collected. The minimal necessary frequency of the populist words was eight. The proportion above provided a 0.06% share of the entire sample. The Populist Dictionary referring to Hillary Clinton is presented in Table 3. Comparable to subchapter 3.1., the populist dictionary below was provided by the operationalization of anti-elitism and people-centrism (Mudde, 2004); however, an inductive method was utilized as well. ‘Ostracizing others’ was not appropriate in Hillary Clinton’s tweets, with the exception of one suggested exclusion (see subchapter 6.1.5.). Words such as ‘Donald,’ ‘Trump,’ ‘Mike,’ ‘Pence,’ ‘Putin,’ and ‘Republicans’ were parts of the elite, while the category of the people consisted of broad or fragmented ‘good’ groups of the nation. At first glance, the clustered segments did not represent the homogeneous masses, which is

one of the main features of PPCS. However, if one ‘unites’ all of the fragmented groups targeted by Clinton, it becomes apparent that she tried to gain trust in the majority. The moral aspect of PPCS (Mudde, 2017) magnetized ‘lied’ and ‘wrong,’ while resisting and negative identity dimensions consisted of words such as ‘against,’ ‘reject,’ and ‘stop’ (Bruter and Harrison, 2011). The inductive reading and searching progress supported that ‘fighting’ also became part of the resisting feature. ‘Dangerous’ identifies the repressive authoritarianism, while the group of ‘immigrants’ was an element of positive populism (Tóth and Demeter, 2019) because Secretary Clinton depicted them as the future victims of Trump’s aggressive policies that might lead to bans and deportations. Words such as ‘hate,’ ‘he,’ ‘his,’ ‘him,’ and ‘unfit’ were implemented by the inductive approach (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016).

**Table 3. Populist Dictionary in @HillaryClinton’s tweets**

Antagonism	People
Against, dangerous, Donald, hate, he, his, him, fighting, immigrants, lied, Mike, Never, Pence, Putin, reject, Republicans, stop, Trump, Trump’s, unfit, wrong	African, America, American, Americans, Carolina, color, country, class, family, families, Florida, friends, girls, immigrants, Latinos, men, middle, million, millions, nation, national, North, Ohio, people, state, states, student, US, <sup>16</sup> voters, women, working

During the analysis, trained coders examined a random sample of ten percent (211 hits) from the tweets. The coders’ decision relied on the codebooks where the characterizations of EP and IP were introduced (see below). It is important to note that if a group emerged explicitly more than once in a tweet, the scrutiny recorded them with weighted occurrences regardless of whether the groups had specific attributes. Therefore, for instance, the study took the appearance of females into account with the frequency of three if Secretary Clinton referred to women three times in the very same

<sup>16</sup> In some cases, the word ‘US’ refers to the United States, in other contexts, it might connect to an imagined collective community.

tweet. In the qualitative coding sessions, two trained persons decided whether the relevant tweet was part of explicit, implicit, or neutral categories in terms of PPCS. After the coding process, intercoder reliability was supplied (Freelon, 2013). For supporting in-depth analysis, the reliability was separated into agreements and disagreements in all categories. Nonetheless, the sections, which focus on the results and discussion, primarily focused on the outcomes that connected to EP and IP but not to NS. Additionally, this part of the dissertation tried to seek direct connectedness between blaming words (Hameleers et al., 2017) that might have affected negative emotions, and the antagonist elite. Therefore, a keyword-in-text analysis was utilized by which the software listed specific, in this case negative, words and the expressions surrounding them. The measured context may vary, extend or stretch, by the scholar's own decision, but this research chose the distance of four words which meant that the software provided four words before and after the specific, selected expression. Finally, tweet's PPCS were analyzed where intercoder agreements were perceived.

### **3.6. The characteristics of explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Hillary Clinton's tweets**

First and foremost, it is essential to point out that universal characterization of EP and IP is almost impossible to provide. Politician's communication style, the antagonist opponents, blame attributions for out-groups, the targeted voters, the political and public circumstances might be different also within the same elections. The problem in conceptualization also appears in the differences of the analyzed texts that might originate from divergent agents, cultures, and languages. However, there can be a concept that might be a further step in the direction of a more supportive and reliable method, in terms of measuring PPCS, namely the direct explicit-implicit dichotomy. The co-occurrences of the two key factors and their investigations in the PPCS might be a supportive method in further analyses. Obviously, as in social sciences, there are specific limitations also within the EP dichotomy concept that relies on the definition struggles of the 'people' and the 'enemy'.<sup>17</sup> There is no universal concept or definition for the elements discussed above because the interpretations can be divergent, and the

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<sup>17</sup> See the limitations in subchapter 5.6. and 6.3.

analyzed political and public situations might also show specific attributions (Aslanidis, 2018). Consequently, no universal method can be provided for the measuring of PPCS.

As referred above, appealing to people is one of the critical factors in PPCS (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). Populism is a thin-centered ideology (Mudde, 2004) that often stresses the harmful activity of the elite or other out-groups like migrants. For instance, according to specific populists, the political elite abuses power by emphasizing the threat that migrants pose for inhabitants culture and general welfare by bringing in their alien traditions, occupying the homeland, and receiving financial support provided by, and for the ‘ordinary’ citizens (Tóth et al., 2019). Moreover, in PPCS, the economic elite may have an interest in immigration for reasons like destabilizing the country, increasing its financial income, and expanding political influence (Hameleers, 2018).

On the contrary, specific politicians, like Donald Trump, used exclusionist style based on deporting and exiling illegal migrants. However, the relevant section of the study primarily focused on the task of whether Donald Trump and his allies appeared explicitly or implicitly as antagonist political agents in Hillary Clinton’s tweets. Did Secretary Clinton stress a direct comparison between Donald Trump and particular masses like ordinary citizens, voters, or immigrants in the same tweet? Were there attractive contrasts between the aggressive, exclusionist, inexperienced and disrespectful challenger and the people who will suffer from the Republican politician’s adverse decisions if he wins the election?

First, this unit of the methodology characterizes the explicit and implicit dichotomies to provide a supportive description to introduce and test the concept of EP and IP. EP appears in the analyzed tweets in which the Democratic candidate referred to her Republican opponent as an antagonistic person who was a hostile communicator, and, on the other hand, the ‘people’ also emerged in the very same coding unit. Coders marked tweets with the code of EP if the following dichotomies *directly* and *explicitly* emerged when Clinton blamed Donald Trump, Mike Pence, who was the vice-presidential candidate of the Republican party, or any political or business ally of the primary Republican nominee. It is important to note that the following dichotomies must be written explicitly in the tweets to demonstrate the emergence of

EP. If Secretary Clinton opposed the antagonist elite and the people explicitly in the same tweet, the coding unit is part of EP. The characterization of the Explicit Populist PCS is the following:

- a) Stressing the xenophobic communication of the Republican candidate in which people from other nations (like Mexico) appear as illegal immigrants who must be excluded or deported from the United States to their homelands,
- b) emphasizing Trump's racist speeches or actions in the past and the present, for instance, putting minorities like Latinos, African Americans, and Arabians at any disadvantage because of their heritage,
- c) pinpointing that the Republican nominee looks at Muslims as a security threat for the United States,
- d) highlighting the disrespectful and hostile way of communication if Donald Trump tweeted about women by insulting them verbally,
- e) the direct emphasis of harms that ordinary people may suffer by the new, challenging political elite, for instance, the possible emerging deficits for American people by electing a political outsider, namely Donald Trump,
- f) alleging that Trump avoided paying taxes in the United States or other specific countries,
- g) exploiting hard-working, blue-collar people by salary and wage frauds,
- h) highlighting that Trump wants distinct groups like women, Afro-Americans, and young people not to vote on the 8th of November,
- i) raising taxes by Trump, which defend rich entities' interests but deflate ordinary citizen's incomes and household budgets,
- j) spotlighting that the Republican nominee has no experience in politics; therefore, co-operations and negotiations will work out neither in Home nor in

Foreign Affairs which may lead to an unpredictable situation in American lives,

- k) calling attention to Trump's hostile ignorance referring to the community of LGBTQ,
- l) stressing that Donald Trump does not respect democracy in terms of ignoring the acceptance of a possible defeat after the election, or disregarding the opportunities for immigrants to succeed within the United States,
- m) declaring that Trump breaks the law and consequently derogates the American Nation.

IP appears in the analyzed sentences if Hillary Clinton blamed either Donald Trump and his allies but lacked direct reference to the 'people,' the 'voters,' to 'US,' to 'the country,' 'the nation,' 'Americans,' 'the middle class,' 'blue-collar,' 'the workers,' 'women,' 'students,' 'young people,' those with different origins and religions, specific minorities, and to 'the United States.' IP might also occur if specific antagonist agents like 'Trump,' 'Mike Pence,' or any exact reference to them is missing from the coding unit, but there is a vague hint to them, while the collective community of the sovereign people emerges in the tweet. It is essential to note that Implicit PPCS relies on (1) the *suggested* threats when Hillary Clinton appealed to the people (2) or on the antagonist invocation of the culprit out-group(s), which might have threatened the masses, *without the direct references* to the citizens. Trained persons coded sentences with the code of IP in which apparent, explicit, and specific

dichotomies were not visible but antagonism and hidden threats occurred in a suggested way:

- a) breaking the law for instance, avoiding paying taxes in general but not mentioning especially where exactly Trump should have paid his fees,
- b) bringing attention to the Republican nominee's hostile style, but lacking concrete examples,
- c) stressing the insufficiencies of the oppositional candidate, like incompetence in leading, misconceptions of his campaign rhetoric and being driven by foreign, namely, Russian interests,
- d) declaring that Hillary Clinton and her political allies have experiences in terms of security policy and leading, while Donald Trump does not,
- e) the emphasis of false promises made by Donald Trump and his political supporters,
- f) referring to lies or denials caused by Donald Trump and Mike Pence.

The hybrid analysis method appears again when 'we' emerges. Thus, although the scrutiny disregards the word above in terms of supplying the Populist Dictionaries, it still takes into account the word of 'we' if it appears in the relevant coding unit. For instance, if 'we' referred to appealing to the everyday people and the culprit outgroup also emerged in the same tweet, trained persons coded the relevant text-unit as 'EP.' In line with the idea above, 'we' might also have occurred as an IP or NS tweet.

'Neutral Sentences' are texts in which populist-like words emerged, but neither EP's direct nor IP's suggested dichotomy was perceived in the analyzed sentence.

## **4. RESULTS AND ADDRESSING RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The former chapter supplied the most significant characterizations of the methodology. The mixed-method analysis focused on the emerging topic's features in Donald Trump's tweets and the essential attributions of EP and IP in both leaders' Twitter communication. This chapter introduces the thesis' research questions. The focal point of this dissertation is Donald Trump's PPCS; therefore, nine research questions connect to his tweets. Nevertheless, four research questions emerge in Hilary Clinton's tweets, which function as another part of the comparative study.

### **4.1. Topics in Donald Trump's tweets**

First, the research presents the frequencies of six different categories in the analyzed text to estimate how Donald Trump distributed his topics in his tweets. The most frequent category (see Table 4) is the 'Enemy' in the entire sample (RQ 1). Although the electoral race was finished on the 8th of November 2016, the 'Election' was the second most used topic by Donald Trump during the whole period. The third regular topic was 'Other' as it took slightly more than one-fifth of the entire sample. The categories above dominated the analyzed segments of the corpus, as they represented almost eight tweets out of ten (79.2%) in the entire sample. As the analysis showed, 'Economy' turned up 415 times in the summarized results while 'Foreign Policy' and 'Nominations and Policies' acquired the frequencies of 242 and 203. Therefore, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth topic's aggregated share of the complete topic system was 20.7%. The intercoder reliability's range in the coded segments shifted from 88.6% to 98.5 %.

Second, the scrutiny provided the frequencies of topics separately in the two periods (Table 4). Based on the results above, the most significant difference appeared in 'Election' as it had a 34.9% share in the campaign phase's tweets, but it reduced to 11.4% after Donald Trump's victory. Still, 'Election' had a higher frequency in P2 than 'Foreign Policy' and 'Nominations & Policies' in the same period. 'Economy' appeared 84 times in P1 while in the second phase, it emerged with 331 occasions. 'Foreign Policy' was one of the most underrepresented topics in @realDonaldTrump's

Twitter communication (38 occurrences), as well as the ‘Nominations & Policies’ (37 occasions) during the campaign’s last stage. On the other hand, neither the frequency nor the rate changed significantly in ‘Enemy’ during the two phases. In the first period, 734 segments belonged to the topic above, and after the election, 699 segments of tweets were written in a hostile way by Donald Trump. The investigation perceived some remarkable increases in ‘Economy,’ ‘Foreign Policy,’ and ‘Nominations & Policies’ in P2. As an illustration, the frequency of economic issues increased by more than four times in the second examined stage.

**Table 4. Topic frequency and share**

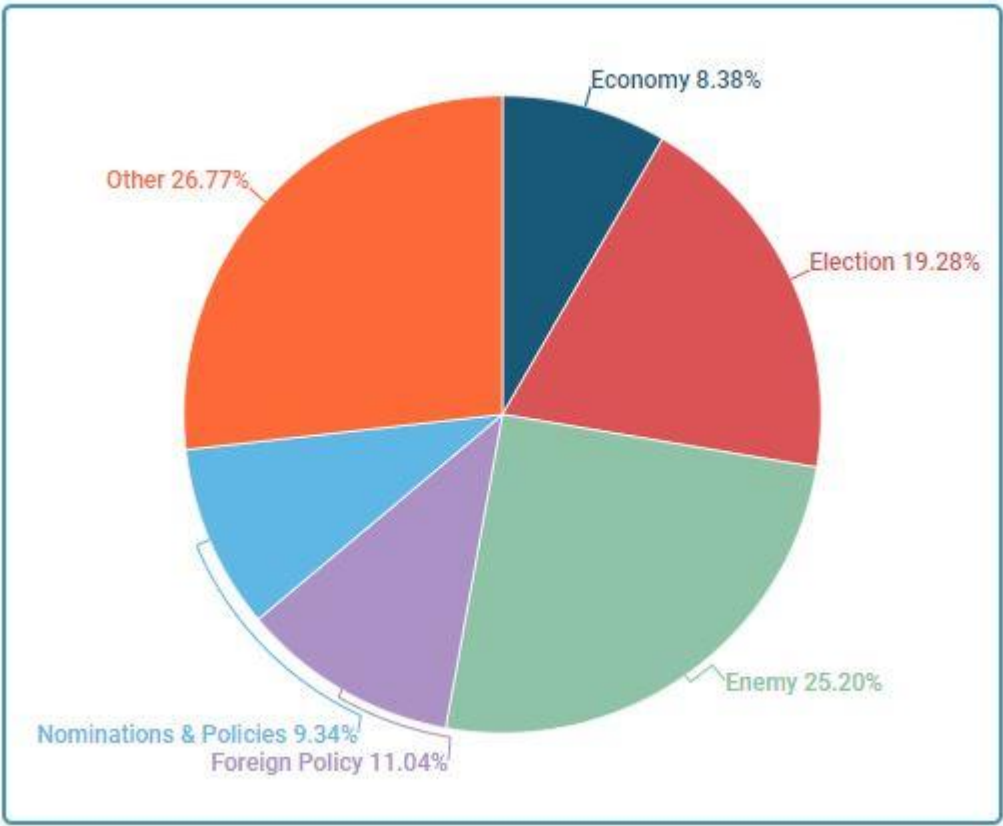
	Enemy	Election	Other	Economy	Foreign Policy	Nominations & Policies	SUM
P1	734	746	496	84	38	37	2135
Share of P1	34,38%	34,94%	23,23%	3,93%	1,78%	1,73%	100%
P2	699	229	373	331	204	166	2002
Share of P2	34,92%	11,44%	18,63%	16,53%	10,19%	8,29%	100,00%
SUM	1433	975	869	415	242	203	4137
Total share	34,64%	23,57%	21,01%	10,03%	5,85%	4,91%	100%

Third, based on the quantitative method, the examination supplied the shares of topics (see Figure 1) relying on the Topic Dictionary (see Table 1) to support the categories frequency independently of human coders decisions. ‘Other,’ which included subcategories such as (1) acknowledgments, (2) public/exclusive events, and (3) commemorations, was on the top of the list followed by ‘Enemy,’ and ‘Election.’ Interestingly, the remaining three topics, which had crucial differences in terms of proportions compared to the top three categories, gained very similar shares of the total sample (9-11%).

Fourth, the results showed the word frequencies in Trump’s tweets in P1 and P2. ‘Will,’ ‘great,’ ‘I,’ and ‘thank’ are on the top of the list, but more specific words also emerge regularly in Trump’s Twitter communication. The term ‘maga’ refers to the crucial electoral phrase ‘Make America Great Again’ and is regularly used in the last months of the campaign and after the electoral victory as well. On the other hand, the hashtag ‘draintheswamp’ referred to change the current political establishment, but

it did not appear after the election, while it was the eighth-most popular term (frequency of 83) in the last stage of the campaign (see Table 5). The results supported that ‘Hillary’ was the most frequently used word in P1 that connected to the topic of ‘Enemy.’ On the other hand, ‘fake’ emerged 49 times in P2. The word above dominated the topic of ‘Enemy’ in P2 as Donald Trump shifted his focus from his primary political opponent to the media (RQ 2).

**Figure 1. Share of topics in the entire analyzed sample based on Topic Dictionary<sup>18</sup>**



In order to seek differences or similarities in Donald Trump’s Twitter communication, the thesis also analyzed the two periods separately in terms of quantifying targeting words. The top 30 words were listed from the two databases and observed that twelve words matched in the periods (Table 5, words with a ‘\*’ sign).

<sup>18</sup> Figures and diagrams were made by Infogram.com.

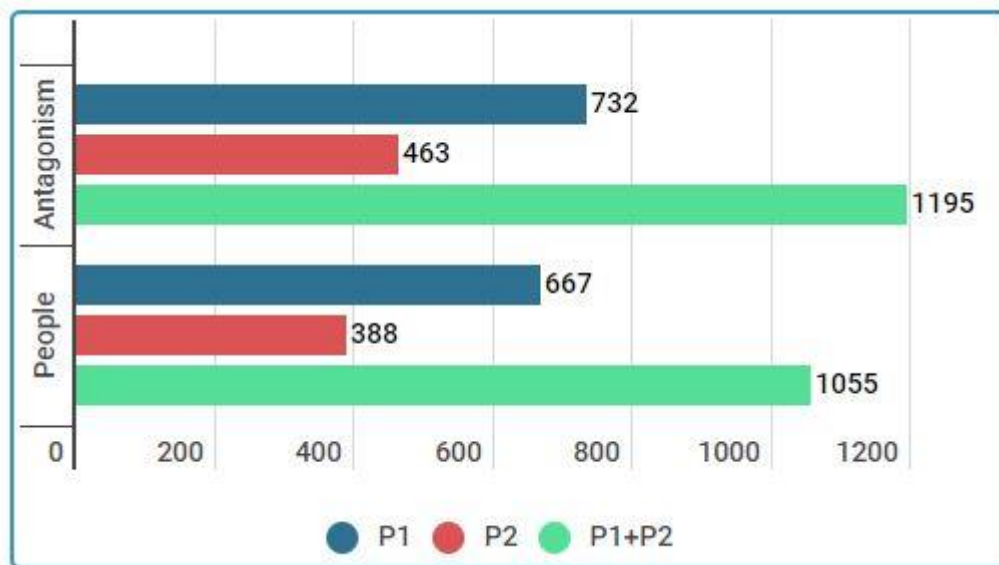
**Table 5. Word frequencies in Period One and Period Two**

Word	Length	Freq.	%	Rank	Word	Length	Freq.	%	Rank
thank*	5	152	2,08	1	will*	4	201	2,55	1
will*	4	147	2,01	2	I*	1	179	2,22	2
I*	1	147	2,01	2	great*	5	154	1,95	3
Hillary	7	117	1,60	3	Today	5	68	0,86	4
donaldjtrump	12	109	1,49	4	people*	6	62	0,79	5
great*	5	100	1,37	5	thank*	5	58	0,74	6
Clinton	7	89	1,22	6	Big	3	56	0,71	7
maga	4	87	1,19	7	News	4	51	0,65	8
draintheswamp	13	83	1,14	8	Fake	4	49	0,62	9
join	4	76	1,04	9	Media	5	49	0,62	9
debate	6	72	0,98	10	Election	,	46	0,58	10
schedule	8	70	0,96	11	jobs	4	46	0,58	10
she	3	58	0,79	12	make*	4	44	0,56	11
crooked	7	57	0,78	13	he	2	43	0,55	12
vote	4	56	0,77	14	now*	3	41	0,52	13
bigleaguetruth	14	54	0,74	15	country	7	40	0,51	14
america*	7	53	0,72	16	time*	4	40	0,51	14
facebook	8	53	0,72	16	again*	5	39	0,49	15
again*	5	50	0,68	17	america*	7	39	0,49	15
make*	4	50	0,68	17	new*	3	39	0,49	15
donaldtrump	11	48	0,66	18	should	6	36	0,46	16
americafirst	12	46	0,63	19	states	6	34	0,43	17
people*	6	43	0,59	20	president	9	33	0,42	18
new*	3	39	0,53	21	Russia	6	33	0,42	18
watch	5	38	0,52	22	bad	3	32	0,41	19
now*	3	37	0,51	23	american	8	29	0,37	20
ohio	4	37	0,51	23	back	4	29	0,37	20
time*	4	36	0,49	24	democrats	9	29	0,37	20
tomorrow	8	36	0,49	24	trump*	5	29	0,37	20
florida	7	35	0,48	25	win	3	29	0,37	20
her	3	31	0,42	26	nytimes	7	27	0,34	30
Nevada	6	31	0,42	26					
poll	4	31	0,42	26					
trump*	5	31	0,42	26					

In both lists, ‘will,’ ‘I,’ ‘thank,’ and ‘great’ are among in the top 10 most frequently used phrases. The presence of the targeting words from the campaign stage significantly decreased after Trump’s victory, as ‘draintheswamp,’ ‘maga,’ ‘bigleaguetruth,’ ‘Hillary,’ ‘Clinton,’ ‘americafirst’ and ‘crooked’ were not consistent with P2 anymore. The cumulative results showed that the targeting words emerged 533 times (7.3% share of P1 and 3.51% of the entire corpus) in P1 while in P2, only 52 hits arose (0.7% of the second period and 0.34% of the total sample).

To examine changes and differences between the targeted-populist PCS of the two periods used by @realDonaldTrump, the scrutiny supplied the following outcomes relying on the Populist Dictionary (see Table 2) in P1 and P2 (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Antagonism and people-centrism in @realDonaldTrump’s tweets in the entire sample and P1 and P2 separately**



The campaign stage was more intensive in terms of utilization of populist-like words (RQ 3) than the six-month-long phase which followed the electoral victory. As the computer-assisted results supported, blaming the antagonist entities was more frequent than highlighting the vital role of the ‘ordinary’ people in Donald Trump’s tweets (RQ 4). However, the portions of antagonism-people comparison are almost the same in both periods; approximately 52-53% and 48-47% in favor of antagonism.

The scrutiny also examined the correlations between the topics (see Table 6). The total number of matches was 4,230 during the two periods. The highest relationship emerged between ‘Enemy’ and ‘Election’ with its 7.5% proportion (RQ 5). There were very similar co-occurrences between ‘Economy-Election’ (5.6%), ‘Economy-Foreign Policy’ (5.2%), and ‘Nominations & Policies-Election’ (4.7%). The differences were also small between the following topics that had a significantly lower frequency of matches: ‘Economy-Other,’ ‘Economy-Enemy’ with 2.3%, and 2.2%, respectively. The least connected topics in the analyzed database were ‘Enemy’ and ‘Other’ with only 16 occurrences.

**Table 6. Topic relation matrix of the two analyzed periods**

Topic	Enemy	Election	Other	Economy	Foreign Pol.	Nom. & Pol.	SUM
Enemy	0	316	16	96	85	67	580
Election	316	0	127	237	193	200	1,073
Other	16	127	0	98	62	53	356
Economy	96	237	98	0	220	217	868
Foreign Pol.	85	193	62	220	0	128	688
Nom. & Pol.	67	200	53	217	128	0	665
SUM	580	1,073	356	868	688	665	4,230

As the outcomes showed, Hillary Clinton was the primary antagonistic individual opponent in the analysis; Donald Trump focused on stressing the differences between him and his political rival with a remarkable but not severe frequency within the same tweets. However, the total portion of the direct, explicit co-occurrences was 63.

**Table 7. Co-occurrences between Trump and Clinton within the same tweets**

References	She	Her	Hillary	Clinton	Hillary Clinton
I	6	3	20	0	7
Me	3	3	4	1	1
Donald	0	0	0	0	0
Trump	1	0	1	9	2
Donald Trump	0	0	1	0	1
<b>SUM</b>	<b>63</b>				

#### 4.2. Explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Donald Trump's tweets

First, this part of the analysis provides the intercoder reliability referring to each period and the entire sample. Trained coders' analysis supplied high reliability, namely  $\alpha = 0.831$  in P1,  $\alpha = 0.826$  in P2, and  $\alpha = 0.829$  in P1+P2. Therefore, the coding frames referring to EP, IP, and NS represented reliable and supportive results. As the results and intercoder agreements support, the Republican leader utilized IP with significantly higher frequency (RQ 6) in both periods than EP. In P1, the frequencies of intercoder agreements in IP were almost three times higher (2.81x) than EP's (see Table 8). The dominance of IP declined in P2, but not significantly, as the agreements almost reached a two and a half (2.41x) times higher emergence than EP. Therefore, the entire sample's results also supported the overlap of IP in terms of intercoder agreements.

