

oxforddown:
An Oxford University Thesis
Template for R Markdown



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For Yihui Xie

Acknowledgements

This is where you will normally thank your advisor, colleagues, family and friends, as well as funding and institutional support. In our case, we will give our praises to the people who developed the ideas and tools that allow us to push open science a little step forward by writing plain-text, transparent, and reproducible theses in R Markdown.

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Ulrik Lyngs
Linacre College, Oxford
2 December 2018

Abstract

This *R Markdown* template is for writing an Oxford University thesis. The template is built using Yihui Xie's `bookdown` package, with heavy inspiration from Chester Ismay's `thesisdown` and the `OxThesis` L^AT_EX template (most recently adapted by John McManigle).

This template's sample content include illustrations of how to write a thesis in R Markdown, and largely follows the structure from [this R Markdown workshop](#).

Congratulations for taking a step further into the lands of open, reproducible science by writing your thesis using a tool that allows you to transparently include tables and dynamically generated plots directly from the underlying data. Hip hooray!

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List of Abbreviations

- 1-D, 2-D** . . . One- or two-dimensional, referring **in this thesis** to spatial dimensions in an image.
- Otter** One of the finest of water mammals.
- Hedgehog** . . . Quite a nice prickly friend.

List of Abbreviations

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Introduction

This dissertation aims to broaden our understanding of gastropopulism to accommodate a range of ideological and regional contexts. The emerging research on gastropopulism explores it in conflation with right-wing discursive ideology, specifically exclusionary nationalism. Furthermore, the empirical evidence heavily relies (70%) on the content of a single actor, which distorts the findings. These factors are forming a vicious circle, entrenching a limited and biased understanding of gastropopulism. The political implication of academic conflation of (gastro)populism with nationalism is the validation of harmful claims as ‘soft’ and representative of “the people” (Hunger and Paxton, 2021, p630). As such, there is a significant gap in the literature that necessitates radical review of gastropopulism. In this dissertation I have designed and applied a research methodology to overcome the current divides in populism research: conflation with ideology; insensitivity to geographical/cultural contexts; differences between quantitative and qualitative methods (Hunger and Paxton, 2021, p629).

Research Question: ***How do political actors use multimodal gastropopulist performances to construct and legitimise their public identities?***

In this dissertation, ‘multimodal communication’, ‘gastropopulism’, and ‘public identities’ are divided into the following elements. Multimodal communication

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integrates the individual communicative modes of language, food and the body (Norris, 2004, p152). The features of gastropopulist performances are (1) belonging with ‘the people’; (2) bad manners; (3) immediacy (Moffitt, 2016, p40). A public identity is constructed through emphasising selected roles, herein, celebrity, politician, personal, and professional (Bast, 2021, p200).

Accordingly, my account formulates gastropopulism as *an actor’s use of multimodal communication integrating language, food, and the body in performances of connecting with ‘the people’, bad manners, and immediacy, in order to construct a consistent public identity that performs authenticity through strategically blending their celebrity, politician, personal, and professional roles.*

To test my account, I have undertaken mixed-methods analysis of visual and audiovisual data of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez [AOC](#) (left-wing, US), Donald Trump (right-wing, US), Nigel Farage (right-wing, UK) and Jeremy Corbyn (left-wing, UK). My research design is complex but comprehensive and cohesive, structured as follows. **Chapter Two: Integrative Literature Review** offers a qualitative synthesis of the relevant themes to the emerging field of gastropopulism, namely: populism; performance and multimodal communication; celebrity and social media; food semiotics and the body. I then critically assess the three existing empirical studies of gastropopulism to clearly establish the gap in the literature and the need to challenge and extend our knowledge of gastropopulism. **Chapter Three: Multimodal Social Semiotics Research Approach** outlines my methodological considerations, sample, and methods. This presents descriptive statistics for my sample. My methods and coding process are discussed, and my codebook for gastropopulist features is presented. **Chapter Four: Statistical Analysis** generates summary statistics of key variables for my entire sample [n=163], by actor, ideology, region, and overall, to examine how gastropopulist performances are constructed. This chapter demonstrates why empirical evidence of gastropopulism is suited to analytic, not statistical, generalisability. Furthermore, the empirical grounding of the subsequent chapters is established. **Chapter Five: Individual Timeline Thematic Analysis** is a mixed-methods examination of each actor’s

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data, using quantitative interactive timeline visualisations paired with qualitative discussions of individual trends, generated through inductive thematic analysis. This examines how the actors demonstrate their belonging to their people: Trump uses his personal wealth to buy his people fast food; AOC physically belongs in her constituency; Corbyn uses his campaign slogan ‘For The Many’; Farage uses food/drink to represent the cause/solution of problems. **Chapter Six: Nationalism and Class** uses deductive qualitative thematic analysis to explore how the central themes of extant gastropopulism literature manifest in my sample and theory. The ‘nationalism’ section critically assesses the exclusionary/inclusionary binary presented by the literature, as well as the conflation of gastropopulism with right-wing discursive ideology. The ‘class’ section considers how the actors embody class solidarity through performing a pub/bar worker role, apart from Trump, who integrates his professional identity into his food choices. This chapter dissects what it means for a gastropopulist performance to be viewed as credible. **Chapter Seven: Performative Eating** analyses performative eating videos using an original framework, Multimodal Social Semiotics Timeline Transcription. This explores the unique affordances of turning eating into a spectacle for gastropopulist performers. **Chapter Eight: Discussion** reflects upon the theory and arguments brought forth. This considers the work’s limitations and offers opportunities for future research. Ultimately, I conclude that disentangling gastropopulism from ideological assumptions is necessary and achievable; my research design facilitates a comprehensive understanding of gastropopulism *qua* gastropopulism that can comfortably accommodate different ideological and regional contexts. sentence about impression management

word count 2273/2230

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Literature Review

This integrative qualitative thematic literature review provides an overview of relevant themes in the emerging gastropopulism field to establish the need for, and assist in developing, a new theoretical model of the concept (Torraco, 2005, p357). The relevant themes are: **populism; communication (performance and multimodality); celebrity politics and social media; food semiotics; gastropopulism**. The gastropopulism section is a detailed critical engagement with the theoretical assumptions, methodologies, and empirical evidence of the three extant empirical studies. In particular, the over-reliance on data from one political actor/context (Italy's far-right Matteo Salvini) is critically assessed. This establishes the gap in gastropopulism literature, and demonstrates the need to reconstruct gastropopulism theory. Finally, I offer my account of gastropopulism, developed from the literature synthesised herein, to be robustly empirically tested in subsequent chapters.

2.1 Populism

Whilst ostensibly extensively researched, 'populism' lacks conceptual clarity and is frequently conflated with left- or right-wing ideologies (Hunger and Paxton, 2021, p617). Settling the wider debate on populism is beyond the remit of my

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dissertation. Instead, influenced by Moffitt (2016, p40), my dissertation considers populism as performance, with the central features of: (1) belonging with ‘the people’; (2) bad manners; (3) immediacy. Per Garcia-Santamaria (2021, p32), this is used to convey authenticity, social intimacy, and spontaneity/urgency, in order to construct a blended political and personal identity of the actor. Populists construct an antagonistic divide between ‘the people’ and ‘the elite’ to emphasise their belonging with ‘the people’ (Moffitt, 2016, p43). As a theoretical frame, the features are ideologically and culturally neutral, and flexible to contextual application (e.g., cultural perceptions of ‘bad’ manners) (Moffitt, 2016, p45). Furthermore, Moffitt (2016, p41) asserts that the conceptual tools provided by the dramaturgical lexicon (e.g., performance, audience, stage, prop) are useful for empirical analysis of populism, as they ground the theory’s ontological assumptions in more ‘concrete’ *ontic* content. Moreover, his performative approach emphasises multimodality (e.g., aesthetics, gestures) (Moffitt, 2016, p40), thus effectively captures the inherently multimodal nature of gastropopulist communication.

2.2 Communication: Performance and Multimodality

Goffman’s (1959) work on performance remains highly influential to the communication field. The central idea is that observation entails a contextual shift, whereby one’s actions become communicative performances, implicitly or explicitly signifying meaning and identity to the observer (Goffman, 1959, p43). This is keenly relevant for political actors, whose highly visible position in the public sphere invites intense observation (McDonnell and Wheeler, 2019, p427). This motivates “impression management”, meaning attempts to influence perceptions by carefully emphasising or concealing certain aspects to present an idealised performance as ‘authentic’ (Goffman, 1959, p30). However, according to Goffman (1959, p36), this can easily backfire because the audience is sensitive both to minor discrepancies and seeming overly calculated. Thus, authenticity itself is a *performance*, not a discernible true/false characteristic of a performance/performer (Zummo, 2020,

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p111). As such, this dissertation examines how actors deploy impression management in their multimodal gastropopulist performances, which concerns how such performances (and their performed authenticity) might be *discredited*, rather than *false* (Goffman, 1959, p44).