Interestingly, there was no significant deviance between EP and NS. The former dispensed 22.17% of the total number of agreements, while the latter provides an 18.72% share. Both coder's results supported that Donald Trump utilized IP with a higher share in P1 than P2.

**Table 8. Coders' results in EP, IP and NS tweets in Donald Trump's tweets**

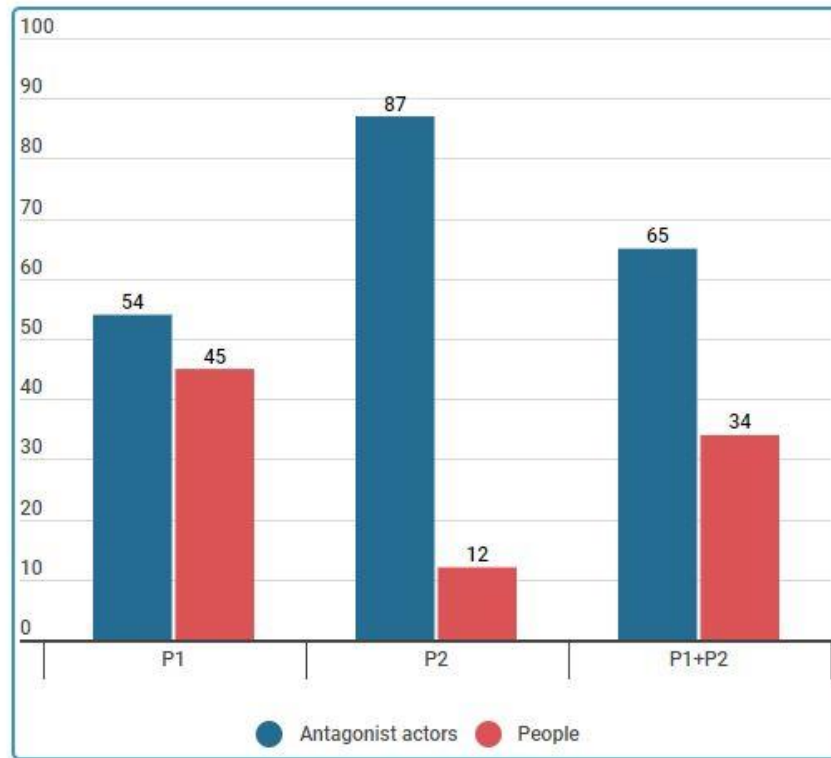
Code	A(P1)	A(P2)	A(P1+P2)	D(P1)	D(P2)	D(P1+P2)	%(P1)	%(P2)	%(P1+P2) <sup>19</sup>
NS	40	36	76	2	2	4	95,24	94,74	95,00
IP	158	82	240	13	9	22	92,40	90,11	91,60
EP	56	34	90	11	7	18	83,58	82,93	83,33
<T>	254	152	406	26	18	44	90,71	89,41	90,22

As the results suggested, Donald Trump did not appeal to specific segments of the people like minorities and isolated circles in the analyzed EP tweets (RQ 7). The entire sample showed that the smaller fragments of citizens belonged to specific states and cities like Alabama, Arizona, Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Hampshire, Iowa, Michigan, Nevada, Ohio, or Pennsylvania, Charlotte, Cleveland, and Orlando. The

<sup>19</sup> Abbreviations in Table 8: 'A'=Agreements, 'D'=Disagreements, 'T'=Total, '%'= Share, 'EP' = Explicit Populism, 'IP'=Implicit Populism, 'NS'= Neutral Sentences, 'P1'= Period One, 'P2'=Period Two, 'P1+P2'= Entire Period

groups above did not emerge in Trump's Explicit Populist dichotomies in which antagonist out-groups are also appearing.

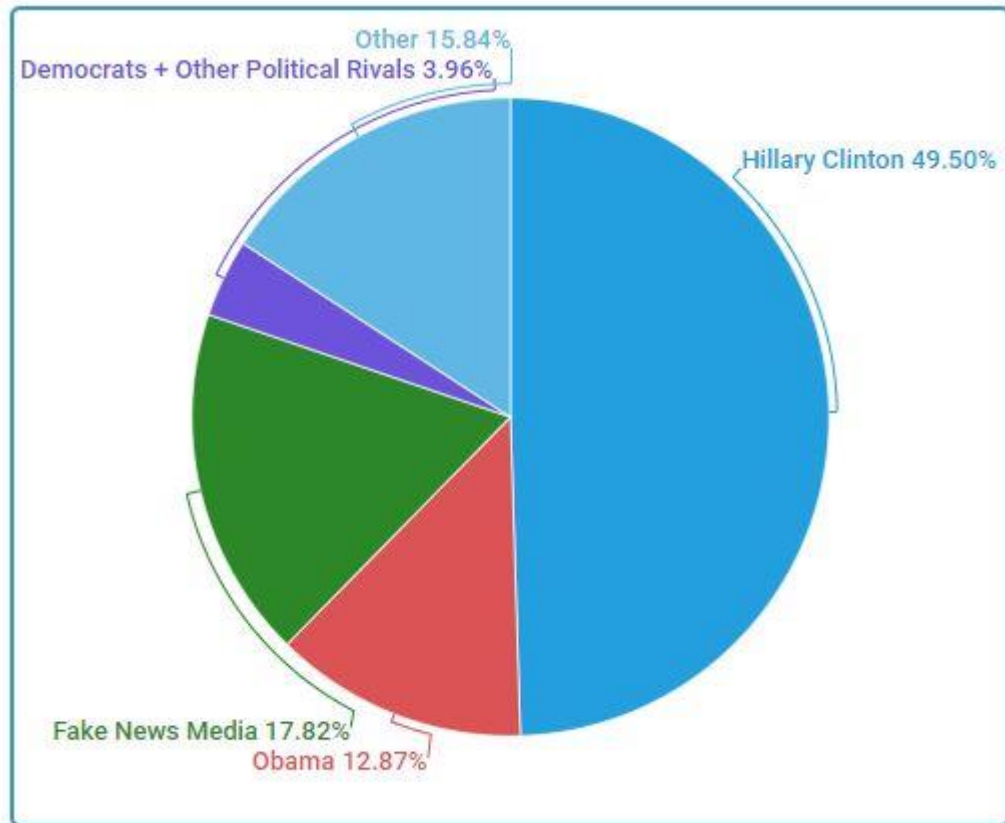
**Figure 3. Antagonism versus people-centrism in IP tweets during both periods and the entire sample (%)**



As Figure 3 supports, the antagonist perspective had higher shares of IP tweets in the analysis of people-centrism and antagonism (RQ 8), although there was a considerable difference between P1 and P2. The first period's shares were almost even in terms of the ratio between the blameless citizens and the culprit others, but the second phase presented the dominance of antagonism over appealing to the people. Blame attribution had almost a seven-time-higher (87.25%) share of P2's PPCS than praising people. Figure 4 demonstrates that blame attributions referred to Hillary Clinton in nearly half of the analyzed IP tweets, followed by the dishonest media, the Other groups (terrorists, antipathetic countries, and general dangers), Barack Obama and other political rivals in P1. As Figure 5 shows, Donald Trump focused primarily on the media in P2, followed by inner political opponents and other threatening entities like terrorists, antipathetic countries, and moderate, general references to dangerous out-groups. His predecessor emerged with the second smallest share while his primary

rival in P1 (Hillary Clinton) was the last person who occurred in IP antagonist tweets related to P2.

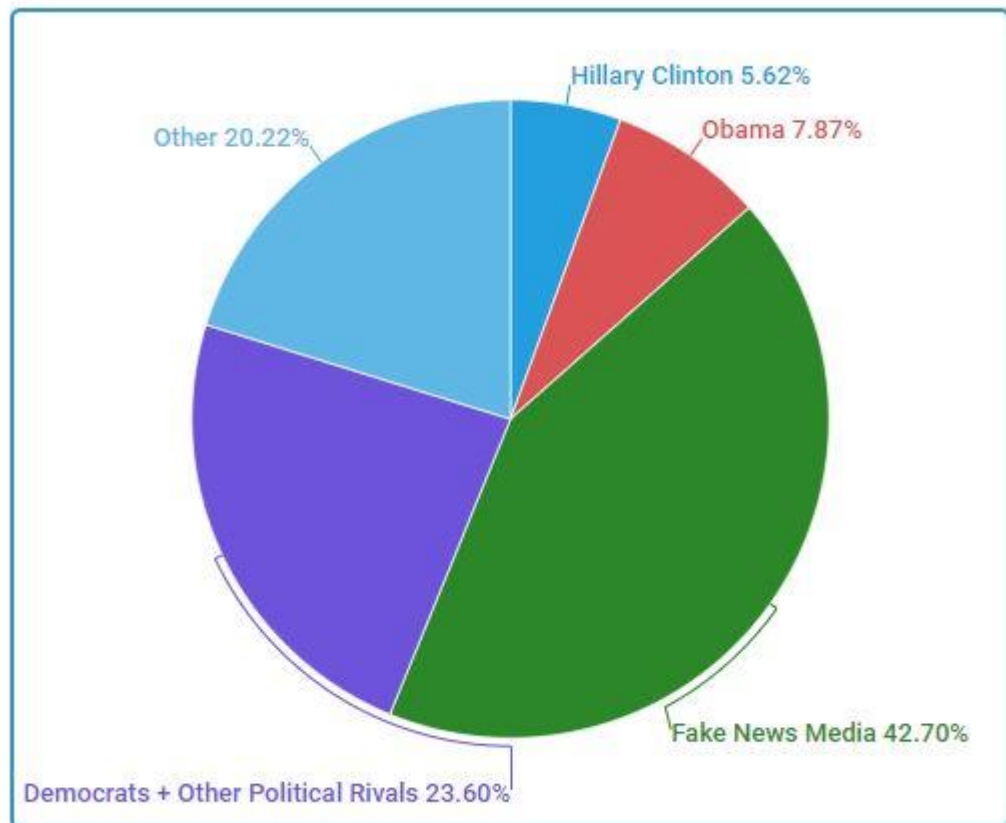
**Figure 4. Antagonism in IP Tweets in Period One**



The study showed that there were considerable proportions of words with blame attributions that might have affected the following negative emotions, such as fear and anger (Hameleers et al., 2017). The results support that the frequency of negative labels were 430 in the entire database. P1 consisted of 247 adversary references, while in P2, 183 blame attributions emerged. The adversary words had a share of 3.11% in P1 while they supplied 2.27% of P2. Therefore, negative words had a considerable portion of the analyzed data. As the results supported, the frequencies of words above reached a stock that cannot be ignored in scientific research in which scholars focus on blame attributions (RQ 9). The keyword-in-context method provided that 75 negative blame attributions connected to Hillary Clinton. Donald Trump emphasized that his opponent is a ‘crooked’ person, or he referred to her as

‘#crookedhillary.’ In P1, the Republican candidate targeted the current President, Barack Obama, ten times by emphasizing the harmful effect of the Affordable Care Act. In P2, the blame attributions were primarily attached to the media. Therefore, the ‘fake news’ dominated the negative labels (f=39) followed by ‘failing nytimes’ (f=19), ‘illegal immigration’ (f=7), ‘bad’ people (f=7), and the ‘dishonest’ media (f=6).

**Figure 5. Antagonism in IP Tweets in Period Two**



In sum, based on the results presented above, Donald Trump shifted the blame attribution from Hillary Clinton to another primary opponent in P2, namely the dishonest media. In general, IP tweets dominated Donald Trump’s Twitter PPCS, while the shares of EP and NS agreements were very close to each other. The Republican leader lacked the emphasis of specific groups because he focused on the broadest audience to persuade as many voters as possible. In Chapter 5, the scrutiny endeavors to interpret and discuss the findings related to Donald Trump. Moreover, a comparative discussion on P1 and P2 is also provided.

#### 4.3. Explicit and implicit populist political communication style in Hillary Clinton's tweets

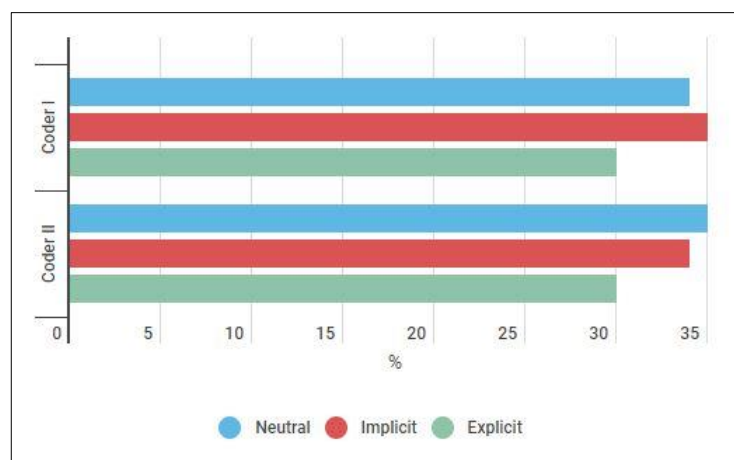
First, based on Krippendorff's Alpha method, the trained coders' results supported significant reliability in this segment of the analysis (0.7727). The scrutiny discerned the highest agreement (see Table 9) in NS, followed by EP, and IP. Neither explicit nor implicit PPCS dominated the analyzed sample; however, the latter emerged with a slightly higher frequency (RQ 10). Even though neutral agreements occurred with the highest rate, it is apparent from the table below that tweets with PPCS dominated (112:67) Secretary Clinton's tweets.

**Table 9. Intercoder agreements divided into the three core categories**

Code	Agreements	Disagreements	Total	Percent
Neutral	67	4	71	94,37
EP	54	11	65	83,08
IP	58	17	75	77,33
<Total>	179	32	211	84,83

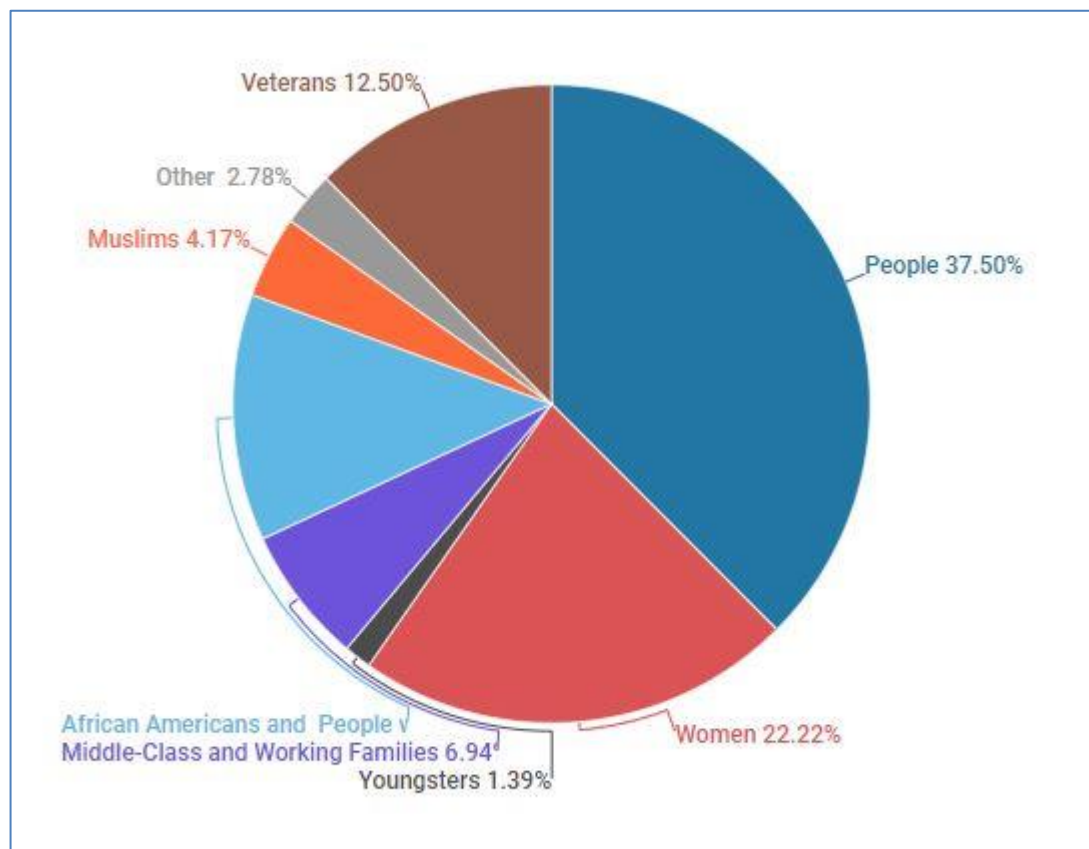
Second, as Figure 6 presents, the shares (%) of the three categories were close to each other in both coder's results. The Democratic candidate's communication supported a balanced style in which all types of categories appeared with minor deviations. It is important to note that the shares below (see Figure 6) consisted of every coded tweet, including agreements and disagreements.

**Figure 6. Shares of EP, IP, and NS in the analyzed sample separated by the two trained coders' results (%)**



Third, as Figure 7 supports, Secretary Clinton focused primarily on the general group of people if she utilized the PPCS directly and explicitly. Tweets that referred to female citizens were in second place, followed by two groups with equal shares, namely African American or Latino citizens, and soldiers. The first two groups provided more than half of the results presented in the diagram (59%). On the contrary, sectors like the middle-class, blue-collar workers, students, and Muslims had a cumulative share of 12% altogether from the entire sample. Although the broad category of people emerged with the highest frequency in EP tweets individually, the results support that the references to specific groups provided almost two-third of the analyzed tweets. Therefore, the investigation suggested that the emphasis of specific, isolated groups dominated the Democratic nominee's tweets, but the broadest range of the citizens is the most remarkable group that will suffer from the antagonist political elite's adverse decisions (RQ 11).

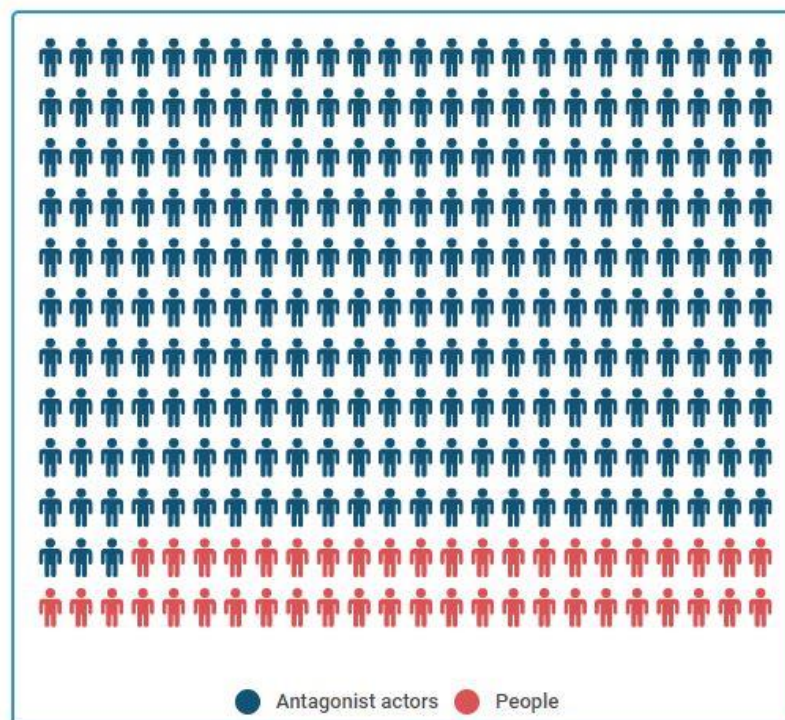
**Figure 7. Emerging Groups in Hillary Clinton's Explicit Populist Political Communication**



Fourth, the examination provides the results in which IP appears. As discussed above in the literature review, there are two vital groups in populism: the excellent people and the corrupt elite (Mudde, 2004). In order to highlight the essential elements of populism preferred by Hillary Clinton, the emergence of the elite and the citizens is collected quantitatively. In this analysis, the elite consisted of Donald Trump and his Vice President candidate Mike Pence, or both.

Finally, Secretary Clinton often referred to the citizens by utilizing the words presented in the Populist Dictionary (see Table 3). However, as Figure 8 shows, antagonism had significant dominance over citizens (RQ 12). The culprit out-group emerged with more than five times the frequency (48:9) of the citizens. The latter sector was the primarily suffering group in terms of the populist thin ideology's logic.

**Figure 8. Antagonism versus People in Hillary Clinton's Implicit PPCS**



Furthermore, based on the quantitative analysis, the results supported that Donald Trump emerged 30 times while the Republican candidate and his Vice President nominee appeared 13 times together, and Mike Pence occurred twice in IP tweets. This section presents the outcome, which might support the current investigation in terms of the utilization of negative expressions, where the followers'

negative emotions were targeted by Secretary Clinton. The quantitative analysis found that seven words, which might also function as negative labels, namely ‘dangerous,’ ‘fighting,’ ‘hate,’ ‘lied,’ ‘never,’ ‘reject,’ and ‘stop’ emerge among the phrases in the antagonist section of the populist dictionary used by the Democratic nominee with the frequency of 115 in the campaign period (RQ 13). Interestingly, the keywords of ‘Donald’ and ‘Trump’ occurred with a relatively low frequency (27) in the keyword-in-context analysis. Clinton pinned the labels above less than one-fourth of the times within a four-word-distance suggesting a connection between the person and the negative expressions. As mentioned above, most of the negative labels did not emerge in close references to Trump, or they, in peculiar cases, applied to other entities. For instance, ‘lied’ which is an indicator of a negative label, referred to Donald Trump only six times out of ten to the nominee of the Republican Party. Clinton highlighted another antagonist political opponent, namely Mike Pence, by using his name and ‘lied’ in the same tweet.

Moreover, the computer-assisted method also searched for the following words that can mark the politicians mentioned above as dishonest persons: ‘lie,’ ‘lies,’ and ‘liar.’ The first two words have a frequency of eleven altogether, but the last expression had no occurrence in the database. As a result, the Democratic candidate lacked the emphasis of a direct, explicit language in which she might have had an opportunity for pinpointing short, negative, easy-to-interpret labels to the antagonist Republican challenger, namely Donald Trump.

## **5. EMERGING TOPICS, EXPLICIT, AND IMPLICIT POPULISM IN DONALD TRUMP'S TWEETS IN PERIOD ONE AND PERIOD TWO**

As the results showed in the previous chapter, the 'Enemy' was the most typical topic in Trump's tweets during the two periods. In P1, he primarily attacked Hillary Clinton, while, in P2, the 'fake news media' are the most prominent enemy. As the results illustrated, the Republican politician implemented more populist expressions in P1 than in P2. The PPCS of Trump targeted the enemy firstly, and the people were only in second place. The most significantly correlating topics were the 'Enemy' and 'Election' in the sample of 4,230 co-occurrences. As the scrutiny supports, IP dominated Trump's tweets, while the shares of EP and NS were similar. People-centrism referred mostly to the collective community of the voters, but smaller fragments of specific states and cities were also present but in a universal way. There was slightly more antagonism than people-centrism in IP tweets in P1, while foes dominated the coding units in the subsequent phase. Negative words, which might have affected voter's fear and anger, appeared with a considerable frequency in the database.

Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, utilized a balanced PPCS in her tweets by implementing EP and IP with almost the same frequencies. First, and foremost, if one considers the cumulative results, she intended to focus on specific fragmented groups such as women, African Americans, Latinos, veterans, Muslims, and young people during the campaign. Clinton's IP PCS relied mostly on stressing the pivotal role of the hostile challenger, namely Donald Trump. Despite the emergence of specific negative words in the relevant sample, Secretary Clinton did not label her opponent with negative words with considerable frequencies. This chapter aims to discuss the findings in emerging topics and PPCS in @realDonaldTrump's tweets.

### **5.1. Discussion of the key modifications in Donald Trump's tweets between Period One and Period Two**

Based on the supportive nature of the results in @realDonaldTrump's Twitter communication, specific consistency arose in his tweets. During the first examined

stage, Donald Trump focused primarily on the theme of ‘Election’ as he encouraged American citizens to join his rallies and vote on the 8th of November 2016. Advertising his public speeches (including interviews, campaigning at rallies, presidential debates, and sharing links which referred to online broadcasts) and mobilizing the crowd (joining his movement, participating in the demonstrations, and voting on the Election Day) were frequent appeals used by the Republican candidate.

The emphasis of the antagonist entities was slightly higher in the Republican politician’s tweets, rather than relying on ordinary citizens, in the last months of the campaign period. The primary ‘Enemy’ during the campaign is Hillary Clinton. A likely explanation might connect to the dynamic of the campaign stage: Trump had the opportunity to draw a picture of an unreliable opponent, who was unstable from almost every perspective. First, as Trump claimed, Secretary Clinton was already a ‘failed’ politician who

*‘...deleted 33,000 e-mails after getting a subpoena from U.S. Congress.’* Date: 2016-11-02.

According to Trump’s suggestion, such a ‘dishonest’ person should never serve the American Nation. @realDonaldTrump used his exploitative language to show that his primary opponent was a ‘crooked’ person who was part of the corrupt, lying political establishment. As such, Clinton did not have any accurate attribution, which is essential for governing the United States. A significant change must be done in American politics, but without the incumbent political elite and with the influential businessman who is a new person in politics and independent of corrupt games, which kept the failing establishment in Washington in charge.