Sigrid Norris (2004, p156), a pioneer of multimodal communication research, asserts that communication studies normatively afford primacy to linguistic modes, with other modes being treated as appendages. Norris (2004, p152) views communicative modes as “loosely bounded units”; the mode of image can be divided (herein) into the modes of language, the body, food, or “a range of other equally correct communicative modes”. As this work centres the actor as a communicator, ‘image’ and ‘video’ are taken to be *formats* rather than modes of communication. Image (visual) and video (audiovisual) formats of communication are predominant in traditional and social media; political actors increasingly work to take advantage of different modes (particularly the body and objects) to convey messages (Diehl, 2017, p7). Kress (2011, p38) states that the integration of modes constitute “one connected cultural resource for meaning-making”, or, in Goffman’s terms, a communicative performance. Each mode holds equal (potential) *capacity* to contribute meaning, and each holds distinct affordances and social shaping (Kress, 2011, p38). Accordingly, it is vital that political actors harness the power of multimodal communication to convincingly perform authenticity (Zummo, 2020, p101).

2.3 Celebrity Politicians and Social Media

The notion of the ‘celebrity politician’ is highly relevant to my dissertation. Per Street (2019, p4), political analysts can gain profound insights from examining “the behaviour of celebrity politicians as *celebrities*”, or more as performers and their fans than as representatives and their citizens. Self-presentation is a political actor’s promotion of their celebrity, politician, personal, and/or professional role to strategically cultivate a particular public identity (Bast, 2021, p200). Social media platforms offer a low-cost, high-potential tool for populist performances of their

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‘unfiltered’ identity, unmediated connection to their audience, and rejection of ‘elite’ traditional media (Moffitt, 2016, p92). ‘Politainment’ is common online, wherein the distinction between the personal and the political is blurred, for example through cooking livestreams, to emphasise and legitimise the actor’s performed identity and connection to their audience (Zummo, 2020, p112). Politainment and self-presentation stimulate parasocial relationships and interaction, wherein individuals feel as though they know and are connected to a public figure on a personal level (McDonnell and Wheeler, 2019, p428). Celebrity politicians are not always populist, and not all populists are celebrity politicians (Street, 2019, p11). However, there is seemingly a natural affinity between populism, celebrity, and social media (Moffitt, 2016; Street, 2019; Bast, 2021; McDonnell and Wheeler, 2019; Zummo, 2020).

2.4 Food Semiotics

Bourdieu’s (1984) seminal ethnography on the social construction of taste is a common point of reference for social semiotics (meaning-making) literature. Of particular relevance to this dissertation is his construction of an antagonistic divide between the taste preferences of the “**dominant elite**” (‘high’ culture; refined, healthy, fresh, expensive, *quality*) and the “**dominated mass**” (‘low’ culture; popular, unhealthy, processed, cheap, *quantity*) (Bourdieu, 1984, p468). This is extended by his central claim that “*taste in the sense of the ‘faculty of immediately and intuitively judging aesthetic values’ is inseparable from taste in the sense of the capacity to discern the flavours of foods which implies a preference for some of them*” (Bourdieu, 1984, p99). Due to this constructed elite/mass divide and the dual meaning of the word taste, food semiotics literature can offer profound insights into populist performances.

Food holds significant and often overlooked communicative power (Stano, 2015, p647). Food, along with its preparation and its consumption, signals taste and

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identity, particularly of socioeconomic and cultural preferences, access, and belonging (Stano, 2015, p657). To appear relatable and accessible, populist actors often invoke mirror representation as a form of mimetic identification with their constructed ‘people’ (Diehl, 2017, p9). Food-related performances are a highly effective way for populists to align themselves with ‘low’ culture and ‘the people’ and distance themselves from ‘high’ culture and ‘the elites’ (Tindall, 2022, p126).