Second, @realDonaldTrump tweeted often that Hillary Clinton intended to increase taxes that may cause severe deficits for the hard-working citizens. A sharp cut for ordinary people’s wallets arises if Clinton wins the election. According to his promises, Trump did not want to make people pay higher taxes, while he also planned to punish the companies which brought their factories out of the States to maximize their profit. In other words, the Republican nominee declared that he protects the people, at least in two ways: he will not raise fees, but he keeps big corporates in the country to provide jobs for the decent inhabitants.

Third, Trump stressed that Clinton does not have the physical strength and necessary health to rule the United States, while the Republican politician was in perfect physical condition. The core idea in the Republican politician's PPCS was to emphasize that his opponent was incapable, a liar, inconsistent, weak, and more importantly, a failed representative who planned to increase the political establishment's income by risking the 'proper' American inhabitant's prosperity.

As the results support, @realDonaldTrump also appealed to the people because he often considered his campaign as a movement that could bring about change in the current political system. He spotlighted that he wanted to rely on the people, as he tweeted:

*'In order to create a new GOVERNMENT of, by, & for the PEOPLE, I need your VOTE!'* Date: 2016-10-22.

Moreover, Donald Trump employed a classical populist expression, namely giving the power back to ordinary citizens. Creating a new government was meant to be a different establishment in every sense because Donald Trump had no connection to the former administrations. Therefore, he could not be accused of being a politically rigged person. As a new phenomenon in American politics, he might have honestly promised a different way for the United States, which lacks the old-fashioned, corrupt, or ineffective politicians. Trump declared that the former President brought an economic disaster to the nation by the reconstructed healthcare system, while Clinton was so unaware of Home Affairs that she could not protect classified e-mails. Why would a former system and its prominent member serve the people? In other words, the antagonist out-group risked people's prosperity and safety. As Trump suggested, only he was the sole person, even among Republicans, who may be capable of fixing problems that emerged owing to the failed politicians.

As the election was over, @realDonaldTrump's tweeting logic changed in terms of defining the 'Enemy.' The results did not show crucial differences between the frequency of 'Enemy' between P1 and P2, but @realDonaldTrump started to tweet about the 'fake news media,' instead of focusing on Hillary Clinton because media accused him and his staff of cooperating with the Russian government during the election. Furthermore, @realDonaldTrump tweeted other negative messages about the

media referring to manipulated polls, internal problems of the Trump administration, declining the change of healthcare system, and ignoring ‘the great danger’ that threatens the United States. He consistently denied the claims mentioned above in his Twitter communication. In individual tweets, @realDonaldTrump enhanced the connection between the media and the Democrats:

*‘Russia talk is FAKE NEWS put out by the Dems, and played up by the media, in order to mask the big election defeat and the illegal leaks!’* Date: 2017-02-26.

He put the two main enemies in one group to keep the distance from them and emphasized the possible ties between the culprit out-groups. As mentioned in the literature review, populism has a flexible attribution. So does Donald Trump. A new period brought different opponents, and the President-elect, later the President of the United States, accused them of lying by spreading fake news to the American citizens.

In P2, certain foreign enemies appeared regularly in his tweets like North Korea, Mexico, and China. The tweets connected to ‘Foreign Policy’ issues emerged in P2, while P1 almost lacked this topic. As the results supported, ‘Foreign Policy’ and ‘Enemy’ may correlate in tweets referring to the countries above. The frequency of ‘Enemy’ did not decrease significantly in P2 (734 hits in P1, 699 in P2), but the topics targeted by Donald Trump became more detailed and comprehensive. Antipathetical countries, companies that did not want to manufacture products in the United States, the ‘dishonest’ media, and the Democrats who

*‘...have nothing going but to obstruct.’* Date: 2017-01-31.

Moreover, ‘bad’ people were among the several themes that appeared as enemies in P2. As the current political or public situation demanded, @realDonaldTrump optimized his PPCS. The results supported that diversified topics emerged in P2 in terms of specifying the latest antagonist entities.

In @realDonaldTrump’s Twitter communication, the ‘Election’ magnetized the highest number of near correlations (proximity of codes). The results illustrated that the strongest co-occurrence appeared between ‘Election’ and ‘Enemy’; however, the ‘Election’ was also attached significantly to ‘Economy,’ ‘Foreign Policy,’ and

‘Nominations & Policies.’ The outcomes above supported that the antagonist political elite, primarily Hillary Clinton, was the main topic of Donald Trump’s actual PPCS.

Despite the fact that the category of ‘Enemy’ was the most frequently emerging topic in the entire analysis, and it reached the highest number of correlations referring to election-based tweets, the second smallest portion of correlation appeared between the antagonist-adversary messages and the other five main topics. One possible explanation of this result suggests that Donald Trump utilized an adversary style of political communication in a practical-pragmatist way. First, as a populist politician, the Republican leader attacked the rival political elite spectacularly in the most intensive period by his PCS, in order to highlight the distance (Bos et al., 2011) between him and Secretary Clinton. Besides the strongest co-occurrence with ‘Election’ and some insignificant correlations with other topics, ‘Enemy’ referred mostly to the antagonist actor itself. Second, Donald Trump might have not wanted to mix his antagonist PPCS up with different topics in order to make his supporters understand that regardless of any other issues, the antagonist political actors were harmful. As failed persons in politics, they represented a genuine threat for the American Nation; therefore, there was no need for emphasizing any different topics with a significant proportion in the election. A straightforward, oversimplified, antagonistic communication frame emerged in the analysis in which corrupt political opponents wanted to affect and influence the electoral race, and they intended to exploit ordinary citizens as they had done it before (Caiani & Graziano, 2016). Despite a few insignificant exceptions, the frame above lacked other topics, and it helped to produce clear adversary messages for the populist actor whose primary task was to bring attention to corrupt and educated political elite (Ionescu & Gellner, 1969).

The findings of this section provided that the correlations are diversified between other categories, especially if one takes into account the shares of ‘Economy-Foreign Policy’ and ‘Economy-Nominations & Policies’ (5.3% and 4.8%). Even though the presidential race had been finished in November, the election was still a recurrent topic in @realDonaldTrump’s Twitter communication. After the election, the President of the United States still reacted to the news and negative allegations referring to the campaign. @realDonaldTrump changed the scope in the ‘Enemy’

category to not let the controversial allegations by the media unanswered and to not let the public sphere question his legitimate administration.

## **5.2. The discussion of PPCS in Period One**

The following subchapters supply a vital characterization of Donald Trump's PPCS in the campaign period. The communication strategy that relied on the fundamental populist dichotomy had specific patterns in the Republican nominee's tweets. This part of the thesis aims to introduce Donald Trump's PPCS by which he attempted to persuade the citizens during the 2016 presidential elections. Besides this, references to the essential antagonist actors also arose below. In order to provide a supportive in-depth analysis, the study considers the Explicit, Implicit, and Neutral tweets as the method by which some features of the examined data might be described.

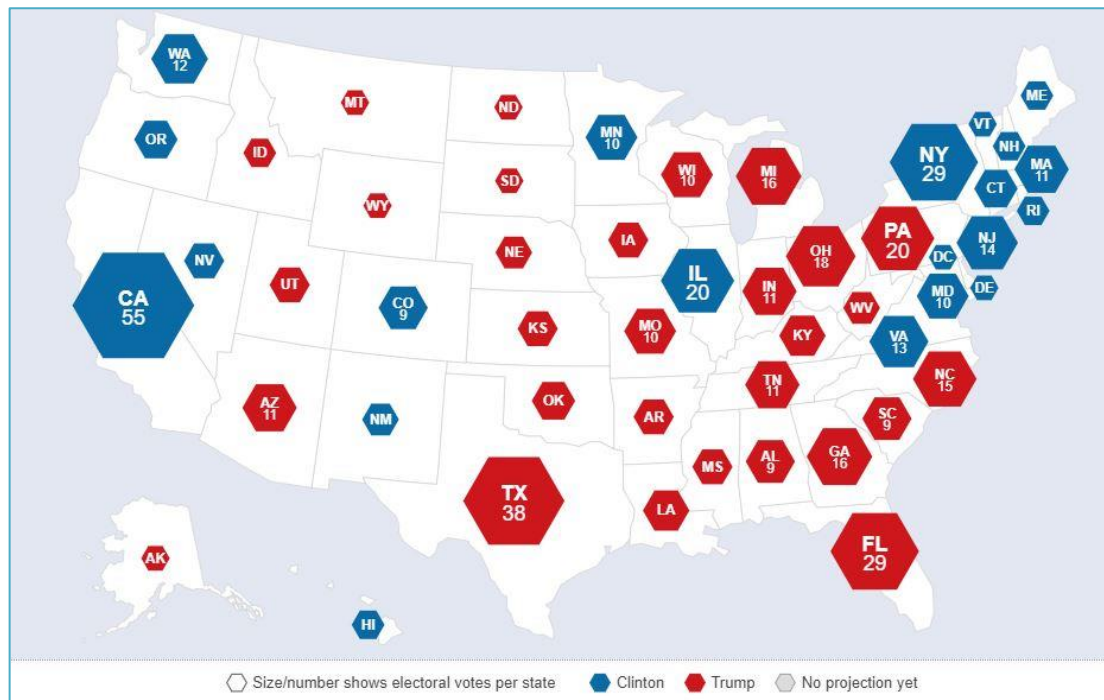
### **5.2.1. Addressing the relevant people**

Bonikowski and Gidron (2016) argue that challenger politicians tend to utilize PPCS intensively in their campaign speeches. Donald Trump fitted the category of the challenger because he had never made a serious effort to run for the presidency in the United States. In previous studies, scholars point out that Donald Trump and his communicational team adjusted the Republican nominee's rhetoric to specifications of PPCS (Engesser et al., 2017b; Hameleers et al., 2018; Pal et al., 2017) and the peculiar political situation in the United States. After all, their strategy was a successful one because the Republican leader won the electoral race with a remarkable difference (306:232 in favor of Trump). In this subchapter, the examination focuses on the appeal to the people and the way Donald Trump referred to 'ordinary' citizens to exploit one of the two vital elements of PPCS, namely the 'blameless,' homogenous masses (Canovan, 2002).

As the results above supported, Donald Trump's communication disregarded the appeal to isolated groups like ethnic minorities. Hence, he intended to tweet in the name of the sovereign people, and the country, based on the essential PPCS's features (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). Also, the Republican leader focused on other subgroups

like people of the specific cities and states. The discussion aims to explain why Donald Trump attempted to praise the inhabitants of particular states.

**Figure 9. The results of the 2016 Presidential Election in the United States**  
(Source: BBC)<sup>20</sup>



Based on the Populist Dictionary provided by the computer-assisted method, there were eleven emerging states in P1's tweets. Donald Trump and his communication team worked out a logical and pragmatic plan in which the Republican politician targeted the significant states in terms of electoral votes; thus, he had the chance to persuade or win swing states against Hillary Clinton. Therefore, he attempted to reach as many supporters as possible by refraining from referencing the specific minorities within individual states. Tweeting about this mobilization to make inhabitants join the rallies or the elections in particular states was an essential and recurrent pattern in @realDonaldTrump's tweets:

<sup>20</sup> States with blue color signs the victory of Hillary Clinton, while states in red presents Donald Trump's success.

*'Thank you South Carolina! Everyone has to get out and VOTE on 11/8/16. #MakeAmericaGreatAgain'* Date: 2016-10-06.

Being grateful and tweeting about gratitude was fundamental feedback from Donald Trump to his supporters. Moreover, in the tweet above, he utilized implicit PPCS in which he suggests that the land that had been once a great country but deprived by the culprit out-groups will be a wealthy one soon. As the outcome of the 2016 Presidential Election demonstrated (BBC, 2016), the vital strategy in the campaign period worked effectively. As Figure 9 presents, the Republican candidate won nine states out of eleven from the territories he focused on primarily in his campaign via Twitter. Donald Trump's PPCS was successful in the following states: Alabama (9)<sup>21</sup>, Arizona (11), Carolina (15+9)<sup>22</sup>, Florida (29), Georgia (16), Iowa (6), Michigan (16), Ohio (18), and Pennsylvania (20). There were only two states in which he could not gain victories, namely Hampshire (4) and Nevada (6).<sup>23</sup> Moreover, as a recent investigation showed, eleven states were considered as competitive or swing states during the 2016 Presidential Election (Kenski & Kenski, 2017). The list of victorious states presented above consists of six swing states in which Donald Trump finally persuaded people, namely Florida, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Interestingly, as the computer-assisted method provided, despite the critical importance of Texas, the Republican leader referred to the state that offered 38 electoral votes only four times in P1. One explanation might be that the state above was a stable land for Republicans as they won ten elections, including Trump's victory, in a row within the specific territory from 1980 (Daniel & Batheja, 2016).

In P1, the emergence of antagonism and people-centrism (Aslanidis, 2018) was almost equal in @realDonaldTrump's tweets. A possible explanation for these results may be the necessity of balance in targeting the enemy and appeal to the voters. In the campaign phase, the Republican leader perceived that mobilizing supporters, praising the people, and being grateful for specific (swing) states were almost as vital as the emphasis of the enemy that ruins people's lives by disregarding hard-working citizens

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<sup>21</sup> Numbers in the parentheses show the electoral votes in the different states.

<sup>22</sup> The first integer refers to the portion of North-Carolina's electoral votes, while the second presents South-Carolina's.

desires. The next subchapter focuses on the appearing antagonist actors in Donald Trump's campaign tweets.

### **5.2.2. The primary enemy: Hillary Clinton**

Donald Trump stressed Hillary Clinton's antagonistic role by employing explicit and implicit PPCS in his tweets during the campaign stage. Moreover, he used a unique negative label, namely 'crooked' to make voters remember the corruption represented by his political opponent:

*'Crooked Hillary colluded w/FBI and DOJ and media is covering up to protect her. It's a #RiggedSystem! Our country deserves better!'* Date: 2016-10-17.

The blame attribution above relied on several considerable perspectives to characterize the Democratic candidate's failing policy.

First, Donald Trump presented that Hillary Clinton was an unscrupulous person who did not care about the people's desires but focused on possessing power for the mainstream culprit establishment. In this political situation, the blame attribution (Tilley & Hobolt, 2011) may have affected voters' anger. Focusing on anger might have been a major feature of Trump's PPCS because 'Trump's supporters are different from other voters in that they score above average on all of the attitudes that are related to populism. In the sample, they are the most financially pessimistic and conspiratorial minded of all the voters. They also record high levels of mistrust and anger at the federal government' (Oliver & Rahn, 2016, p. 200). Ordinary citizens might have felt anger about the exploiting political power, in which Hillary Clinton was a prominent actor, who disregarded the recovery of 'ordinary' people's prosperity. As Trump suggested implicitly and declared explicitly, the corrupt presidential administration was an abusive and exploitative machine which was embedded into the society. There was a need for a severe change to give a reasonable alternative by a person who was not a member of the 'rigged system.'

Second, the Republican leader highlighted the irresponsibility of the Democratic candidate. Trump's tweet on Hillary Clinton's e-mail scandal showed the voters that the liberal politician kept classified documents insecurely on her private e-

mail address. In other words, according to Trump, Clinton's unfit to be the next President of the Nation. He asked, implicitly, the following questions: How can somebody be a Commander-in-Chief who does not even handle the issues of secret documents accessible only to authorized people? How can Americans trust in a person who is incapable of protecting national security even at a vital level?

Consequently, the Democratic candidate deprived people of their fundamental desire, which was being secured. As Trump declared, his primary political rival was a dishonest, untalented, and irresponsible politician. As such, Hillary Clinton was not a cautious leader but a greedy member of the failing system (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017) who had only one goal, namely procuring power regardless of considering citizens fundamental rights like acquiring wealth, protecting them from internal and foreign threats, and creating jobs. Donald Trump suggested that Clinton was not a servant of the people, but the one who benefitted from them.

The Republican challenger pointed out that his rival, the culprit member of the failing political establishment (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007), had decades to evaluate, reconsider, and resolve the problems of the Nation. Instead, she failed in serving the country, but created chaos in the Middle East by voting for the Iraqi war. Although the war was far away from the United States, it still affected people by the tragic death of American soldiers, the physical and mental regeneration of veterans, and catalyzing retaliations by terrorists within the invading country's territory and in many other nations worldwide.

According to the Republican candidate, Hillary Clinton made adversary comments about Donald Trump's supporters, the many Americans who are decent, hard-working citizens. Moreover, Trump declared that Clinton insulted every American by the utilization of a disrespectful use of language. What precisely did Donald Trump refer to in this case? He spotlighted one of the campaign speeches of Hillary Clinton at a fund-raiser in Manhattan in which she called 'half of' Trump's followers a 'basket of deplorables' (Chozick, 2016). Therefore, there was a chance for the Republican challenger to contradict the allegations in which Clinton suggested that Trump is the only person who utilized disrespectful language. Donald Trump exploited the situation by targeting Clinton's adversary style and stressed how humiliating her words were to put the Democratic candidate into the category of 'impoliteness.'

In P1, Donald Trump referred to Hillary Clinton both in explicit and implicit ways. There was a fundamental need for enhancing the differences between the ‘crooked’ politician and the ‘good’ people (Aslanidis, 2018) to make voters ignore the culprit oppositional leader. However, Clinton emerged in IP at a higher frequency than in EP. As the results support, Trump and his communication team mainly focused on the ‘weak,’ ‘failed,’ and ‘cheater ‘ antagonist actor by bringing attention to a simple (Bracciale & Martella, 2017), easy-to-interpret and consequent allegation, utilizing blame attributions to affect people’s anger (Hameleers et al., 2017). @realDonaldTrump’s focal point among negative emotions was mostly anger instead of fear. A possible explanation for the allegation above might be that the challenger concentrated on the stability of corruption in American politics, a firm and a vital attribution of the exploiting establishment which must be ended by him. As Hameleers et al. argue (2017), fear mostly refers to uncertain dangers, threats, and deprivations, primarily accruing from the near future.

Moreover, Hameleers et al. conclude in their case study (2017) that fear is the core emotion of populist political communication. The supportive results of this dissertation differed from the Dutch scholars 2017 estimate of fear’s dominance over anger, but the outcomes showed that anger might appear with higher frequency than fear in Donald Trump’s PPCS in P1. The political situation diverged between the Netherlands and the United States; therefore, the blame attributions weights might have been shifted from fear to anger back and forth depending on the politician’s pragmatic adjustments. After all, in P1, Trump targeted first and foremost the instance of the constant and almost infinite corruption that harms hard-working people’s labor (Canovan, 1999) and keeps the culprit processes proceeding. Also, Trump declared the unsuccessfulness, untrustworthiness, and weakness of the rival, who was the leading cause of the declining prosperity.

### **5.2.3. The ineffective predecessor**

Besides the blame placed on Hillary Clinton, the Republican candidate made a serious effort to emphasize the failure of Barack Obama by bringing attention to one of his outstanding bills. The Affordable Care Act (in other words, Obamacare) is a regulation

that might supply healthcare for the citizens in an extended form. However, Donald Trump stressed that Obamacare is unaffordable for the American inhabitants:

*‘In addition to those without health coverage- those that have disastrous #Obamacare are seeing MASSIVE PREMIUM INCREASES. Repeal & replace!’* Date: 2016-10-20.

As a businessman, Donald Trump tended to act like a pundit who had considerable experience in financial health management. As he was a real estate mogul, there was no evidence for his capabilities that might have provided the elaboration of a new policy referring to the health care system. The Republican leader drew attention to Obama’s regulation mostly implicitly by emphasizing the harmful effects of the predecessor’s health care act in P1. As the results of this dissertation supported, there was no need in Trump’s PPCS to compare the Democratic President with the ordinary citizens, because the issue mentioned above affected almost the entire nation. One of the essential *hidden* dichotomies in IP tweets referring to Obamacare emerged between the citizens who paid significant amounts to the insurance companies and the people whose incomes were between 100% and 400% the federal poverty level (Frean et al., 2017). The second group received considerable ‘premium tax credits’ from the United States’ budget and it was ‘protected from these increases due to ACA provisions that limit their costs to a certain fraction of their incomes’ (Thompson et al., 2018, p. 417). Despite that, Trump did not focus on contradiction between the two imagined communities but blamed Barack Obama, who put the whole nation into a disastrous situation by ratifying Affordable Care Act. Besides, Donald Trump pointed out that the Democratic President is one of the key supporters of Hillary Clinton (Holloway, 2017). According to the populist challenger, the culprit head of the administration helped the Democratic nominee to perpetuate the policies that keep the country in a stagnant position. In other words, the way of mainstream policies prevented people from Making America Great Again.

#### **5.2.4. A supporter of the main establishment: the media**

Donald Trump also stressed the role of the media, which are typical antagonist agents in PPCS (Pauwels, 2014), in his tweets by utilizing their false function. The Republican candidate highlighted that CNN and New York Times or merely the ‘media’ were supporting his rival during the presidential elections. He alleged that the media system was against him and it made a serious effort to keep proceeding the culprit political elite’s harmful activities by influencing one of the crucial features of the democratic system, the election:

*‘This election is being rigged by the media pushing false and unsubstantiated charges, and outright lies, in order to elect Crooked Hillary!’* Date: 2016-10-15.

Seeking ties between the Democratic opponent and other antagonist actors characterizes Trump’s PPCS. Although he mentioned that the false allegations were spreading by the media system (Van Aelst et al., 2017), the essential scope of the message was Hillary Clinton. According to Trump, the two antagonist entities worked together for one purpose, which was persuading as many voters as they could by misleading the ‘pure’ people. Trump referred to the election as an unfair process in which the liar culprit out-groups tried to abuse their financial, political, and technical background. Trump implicitly suggested that the sources above originated from the hard-working citizens labor, the everyday work they struggled with to maintain livable circumstances.

There was no significant need for the explicit dichotomy in the references of media in P1. A supportive explanation for the sake of discussion might be that Donald Trump and his communication staff might have made an effort to create the network of the enemies instead of bringing attention to apparent dichotomies (Aslanidis, 2018). The more antagonistic out-groups appeared in the campaign, the more heroic Donald Trump’s struggle appeared against the entities that abused power. The core message might have suggested that a new, politically fresh, and energetic man (Demeter, 2017) fought the greedy and liar groups of enemies. The former intended to represent the voice of the sovereign people (Panizza, 2005) and attempted to work for them, while the latter only focused on their own interests and functioned for realizing the highest profits and the more significant political influence to keep the system ‘rigged.’

### 5.2.5. Other dangerous entities

Besides the prominent antagonist politicians like Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama and their supportive media system, Donald Trump mentioned that other out-groups might threaten the people. For instance, terrorists were among the evil entities who could put ordinary inhabitant's lives into danger by bomb attacks and other physical offensives:

*'ISIS has infiltrated countries all over Europe by posing as refugees, and @HillaryClinton will allow it to happen here, too! #BigLeagueTruth'* Date: 2016-10-20.

As the example above suggested, the Republican challenger kept extending the culprit and antagonist out-groups' 'network.' Although the former instance lacked the alliance between Clinton and the radical terrorist organization, it still suggested that Hillary Clinton created the chaotic circumstances in which Islamic State recruited its army and obtained instrumental and financial background for its operations. The explicit dichotomy was extended as Trump declared that the United States was not the only land that could be affected by the terrorists. He emphasized, using his direct EP tweet, that Europe was under attack by the hidden criminals who acted like asylum seekers in a needy situation to penetrate deeply into the continent for one purpose: killing innocent and blameless inhabitants. Moreover, Trump stressed the possibilities of the very same dangerous process in the case of Clinton's victory: the nation's security is at risk, and innocent people will die if a weak leader like Secretary Clinton wins the presidential race. Again, he relied on #BigLeagueTruth referring to merely the efforts that must be made to save the unmasking of Clinton's and the media system's corruption to avoid the disaster, namely letting dangerous immigrants into the country. In this case, Trump influenced the fear (Nai & Maier, 2018) of the voters in order to mobilize them against the Democratic candidate.

### 5.3. Neutral sentences in Period One

As the examination supported, the Republican nominee utilized words that might have been essential tools for PPCS in P1. Despite the emergence of populist-like words, a

specific proportion of tweets lacked the antagonist style, the blame attribution, or highlighting of the explicit dichotomies between the ‘good’ and the ‘evil.’ Trump mostly used NS when he attended to praise his followers or specific states:

*‘Thank you Pennsylvania! Going to New Hampshire now and on to Michigan. Watch PA rally here: The big vote tomorrow!’* Date: 2016-11-08.

As mentioned in the former subchapters, sending positive feedback to the followers in a grateful way was a crucial element of the Republican challenger’s tweets. Moreover, he mobilized (Lahusen, 1996) his fans by encouraging them for taking apart in rallies, watching his campaign speeches on the television or via social sites, and, most importantly, participating in the elections.

Besides this, Trump advertised the interviews in which he (or his relatives and his political allies) spoke for the nation. He shared the exact dates of the broadcasts referring to debates, rallies, conferences, job pre-negotiations, meetings with political allies, and he also provided the hyperlinks via the recordings that could have been reached for his followers.

#### **5.4. The discussion of PPCS in Period Two. A comparative approach**

The following subchapters provide a vital comparison between P1 and P2 to seek possible similarities and differences in Donald Trump’s PPCS. Therefore, the comparison relies on the possible tendencies demonstrated by the Republican leader. The subsequent part of the thesis presents a more rooted and detailed insight into @realDonaldTrump tweets; therefore, there is a fundamental need for taking into account the re-shaping of the political situation emerging with the new position of Donald Trump’s political career, namely being in charge as the President of the United States. The political situation and the position of the Republican leadership were changing, but the underlying dilemma seeks the answer for the next relevant question: How did Donald Trump and his advisors adjust practically the communication strategy in the new era?

#### **5.4.1. Fake news media**

The most considerable difference between the two examined periods was the significant decline in appealing to the people in Donald Trump's tweets. One might say that this outcome derives from the possible decreasing number of tweets in P2, but as presented above, the second investigated stage consisted of 798 tweets, while the first phase provided 738 messages via Twitter. As the results of the computer-assisted method supplied, the emergence of the ordinary citizens in Trump's tweets almost disappeared from the database in P2. This outcome may be explained by the fact that the Republican candidate won the election; consequently, there was no critical need for persuading the voters in the new situation.

What could be the core task for the primary political leader of the United States in terms of political communication? Campaigning for the presidency as a challenger demanded a different political communication strategy for maintaining the power as an elected principal. Adjusting to the actual situation, therefore, characterized another appropriate blame attribution for the Republican politician; in this particular case, defending himself by attacking (Benoit et al., 2003). Who was to blame after defeating Secretary Clinton? The opposition merely realized the victory of the former celebrity and did not have enough time to reorganize itself; thus, it could not compete with Donald Trump for a while.

In contrast, rumors and allegations were also being circulated through the media about the possible ties between the Republican leader (or his staff) and the Russian government to win against Secretary Clinton in the presidential campaign. This dissertation does not seek answers whether Donald Trump had any connection to foreign interests that might have affected the elections. However, the first case that catalyzed the blame-shifting (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016) in the acting leader's messages was attached to the media, namely the spreading pieces of information about Trump's and his advisors' commitments to the Russian government.

Why did the blame attribution of the media (Hameleers, 2018) fit the PPCS if the tweets disregarded the people? How can one interpret Trump's messages as PPCS if he intended to defend himself by attack but without stressing significant frequency of the dichotomy between the media and the inhabitants? There is a possible explanation

for the questions above in which the clarification relied on the broadcasting function of the press. Even though the controversial news was referring to Donald Trump himself, *they still affected people's opinions*. The allegations and speculations about Trump's ties to other foreign interests, whether they were correct or real, might have shaped the huge masses' perspective about the Republican President. Donald Trump emphasized that the media system, except for Fox News, was fake, and he suggested implicitly that the false allegations about him and his advisors *misled the people*. Therefore, the media did not function properly. In other words, it did not inform the citizens but lied to them about the new President of the United States to destabilize the trust they have for Donald Trump. Moreover, the loss of confidence might catalyze an unstable political situation within the country; consequently, the Republican establishment's political power is at risk.

*'The failing @nytimes does major FAKE NEWS China story saying 'Mr.Xi has not spoken to Mr. Trump since Nov.14'' We spoke at length yesterday.'* Date: 2017-02-10.

Donald Trump mostly utilized negative labels like 'fake' and 'failing' in his IP tweets when he was referring to the media. He highlighted that traditional media were unreliable sources that should have not been trusted by the audience. The media were the supporters of the culprit political elite in P1, but after the election, the mainstream newspapers and television channels were the primary antagonist agents functioning as a 'rigged system.' As the tweet above supports, the media did not only stress the President's possible ties with foreign governments but also the existence of the negotiations between the Republican politician and other prominent leaders. Therefore, Donald Trump suggested that the media communicated about him in a very disrespectful and 'dishonest' way. The media system indirectly supported the antagonist political powers by discrediting the ruling establishment. As a result, Donald Trump made a serious effort to differentiate himself from the misleading media system by utilizing attacks (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999) to defend his credibility and maintain his follower's trust. As the instance above highlighted, among the general references to the media system, Donald Trump targeted specific newspapers and channels like The New York Times and CNN:

*'I thought that @CNN would get better after they failed so badly in their support of Hillary Clinton however, since election, they are worse!'* Date: 2016-11-29.

The tweet above was among the rare messages in which P1's most prominent antagonist actor, namely Hillary Clinton emerged. Again, the Republican leader brought attention to the media's aid that connects to the former Democratic candidate's campaign. Although the election was over, Trump still tweeted about the moral failure of the press. Present continuous is an essential tool in Donald Trump's tweets because the collapse of the media kept proceeding as they create false news about the new administration and, first and foremost, about the new President. In other words, according to Trump's tweets, the followers may interpret the mainstream media's activity as a culprit system that misleads the hard-working citizens who deserve to know the truth. As mentioned above, Donald Trump also focused on the present by the emphasis of the media's ongoing failure. The label 'fake' might have affected the follower's anger because the media system, similarly to the 'crooked' politicians, did not serve the people; instead, it helped the old culprit elite by destabilizing the fresh political leadership.

Targeting the media is a considerable element of PPCS (Pauwels, 2014). In line with the literature, Donald Trump is one of the most prominent leaders who considers the media system, except one channel, namely Fox, as antagonist actors (Hameleers, 2018). As the international research supports, similarly to Donald Trump, the Dutch populist politician, Geert Wilders, also intends to attack the media via his Twitter communication (Hameleers, 2018). In sum, Donald Trump's PPCS, which is also referring to the press, provided typical attributions that are utilized by other populist leaders worldwide.

#### **5.4.2. Moderate generalization**

Compared to P1, the second analyzed period consisted of a considerable number of tweets in which Donald Trump utilized universal suggestions about the threats that might have put the country and its inhabitants into a dangerous situation. His communication implied the factor of danger or the references to the ordinary people

but lacked specific characterizations. There was a notable difference between P1 and P2 in terms of EP. On the one hand, Donald Trump employed particular remarks of the antagonist out-group in P1 by targeting Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, The New York Times, and CNN, but he wrote about universal antagonism with insignificant frequency. On the other hand, in P2, the Republican leader started to focus on a moderate, universal, and unspecific way of communication by using negative words like ‘bad,’ ‘terrible,’ and ‘sad’ in general contexts:

*‘If the ban were announced with a one week notice, the “bad” would rush into our country during that week. A lot of bad “dude” out there!’* Date: 2017-01-30.

Donald Trump kept the category of the antagonist out-group as wide as it was possible by lacking specific characterizations in his communications. Despite the missing features, the tweet above was still part of EP messages because it brought attention to the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomy. Alternatively, in other words, both agents of the dichotomy were apparent in the tweet, no matter how universal the enemy was. Thus, the coding unit fell under the category of EP. One might still say that the ‘enemy’ is vague and blurred in the specific instance the study enhances, which is correct from several aspects, but IP might explicitly imply either the antagonist actor(s) whose harmful activity will affect the people’s lives severely, or the homogeneous ‘pure’ mass which needs to ‘be protected.’ In the latter situation, there is neither an agent nor an actor that can be part of the antagonism, no matter how empty the signifiers are (Laclau, 1977), but an *unarticulated danger* which cannot emerge simultaneously with the people.

After all, there is no need to present specific features of foreign threats because one of the possible goals in Donald Trump’s communication relied on persuading as many people as he could to support his ban policy. In this situation, Trump could act as a contributor to safety, the one who took care of the nation’s security. In order to present the idea above, he made an effort to affect the citizens’ fear by emphasizing that dangerous out-groups (Oesch, 2008) were nearby, and they would flood the country in some days.

The emergence of moderate generalization supported the adjusting nature of Trump's PPCS. In P1, the targeting PPCS was required to differentiate himself from the mainstream political establishment, but in P2, he exploited the hidden opportunity that occurred in providing an extended picture of the enemy. First, the emphasis on protecting the homeland might strengthen his supporters' trust. Second, Donald Trump demonstrated that he intended to create every necessary legislation for the nation. Additionally, he suggested that the oppositional political force (including judges and attorneys) disregarded the country's interest by blocking the ratification. Finally, he attempted to assure people of his trustworthiness by creating legislation that referred to his former promises in the campaign, namely keeping the 'bad' and 'evil' as far from the land he ruled as it was possible. The emphasis on asylum seekers, illegal immigration, drug lords, smugglers, and terrorists, was part of the same category in Donald Trump's PPCS when he shifted the labels from specific expressions to universal words. Therefore, the possibility of a logical modification appeared to support the interpretation of particular and global means of antagonism.

As mentioned above, the Republican leader employed a detailed, characterized category of the enemy in P1, but he completed his PPCS with general assumptions and references to the culprit out-groups. One of the possible explanations might be that he intended to make people remember that some entities or circles threatened the country. The characterizations of the groups above were not as vital as they were in P1 because the primary goal was to maintain power by affecting people's fear. The precise picture about the enemy was not essential anymore, but the person who was capable of protecting the nation from it/them, and the support he needed for the task might be the fundamental perspective in terms of planning the communicational strategy. It is essential to mention that there were still some specific references to the enemies like 'ISIS' and 'Iran #1 in terror', but generalization completed Trump's EP and IP discourse simultaneously.

#### **5.4.3. The Democrats**

In line with the 'Moderate Generalization,' Donald Trump extended the way he tweeted about oppositional actors and forces. In P1, he mostly employed a specific approach of language by targeting Secretary Clinton in the first place and Barack

Obama in the second among the political rivals. As the results supported, there was a significant decline in the mentioning of the former Democratic candidate as it almost lacked the complete analysis in P2. However, he still highlighted the Democratic Party's weaknesses in his tweets to present spectacular contradictions between the winner, ruling party and the loser, oppositional political group:

*'Gross negligence by the Democratic National Committee allowed hacking to take place. The Republican National Committee had strong defense!'* Date: 2017-01-07.

Adjusting determines the way Donald Trump utilized his PPCS, in terms of shifting the blame attributions from one prominent opponent to another. Moreover, his attacking style also became somewhat moderate and universal in P2 than it was in P1. The perceived modifications took place quickly in the Republican leader's PPCS; at the beginning of September 2016, he focused primarily on the political rivals, but a couple of months later, he blamed the media. By the emphasis on the Democratic National Committee's weaknesses and his party's considerations about security might have persuaded people about the legitimacy of their choice on the 8th of November 2016. Trump employed IP in the tweet above as he declared that the members of the Democratic Party did not care about national security. Consequently, they did not focus on the ordinary citizen's safety, but the Republicans had already taken care of classified documents protection.

### **5.5. Neutral sentences in Period Two**

Similar to P1, the second period's Neutral Sentences consisted mostly of the declaration of positive feedback. As presented above, 'thank' was the most utilized word in P1 in Donald Trump's tweets, but it still had a significant frequency in P2 as it took the sixth place among the most frequently used expressions:

*'Unbelievable evening in New Hampshire - THANK YOU! Flying to Grand Rapids, Michigan now. Watch NH rally here:'* Date: 2016-11-08.

However, being grateful did not refer merely to the supporters and fans of Trump. He expressed his gratitude to the future business partners that might build

factories in the United States and employ American citizens at their corporations. He embraced inner political allies and emphasized successful meetings with foreign leaders.

He also stressed the ‘optimism’ emerging at the Wall Street Stock Market and the national growth of the economy. The Republican leader tweeted about the positive changes like they were derived from his presidency. In order to present the vision, the possibility, and the ongoing process of making America Great Again, Donald Trump shared the ‘perceived’ positive changes that might support his campaign promise, namely bringing prosperity and wealth back to the people.

## **5.6. Limitations**

This chapter has specific limitations. The most important limitation lies in the fact that it did not provide more specific samples of comparisons related to dichotomies, but only one in which Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s frequent appearances within the same tweets are collected. However, to benchmark the results against other specific word dichotomies, a further in-depth analysis is needed to provide more supportive results in the comparison above. It is possible, therefore, that the results referring to the co-occurrences of the Republican and Democratic politicians within the same tweets induces more questions and further examination.

Moreover, a few other limitations need to be considered in this part of the study. First, to get a more precise in-depth analysis, a further coding process is required on a larger sample. Second, this thesis did not take into account Donald Trump’s re-tweets, which may draw attention to the Republican politician’s information-sharing patterns. Finally, another comparative perspective may support the scrutiny of @realDonaldTrump’s political communication strategy on Twitter, namely the analysis of the 2020 election in the United States, to investigate whether the incumbent deviates in terms of the utilized topics and PPCS.

Three possible extra limitations might be part of a robust criticism referring to this chapter of the dissertation. The first relates to the fact that the concept of IP lacks the minimal definition of populism by which the explicit dichotomy between the

blameless people and the culprit out-group exploits the citizens through its harmful activities and interests. Although the concept of the criticism from the perspective above can be understood, this study still tried to demonstrate the hidden dichotomies in the coding units. One should consider to whom the media lie and mislead and who are suffering from politicians like Hillary Clinton. According to Trump, the media made fake news about him and his staff, but he implicitly suggested that the media system lied to people, and it misled them with false allegations. Moreover, Secretary Clinton should have served the nation for decades, but she focused on herself and the mainstream political establishment's goals. Therefore, the 'crooked' person acted dishonestly and unfairly to gain an advantage of the American people.

The second extra core limitation of this unit was the lack of analysis referring to audiovisual content that might change the interpretation of different tweets. Therefore, further examination is needed to provide an in-depth investigation by extending the coding units to characterize the codebook and the description more specifically.

The third additional limitation originates from the fact that the scrutiny focused on the content of the discourse. Therefore, the investigation disregarded specific characters such as exclamation marks or words typed in capital letters, which might be elements of the aggressive style that might fuel Trump's PPCS. Further analysis is required to explore to what extent do the elements above support PPCS.

### **5.7. Conclusion of Chapter 5 – The art of adjusting to specific situations: blame-shifting, antagonism, and counter-attacks**

After 2008, Twitter has become an essential tool for politicians to spread campaign messages. Interestingly, the frequency of tweets significantly increased in the 2016 campaign compared to the elections in 2008. According to Solop (2010), Barack Obama shared a total of 262 tweets from the 29th of April 2007 to the 5th of November 2008, which is a 556 day-long period. In contrast, Donald Trump sent 738 tweets from the 1st of September 2016 until the 8th of November 2016 (68 days). A possible explanation for this result may be that the more users appear on Twitter, the more intensively the nominee tweets to control and affect the audience during the most dynamic phase of political communication, namely the campaign period.

As scholars emphasize, the PPCS fundamentally consists of the antagonist elite, the ‘dangerous’ out-groups and ordinary citizens (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). In @realDonaldTrump’s tweets, significant quantities appeared from the elements discussed above. As a thin ideology (Abromeit, 2017; Mudde, 2007), populism does not have roots in any political theory, but it is being used from the far-left to the far-right and everything between (Aslanidis, 2018). As a right-wing populist (Engesser et al., 2017a), Trump also utilized (exclusionary) PPCS in his tweets, and he did it by adjusting to the concrete situation(s) or opponent(s). In both periods, he focused mostly on vertical populism (Hameleers, 2018) to win against Clinton, who had momentous political experience and, additionally, he also responded to the media’s criticism, which may have attempted to undermine his power. The circumstances demanded that he had to concentrate on his rivals; first, the Democratic candidate to get in charge, then the media to maintain the presidency. Donald Trump stressed that his defeat brings critical financial problems for the American people because Secretary Clinton plans to increase fees. The emphasis of deprivation is another crucial aspect of PPCS (Hameleers, 2019), a tool that Donald Trump used to alienate voters from his rival. On the other hand, @realDonaldTrump assured his followers that they will have more opportunities to work in the country than ever before if they vote for him.

This thesis also supports the additional reference to *Functional Theory*, in which the authors state that politicians make a serious effort to distinguish themselves from opponents and establish preferability by using three types of messages: acclaim, attack, and defense (Benoit et al., 2003). After all, @realDonaldTrump most frequently emphasized the role of the ‘Enemy’ during the whole period, to make a difference between him and his prominent rivals (mostly Hillary Clinton and the media) by continually *attacking* the former and *defending by counter-attacks* against the latter. Moreover, the tactics above might have had forceful impacts on voters, which was analyzed by several scholars (Benoit & Dorries, 1996; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Felknor, 1992; Fisher, 1970; Ryan, 1982). However, Donald Trump tweeted slightly more about the ‘Election’ during P1 than P2 about his opponents. In P1, Hillary Clinton was the primary target for Trump, and he stressed that the ‘crooked’ cannot serve the people of the United States properly. In P2, @realDonaldTrump identified the factory-like media as the dishonest, liar enemy, which created fake news about him

to destabilize his administration. The vertical structure of the PPCS did not change in P2, nor the number of the 'Enemy' topic, but the targeted entity did. The exploitative-targeting words frequencies decreased in P2 compared to P1 because the political campaign's last stage demanded a higher rate of targeted communication. The computer-assisted results showed that the strongest correlation emerged between 'Enemy' and 'Election,' and generally, the topic of 'Election' gained the most frequent co-occurrence with other categories.

Donald Trump's PPCS appealed to the people via Twitter, but he rather underlined the culprit roles of antagonist entities. As a politically fresh and decent person, he was the only candidate among every potential opponent, who was capable of draining the swamp and designating the liar media channels, which spread false information about him and his legitimate victory. The Republican politician tried to win voter's trust in a straightforward but practical way by contrasting his clean sheet in politics to the rigged system's candidate's prominent insufficiency, namely that 'crooked' Hillary Clinton was already a failed person.

Acquiring votes is one thing, but protecting power is another. After Clinton's defeat, according to Trump, the 'fake news media' still supported the old-fashioned political establishment, but Donald Trump did not hesitate over making American people remember that his two essential rivals were dishonest and utterly wrong. In contrast, he did not lie to his supporters, and more importantly, he has not made a single mistake yet.

As the computer-assisted method supported, there was a declining frequency of PPCS in P2 compared to P1. One possible explanation for this tendency may be that even though the frequencies of tweets were almost the same in both periods, the dynamics of the situations were different. In P1, there was a significant need to attack the prominent person intensively to emphasize that the culprit out-group deprived people of the desired prosperity. The emergence of the people and the antagonist actors significantly differed in P1 and P2. The campaign made Donald Trump praise the people in order to collect electoral votes from the swing states. Moreover, he made a clear distinction between Hillary Clinton, other oppositional political leaders, the media, and himself to provide the image of a fresh and energetic leader who represented the sovereign people's will (Mudde, 2004).

Additionally, he also highlighted one of the vital elements of the PPCS, namely stressing the differences between the innocent, suffering people, and the antagonist out-group. Trump utilized negative labels first and foremost, to affect citizen's anger and then their fear (Ruzza & Fella, 2011). According to the Republican leader, dishonest politicians were supported by the media system. The antagonist elite mentioned above destabilized the country, and occasionally the entire world, by disregarding their primary task, namely serving the people. This investigation presents that the occurrence of people declined significantly in P2 because there was no need for collecting votes but maintaining leadership. By stressing the vital role of the corrupt media system that produced fake news on Donald Trump, the Republican politician suggested implicitly that most of the newspapers and televisions did not inform the audience but misguided it.

As the results supported, IP dominated Donald Trump's messages in both examined periods. The ratios between the EP and IP did not change significantly in the two phases. As a result, Donald Trump's and his communication team's strategy relied on the idea that one of the core elements of populism had to be emphasized intensively. Antagonism and people-centrism define the core idea of populism (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007), and as the results of this dissertation presented, populist words might have magnet EP, but mostly IP, PCS in the analyzed sample.

The investigation of Donald Trump's PPCS in the two periods might complete international literature. First, as Hameleers et. al (2017) argue that the populist discourse and blame attributions attached to affecting fear than anger. Donald Trump's negative labels might dominantly have had an effect on anger; however, he also made an effort to influence people's fear by moderate generalization. Besides this, as Aslanidis examines (2018) in his research relying on populist movement's manifestos in Greece, Portugal, Spain, and the United States, the political organizations above were focusing on primarily people-centrism. Donald Trump utilized a relatively balanced PPCS in P1 when he mentioned the two vital elements of populism, but he changed the ratio between targeting the culprit out-group(s) and the people by increasing the ratio of blame attributions.

The instances mentioned earlier also supported the adjusting features of the PPCS. Donald Trump sought the opportunities to utilize the PPCS against the *relevant* enemy

to acquire and maintain trust and disregard the irrelevant antagonist actor(s) or the explicit and direct references to the people at the same time. In a nutshell, the circumstances and the actual political situation determined his style. The situation changed in Donald Trump's political career; thus, P2 showed an unbalanced frequency between antagonism and people-centrism in favor of the former. The contribution of significant adjustments shaped Donald Trump's PPCS in terms of the usage of EP and IP tweets. Persuading dominantly by the utilization of IP tweets was a sufficient factor, but direct dichotomies also supported the blame attributions in an easy-to-understand way (Tóth & Demeter, 2019). The Republican leader optimized the communication strategy, but he did not forget about praising people by showing his gratitude for the supporters either.

## **6. EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT POPULISM IN HILLARY CLINTON'S TWEETS IN THE LAST STAGE OF THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN**

The previous chapter attempted to interpret the basic logic behind Donald Trump's PPCS. First, the functions of attacks changed in his tweets; in P1, it was the basic feature of depicting Clinton as a 'failed' politician, while, in P2, it helped to defend himself from the emerging criticism of the 'fake' media. Trump utilized anger to demonstrate how his opponent disregarded the basic duty of a politician: serving the people. On the other hand, mostly in P2, fear referred to hidden dangers that might have threatened the United States. One of the most important goals for Trump was to differentiate himself from the culprit others. As the explanation of the outcomes suggests, Trump and his communication team thought that it was sufficient to focus on mostly one element of PPCS, which was the 'Enemy,' to acquire and maintain power. Whereas P1 was about discrediting the primary foe, in P2, Trump intended to protect his credibility by depicting the media as an unscrupulous system.

The sixth chapter's goals are threefold. First, it attempts to show that a politician who is not considered to be a populist still might employ PPCS. Second, it tries to characterize a specific segment of Clinton's communication strategy: the utilization of PPCS against a populist challenger. Finally, this section prepares the thesis for the unfolding comparison (see the next main chapter) between the two candidates.

### **6.1. Discussion of PPCS in Hillary Clinton's tweets**

The results supported that Hillary Clinton's strategy relied on the broadest range of human beings, namely the people in her explicit campaign communication in one-third of the analyzed tweets. The general references to the citizens appeared in various ways like 'America,' 'Americans,' 'country,' 'men,' 'millions,' and 'people.' Similarly to populist politicians (Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018), the emergence of the broadest range of society had the most significant share of Clinton's tweets. In contrast, the Democratic politician's explicit PPCS still lacked the dominance of the

universal group of voters in her tweets as she referred to smaller fragments of the nation almost two-third of the relevant results.

One might ask how fragmented groups can represent the core feature of populism, namely the homogenous masses? An answer to this question might be that Hillary Clinton attempted to address specific groups that might have been offended by Donald Trump. Therefore, women, Latinos, African Americans, Muslims, war veterans, young people, the members of LGBTQ are among the individuals who might have had adverse feelings about the Republican candidate. Moreover, when Clinton emphasized that Trump used inappropriate and humiliating language, for instance, towards women, not only the specific circle above, but their relatives and friends might also have been felt insulted. Therefore, these groups and their supportive relatives and friends might shape the 'pure' majority together, which was offended by Donald Trump. In sum, according to Clinton's tactic, the fragmented groups form one 'good' mass, which was attacked by the elite.

#### **6.1.1. Addressing female voters**

Hillary Clinton's communication strategy relied on a logical theory; first, she tried to persuade the most extensive group among fractured circles, namely women. Then she focused on other fragmented circles of the nation, which might have supported her. One explanation for the constant references to female voters might be that Clinton and her communication team realized that Donald Trump's image was vulnerable in terms of his adversary communication on women:

*'Trump admits he "can't say" he treats women with respect.'* Date: 2016-09-30.

Despite the chance that tweets like above provided an opportunity for attacking from one specific direction, Clinton did not highlight the issue above with the most dominant frequency in her EP tweets. According to Benoit's Functional Theory, politicians utilize attack to distinguish themselves from their rivals (Benoit et al., 2003). Indeed, Clinton attempted to put the pressure on Trump, but she also kept the distance from him by avoiding the most attractive differences between herself and him,

namely highlighting explicitly in the same tweets that she will take care of women while the Republican candidate will not.

As presented above, the group of women emerged with a considerable share in Hillary Clinton's explicit PPCS; moreover, that circle appeared with the highest frequency among specific clusters. Hence, her communication referred to them from a complex perspective. First, Clinton highlighted that Trump insulted women by making adversary comments on their looks. Second, the Democratic nominee stressed that her opponent did not treat women equally compared to men. In other words, according to Clinton, Trump (1) did not provide the same salary as he did for his male employees, (2) did not intend to give the right to abortion, (3) declared that pregnancy was an 'inconvenience,' and (4) lacked support for working wives. Finally, as Secretary Clinton suggested, Trump aimed to keep women away from the ballots on the Election Day.

It is important to note that Hillary Clinton tended to refer to individual precedents that might have supported an opportunity to attack Donald Trump. Moreover, she brought into attention the particular instances that could affect female voter's decisions when they chose the next President of the United States. First, the topic above can be illustrated briefly by Alicia Machado's case, and second, it is apparent that in the references to the recording in which Trump pointed out that a celebrity could abuse his power in terms of taking advantage of women. The explanation below introduces the former case first and then proceeds with the latter event.

As presented above, according to Alicia Machado and Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump made hostile comments about the former beauty queen's look. Secretary Clinton argued that her opponent talked disrespectfully about Machado when he stressed the look of Miss Universe 1996, who allegedly struggled with weight problems. Moreover, Machado, who was originated from Venezuela, stated that Donald Trump treated and talked about her as a chambermaid or housekeeper because of her Hispanic origin (Barbaro & Twohey, 2016). As a consequence, Clinton tweeted about the case above as follows:

*'To Donald, women like Alicia are only as valuable as his personal opinion about their looks.'* Date: 2016-09-30.

Despite the appearance of both prominent persons in the tweet above, several problems emerged within the practical implementations. First, the tweet suffered from severe generalizations and abstraction. The followers need essential background information that supports the understanding of the consequences related to the issue between Trump and Machado. Second, the lack of explicit-direct characterization and explanation might have reduced the chance of endorsement from the people who could support a candidate like Clinton to protect the American nation from a man who disrespects and disregards women. Third, the Democratic candidate did not clarify the meaning of universal references. Alicia Machado fits several groups, which might have been felt insulted by Trump and supported by Clinton, such as women who were struggling with weight problems, female immigrants originating from Latin-America, women who had a Hispanic origin, and former/current celebrities or beauty queens.

On the one hand, Secretary Clinton tried to keep the targeted group as broad as she could by highlighting Machado's case, on the other hand, neither group might have felt emotional commitment because the lack of exact and explicit explanation did not support their personal engagement. Additionally, the abstract form of Clinton's discourse disregarded one of the vital elements of PPCS, namely the blame feature (Hameleers et al., 2018; van Kessel & Castelein, 2016; Vasilopoulou et al., 2014). She did not label Trump with any negative attribute; and consequently, she missed the chance for controlling the voter's mind on the case above but let her Twitter followers interpret the tweet freely.

The subsequent tweet in which Clinton might have emphasized the dichotomies between women and Trump applied the PPCS in a specific way. However, it still disregarded the fundamental pieces of information to make people avoid corrupt political challengers and choose the other candidate who represented a reliable way of life by her decent behavior. As Clinton reminded her followers:

*'Donald Trump may lie, but the tape doesn't.'* Date: 2016-09-29.

The Democratic candidate referred to the 'Access Hollywood' scandal in which Donald Trump spoke in a hostile, sexist, and humiliating way about women

(Blumell, 2019). As scholars note, the scandal was so powerful that Trump lost 2.9 million popular votes because of the recording during the last phase of the campaign (Benoit, 2017). In the tweet above, Secretary Clinton put the pressure on Trump but did not introduce and characterize the circumstances. A couple of days before the second debate between Clinton and Trump, the Washington Post shared a video of the former businessman in which he had an extremely adversary and shaming conversation about women (Benoit, 2017). Despite the attacking tone, Hillary Clinton did not specify exactly the name or the issue of the tape to activate her followers. Neither the object(s) of the lie nor the content of the recording emerged in the tweet. Even though Secretary Clinton attempted to characterize herself as a politician who takes care of the women in the United States, she still did not contradict Trump's 'lie.' Although one opposition (Trump versus the recording) occurred in the message mentioned above, Clinton avoided the direct comparison between the Republican politician and herself.

Additionally, she disregarded the emphasis on the peculiar situation of women. Consequently, Clinton did not take notice of drawing a possible hostile picture of women's future if the presidential outcome turns to Trump's favor. Besides, her tweet lacked the alternative in which she assures people that an insult-driven man like Trump will never be in charge of the United States.

#### **6.1.2. War veterans and the case of Humayun Khan**

Similar to the specific group of women, there was a vital precedent in which Hillary Clinton attempted to mix her communication strategy up to depict Trump as a hostile, exclusionary, and self-interested man. In her tweets referring to military soldiers, Clinton focused on implementing the topics of Muslims, war, individual tragedies, Trump's adversary communication, blame, incapability in leadership, and the Republican nominee's xenophobia in the same category. However, first, she claimed:

*'Not one living president has said they believe Donald Trump has what it takes to be Commander-in-Chief.'* Date: 2016-09-25.

One possible explanation of the references to the former President's opinion might have been that they acted like reliable pundits about military issues; therefore, they could decide as experienced ex-leaders whether Trump fitted to be the primary leader of the national army. The incapability of being the Supreme Commander of the military characterized Trump as a person who could not provide security for the troops. Moreover, he might put the lives of American soldiers in danger by his inexperience in military issues. Nevertheless, Clinton suggested implicitly that Donald Trump will make decisions on American privates' lives, but he is incapable of making the right calls because he has no idea about leading or at least managing one of the biggest armies in the world.

There were similarities between Clinton's tweets in which specific groups of women or veterans emerged. Likewise, the Democratic nominee chooses again an individual case that might magnet topics like xenophobia and the ban of Muslims combined with the subgroup of military soldiers. Hillary Clinton explicitly noted:

*'We can never forget how Trump disrespects our military families, like the Khans.'* Date: 2016-10-27.

In the tweet above, Clinton wrote about an American soldier, namely Humayun Khan (Williams, 2016), who had died at a car bombing attack in the Iraqi war in 2004. Khan, who was born in the United Arab Emirates to Pakistani parents, fought in the U.S. army. In 2016, his father, Khizr Khan, spoke at the 2016 Democratic National Convention and condemned the Republican candidate who formerly had promised strict policies and bans that might have adverse and exclusionist effects on Muslims. In other words, the Democratic politician argued that Trump treated Muslims as outsiders and referred to them as 'enemies' (Braunstein, 2019) by emphasizing his exclusionist oaths (Hameleers, 2018). Clinton attacked her challenger by applying an attractive dichotomy fitting the PPCS. She referred to the Khans as a one-of-our family, stressing that they were equal members of American society.

Moreover, she spotlighted that Trump's promises were morally and ethically disrespectful. Despite his Muslim origin, Humayun Khan was a war hero of the United States, whose family was severely damaged by their son's death. Besides this, according to Clinton, Trump still did not take into account the Khan's sacrifice because he kept stressing his xenophobic way of communication in his campaign. The EP tweet

above still lacked the cause or the explanation of the disrespectful behavior of Trump; however, it brought attention to the fundamental dichotomies between the two vital entities in populism by referring to the antagonist, intolerant, and challenger political elite and the suffering people.

### **6.1.3. Taking into account the ethnic minorities**

As the analysis supported, quotes from ordinary people appeared in Hillary Clinton's tweets. However, this topic lacked a re-current particular example in which common persons, or in other words ordinary citizens, continuously and persistently represented a specific division of the United States. Nevertheless, Hillary Clinton suggested that her opponent's companies made bad decisions against isolated minorities like African Americans and Latinos. As Secretary Clinton pointed out:

*'FACT: Donald Trump's company systematically denied housing to people of color dating back to the 1960s and 70s.'* Date: 2016-10-25.

Even though Clinton highlighted that minorities had no chance to live in houses and flats constructed and operated by the Republican candidate's corporations, she did not immediately focus on Donald Trump. Indeed, the tweet above fitted the fundamental dichotomy of populism (Aslanidis, 2018) in which huge masses were suffering from the elite's exploitation. On the contrary, the main antagonist actor of the tweet mentioned above was not Donald Trump but his companies. In this case, the message above relied on economic populism or in other words on 'antieconomic elites populism' (Hameleers, 2018, p. 2175) demonstrating the profit-maximizing entities role (Rooduijn, 2018) who threaten the hard-working citizens' vital interest (Ramiro, 2016), namely to provide or rent real estate in which they can live. However, there was another further aspect of the PPCS above, which was the racist perspective. Clinton stated that Trump's companies consequently disregarded minorities claims for accommodation. Again, the Democratic nominee lacked the emphasis of Trump's distracting promises or possible harmful policy in the future, and she referred to him as a real estate mogul but not a politician who might abuse power if he wins the election against the favor of isolated ethnic minorities.

On the other hand, Clinton drew attention to the exclusionist PPCS as it referred to Latinos emerging in Donald Trump's communication:

*'When pressed about Trump insulting and demonizing Latinos and immigrants, Mike Pence had a...telling response.'* Date: 2016-10-05.

During the 2016 presidential campaign, in his live speeches Donald Trump often promised that he would deport illegal immigrants who exploit the United States' financial support, risk national security, and sell drugs nationwide (Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2018). Indeed, he suggested that most of the illegal immigrants come from the South, and if they cross the border, they threaten the ordinary people's everyday lives. Therefore, Trump promised one of the most prominent physical obstacles in United States history (Klingner, 2018) to avoid the danger and stop 'evil' people, namely with the 'badly needed wall.' However, Hillary Clinton brought attention to her rival's adverse attitude which insulted people with Latin-American origins; she still missed putting the pressure on the Republican challenger by characterizing and rejecting Trump's stereotypical, fear-driven communication on specific minorities. Instead, she brought into play Mike Pence but lacked at least a minimal definition of his antagonist role. Even through the explicit form of PPCS, Clinton did not introduce how or why Trump humiliated Latino immigrants. She disregarded explanation or the denial of the Republican candidate's theory referring to health care in which he stressed that illegal immigrants, especially Latinos, crush the financial support of the American industry. She neither protected the demonized minorities who were mostly people in need nor rejected Trump's allegations, which suggested an extended stereotypical picture of Latinos related to drug-dealing and seeking financial support. Moreover, according to Trump, illegal immigrants kept the United States' economy in a stagnant position by exploiting the system.

#### **6.1.4. The missing populist communicational tools in Clinton's tweets**

As researchers argue, relying on emotions, especially on anger and fear (Hameleers et al., 2017) is a vital tool of the populist's campaign PCS: 'Scholars have shown that emotionally charged frames, such as those promoting fear and moral

judgment, have a high degree of salience and tend to be more stable over the campaign period... (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016, p. 1598).’ Although Clinton criticized Trump, she avoided the possible ingredients of PPCS, namely verbal radicalism (Sinha, 2018) and vulgarism (Mastropaolo, 2008), two features that might have supported PPCS to reach ordinary people (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). She did not utilize basic, taboo-breaking, and simple labels that might influence the citizens emotions either (Bos et al., 2011). In contrast, Donald Trump referred to Clinton as a ‘crooked’ person in his campaign who was too dishonest to be the next President of the United States. Notwithstanding, Clinton suggested in her IP tweets that voters should choose a predictable, politically correct leader instead of ‘fear’ and ‘anger.’ Although she commented on the emotions above, which are essential parts of PPCS (Caiani & Graziano, 2016), she still kept the distance from them, and moreover, she did not emphasize often and explicitly the terrifying nature of her opponent.

As presented in the former chapters, based on the Populist Dictionary, there were significant portions of adversary words that might have functioned as negative labels pinned to Donald Trump in Hillary Clinton’s Twitter communication. In contrast, words that might have fitted the blaming and direct PPCS like ‘bad,’ ‘cheat,’ ‘cheater,’ ‘corrupt,’ ‘evil,’ ‘fraud,’ ‘liar,’ ‘lie,’ ‘lies,’ ‘racist,’ ‘sexist,’ and ‘stupid’ did not reach the minimum criteria of the Populist Dictionary (share of 0.06% equals the frequency of 8) or were absent from the entire database. Words that might have functioned as essential labels (Ribera Payá, 2019) in PPCS like ‘corrupt’ and ‘liar’ did not even occur in the Democratic politician’s tweets. Interestingly, based on the quantitative analysis, the frequency of ‘lied’ was ten, but Secretary Clinton did not target Donald Trump with significant dominance as she blamed Mike Pence in forty percentages of the relevant messages.

The results supported that even though Clinton blamed her opponent, vulgarism and negative emotions were still lacking in her tweets to keep a significant distance from Donald Trump. As a result, she attempted to communicate as an expert in politics (Demeter, 2017). As such, Clinton demonstrated the incapability and inexpertness of Donald Trump. Notwithstanding, Clinton did not explain briefly why her rival was unfit to be the next President of the United States to persuade people that she could be the one and only candidate for the Presidency. In sum, the Democratic

Politician was capable of adjusting in some ways to the primary, antagonistic, and populist opponent, but avoided becoming an entirely populist communicator. On the one hand, Clinton indicated that she was ready to fight; on the other, she kept the distance from her challenger in terms of making severe impressions on feelings and emotions by hate speeches (in this case, hate tweets) and pinning negative labels to Trump. The essential function of attacking, which was distinguishing herself from Trump (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999), prevailed in Secretary Clinton's tweets, but it was not used as an exploiting way of communication.

#### **6.1.5. Suggested exclusionism**

It is essential to mention that Hillary did not use a language relying on ostracizing others (Mudde, 2004), but she brought attention to the exclusionist discourse in which Donald Trump wanted to ban specific groups like Latinos and Muslims from the United States. In her tweets, Hillary Clinton did not focus on the disqualification of isolated minorities but claimed that her opponent had severe plans about bans and deportations related to immigrants, Muslims, refugees, or any foreign people who were in need and sought for a better life in the United States. In other words, the Democratic candidate suggested that Trump was the one who wanted to deprive people of the chance to provide acceptable circumstances for themselves and their families. As international scholars argue, horizontal exclusionist populism relies on stressing the threatening image of immigrants (Oesch, 2008), a menacing phantom that manifests in dangerous out-groups putting at risk the inhabitant's prosperity, culture, and physical security altogether (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). Moreover, indirect ostracizing also appeared in Secretary Clinton's tweets but again, in a specific way. She suggested that Trump desired that women, young people, African Americans, and the members of LGBTQ ignore voting and not participate in the election.

Therefore, the exclusionist way of communication showed up as a phenomenon that was not part of the Democratic nominee's tweets, but she highlighted that it played a crucial role in her opponent's PPCS. Additionally, the harmful promises of Trump might manifest one day in the ruling practices. Notwithstanding, as the lack of

exclusionist PPCS showed, Hillary Clinton's tweets suggested that there was one prominent person who should have been excluded from politics in the United States, namely Donald Trump, who was incapable of serving the Nation as a President, as a Commander-in-Chief, and as a diplomat. After the consideration of the horizontal exclusionist PPCS, there was a possibility to think about Clinton's implicit and hidden suggestion as a vertical exclusionist communicational tactic. Despite the lack of explicit references to the disqualification of Donald Trump for running for the presidency, Secretary Clinton might have made voters feel that the Republican nominee should not have had any role in American politics. In other words, the man who opposed the opportunity for a better life by strict and severe regulations, was a dangerous entity attacking democracy and the people. As such, Clinton implicitly proposed that he should never be part of history as a decision-maker to prevent harmful consequences for people.

#### **6.1.6. The first and foremost task: balancing**

Based on the results, a balanced communicational strategy emerged in the portions of IP, EP, and NS. The dynamic of the campaign demanded unbalanced PPCS in terms of the dominance of specific groups in EP messages and the antagonist actor(s) in IP tweets. As international scholars argue: 'To be more effective, therefore, political appeals must take into account the potential heterogeneity of their recipients, the more diverse an audience, the more likely it is that speakers will rely on inclusive and widely accessible messaging' (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016, p. 1598). In this light, one possible explanation appears that might show how Clinton realized that she had to persuade distinct circles like women, African Americans, Latinos, Muslims, and veterans to vote for her because Trump insulted them verbally with his adversary style.

On the other hand, Clinton endeavored to adjust to Donald Trump in terms of stressing the pivotal role of the dangerous political rival. In IP tweets, the antagonist perspective dominated the messages to keep voters remembering that the Republican candidate had no applicable programs but hate that separates the nation. Of course, the ability to keep the range of her voters as broad as it was possible seemed to be useful. However, it implemented the risk of not delivering specific messages with significant

frequencies. In other words, in the situation mentioned above, the effectiveness was at risk, because the more fragmented subgroups the political agent targets, the more divided and complex their communication might become. Therefore, the messages, in this case, the tweets, did not show a universal strategy, especially not in terms of PPCS, so the broadest group, in other words, the people, might have not perceived the concerns of the candidate intensively. As a result, the persuasive nature of tweets was not straightforward, clear, and emotion-based in Secretary Clinton's messages. One of the main problems with Hillary Clinton's universally balanced communicational strategy might have been that she attempted to reach and influence as many people as she could by utilizing simultaneously broad and fragmented discourse to target the ordinary citizens and isolated minorities.

Similarly to populists, Hillary Clinton blamed her political rival in her tweets (Bracciale & Martella, 2017) by stressing Trump's incapability of being the President of the United States. The Democratic politician made an effort to highlight that Trump had no experience in leading; therefore, he cannot be a successful President, but a dangerous and an unpredictable one. As such, he might ruin the American economy, and consequently, the ordinary, hard-working citizen's lives. Moreover, the Republican politician lacked the proper attitude of a diplomat because his style was disrespectful and impolite. As a result, Clinton suggested both in explicit and implicit ways, that the approach discussed above might put the United States into a dangerous position in terms of diplomacy at an international level because Trump might insult foreign politicians. Consequently, insulted politicians will avoid co-operation in the future.

The results supported that the utilization of the PPCS was balanced in Hillary Clinton's tweets because she attacked her rival, but on the other hand, she made an effort to exploit Trump's attacks that referred not to herself but specific groups. Along with this, Clinton employed one of the vital ingredients of PPCS, namely blaming, but she disregarded another essential element of populism, which is horizontal exclusionist PCS. One critical explanation might be that she intended to acquire votes from the fragmented groups by the emphasis of Trump's exclusionist populist style, namely insulting minorities and promising strict bans against them. Clinton and her communicational team perceived that minorities like African Americans and Latinos

or extracted groups like veterans might vote for the Democratic leader if she persuaded them of the severe consequences that might appear in their lives if Trump's 'insult-driven campaign' was a successful one. Therefore, Clinton did not attack isolated people but appealed to them and tried to widen the distance between them and their primary antagonist enemy, namely the xenophobic, Islamophobic, egoistically self-interested, Republican nominee.

#### **6.1.7. The lack of minimal explanations**

On the one hand, Hillary Clinton used the vital elements of the PPCS; on the other, she did not exploit the extra possibilities of it to discredit Trump's campaign. For instance, the Democratic candidate attempted to characterize her Republican challenger negatively. Similarly to most of the leaders who utilize the PPCS, she blamed her rival, (Laclau, 2005a) but did not focus on straightforward clarification and simplification (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). Secretary Clinton stressed that her opponent was a rebelling person who would not accept the outcome of the elections if he lost. In that sense, according to Clinton, Donald Trump was dangerous for the United States' liberal democracy (Mudde, 2017), however, specific explanations were still absent in the tweets. Hence, Clinton's followers could not realize what consequences might occur if the Republican politician wins the election. Simplification, which is a core part of the PPCS, did not emerge in the explanation of the exact threat that Donald Trump represented for the nation. Despite the lack of precise interpretations regarding of the Republican politician and his allies' harmful activities, a specific exception emerged, namely, tax issues. According to Clinton, Trump's possible tax scandals had a severe effect on hard-working citizens welfare:

*'Millions of Americans work hard and pay their taxes. So why doesn't Donald Trump pay his?'* Date: 2016-10-03.

As the example presents above, the direct and explicit tone highlighted the illegal advantages that made Trump look like a dishonest man, who avoided standard taxes; fees that help to improve the United States' public services. In that case, Clinton blamed Trump's business issues; therefore, the Republican candidate was not mentioned as a politician but as a person who exploited his economic position

(Hameleers, 2018) and broke the law. Moreover, the Democratic nominee brought attention to another severe case that might ruin ordinary people's lives, namely tax cuts in favor of the wealthiest minorities while simultaneously increasing fees, which will be apparent for the middle-class.

One might say that the 140-character-limit prevented Clinton from tweeting in an explanatory and comparative way. As the fictive tweet below illustrates both elements above might be presented, even in a PPCS:

*'As a President, Trump won't support but despise working wives. He never helped them. I will provide tax cuts for working mothers.'*

The fictive tweet above consists of 129 characters, including spaces. It is important to mention at this point that Twitter counts spaces as characters (Storm). Despite the strict character limit, the fictive tweet stresses the fundamental dichotomy between the antagonist political elite and one of the broadest groups of citizens. In addition, it blames the prominent politician, introduces what he did in the past, and it suggests emerging problems in the future. In contrast, it promises to support the specific group; moreover, it gives a choice between the self-interested elite and the other political force which takes care of people.

## **6.2. Neutral sentences**

Even though this part of the analysis focused primarily on the explicitness and implicitness of Hillary Clinton's PPCS via Twitter, a summary of Neutral Sentences was also provided. The dissertation was not explicitly designed to evaluate specific factors related to tweets in which words from the Populist Dictionary appeared but lacked the populist contexts. Although, in this scrutiny, a mixed-method examination supported the results, the discussions, and the conclusions, this subchapter lacked a detailed, in-depth explanation. As such, these limitations mean that findings related to NS need to be interpreted cautiously. Therefore, the quantitative aspect emerged at a minimal level, but qualitative observations occurred in this phase of the dissertation. The lack of multiple verifications signified the findings below in this subchapter as supportive but not reliable at a high level.

The quantitative examination provided 67 agreements and, consequently, four disagreements which emerged in the analyzed tweets related to NS. The possible patterns in NS are threefold. First, Clinton tried to persuade people that she wanted to be the President of every American citizen. Along with this, the Democratic candidate emphasized that she would serve specific subgroups if she won the election:

*‘I really want to be president for all of the kids in America, to do everything I can to help you.–Hillary in Pittsburgh.’* Date: 2016-10-22.

First, persuasion is a vital element of campaign communication (Baumgartner & Morris, 2010), so Clinton focused on ensuring voters about her concerns related to them. There was a comparable pattern between tweets in which EP or IP appeared and the messages in which they were absent. The similarity relied on the strategy characterizing Clinton’s effort in other persuasive as broad circles, including specific subgroups, as it was possible. Although the Democratic leader communicated that she wanted to be the President of every American, she targeted circles like women, parents, young people, and the ‘middle class.’ Clinton’s tweets suggested that she tried to affect the voter’s emotions by emphasizing positive messages (Compton & Hoffman, 2019) and her concerns for them to provide a humble character of herself, namely a servant who supports ordinary people’s lives. Also, the Democratic politician assured her followers that she would never abandon them.

Second, similarly to Trump, mobilization of the masses took place in the tweets that consisted of populist-like words but disregarded PPCS. The main focus of the mobilization was to make people vote on Election Day. Secretary Clinton tweeted as it follows:

*‘Are you ready to vote tomorrow, Michigan? Are you ready to help get your friends to vote?–Hillary’* Date: 2016-11-07.

Mobilization is also an essential part of campaign communication; making people remember what their decisions at the ballot is about (Lahusen, 1996), probably on the most important day of the United States every four years, a vital topic to emphasize. To take advantage of Donald Trump, the Democratic nominee encouraged her followers to activate their friends on the day of the election. Hillary Clinton might have trusted her follower’s supportive attitude, and she might have predicted that the

more citizens who vote on Election Day, the more votes she acquires. Indeed, as the results of the 2016 Presidential Election showed, Secretary Clinton gained 2,868,686 more popular votes than Donald Trump did; however, she collected only 227 electoral votes while her rival reached 304 (Sides et al., 2017).

Finally, a modest irony and sarcasm appeared in specific NS in which Secretary Clinton tried to make fun of her opponent:

*‘I’ve had to listen to Donald Trump for 3 full debates I have now stood next to Donald Trump longer than any of his campaign managers.’* Date: 2016-10-21.

As international research shows, the utilization of political irony is an applicable asset in PPCS, even via Twitter (Pal et al., 2017). The Democratic nominee suggested that campaign experts could not work with Trump. There could be different reasons for the rapid changes in Trump’s communication staff. For instance, the aggressive attitude of the Republican politician, the lack of co-operation, or the stubborn form of decision-making might have been among the causes that supported Clinton’s implicit suggestion. Although Hillary Clinton tweeted about the internal problems and chaos within the Team Trump, she did not implement any (hidden) references to ordinary people, and therefore, the tweets with similar suggestions lacked the PPCS. Despite the missing dichotomies, the Democratic leader still suggested that Donald Trump was imperfect in co-operating. This might be a critical problem if he wins the election and becomes the President of the United States because leaders should work together with experts or other colleagues to make successful decisions for the nation.

### **6.3. Limitations**

This section had some limitations that need to be considered. First, the investigation did not provide a comprehensive analysis of Hillary Clinton’s PPCS via social sites because the scrutiny examined her tweets only. To present more detailed research, further data from different sources like Facebook and Instagram should be part of distant research. Second, this section of the thesis only focused on texts written by Secretary Clinton but disregarded her re-tweets, pictures, videos, and shared hyperlinks. Hence, further investigation is required regarding the contents above to

provide an in-depth analysis. Third, the bigger the examined sample, the more detailed results can be provided. Therefore, a re-analysis with a higher random sample might support more profound outcomes. Finally, despite the relatively high intercoder reliability, human coding procedures in social sciences have only a supportive nature (Aslanidis, 2018) because different codebooks, divergent interpretations of the coders, and deviating training time might severely influence the results, and consequently, the conclusions.

#### **6.4. Conclusion of Chapter 6 – A non-populist female politician’s effort on implementing populist political communication style**

Scholars point out and mostly accept that the text-based contextual analysis is the core element of measuring populism (Aslanidis, 2018). As such, several scientific studies emerged that focused on the measurements of populist communication style in the contemporary years (Aslanidis, 2018; Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Pauwels, 2011; Ribera Payá, 2019; Tóth et al., 2019; van Kessel & Castelein, 2016).

The research field of populism already started to focus on female politicians such as Marine Le Pen, Pia Kjaersgaard, and Siv Jensen (Geva, 2020; Meret et al., 2017). All of them have been the leaders of populist parties: Le Pen in France (National Rally), Kjaersgaard in Denmark (Danish People’s Party), and Jensen in Norway (Progress Party). As scholars point out: ‘Their media strategy is often characterised by counterbalancing the image of strong authoritarian female leaders who might estrange voters with an alternative image: by presenting themselves as the loving mother and caring housewife (Kjaersgaard), the self-made woman (Jensen) or stressing that they belong to a new and younger entrepreneurial generation (Le Pen), these women have successfully followed decades of male-dominated leadership without dramatic changes in political profile and form’ (Meret et al., 2017, p. 144). In contrast, Clinton tried to seem like an expert who intended to care about fragmented groups, mostly women. Similar to Clinton, the three leaders above also focused on women’s situations but from different perspectives: Kjaersgaard and Jensen claimed that Nordic countries accomplished gender equality; therefore, there is no need to focus on that anymore.

On the other hand, Le Pen used the topic of gender to criticize French politicians, who, according to her, marginalize differences between males and females (Meret et al., 2017). As this scrutiny supports, Clinton attempted to appeal to female voters, because they might have felt insulted by Trump's hostile expressions and disrespectful style. She also suggested that Trump will not support women with his discriminating policies. In contrast, there were essential and straightforward explanations by which Clinton could have attacked Trump which were mostly absent in the analyzed sample.

The investigation of Hillary Clinton's campaign communication from the perspective of PPCS emerged relatively rarely in the research field above. Therefore, the thesis attempted to provide this chapter to support analyses referring to populism from a new perspective and supplied a comparative approach below. According to international researchers, both candidates' campaigns were populists, but Secretary Clinton's PPCS was not as intensive as Trump's (Nai & Maier, 2018). Scientists point out that blaming the antagonistic political opponent is a vital communication tool in PPCS (Hameleers, 2018; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Moffitt & Tormey, 2014). As the results support, Hillary Clinton utilized attacks against Donald Trump to make a clear distinction between herself and the Republican candidate (Benoit et al., 2003). However, the Democratic leader could not blame Trump by exploiting the antagonist role of the challenger political elite (Mudde, 2004) because the Republican nominee had no history in politics at all. In her tweets, Clinton used PPCS by referring to the broadest range of the nation, namely the people (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014), and made an effort to gain significant support from specific groups that might reject Trump's 'insult-driven' campaign like women, African Americans, Latinos, Muslims, and veterans.

Despite the balanced structure of the blaming tweets, Clinton did not aim to focus primarily on why the fragmented groups should have avoided voting for her rival in her EP messages. Nevertheless, she highlighted implicitly the threat that Trump and Mike Pence represented. Although the emphasis of the two critical factors in populist thin ideology (Mudde, 2004), and the utilization of PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017), Secretary Clinton brought attention to *clear* explanations neither directly nor indirectly. Moreover, direct comparisons between the two politicians occurred insignificantly. Besides this, blaming lost its fundamental goal by disregarding simple

answers, and the influence of people's anger and fear. In other words, Clinton utilized PPCS, but she was not a populist politician because her communication did not rely overly on emotions like fear (Jerit, 2004) and anger (Hameleers et al., 2017), but instead on balance between addressing people and stressing the adversary style and inexperience of her rival. Consequently, Secretary Clinton chose neither the universal persuading nor the cruel blaming form of communication in her IP messages while she lacked the comparison between herself and Trump in the EP tweets to make people vote for her. Hence, her campaign via Twitter became a well-structured, fragmented communicational strategy, but not a straightforward, simple chain of messages in which the voters could perceive a clear alternative represented by her compared to Donald Trump's populism.

## **7. THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DONALD TRUMP'S AND HILLARY CLINTON'S EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT PPCS IN THE CAMPAIGN**

The former chapter concluded that Secretary Clinton employed individual instances to present how severely specific groups might suffer if Trump wins the elections. As a result, she does not utilize exclusionist PPCS. However, she suggested implicitly that her rival was the only person who should be excluded from leading. Balancing the frames within tweets depicted Clinton as an expert who did not want to play a vulgar blame-game. On the other hand, behaving like an expert might have created an impact of being less passionate on specific issues, thus the *distance* between Clinton and uncertain voters might have become greater (Meyer, 2017). She also disregarded simple explanations in her messages by which Trump's harmful features and incapability could have been demonstrated. In sum, Clinton intended to keep a considerable distance from the Republican politician.

This part of the thesis provides a vital comparison between Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's PPCS from the perspectives of EP, IP, and NS tweets. In order to analyze the possible differences or similarities between the two politician's Twitter communications, the following examination proceeds from the overall results to the specific outcomes.

Before comparison starts, there is a need for an important note. One might ask why this dissertation lacks the examination of Hillary Clinton's tweets in P2. The answer is twofold: first, the doctoral thesis intends to focus primarily on Donald Trump's PPCS. In this analysis, multiple methods were utilized to provide comparative aspects. Modifications within a specific politician's communication (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016) and adjusting to the prominent opponent's messages might present supportive results if someone intends to employ an in-depth analysis. Even though the dissertation has several limitations, multiple comparisons emerged in this work to characterize the contexts of EP and IP tweets in the communication of both leaders. Second, after the defeat in the Presidential Election, Hillary Clinton tweeted merely 75 times in P2. Hence, the sample size referring to the Democratic Politician's tweets was too small for contributing a comprehensive examination.

The main chapters already provided the essential results and the possible interpretations referring to the two politicians. Hence, this section does not present the results again but characterizes the emerging differences and similarities between their PPCS below.

### **7.1. The discussion of the universal patterns**

There were several differences and only very few similarities between Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's PPCS via Twitter in P1. The analysis presents the former, and then it brings forth the latter.

First, Donald Trump utilized IP with a significantly higher frequency than Hillary Clinton did. The weighted results (dividing by 2.11) also supported the dominance of implicit PPCS in Trump's tweets compared to his opponent. Whereas the Republican candidate used IP 158 times, the Democratic nominee applied it 27 occasions if one employs the weighted outcomes. Consequently, Trump made an extra effort to emphasize the suggested PPCS compared to Clinton in P1. The Republican leader presented a much more intensive communication in terms of blame attributions or appealing to the people in the campaign period.

The proportions of explicit PPCS between the two were almost the same in the campaign, but the weighted results supported that Donald Trump stressed the direct dichotomy between political rivals and the people on increased occasions. Even though Hillary Clinton still attempted to persuade people about Trump's incapability of being the President of the United States by highlighting the spectacular elements of PPCS. Despite the critical emergence of EP tweets in Clinton's tweets, the explanations were missing from her messages. The followers did not know why Donald Trump would be a threat to American democracy (Demeter, 2017); however, the Democratic candidate declared that the former celebrity was the most dangerous person for the inhabitants and the world's future.

Both politicians utilized Neutral Sentences in which populist words appeared, but Clinton's communication mostly relied on the NS. In contrast, Trump used NS tweets with a lower frequency compared to EP or IP messages. The results supported

the dominance of Hillary Clinton's NS tweets over Trump's neutral messages. The key outcomes presented that the Democratic nominee employed NS 67 times while her opponent delivered it 40 occasions in P1. Yet, as the weighted results showed, Clinton's NS tweets had a frequency of 31.75.

Consequently, both leaders pledged all of the possible perspectives in terms of utilizing populist words (Bracciale & Martella, 2017). Trump and his communicational team assumed that the usage of unbalanced blaming attributions might be sufficient to defeat Clinton. The oppositional side focused on a balanced strategy to keep the follower group as broad as it is possible. Although Secretary Clinton endeavored to make people remember that they should not vote for Trump, she still attempted to keep a considerable distance between herself and the Republican nominee (Demeter, 2017) by focusing mostly on the neutral messages. Moreover, the portion of Clinton's populist tweets was significantly lower than Trump's. Compared with Hillary Clinton's communicational patterns in terms of PPCS, Donald Trump's populist messages relied on an unbalanced strategy by utilizing IP with a dominant and significant frequency. The contribution of an unbalanced PPCS assisted as a communicational asset, which by targeting one essential element of populism, namely either people-centrism or antagonism (Canovan, 2002), appeared in order to praise people and attack the enemy in separated contexts.

The similarity between the two politician's EP and IP tweets referred to the primary opponent. Both candidates paid attention to each other during the campaign period. Hence, the blame features were connected mainly to each other to stress the harmful effects of the corrupt establishment and the lack of experience to lead the United States.

## **7.2. Antagonism**

As mentioned above, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton referred to each other as the most dishonest and dangerous people whose primary goal was to proceed with the harmful policies of the current administration (Ribera Payá, 2019) or acquire the power to construct a new, intolerant, ruling elite. On the one hand, the Republican leader targeted Clinton by the emphasis of the disregarding attitude represented by the

Democratic candidate. In other words, according to Trump, Secretary Clinton did not serve the people but abused power. On the other hand, Clinton brought attention to her rival's xenophobic, excluding promises by which only the wealthiest elite would realize a substantial profit, but the people in need, including the middle-class, would suffer from the poor decisions of Donald Trump.

First, even though Donald Trump primarily attacked the Democratic candidate, he still mentioned other culprit out-groups that might deprive people of the jobs, prosperity, and safety (Hameleers, 2018). Second, the Republican leader blamed Barack Obama for creating a healthcare plan that provided a severe cut to the American economy; therefore, the nation had no opportunity to 'Make America Great Again.' Third, Trump drew attention to the political allies of the two mentioned above. According to the Republican politician, the Democrats were also interested in maintaining the power to proceed with their dishonest policies. Therefore, Donald Trump highlighted the oppositional party's role in depriving the hard-working citizens of the chance to earn wealth. Fourth, the misleading media (Pauwels, 2014) also helped them by spreading false allegations about the Republican nominee and being friendly and tolerant with the culprit political elite. Fifth, antagonist countries like Mexico and China realized a massive profit on trade deficits, so the people of the United States did not have a real chance for the reconstruction of the glorious past. However, the citizens worked hard and attended to labor if they had proper jobs. Yet, the jobs within the country are ceased by other foreign lands exploiting interests. Finally, terrorists and dangerous organizations supplied by criminal activities meant to be a severe threat to the nation: they killed people because of their radicalized perspectives or sold drugs and weapons nationwide.

Compared to Donald Trump's antagonist PPCS, Hillary Clinton focused on only two enemies. The first is Donald Trump, whose campaign, according to Clinton, was based on hate. The second is Mike Pence, who 'lies' to people in the campaign to support the populist Republican candidate. The emphasis of the vice-presidential nominee's lying attitude was also part of the Democratic candidate's antagonist tweets in which she made an effort to bring attention to the two oppositional politician's dishonesty. Moreover, she suggested a dilemma in which a relevant question might have arisen implicitly: Why does Mike Pence support such an untalented person in

politics like Donald Trump? Hence, another question might appear: Does Pence or his allies somehow benefit from the support of Trump, whether they win the elections or not? Nevertheless, Clinton did not answer the questions. Moreover, and most importantly, she suggested the issues in a hidden way, but she lacked the possible answers and references to them.

### **7.3. Negative labels**

Negative labels that might have affected anger and fear (Lerner & Keltner, 2001) also occurred in both politician's PPCS in P1, but Donald Trump utilized them with significantly higher frequency. He highlighted his opponent's dishonesty and, additionally, stressed that the United States needs a new political establishment by tweeting the hashtag '#DrainTheSwamp.' In contrast, Clinton brought attention to the Republican leader's lies and declared that Donald Trump had to be stopped.

There might be a couple of reasons why Donald Trump attacked (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999) his opponent more intensively by the usage of harmful labels. First, he intended to differentiate himself from the culprit political elite with moral reasoning (Mudde, 2017). Therefore, he did not avoid utilizing the negative labels related to Clinton. The more Trump tweeted about Secretary Clinton in an adversary way (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016), the more dynamic his tweets seemed to be. Besides this, he acted as a person who unmasked the corrupt elite's faults (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016) and dishonesty. The Democratic candidate also utilized negative labels, but according to the computer-assisted results, she did not attach them directly to Trump predominantly. Therefore, Secretary Clinton seemed like a person who suggested the incorrectness of her rival but failed to expose it by pinning the appropriate blame attributions (Hameleers et al., 2017) to the Republican politician.

Based on the supportive outcomes, two different perspectives emerged in negative labels that might be considerable elements of blame attribution. The first was Donald Trump's tactics by which the new challenger attempted to make people identify Hillary Clinton as a dishonest and failed politician who should have been not being trusted anymore. The second was Hillary Clinton's perspective, which made an effort to resist Trump's political goal, namely becoming a President. Hence, Clinton

avoided the severe affecting on anger and fear but suggested that the man whose policy is based on the two above emotions was not fit for the presidency.

#### **7.4. People-centrism**

As the results of this dissertation supported, both candidates employed different means of praising the people (Aslanidis, 2018). Donald Trump focused on the broadest group of the citizens, but he also appealed to states and cities in his tweets. He lacked the care of isolated minorities as Hillary Clinton did; however, he practically attempted to win swing states. Secretary Clinton tried to acquire the trust of people who might have been felt verbally insulted by Donald Trump. As a result, the Democratic nominee stressed the role of women, young people, veterans, Muslims, African Americans, Latinos, and other isolated minorities (Nai & Maier, 2018) to collect as many votes from the specific circles above as she could.

Although Hillary Clinton did not provide the emphasis of particular states as intensively as her rival did, she still focused on three specific territories, namely Carolina, Florida, and Ohio. Interestingly, the states mentioned above also appeared in the Republican candidate's tweets. One possible explanation might be that the three peculiar territories were swing states (Kenski & Kenski, 2017) in which extra electoral votes could have been acquired for both politicians. Therefore, both nominees focused on them, but there was only one absolute winner of the former land's electoral votes, namely Donald Trump. By winning the territories in question, he collected 71 electoral votes, including the states of North and South Carolina.

If one takes into account the cumulative results, it is apparent that Donald Trump appealed to every people in his PPCS (Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018) and also in his Neutral Sentences while Clinton focused on the fragmented groups. The Republican politician did not intend to divide the nation into large groups when he appealed to the citizens, whereas Clinton highlighted the vital role of specific smaller groups. According to Trump, there was only one essential contrast between the people of the United States, namely the 'blameless' ordinary citizens and the 'corrupt' political elite (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017) supported by the media (Van Aelst et al., 2017).

As Trump suggested, mostly implicitly, dishonest politicians *controlled* the innocent people by utilizing the misleading media system. No one but Trump intended to serve the inhabitants, who did not deprive them of jobs but provided a chance to earn money. Trump made an effort to characterize himself as a businessman who cared about people by hiring them while his opponent had not done anything for the people for decades but let large corporations leave the country and let countries like Mexico and China realize a massive profit on the companies that abandoned the United States.

### **7.5. Conclusion of Chapter 7 – Similarities and differences between the two candidates' populist political communication style**

The international literature supported that the new and inexperienced challengers in politics tend to utilize PPCS more intensively than experienced incumbents in the United States presidential campaigns (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016). Republicans tend to go negative with higher frequency than Democrats because GOP agents are more inclined to use strategic attacks (Nai, 2018b). Due to the comparison, this study suggests that Donald Trump fitted the categories above. As the comparative interpretation of the two candidates' PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017) supported, Donald Trump was the person who utilized EP and IP messages more intensively than Hillary Clinton. However, both politicians employed tweets with a minimal definition of PPCS: appealing to the people directly or in an abstract way. Still, the aggregated portion of IP dominated the analyzed database. Trump and his strategists might have trusted in the 'demobilization hypotheses' that connects to attacking the opponent (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995). In other words, he employed more negative labels to attack his rival for 'reducing the probability of voting for the target (as intended) but also for the sponsor, and indirectly by lowering political efficacy and trust' (Nai, 2018b, p. 2).

As the results supported, both candidates focused primarily on each other by highlighting antagonism. Trump completed his antagonist and adversary language with several culprit out-groups (Oesch, 2008), while Clinton only brought attention to Mike Pence's dishonesty. The negative labels functioned as direct, explicit, and close characterizations in the Republican leader's tweets. In contrast, the Democratic

nominee attempted to make people remember the most vital task in referring to Trump (Nai & Maier, 2018), which was stopping him in order to *avoid* a man's universal decisions whose promises were based on hate.

The exclusionist attitude, which is a typical feature of right-wing populists (Tóth et al., 2019), was a remarkable part of Trump's PPCS in which the Republican challenger declared that dangerous out-groups must be banned to protect the homeland. Clinton did not focus on exclusionism except in one perspective that suggested avoiding Trump's presidency. In other words, Secretary Clinton emphasized that Donald Trump must be rejected because he had no experience in politics. Therefore, according to Clinton, Trump was not a cautious man in terms of making difficult decisions. Moreover, he had nothing to offer but the increase of the wealthiest economic elite's financial income (Rooduijn, 2018). Finally, as Clinton suggests, the Republican candidate did not care about women, young people, isolated groups, and minorities but insulted them verbally.

Appealing to the people occurred in both analyses; however, the nominees had different aspects of praising them. Donald Trump made an effort to persuade the broadest group of citizens, whereas the aggregated results referring to Clinton's tweets presented that the Democratic politician endeavored to collect support from the voters who might have felt insulted by the Republican challenger (Wang et al., 2016). Although both politicians attempted to employ different strategies to persuade the people, they also sought the opportunity to win swing states but with deviating frequencies. Donald Trump focused more on the states mentioned above than his opponent, and finally, he collected enough electoral votes to defeat Clinton by earning the crucial battleground states trust.

Even though both candidates utilized the PPCS (Bracciale & Martella, 2017) in P1, Donald Trump was the one who used it intensively. The two nominees interpreted the communication style above differently. As a result, Donald Trump's strategy was based on a direct, clear, easy-to-understand, and targeting style while Hillary Clinton used balanced language in which she did not communicate consequently. The former adjusted to the actual political situation, and for that reason, he lacked the balanced way of utilizing EP, IP, and NS. The latter implemented the

elements of PPCS but avoided using them as intensively as her exploitative rival did during the last months of the 2016 Presidential Elections in the United States.

The most differing tactics in the two rivals PPCS might have been their grassroots in the emerging contrasts among Trump's and Clinton's supporters. Oliver and Rahn suggested in their study (2016), that the majority of Clinton's supporters embraced asylum seekers or immigrants, while Trump's were frightened of them. Clinton's vast supporters did not see conspiracies, while Trump's did. The former politician's supporters were optimistic about their financial status; the latter were rather pessimistic about that issue (Oliver & Rahn, 2016). Trump's PPCS was adjusted to his supporters in a straightforward way: he focused on the individual elements of PPCS almost equally in his IP messages in a dual aspect. He attempted to keep the voter's range as broad as possible to gain more votes from the swing states but targeted the primary foe in a concrete way. In contrast, Clinton did not choose the 'appropriate' PPCS when she attacked Trump. She provided abstract antagonism instead of simple dichotomies and failed to emphasize the differences between herself and Trump to persuade voters in crucial swing states.

A relevant question might arise at this point. What is the difference between politicians who utilize PPCS to some degree like Clinton, and political agents who are considered to be populists like Trump? First, according to the supportive results of the thesis, the Democrat candidate did not implement adversary style based on exclusionism, welfare state chauvinism, and in-group superiority (Hameleers, 2018), while the right-wing populist Republican nominee used the features above. Second, there were significant differences between the two politician's main promises and their planned regulations. Whereas Clinton had only one populist-like promise related to resisting the Republicans' attack on Obamacare, Trump had several promises against antagonist agents who were responsible for the crisis within the United States. Consequently, he wanted to make Mexico pay for the wall on the southern border, reconsider 'the deal with Iran,' banning Muslims (temporarily) from the country, imposing tariffs on China and Mexico, replacing Obamacare, and bombing ISIS (Collingwood et al., 2018; Qiu, 2016). Third, it is important to consider whether the politician in question tries to ratify their promises, which might fit the PPCS, by bills and regulations. Trump had several attempts based on his populist promises, such as

(1) suspending specific Muslim-majority nations' citizens entry into the United States, (2) reversing China's entry into the World Trade Organization, (3) replacing Obamacare, and (4) establishing new immigration control to hire American workers instead of cheap, foreign laborers.<sup>24</sup> In other words, besides the promises relying on PPCS, the intention and attempts on regulations by which populist promises *can be fulfilled* are features that might help to differentiate between candidates who use the style above only for rhetorical purposes and politicians in charge who make an effort to apply their promises into the legislation. Finally, populists try to create solid relationships between other populist leaders; therefore, they do not criticize each other for making remarkable restrictions on 'liberal democracy,' while specific politicians who solely use PPCS to some degree, stand against autocracy and illiberal democracy. It is important to note that the degree of PPCS, the portion of promises, the number of attempts that imply populist policies, ratified regulations, praising populist leaders, and restrictions on liberal democracies' elements are perceivable, and most of times, measurable features. Therefore, there is an opportunity, even if it is a limited one, to differentiate political agents who utilize only PPCS, from populists who intend to launch their promises by legislation.

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<sup>24</sup> The list is non-exhaustive.

## **8. FINAL CONCLUSIONS: THE POSSIBLE APPLICATION OF EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT POPULIST POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STYLE IN FURTHER ANALYSES**

The chapter above supported that Trump referred to the people consistently in a universal way, while Clinton attempted to gain votes from specific groups who might have felt insulted by the Republican nominee. Clinton kept a distance from Trump, while the latter differentiated himself from the Democratic candidate on a moral basis (Mudde, 2017). Clinton balanced her EP-IP PCS, while Trump employed mostly IP in the last phase of the campaign. Both politicians primarily attacked the other in tweets where antagonism was apparent. However, Clinton added only one specific foe to her tweets, namely Mike Pence, while Trump focused on several failed, fake and dangerous villains. The final conclusion of the thesis sums up the most significant findings of the dissertation in the following paragraphs.

As the literature review of this dissertation supported, the minimal definition of populism relied on appealing to people and the emphasis of the antagonist out-groups (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Mudde, 2004). In other words, according to international experts, there is no PPCS without the homogenous masses (Canovan, 2002). The scholars who examine populism also argue that almost every politician utilizes the PPCS to some degree, whether the politician is populist or not (Aslanidis, 2018). Moreover, Aslanidis argues (2018) that PPCS cannot be understood only from the perspective of direct ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomies because different languages and contexts might refer to hidden populist messages. Therefore, as this thesis suggests, IP can also be part of PPCS, but there is a need for *concealed* or *imagined* antagonist agents in the coding units. In line with the literature, the mere mentioning of the people is not a sufficient tool in several contexts of IP. Tweets in which showing gratitude and mobilizing the voters emerged might lack the suggested antagonism. Again, it is essential to note that the core concept of populism relies together on people-centrism and antagonism (Abromeit, 2017). As a result, the tweets in which the politicians refer to citizens but disregard the proposal of hidden entity are not parts of IP.

In contrast, tweets that consist solely of blaming the culprit out-groups (Hameleers et al., 2018), which might threaten the people’s interests, fit the category

above. Blame attributions referring to politicians, parties, and the media might function as tools that help politicians to differentiate (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999) and defend themselves. However, blaming also suggests that the corrupt elite should serve the people instead of exploiting them by their false policies and misinformation.

In contemporary years, scholars have struggled with analyzing PPCS by employing quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods (Aslanidis, 2018; Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Bracciale & Martella, 2017; Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018; Ribera Payá, 2019; Tóth et al., 2019). As previous research presented, there is no perfect procedure by which PPCS can be measured with complete reliability and validation (Aslanidis, 2018). Nevertheless, the idea of employing EP and IP might provide a new opportunity to weight the expected results more precisely. Unfortunately, perfect reliability and validation cannot be contributed by the method above, but there is an opportunity to test the formula again, whether it can provide more reliable and valid results. As this examination supports, there is a higher chance to present a relatively universal characterization of EP than IP. Besides, based on the contexts and the political situations, the sole explicit emphasis of the enemy or the people can also vary. Therefore, to characterize IP, researchers must be aware of the above sufficient factors to provide an in-depth analysis.

The dissertation aimed to create a feasible concept of measuring the PPCS to move forward and sharpen the mixed-method analysis of the examined phenomenon. Further tests and utilizations of EP and IP are needed for validating the possible reliability of the outcomes in future studies which focus on the analysis of PPCS. The method and concept utilized in this work have their limitations, but there is always an opportunity to reconsider and refine the current methodological approach to provide accurate, detailed, and supportive concepts of EP and IP for the sake of further examinations in the relevant research field.

The results of the dissertation supported some remarkable patterns related to Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's PPCS. As presented above, both leaders utilized EP and IP. The latter dominated the Republican leader's communication in both periods. Even though international scholars do not refer to Hillary Clinton as a populist politician, she still utilized EP and IP with proportionate shares in the investigated tweets. After all, if one takes into account the aggregated amounts of the two concepts

above, and focuses on the populist-like-words, it is apparent that she employed more populist messages than neutral expressions in the campaign stage. However, the separated findings related to the three categories supported that NS appeared with the highest frequency compared to EP or IP in Clintons tweets.

In contrast, Donald Trump's PPCS was more intensive than his rival's. In other words, the Republican politician targeted his opponent by precisely utilized negative labels in P1. As the computer-assisted method supported, the adversary characterizations were attached carefully to Hillary Clinton from Trump's aspect, while the Democratic candidate occasionally completed her tweets with direct and explicit negative labels to keep a *moral* distance from her rude opponent.

In the campaign period, Donald Trump attacked the culprit out-groups to differentiate himself from the dishonest and dangerous others, mostly by utilizing tweets that might have affected voter's anger. The position of Trump changed after the victory, so the primary antagonist enemy and the *function* of the attacks also had to be modified. In the second examined phase, Trump targeted the media to defend himself from the false allegations spread by television channels and newspapers, which supported the oppositional, corrupt politicians. Donald Trump utilized IP dominantly to stress that none of his enemies worked appropriately for the country. In other words, according to the Republican leader's suggestions, the culprit out-groups were not only his, but *the people's enemies*. According to Trump, the antagonist out-groups disregarded the ordinary citizens desire, namely acquiring prosperity and being safe. The new challenger in American politics sent three pivotal messages to the people by utilizing IP on the antagonist entities. First, the culprit elite deprived the 'blameless' people of prosperity and fair provision of information. Second, the elite's harmful activity had consequences that risk the nation's security. Finally, according to Donald Trump, only he listened to the nation's voice and wanted to serve the people honestly to 'Make America Great Again.'

EP and IP might be a useful method in order to support further textual analyses. To achieve analytical precision and comprehensive findings, several coding units encompassing the PPCS are given careful scrutiny (Aslanidis, 2018):

- i) The sentence in which specific populist words appear,

- ii) The sentences before and after the central sentence (i.e., the coding unit where the particular terms occur),
- iii) The paragraphs containing populist expressions.

As such, there might be three different coding units: a *micro-contextualized*, a *macro-contextualized*, and an *uncontextualized* one. One of the future core aims is to measure to what extent political agents utilize EP or IP in the micro-contextualized, macro-contextualized, and uncontextualized method. As Aslanidis argues (2018) in his methodological overview, quantitative research on populism can be divided into three categories: dictionary-based analysis, holistic grading and traditional thematic text scrutiny. Every method might have different types of coding units; therefore, all of the methods above have their limitations. This research method attempts to provide three different coding units to reduce the limitations that can emerge from one specific coding unit. Whilst there is no perfect method in textual analysis that might produce results without limitations, this approach aims to avoid as many limitations as possible to provide an in-depth research. The multiple levels of coding units examined in future studies might also supply new perspectives that allow the research community to more clearly see how PPCS operates to capture media and follower attention while reinforcing the social narratives that bind followers to leaders by clearly demarcating in-group and outgroup members and threats. In this way, the subsequent research which utilize the specific concept above should yield new insight that produces a more complete understanding of the potency of populism in today's volatile political climate.

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## 11. APPENDIX

**Table 10. Tweets from Hillary Clinton's campaign. The analysis of EP, Implicit Populism and Neutral Sentences**

1. Today, let's show the world that love will always trump hate.
2. If you believe we should never write discrimination into our laws...you've got to vote!–Hillary
3. It's not just my name or Donald Trump's name on the ballot it's the kind of country we want. Hillary
4. We don't want to shrink the vision of this country. We want to keep expanding it.–Hillary'
5. I am betting that tomorrow, you will reject fear, and you'll choose hope.–@POTUS'
6. Every single one of us has something to contribute to this great country.–Hillary
7. Are you ready to vote tomorrow, Michigan? Are you ready to help get your friends to vote?–Hillary
8. "Women's rights are human rights" and 132 more reasons Hillary should be our next president.
9. What's really on the ballot is what kind of country we want for our children and grandchildren.–Hillary
10. We should all be grateful that this remarkable family decided to make America their home.–Hillary on the Khan family'
11. My son was Captain Humayun Khan ... and he was a Muslim American. I want to ask Mr. Trump: Would my son have a place in your America?
12. America is great because America is good, and if we lift each other up, instead of tearing each other down, we can be even greater.
13. I love our country, and I believe in our people, and I will never, ever quit on you. No matter what.–Hillary in Ohio'
14. 'We are better than bigotry, fear, and hate. Share this if you agree.
15. Five women older than their right to vote share why they're with Hillary:
16. Donald, you don't want to go there.–Hillary on Trump asking what she's done for the past 30 years
17. If you believe in a better, stronger, fairer America: Vote.
18. Trump wants to give the biggest tax breaks in history to the super-wealthy and raise taxes on the middle class. We can't afford that.
19. If you elect me on Tuesday, that's the kind of president I will be: listening, working, finding common ground.
20. "I'm also honored to have the greatest temperament that anybody has." – Donald Trump About that:
21. More than 31 million Americans have already voted. Be a part of this:
22. Everything I've done started by listening to people working to bring people together, to find common ground.–Hillary in North Carolina'
23. Donald – his father Fred – and their entire company were sued by @TheJusticeDept for discriminating against African Americans and Latinos.'
24. The reporter and I have the same condition. When Mr. Trump made fun of him, that hurt my feelings."
25. About half of the people he wants to deport they've paid more taxes than Donald Trump has paid.–Hillary in Arizona'
26. I will do my best to bring people together, not pull them apart...let's make sure we win on Tuesday and prove that love trumps hate.
27. Imagine that it's January 20, 2017. Ask yourself, what will life be like for you under President Trump?
28. She believes we can summon what's best in each of us and make this country better for all of us.–@POTUS on Hillary'
29. This guy is temperamentally unfit to be Commander-in-Chief and he's not equipped to be president.–@POTUS on Trump in North Carolina

30. Watch live: @POTUS hits the trail for Hillary in North Carolina with just 6 days to go .
31. Most of us learned by elementary school that it's not OK to insult people's looks. Donald calls women fat, ugly, and disgusting.
32. I'm reaching out to Republicans and Independents as well as Democrats because I want to be president for all Americans.—Hillary'
33. There are a lot of reasons to vote against Donald Trump. Maybe, for you, it's his dangerous statements about using nuclear weapons.
34. It's really clear that he does not respect women. He just judges us on our looks.—@MachadoOfficial on Trump'
35. Donald Trump's equal pay plan for women: "You're gonna make the same if you do as good a job."
36. With just 8 days left, this can't wait. RT if you agree Trump should immediately disclose all of his ties and connections to Russia.
37. When it comes to handling a crisis, we've seen in this campaign, Donald Trump loses his cool at the slightest provocation.—Hillary'
38. Dozens of former nuclear launch officers agree: "Donald Trump should never be in charge of America's nuclear weapons."
39. Trump's already threatened our national security. That'll be the tip of the iceberg if he becomes president.
40. As secretary of state, Hillary restored our reputation around the world and made us safer.
41. "Most of them deserved it." —Donald Trump
42. If you're voting for Hillary, don't stop there. We need to support Democrats down the ticket. Here's why:
43. Trump has a history of boasting about his donations to charity and little history of seriously donating to charity
44. With just 10 days until Election Day, Hillary is on the trail in Florida. Watch live:
45. While Trump is making an unprecedented attack on democracy, millions of Americans are voting. Join them
46. Trump's campaign strategy: Get women to stay home. Get young people to stay home. Get people of color to stay home.
47. More than 16.5 million people have already voted in this election.—Hillary Join them:
48. Glad to hear @mike\_pence, his staff, Secret Service, and the crew are all safe. -H
49. We can never forget how Trump disrespects our military families, like the Khans.
50. Would my son have a place in your America?" —Khizr Khan, father of a fallen American hero, to Donald Trump
51. Trump said he's "very proud to lead the birther movement to discredit @POTUS." Here's how he spread the racist lie:
52. More than 10,000,000 Americans have already voted in this election. You can make it 10,000,001:
53. More than 10 million people have already voted in this election and two million of them are right here in Florida.
54. Donald Trump is unqualified to be Commander-in-Chief. A president doesn't call our military a total disaster
55. As Trump makes an unprecedented attack on our democracy, millions of people are registering and voting early.
56. FACT: Donald Trump's company systematically denied housing to people of color dating back to the 1960s and 70s.
57. "My name is Mae Wiggins. I was denied an apartment in the Trump buildings based on the color of my skin."
58. Get this, Donald: Nasty women are tough. Nasty women are smart. And nasty women vote.
59. If Donald Trump condones discrimination against his own employees, how would he lead our country?
60. Last night, Trump called a military effort to push terrorists out of Mosul a total disaster. That's dangerous.
61. While Donald Trump is assaulting our democracy, millions of people are standing up for it registering, voting early, and volunteering.

62. Donald Trump refused to say that he'd respect the results of this election. That's a direct threat to our democracy.
63. The game is rigged for guys like Donald Trump. I say, it's time to fight back!
64. Donald Trump says he'd deport 16 million people. How do you even begin to quantify that?
65. I really want to be president for all of the kids in America, to do everything I can to help you.—Hillary in Pittsburgh'
66. When the middle class thrives, America thrives.—Hillary in Cleveland
67. Donald Trump refused to say that he'd respect the results of this election. By doing that, he's threatening our democracy.
68. Want to know if Donald Trump is lying? Just Google it.
69. I've had to listen to Donald Trump for 3 full debates I have now stood next to Donald Trump longer than any of his campaign managers.
70. Hillary has comprehensive policies to help people. Her opponent has tweets. You [decide.—@FLOTUS](#)
71. "He thinks we should be afraid of our Muslim brothers and sisters because he has no idea who they really are." —@FLOTUS on Trump
72. Donald Trump doesn't have anything to offer but anger, and grievance, and [blame.—@POTUS](#)
73. At last night's debate, Trump showed again and again that he doesn't have a clue about what makes America great.
74. Show Trump his tweets come at a cost because Hillary supporters are pledging to donate every time he tweets:
75. Donald Trump wants to compare his last 30 years with Hillary's. Let's do that.
76. Nobody respects women more than me." — Donald Trump earlier tonight "Such a nasty woman." — Donald Trump just now #DebateNight'
77. Trump on losing the Emmy tonight: "I should've won." #DebateNight Trump on losing the Emmy in 2012, 2013, and 2014
78. Here's how Trump reacts when he loses an Emmy, the Iowa caucus, a primary, and polls. So yeah, he seems fit for the presidency.
79. In 2011, Hillary advised @POTUS on the mission to take out bin Laden. Trump was on the Apprentice.
80. We are not going to build a wall and deport 16 million people. That's not happening. #DebateNight"
81. Trump doesn't know what he's talking about when it comes to women's health. He shouldn't be making the decisions. #DebateNight"
82. Maybe there's a reason Donald Trump refuses to release a real plan to combat ISIS. #Debate
83. Donald Trump is good at one thing—driving his companies into the ground. And now he wants the keys to the U.S. economy.
84. Automatically donate every time Trump tweets something offensive with our new tool:
85. We make our country greater when we widen the circle of opportunity and invite more people in:
86. It is our obligation as Americans to dig deep in doing whatever we can to build the kind of future we want for ourselves—and our children.
87. He may be up at 3am, but it's because he's tweeting insults at somebody who got under his skin. @POTUS on Trump
88. She's in the arena for you, fighting every day to make sure everybody gets a fair shake. @POTUS on Hillar
89. Hillary Clinton has never quit on anything in her life. @FLOTUS
90. Hillary Clinton has the potential to be an excellent president of the United States.
91. If Trump wants to compare what he and Hillary have done for the last 30 years, by all means:
92. The violence transgender Americans face—particularly transgender women of color—is a rebuke to all of us. We have to do better.
93. Every girl – in every country – deserves to get an education and reach her dreams. Thank you, @FLOTUS.

94. Every single American deserves full equality under our laws no matter who you are or who you love. #NationalComingOutDay
95. Trump is the worst major-party candidate this republic has ever produced.
96. @ForeignPolicy has never endorsed a candidate for political office. Until now:
97. Never heard of a "blue collar worker" losing nearly \$1 billion in a year and cheating hundreds of other workers in the process.
98. We're going to make public colleges like Wayne State tuition-free for working families. – Hillary in Detroit
99. If Trump wants to make America great again, he should start by buying American steel for his construction projects.
100. Last night, Donald Trump spent his time attacking when he should have been apologizing. - Hillary'
101. Ryan is still endorsing Trump.
102. If Trump stands by what he said about women as "locker room talk," he's clearly not sorry.
103. Many people are saying Donald Trump doesn't have the discipline, temperament, or vision to be president. #debate"
104. "I will be a president for all of the people." – Donald Trump\* \*Except women, people of color, LGBT people, Muslims... #Debate'
105. Trump would give millionaires (like him) and billionaires the biggest tax cuts they've ever had. #Debate
106. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald. #Debate
107. Our vision for America is a country where everyone has a place, including, of course, Muslim Americans. #Debate
108. The vast majority of Muslim Americans want to help fight terrorism. We are not at war with Islam. Trump is playing into terrorists' hands.
109. Trump owes President Obama an apology for his years-long racist conspiracy. And by the way: "Sorry if you were offended" doesn't count.
110. Trump has said that the video doesn't represent who he is. Anyone who heard it knows it's exactly who he is. But that's not who we are.
111. Chip in to help make sure Donald Trump never becomes president:
112. It should concern every American that Russia is willing to engage in such hostile acts in order to help Donald Trump become president.
113. Women have the power to stop Trump
114. To everyone in the path of Hurricane Matthew: Stay safe, and know that America is with you.
115. Even Mike Pence can't defend Donald Trump's insult-driven campaign.
116. The many, many lies Mike Pence told at last night's debate.
117. If we had a dollar for every time Mike Pence lied last night, well...
118. Great move by Chobani. Every parent deserves access to paid family leave.
119. When pressed about Trump insulting and demonizing Latinos and immigrants, Mike Pence had a...telling response
120. When pressed about Trump insulting and demonizing Latinos and immigrants, Mike Pence had a...telling response.
121. Can [Pence] look back on the debate as a success after he repeatedly lied in order to run interference for Trump?"
122. It's unclear exactly whom Mike Pence was defending last night, but it sure wasn't Donald Trump. The @NYTimes:
123. "We trust American women." - @TimKaine on a woman's right to abortion.
124. Mr. Pence simply ignored the Donald Trump we have seen on the trail for more than a [year.](#)@NYTimes
125. In Mike Pence's defense, we wouldn't want to defend Donald Trump, either. #VPDebate
126. At the #VPDebate, Mike Pence tried really, really hard to deny pretty much everything Donald Trump has said and done. Let's replay the tape:

127. Seems like Pence forgot a lot of the things Trump has been saying throughout his campaign! Here to help: #VPDebate

128. We trust American women." Thank you, @TimKaine. #VPDebate'

129. The Trump Foundation has spent "virtually every cent on charitable causes." —Mike Pence #VPDebate

130. Tim Kaine is right: We should stop praising Putin. #VPDebate

131. Mike Pence claiming that Trump supports our troops and veterans when he insults them and probably doesn't pay taxes is laughable. #VPDebate"

132. Wonder if Trump has shown Pence his "secret plan" to defeat ISIS. We're still waiting. #VPDebate

133. Yes, Trump and Pence are running an insult-driven campaign.Donald's literally doing it right now. #VPDebate

134. @timkaine just reminded Mike Pence of the bigoted things Trump has said about millions of Americans – and Pence couldn't defend it. #VPDebate"

135. When Mike Pence says he and Donald Trump won't raise taxes, he's lying. #VPDebate"

136. Reminder: Donald Trump may not have paid any federal income taxes for 18 years, but wants to give his family a \$4 billion tax cut. #VPDebate'

137. If you can't spot the difference between Pence and Trump on their disastrous economic plans, it's because there isn't

138. "I can't imagine how Governor Pence can defend the insult-driven, selfish, me-first style of Donald Trump." –TimKaine #VPDebate'

139. Thanks for the kind words, Mike. #VPDebate

140. Tonight, Mike Pence is going to prove he's got Trump's back no matter what. Follow @TheBriefing2016to hold him accountable. #VPDebate

141. Number of times Trump has tweeted at @Rosie: 65Number of times Trump has tweeted in support of Mike Pence, his running mate: 21 #VPDebate'

142. TimKaine's spent his whole life fighting for working families, so I have no doubt he'll do the same tonight. Go get 'em, Tim. -H

143. If Trump's decisiveness in choosing Mike Pence as his running mate is any indication, he'll be great at making hard decisions as president.

144. Mike Pence has actually signed into law hateful policies like those touted by Donald Trump

145. Before Mike Pence takes the debate stage to defend his running mate, remember the time Trump couldn't decide whether he wanted him at all.

146. Post-traumatic stress isn't something strong people can handle & weak people can't. Trump's comments aren't just ignorant, they're harmful.

147. I learned that preparation is important.–Hillary on what she learned by debating Donald Trump

148. He was a failure at business and by wrecking his business, he wrecked the lives of his workers. – Hillary on Trump

149. @TimKaine is going to finish this campaign the same way he started his career – fighting for working families.

150. Our veterans and military families deserve better than what Donald Trump says about them

151. Tim is a good man. He's a true progressive. And he will make a great vice president." – @POTUS on @TimKaine

152. Tonight, Mike Pence will either have to leave Trump out to dry or try to justify the things they both believe. #VPDebateNight

153. Under Hillary's plan, if your family earns \$125,000 or less, you'll be able to go to a public college tuition-free.

154. Imagine Donald Trump's most hateful rhetoric signed into law. Mike Pence's record shows that it could happen.

155. A person who implies that veterans suffering from PTS are not "strong" is unfit to be Commander-in-Chief. Period

156. We both believe every child should have the chance to live up to his or her God-given potential–Hillary on LeBron

157. Trump's child care "plan" is really just a tax cut for the wealthy while giving working families almost nothing

158. 'Trump's campaign is bragging that not paying taxes makes him a "genius." What kind of genius loses \$1 billion in a single year?'

159. It doesn't look like he paid a dime of federal income tax for almost two decades.– Hillary on Trump'

160. Millions of Americans work hard and pay their taxes. So why doesn't Donald Trump pay his?

161. In one week, Trump has: Lost a debate - Attacked a woman at 5 am on Twitter - Had his net worth downgraded and more:

162. It would be reckless not to consider the damage Mr. Trump might wreak. @WashingtonPost:

163. Trump apparently got to avoid paying taxes for nearly two decades while tens of millions of working families paid.

164. Hillary teamed up with @BernieSanders on a plan to make college debt-free for all Americans.

165. Too many talented young people pass up on programs like @Peacecorps because of student loans. Let's use GOOD JUDGMENT & lighten that burden.

166. Trump stood on a debate stage and lied to millions of Americans. Chip in to make sure he never becomes president:

167. Make sure @realDonaldTrump's bullying never reaches the White House. Chip in now:

168. Trump admits he "can't say" he treats women with respect.

169. Trump stood up at his convention and described a hopeless, broken nation – one that in no way resembles the strong, vibrant America we know.

170. While Donald continues day 5 of his Machado meltdown, we'll be in Florida talking about national service. You'll want to watch.

171. Trump on equal pay: "Do as good a job" as men. Abortion? Should be "punished." Pregnancy? An "inconvenience." Wives working? "Dangerous."

172. 'To Donald, women like Alicia are only as valuable as his personal opinion about their looks

173. Alicia deserves praise for courageously standing up to Trump's attacks. And he has the gall to blame her – and say he "helped"?'

174. Trump "can run his campaign however he chooses...I'm going to keep talking about the stakes in this election.

175. Trump appears to have broken the law and acted against our nation's interest, all so he could line his own pockets.

176. Let's make college tuition-free for any family whose income is \$125,000 or less and debt-free for everyone.

177. Donald Trump may lie, but the tape doesn't.

178. We should make public colleges tuition-free for working families and debt-free for everyone.

179. Trump's plan: Cut taxes for billionaires & millionaires like him. Raise taxes for millions of middle-class families.

180. In its 120-year history, @azcentral has never endorsed a Democratic. Here's why the paper just endorsed Hillary:

181. When Donald Trump goes low...register to vote:

182. I love this country. I'm proud of this country. I want to be a leader who brings people together. – Hillary #LoveTrumpsHate'

183. We don't want to turn against each other. We want to work with one another. We want to set big goals in this country. #StrongerTogether'

184. One candidate made it clear he wasn't prepared for last night's debate. The other made it clear she's prepared to be president.

185. I'm really glad my dad never had a contract with Donald Trump.– Hillary

186. Hillary was the winner of the first presidential debate – and newspapers across America agree. #SheWon

187. Let me tell you who built this damn country: the middle class. @JoeBiden Let's keep building it, together:

188. Trump on Alicia, 1996: "Miss Piggy." "This morning: "She gained a massive amount of weight...it was a real problem."

189. "Maybe he didn't do a good job." – Donald Trump. Looks like you "loved" it at the time. #DebateNight

190. "That's called business." – Donald Trump on the housing crash. For millions of Americans it was called "losing their home." #DebateNight

191. There's only one candidate on stage who will support working families. #DebateNight

192. "Donald Trump is a man who dwells in bigotry, bluster and false promises." – @NYTimes #DebateNight

193. Our veterans and their families deserve a president who doesn't disrespect and disparage their sacrifices.

194. Not one living president has said they believe Donald Trump has what it takes to be Commander-in-Chief.

195. We know all too well who Donald Trump is. Let's make sure he never becomes president:

196. Republicans are once again turning their backs on the people of Flint who have waited far too long for help. It's wrong, unfair, and unjust.

197. "Hillary Clinton would make a sober, smart and pragmatic president. Donald Trump would be a catastrophe." @LATimes

198. When Donald Trump speaks about women, our daughters can hear him.

199. Very concerned about the outage in Puerto Rico and the millions of families who don't have power. Hoping it's restored quickly. -H

200. "You would think there is almost, like, something wrong." —Donald Trump on Mitt Romney failing to release his tax returns, 2012

201. Trump's calls to torture and mistreat prisoners go against the very values we are fighting to defend. We're better than this.

202. Like all Americans, my thoughts are with those who were wounded, their families, & our first responders – Hillary on this weekend's attacks'

203. So how exactly did Donald Trump build his own bank account? On the backs of American taxpayers:

204. I am thrilled to be here today to support the next president & vice president of the United States, Hillary Clinton & Tim Kaine! @FLOTUS

205. What Trump just did is a disgrace.

206. I learned from my family and my Methodist faith that we're each called to do all the good we can for all the people we can. – Hillary

207. I'm running for young people like so many of you who dream of changing our world for the better. – Hillary

208. To what extent are you and your family currently contractually tied to payments from foreign business partners, or governments?

209. 7 questions we have about the Trump Foundation (and how Donald used it to stop investigations into his fraud):

210. The reporting on Hillary's emails has left the basis of facts and veered into dangerous territory.

211. The next time Donald Trump throws a temper tantrum, imagine if he had the nuclear codes.

**Table 11. Tweets from Donald Trump's campaign (P1). The analysis of EP, Implicit Populism and Neutral Sentences**

1. @CNN is so disgusting in their bias, but they are having a hard time promoting Crooked Hillary in light of the new e-mail scandals.
2. #CrookedHillary gives Obama an 'A' for an economic recovery that's the slowest since WWII... #BigLeagueTruth#DrainTheSwamp
3. #DrainTheSwamp !
4. HillaryClinton channels John Kerry on trade: she was for bad trade deals before she was against them. #TPP #Debates2016
5. HillaryClinton has been doing this for THIRTY YEARS....where has she been? #BigLeagueTruth D8i University of Nevada, Las Vegas
6. A lot of call-ins about vote flipping at the voting booths in Texas. People are not happy. BIG lines. What is going on?
7. Amazing rally in Florida - this is a MOVEMENT! Join us today
8. Amazing rally in Reno, Nevada- thank you. Make sure you get out on 11/8 & VOTE #TrumpPence16 . Together, we will put & #MAGA !
9. Animals representing Hillary Clinton and Dems in North Carolina just firebombed our office in Orange County because we are winning @NCGOP
10. Bill Clinton is right: Obamacare is 'crazy', 'doesn't work' and 'doesn't make sense'. Thanks Bill for telling the truth.
11. Join us today! Together, we will #MakeAmericaGreatAgain !
12. Thank you Florida - we are going to MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! Join us: #AmericaFirst
13. Thank you for your support Greensboro, North Carolina. Next stop - Charlotte! #MAGA
14. Clinton Campaign Tried to Limit Damage From Classified Info on Email Server' #DrainTheSwamp
15. Crooked Hillary Clinton deleted 33,000 e-mails AFTER they were subpoenaed by the United States Congress. Guilty - cannot run. Rigged system!
16. Crooked Hillary Clinton likes to talk about the things she will do but she has been there for 30 years - why didn't she do them?
17. Crooked Hillary colluded w/FBI and DOJ and media is covering up to protect her. It's a #RiggedSystem ! Our country deserves better!
18. Crooked Hillary's V.P. pick said this morning that I was not aware that Russia took over Crimea. A total lie - and taken over during O term!
19. Crooked's camp incited violence at my rallies. These incidents weren't "spontaneous" - like she claimed in Benghazi!
20. Dem Gov. of MN. just announced that the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) is no longer affordable. I've been saying this for years- disaster!
21. Disloyal R's are far more difficult than Crooked Hillary. They come at you from all sides. They don't know how to win - I will teach them!
22. Donald J. Trump's History Of Empowering Women #BigLeagueTruth
23. Donna Brazile Shreds Obama Economy - Acting DNC chair says 'people are more in despair about how things are
24. Drugs are pouring into this country. If we have no border, we have no country. That's why ICE endorsed me. #BigLeagueTruth
25. Food Groups' Emails Show Clinton Campaign Organized Potential VPs By Race And Gender:
26. Get out and vote! I am your voice and I will fight for you! We will make America great again!
27. Great day in Colorado & Arizona. Will be in Nevada, Colorado and New Mexico tomorrow - join me! Tickets:
28. Great night in Denver, Colorado- thank you! Together, we will MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! #ICYMI watch rally here:
29. Great poll out of Nevada- thank you! See you soon. #MAGA #

30. Heading to Pennsylvania for a big rally tonight. We will MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!
31. Henry McMaster, Lt. Governor of South Carolina who endorsed me, beat failed @CNN announcer Bakari Sellers, so badly. Funny!
32. HILLARY FAILED ALL OVER THE WORLD. #BigLeagueTruth LIBYA SYRIA IRAN IRAQ ASIA PIVOT RUSSIAN RESET BENGHAZI University of Nevada, Las Vegas
33. Hillary Clinton just had her 47% moment. What a terrible thing she said about so many great Americans!
34. Hillary Clinton's weakness while she was Secretary of State, has emboldened terrorists all over the world..
35. Hillary is the most corrupt person to ever run for the presidency of the United States. #DrainTheSwamp
36. Hillary is too weak to lead on border security-no solutions, no ideas, no credibility.She supported NAFTA, worst deal in US history.
37. HillaryClinton- you have failed, failed, and failed. #BigLeagueTruth Time to #DrainTheSwamp
38. HILLARY'S HEALTH CARE POLICIES #Debate
39. Honored to receive an endorsement from @SJSOPIO - thank you! Together, we are going to MAKE AMERICA SAFE & GREAT AGAIN!#LESM #MAGA
40. I am going to repeal and replace ObamaCare. We will have MUCH less expensive and MUCH better healthcare. With Hillary, costs will triple!
41. I hope people are looking at the disgraceful behavior of Hillary Clinton as exposed by WikiLeaks. She is unfit to run.
42. I know our complex tax laws better than anyone who has ever run for president and am the only one who can fix them. #failing @nytimes
43. I really enjoyed the debate last night.Crooked Hillary says she is going to do so many things.Why hasn't she done them in her last 30 years?
44. I visited our Trump Tower campaign headquarters last night, after returning from Ohio and Arizona, and it was packed with great pros - WIN!
45. I will be live-tweeting the V.P. Debate. Very exciting! MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!
46. I will do more in the first 30 days in office than Hillary has done in the last 30 years! University of Nevada, Las Vegas #Debate #BigLeagueTruth
47. I will issue a lifetime ban against senior executive branch officials lobbying on behalf of a FOREIGN GOVERNMENT! #DrainTheSwamp
48. I will stand with police and protect ALL Americans! #Debates2016
49. ICE OFFICERS WARN HILLARY IMMIGRATION PLAN WILL UNLEASH GANGS, CARTELS & DRUG VIOLENCE NATIONWIDE'
50. In addition to those without health coverage- those that have disastrous #Obamacare are seeing MASSIVE PREMIUM INCREASES. Repeal & replace!
51. Instead of driving jobs and wealth away, AMERICA will become the WORLD'S great magnet for innovation & job creation!
52. Is this really America? Terrible!
53. ISIS has infiltrated countries all over Europe by posing as refugees, and @HillaryClinton will allow it to happen here, too! #BigLeagueTruth
54. It is a MOVEMENT - not a campaign. Leaving the past behind, changing our future. Together, we will MAKE AMERICA SAFE AND GREAT AGAIN!
55. Join me in Ohio & Maine! Cincinnati, Ohio- tonight @7:30pm:
56. Join me live in Cincinnati, Ohio! #TrumpRally#MAGA
57. Join me live in Hershey, Pennsylvania! #MakeAmericaGreatAgain LIVE:
58. Join me live in Wilmington, Ohio!
59. Join me Thursday in Florida & Ohio! West Palm Beach, FL at noon: Cincinnati, OH this 7:30pm:
60. Join me tonight in Cedar Rapids, Iowa at 7pm: Phoenix, Arizona tomorrow night at 3pm:

61. Join us today! Together, we will #MakeAmericaGreatAgain !

62. Just landed in Ohio. Thank you America- I am honored to win the final debate for our MOVEMENT. It is time to # & #MAGA !

63. Just returned from Pensacola, Florida, where the crowd was incredible.

64. Landing in Pennsylvania now. Great new poll this morning, thank you. Lets #DrainTheSwamp and #MakeAmericaGreatAgain ! TRUMP 42% CLINTON 40%

65. MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! #AmericaFirst #ImWithYou

66. Mexico will pay for the wall - 100%! #MakeAmericaGreatAgain #ImWithYou

67. My condolences to those involved in today's horrible accident in NJ and my deepest gratitude to all of the amazing first responders.

68. My lawyers want to sue the failing @nytimes so badly for irresponsible intent. I said no (for now), but they are watching. Really disgusting.

69. My wife, Melania, will be interviewed tonight at 8:00pm by Anderson Cooper on @CNN . I have no doubt she will do very well. Enjoy!

70. New national Bloomberg poll just released - thank you! Join the MOVEMENT: #TrumpTrain #MAGA

71. Obama and Clinton told the same lie to sell #ObamaCare

72. Obamacare is a disaster - as I've been saying from the beginning. Time to repeal & replace! #ObamacareFail

73. Obamacare is a disaster! Time to repeal & replace! #ObamacareFail

74. Obamacare is a disaster. We must REPEAL & REPLACE. Tired of the lies, and want to ? Get out & VOTE #TrumpPence16 & lets #MAGA !

75. Our country is stagnant. We've lost jobs and business. We don't make things anymore b/c of the bill Hillary's husband signed and she blessed.

76. Paul Ryan should spend more time on balancing the budget, jobs and illegal immigration and not waste his time on fighting Republican nominee.

77. PAY TO PLAY POLITICS. #CrookedHillary

78. People will be very surprised by our ground game on Nov. 8. We have an army of volunteers and people with GREAT SPIRIT! They want to #MAGA!

79. Praying for the families of the two Iowa police who were ambushed this morning. An attack on those who keep us safe is an attack on us all.

80. Record crowd in Tampa, Florida- thank you! We will WIN FLORIDA, #DrainTheSwamp in Washington D.C. and MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!

81. REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE!

82. Russia has more warheads than ever, N Korea is testing nukes, and Iran got a sweetheart deal to keep theirs. Thanks, @HillaryClinton .

83. Spoke with Governor @PatMcCryNC of North Carolina today. He is doing a tremendous job under tough circumstances.

84. State works hard, and illegally, for Clinton. #DrainTheSwamp

85. Thank you America - great #CommanderInChiefForum polls!

86. Thank you Colorado Springs. If I'm elected President I am going to keep Radical Islamic Terrorists out of our country! #DrainTheSwamp

87. Thank you Florida- a MOVEMENT that has never been seen before and will never be seen again. Lets get out & #VoteTrumpPence16 on 11/8! #MAGA

88. Thank you Governor @Mike\_Pence ! Lets MAKE AMERICA SAFE AND GREAT AGAIN with the American people.

89. Thank you Governor @TerryBranstad ! #AmericaFirst#Debates2016

90. Thank you Maine, New Hampshire and Iowa. The waiting is OVER! The time for change is NOW! We are going to & #MAGA ! #ImWithYou#DrainTheSwamp !

91. Thank you Michigan! This is a MOVEMENT that will never be seen again- it's our last chance to #DrainTheSwamp ! Watch:

92. Thank you Naples, Florida! Get out and VOTE #TrumpPence16 on 11/8. Lets #MakeAmericaGreatAgain ! Full Naples rally:

93. Thank you NH! We will end illegal immigration, stop the drugs, deport all criminal aliens&save American lives!

94. Thank you Novi, Michigan! Get out and VOTE #TrumpPence16 on 11/8. Together, WE WILL MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!
95. Thank you Ohio! #AmericaFirst
96. Thank you Ohio. Together, we will MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!
97. Thank you Orlando, Florida! We are just six days away from delivering justice for every forgotten man, woman and child in this country!
98. Thank you Pennsylvania- I am forever grateful for your amazing support. Lets MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! #MAGA
99. Thank you Pennsylvania! Going to New Hampshire now and on to Michigan. Watch PA rally here: The big vote tomorrow!
100. Thank you Reno, Nevada. NOTHING will stop us in our quest to MAKE AMERICA SAFE AND GREAT AGAIN! #AmericaFirst
101. Thank you South Carolina! Everyone has to get out and VOTE on 11/8/16.#MakeAmericaGreatAgain
102. Thank you to @foxandfriends for the great review of the speech on immigration last night. Thank you also to the great people of Arizona!
103. Thank you to the great crowd of supporters in Newtown, Pennsylvania. Get out & VOTE on 11/8/16. Lets ! Watch:
104. The attack on Mosul is turning out to be a total disaster. We gave them months of notice. U.S. is looking so dumb. VOTE TRUMP and WIN AGAIN!
105. The economy cannot take four more years of these same failed policies.  
#DrainTheSwamp
106. The failing @nytimes has gone nuts that Crooked Hillary is doing so badly. They are willing to say anything, has become a laughingstock rag!
107. The Great State of Arizona, where I just had a massive rally (amazing people), has a very weak and ineffective Senator, Jeff Flake. Sad!
108. The MOVEMENT in Portsmouth, New Hampshire w/ 7K supporters. THANK YOU! This is the biggest election of our lifetime- get out & VOTE on 11/8!
109. The people are really smart in cancelling subscriptions to the Dallas & Arizona papers & now USA Today will lose readers! The people get it!
110. The polls are close so Crooked Hillary is getting out of bed and will campaign tomorrow. Why did she hammer 13 devices and acid-wash e-mails?
111. The Republican Party needs strong and committed leaders, not weak people such as @JeffFlake , if it is going to stop illegal immigration
112. The situations in Tulsa and Charlotte are tragic. We must come together to make America safe again.
113. This election is being rigged by the media pushing false and unsubstantiated charges, and outright lies, in order to elect Crooked Hillary!
114. This is what we can expect from #CrookedHillary . More Taxes. More Spending.  
#BigLeageTruth#Debates
115. Today in Florida, I pledged to stand with the people of Cuba and Venezuela in their fight against oppression- con
116. Together we can save American JOBS, American LIVES, and AMERICAN FUTURES!
117. Truly honored to receive the first ever presidential endorsement from the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association. #MAGA #ImWithYou
118. Tune in at and get the word out #BigLeagueTruth Help us spread the TRUTH, stop the LIES!
119. Unbelievable evening in New Hampshire - THANK YOU! Flying to Grand Rapids, Michigan now. Watch NH rally here:
120. Under the leadership of Obama & Clinton, Americans have experienced more attacks at home than victories abroad. Time to change the playbook!
121. Using Alicia M in the debate as a paragon of virtue just shows that Crooked Hillary suffers from BAD JUDGEMENT! Hillary was set up by a con.
122. Very little pick-up by the dishonest media of incredible information provided by WikiLeaks. So dishonest! Rigged system!
123. Voter fraud! Crooked Hillary Clinton even got the questions to a debate, and nobody says a word. Can you imagine if I got the questions?

124. Want access to Crooked Hillary? Don't forget - it's going to cost you!  
 #DrainTheSwamp #PayToPlay

125. We agree @POTUS - "SHE'LL (Hillary Clinton) SAY ANYTHING & CHANGE NOTHING. IT'S TIME TO TURN THE PAGE" -President Obama

126. We have all got to come together and win this election. We can't have four more years of Obama (or worse!).

127. While Hillary profits off the rigged system, I am fighting for you! Remember the simple phrase: #FollowTheMoney

128. While Hillary said horrible things about my supporters, and while many of her supporters will never vote for me, I still respect them all!

129. Why didn't Hillary Clinton announce that she was inappropriately given the debate questions - she secretly used them! Crooked Hillary.

130. Why isn't Hillary 50 points ahead? Maybe it's the email scandal, policies that spread ISIS, or calling millions of Americans deplorables!

131. Why isn't President Obama working instead of campaigning for Hillary Clinton?

132. WikiLeaks proves even the Clinton campaign knew Crooked mishandled classified info, but no one gets charged? RIGGED!

133. WikiLeaks reveals Clinton camp's work with VERY friendly and malleable reporters. #CrookedHillary

134. Will be delivering a major speech tonight - live on @oreillyfactor at 8:10pm from Pensacola, Florida.

135. With the exception of cheating Bernie out of the nom the Dems have always proven to be far more loyal to each other than the Republicans!

136. Wow! I hear you Warren, Michigan. Streaming live - join us America. It is time to DRAIN THE SWAMP! Watch:

137. Wow, @CNN got caught fixing their "focus group" in order to make Crooked Hillary look better. Really pathetic and totally dishonest!

138. Wow, did you see how badly @CNN (Clinton News Network) is doing in the ratings. With people like @donlemon , who could expect any more?

139. Wow, Hillary Clinton was SO INSULTING to my supporters, millions of amazing, hard working people. I think it will cost her at the Polls!

140. Wow, now leading in @ABC @washingtonpost Poll 46 to 45. Gone up 12 points in two weeks, mostly before the Crooked Hillary blow-up!

**Table 12. Tweets from Donald Trump's account from the 8th of November 2016 to the 1st of May 2017 (P2). The analysis of EP, Implicit Populism and Neutral Sentences**

1. #ThankYouTour2016 Tonight- Orlando, Florida. Tickets: Tomorrow- Mobile, Alabama
2. ...country and with the massive cost reductions I have negotiated on military purchases and more, I believe the people are seeing big stuff
3. An honor having the National Sheriffs' Assoc. join me at the @WhiteHouse. Incredible men & women who protect & serve.
4. Another terrorist attack in Paris. The people of France will not take much more of this. Will have a big effect on presidential election!
5. Anybody (especially Fake News media) who thinks that Repeal & Replace of ObamaCare is dead does not know the love and strength in R Party!
6. As your President, I have no higher duty than to protect the lives of the American people
7. FAKE NEWS - A TOTAL POLITICAL WITCH HUNT!
8. I will be speaking at 9:00 A.M. today to Police Chiefs and Sheriffs and will be discussing the horrible, dangerous and wrong decision.....
9. being a movie star-and that was season 1 compared to season 14. Now compare him to my season 1. But who cares, he supported Kasich & Hillary
10. Big announcement by Ford today. Major investment to be made in three Michigan plants. Car companies coming back to U.S. JOBS! JOBS! JOBS!
11. Big day on Thursday for Indiana and the great workers of that wonderful state. We will keep our companies and jobs in the U.S. Thanks Carrier
12. Big increase in traffic into our country from certain areas, while our people are far more vulnerable, as we wait for what should be EASY D!
13. Ungrateful TRAITOR Chelsea Manning, who should never have been released from prison, is now calling President Obama a weak leader. Terrible!
14. Buy American & hire American are the principles at the core of my agenda, which is: JOBS, JOBS, JOBS! Thank you @exxonmobil.
15. Chris Cuomo, in his interview with Sen. Blumenthal, never asked him about his long-term lie about his brave "service" in Vietnam. FAKE NEWS!
16. Chuck Jones, who is President of United Steelworkers 1999, has done a terrible job representing workers. No wonder companies flee country!
17. CNN just released a book called "Unprecedented" which explores the 2016 race & victory. Hope it does well but used worst cover photo of me!
18. Countries charge U.S. companies taxes or tariffs while the U.S. charges them nothing or little. We should charge them SAME as they charge us!
19. Dishonest media says Mexico won't be paying for the wall if they pay a little later so the wall can be built more quickly. Media is fake!
20. especially how to get people, even with an unlimited budget, out to vote in the vital swing states ( and more). They focused on wrong states
21. FAKE NEWS media, which makes up stories and "sources," is far more effective than the discredited Democrats - but they are fading fast!
22. For first time the failing @nytimes will take an ad (a bad one) to help save its failing reputation. Try reporting accurately & fairly!
23. Give the public a break - The FAKE NEWS media is trying to say that large scale immigration in Sweden is working out just beautifully. NOT!
24. Going to Charleston, South Carolina, in order to spend time with Boeing and talk jobs! Look forward to it.
25. Governor John Kasich of the GREAT, GREAT, GREAT State of Ohio called to congratulate me on the win. The people of Ohio were incredible!
26. Great optimism in America and the results will be even better.
27. Gross negligence by the Democratic National Committee allowed hacking to take place. The Republican National Committee had strong defense!
28. The Great State of Michigan was just certified as a Trump WIN giving all of our MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN supporters another victory - 306!

29. I am working on a new system where there will be competition in the Drug Industry. Pricing for the American people will come way down!

30. I don't know Putin, have no deals in Russia, and the haters are going crazy - yet Obama can make a deal with Iran, #1 in terror, no problem!

31. I have instructed Homeland Security to check people coming into our country VERY CAREFULLY. The courts are making the job very difficult!

32. I met some really great Air Force GENERALS and Navy ADMIRALS today, talking about airplane capability and pricing. Very impressive people!

33. I thought that @CNN would get better after they failed so badly in their support of Hillary Clinton however, since election, they are worse!

34. I will be asking for a major investigation into VOTER FRAUD, including those registered to vote in two states, those who are illegal and....

35. I win an election easily, a great "movement" is verified, and crooked opponents try to belittle our victory with FAKE NEWS. A sorry state!

36. If Russia, or some other entity, was hacking, why did the White House wait so long to act? Why did they only complain after Hillary lost?

37. If the ban were announced with a one week notice, the "bad" would rush into our country during that week. A lot of bad "dudes" out there!

38. If the election were based on total popular vote I would have campaigned in N.Y. Florida and California and won even bigger and more easily

39. Information is being illegally given to the failing @nytimes & @washingtonpost by the intelligence community (NSA and FBI?). Just like Russia

40. Instead of driving jobs and wealth away, AMERICA will become the world's great magnet for INNOVATION & JOB CREATION

41. Intelligence agencies should never have allowed this fake news to "leak" into the public. One last shot at me. Are we living in Nazi Germany?

42. It is the same Fake News Media that said there is "no path to victory for Trump" that is now pushing the phony Russia story. A total scam!

43. Jobs are returning, illegal immigration is plummeting, law, order and justice are being restored. We are truly making America great again!

44. Joined the @HouseGOP Conference this morning at the U.S. Capitol. #PassTheBill #MAGA

45. Just leaving Florida. Big crowds of enthusiastic supporters lining the road that the FAKE NEWS media refuses to mention. Very dishonest!

46. Just tried watching Saturday Night Live - unwatchable! Totally biased, not funny and the Baldwin impersonation just can't get any worse. Sad

47. Kellyanne Conway went to @MeetThePress this morning for an interview with @chucktodd. Dishonest media cut out 9 of her 10 minutes. Terrible!

48. Look forward to seeing final results of VoteStand. Gregg Phillips and crew say at least 3,000,000 votes were illegal. We must do better!

49. Meeting with biggest business leaders this morning. Good jobs are coming back to U.S., health care and tax bills are being crafted NOW!

50. Melania and I are honored to light up the @WhiteHouse this evening, for #WorldAutismAwarenessDay. Join us & #LIUB

51. Mexico has taken advantage of the U.S. for long enough. Massive trade deficits & little help on the very weak border must change, NOW!

52. NBCNews purposely left out this part of my nuclear quote: "until such time as the world comes to its senses regarding nukes." Dishonest!

53. People must remember that ObamaCare just doesn't work, and it is not affordable - 116% increases (Arizona). Bill Clinton called it "CRAZY"

54. Remarks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's National Days of Remembrance.

55. Republicans must be careful in that the Dems own the failed ObamaCare disaster, with its poor coverage and massive premium increases.....

56. Serious voter fraud in Virginia, New Hampshire and California - so why isn't the media reporting on this? Serious bias - big problem!

57. Senators should focus their energies on ISIS, illegal immigration and border security instead of always looking to start World War III.'

58. Somebody hacked the DNC but why did they not have "hacking defense" like the RNC has and why have they not responded to the terrible....

59. Such amazing reporting on unmasking and the crooked scheme against us by @foxandfriends. "Spied on before nomination." The real story.

60. Thank you Louisville, Kentucky- on my way! #MAGA

61. Thank you Michigan. We are going to bring back your jobs & together, we will MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!

62. Thank you to Linda Bean of L.L.Bean for your great support and courage. People will support you even more now. Buy L.L.Bean. @LBPerfectMaine

63. The debates, especially the second and third, plus speeches and intensity of the large rallies, plus OUR GREAT SUPPORTERS, gave us the win!

64. The Democrats are most angry that so many Obama Democrats voted for me. With all of the jobs I am bringing back to our Nation, that number..

65. The Democrats had to come up with a story as to why they lost the election, and so badly (306), so they made up a story - RUSSIA. Fake news!

66. The Democrats will make a deal with me on healthcare as soon as ObamaCare folds - not long. Do not worry, we are in very good shape!

67. The failing @nytimes does major FAKE NEWS China story saying "Mr.Xi has not spoken to Mr. Trump since Nov.14." We spoke at length yesterday!

68. The failing @nytimes just announced that complaints about them are at a 15 year high. I can fully understand that - but why announce?

69. The failing @nytimes writes total fiction concerning me. They have gotten it wrong for two years, and now are making up stories & sources!

70. The Freedom Caucus will hurt the entire Republican agenda if they don't get on the team, & fast. We must fight them, & Dems, in 2018!

71. The Green Party scam to fill up their coffers by asking for impossible recounts is now being joined by the badly defeated & demoralized Dems

72. The media has not reported that the National Debt in my first month went down by \$12 billion vs a \$200 billion increase in Obama first mo.

73. The so-called "A" list celebrities are all wanting tixs to the inauguration, but look what they did for Hillary, NOTHING. I want the PEOPLE!

74. The super Liberal Democratic in the Georgia Congressioal race tomorrow wants to protect criminals, allow illegal immigration and raise taxes!

75. The two fake news polls released yesterday, ABC & NBC, while containing some very positive info, were totally wrong in General E. Watch!

76. The coverage about me in the @nytimes and the @washingtonpost has been so false and angry that the times actually apologized to its.....

77. Today there were terror attacks in Turkey, Switzerland and Germany - and it is only getting worse. The civilized world must change thinking!

78. Unbelievable evening in New Hampshire - THANK YOU! Flying to Grand Rapids, Michigan now.

79. We had a great News Conference at Trump Tower today. A couple of FAKE NEWS organizations were there but the people truly get what's going on

80. We must fix our education system for our kids to Make America Great Again. Wonderful day at Saint Andrew in Orlando.

81. When will Sleepy Eyes Chuck Todd and @NBCNews start talking about the Obama SURVEILLANCE SCANDAL and stop with the Fake Trump/Russia story?

82. Where was all the outrage from Democrats and the opposition party (the media) when our jobs were fleeing our country?

83. Why doesn't Fake News talk about Podesta ties to Russia as covered by @FoxNews or money from Russia to Clinton - sale of Uranium?

84. Why isn't the House Intelligence Committee looking into the Bill & Hillary deal that allowed big Uranium to go to Russia, Russian speech....

85. Yes, it is true - Carlos Slim, the great businessman from Mexico, called me about getting together for a meeting. We met, HE IS A GREAT GUY!

**Table 13. Coders' results in Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's tweets (0 - Neutral, 1- Explicit, 2 - Implicit):**

Clinton C1	Clinton C2	Trump P1 C1	Trump P1 C2	Trump P2 C1	Trump P2 C2 <sup>25</sup>
2	2	2	2	2	0
2	2	2	2	2	0
0	0	2	2	2	0
2	2	2	2	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	0	0	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	0	0
2	1	2	2	0	0
2	2	2	2	1	2
0	0	2	2	0	2
2	2	2	2	0	0
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	2	2	2	1	2
0	0	1	1	0	0
1	1	2	2	1	1
0	0	1	1	2	2
0	0	2	2	1	1
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	2	1	1	0	0
1	1	2	2	0	0
2	2	2	2	0	0
0	2	0	0	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
1	1	2	2	1	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
1	1	2	2	2	1
0	0	1	1	0	0
2	1	1	1	2	2
1	1	1	1	2	2
1	1	1	1	1	2
2	2	1	1	2	2
2	2	2	2	1	1
2	1	0	0	0	0
1	1	2	2	2	2
0	0	1	1	2	2

<sup>25</sup> The abbreviation of C1 refers to Coder One while C2 refers to Coder Two.

2	2	1	1	1	1
0	0	2	2	2	2
1	2	2	2	1	1
0	0	0	0	2	2
1	1	2	2	1	1
1	1	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1	0	0
2	2	2	1	0	0
1	2	2	2	1	1
0	0	2	2	1	1
0	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	2	0	0
1	1	0	0	2	2
1	1	2	2	2	2
1	1	2	2	2	2
2	1	0	0	2	2
1	1	0	0	2	1
1	2	0	0	2	2
1	1	2	2	2	2
1	1	2	2	0	0
2	2	0	0	0	0
1	1	2	2	1	1
0	0	2	2	2	2
0	0	1	1	2	2
1	1	0	0	2	2
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	0	0	0	2	2
1	1	2	2	1	1
1	1	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	2	1	1
1	1	2	2	1	1
0	2	1	2	2	2
0	0	1	1	2	2
1	1	1	2	2	2
0	0	2	2	1	2
2	2	0	2	0	0
2	2	2	2	1	1
2	1	1	2	2	2
2	1	2	2	2	2
1	0	2	2	1	1
1	1	0	0	2	2
0	0	1	2	2	2
0	0	0	0	0	0

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2	0	2	2
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2	0	2	2
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1	1	0	0
0	0	2	2
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0	0	2	2
1	2	0	0
2	2	2	2
0	0	2	2
1	1	2	1
1	2	0	0
1	1	1	1
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1	1	0	0
2	1	1	1
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1	1	0	0
1	1	1	1
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