Unlike ‘shared senses’, such as sight and hearing, taste is a private sense, rendering food preferences and eating habits inherently private (Hai-Jew, 2022, p276; Rüdiger, 2021, p11). Accordingly, political actors can foster parasocial intimacy by selectively sharing personal information about their daily lives through revealing food preferences/habits rather than, e.g., personal relationships (Rüdiger, 2021, p11). Thus, gastropopulist performances are a form of impression management that promote preferred *perceptions* regarding how the actor truly ‘lives’, though this is ultimately unknowable (Hai-Jew, 2022, p282).

Diehl (2017, p12) positions eating as “the most powerful technique [for populists] to demonstrate proximity and similarity”. When food is incorporated — eaten — it not only provides the body with energy needed to survive, but it *becomes* the substance of the body (Stano, 2015, p657). *You are what you eat*. Due to the semiotic weight of this biological process, Diehl (2017, p1) asserts the body as crucial in populist communication to invoke mimetic identification with ‘the people’, and Bourdieu (1984, p190) claims the body as “the most indisputable materialisation of class taste”. In the first empirical study of gastropopulism, Garcia-Santamaria (2020, p146) concludes that “political leaders’ posts of food are never about just food”. The power of food as a *political* communicative mode lies in its everyday presence concealing its semiotic weight; gastropopulist performances thus offer political actors a less-scrutinised way to construct and legitimise their public identities.

2.5 Gastropopulism

In recent years, academic research has begun to apply food semiotics to populism, termed ‘gastropopulism’. At its core, gastropopulism is political actors’ use of food as a meaning-making device to construct and signify features of populism, particularly belonging with ‘the people’. There are currently only three empirical gastropopulism studies, which exclusively examine it as a right-wing ‘discursive ideology’ used to convey exclusionary nationalism and working class belonging (Garcia-Santamaria, 2020, p129; Demuru, 2021, p511; Starita, 2022, p94).

The studies’ operationalisations undeniably conflate populism with nationalism. The first “fundamental distinctive feature” of populism presented by Demuru (2021, p510) is “the abuse of ‘empty signifiers’, such as [the construction of] ‘the people’” which “revolves around the continuous appeal to a national identity” and the juxtaposition of “‘true’ and ‘legitimate’ citizens [against] the ethnic minorities and migrants [...] seen as a concrete threat for the State and the national culture”. Interestingly, Starita (2022, p94) and Garcia-Santamaria (2020, p131) posit Italy as a “country of endemic populism”, yet only examine right-wing actors. Starita (2022, p93) claims that “populism and nationalism share some key ideological elements [...] their evolutions have contaminated each other”. Garcia-Santamaria (2020, p133) states that constructions of ‘the people’ represent national belonging in nationalism, and class belonging in populism, so right-wing populists connect to a national- and class-identity of the ‘people’. Garcia-Santamaria (2020, p133) defines “food populism [as] populist leaders’ use of [...] food as an empty signifier that connects [...] with the national common people”, and explicitly claims that ‘food populism’ avoids “ethnic exoticism”.

Certain modes, herein food, are “less subject to social policing” thus hold unique affordances for political actors constructing identity (Kress, 2011, p41). Accordingly, whilst gastropopulism researchers Demuru (2021, p510) and Garcia-Santamaria (2020, p132) take food to be an ‘empty signifier’, my work centres its

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	García-Santamaría (2020)	Demuru (2021)	Starita (2022)
Actor(s)	Matteo Salvini (Italy, right-wing)	Matteo Salvini	Matteo Salvini
		Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil, right-wing)	Giorgia Meloni (Italy, right-wing)
Sample timeframe	2 months 6/4/2019-7/6/2019 [2019 EU Election Campaign]	36 months 1/6/2018-1/9/2020	12 months 1/1/2020-31/12/2020
Collected Data (food-related images)	36 Instagram posts [pp.129-130]	Salvini: 299 Instagram posts Bolsonaro: [assumed 40] “images from his Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube accounts; his son’s Twitter and YouTube accounts; 2 Bolsonaro supporter accounts; all Brazilian official and traditional news broadcasters” [p.511]	Salvini: 111 Instagram posts Meloni: 39 Instagram posts [p.95]
Final Sample [n]	36	Salvini: 40 Bolsonaro: 40	Salvini: 111 Meloni: 39
Gastropopulism operationalisation	“Food as a cultural trope that (1) brings him closer to the people, whilst (2) constructing boundaries of national belonging and exclusion” [p.130]	Food on social media communicates: (1) Patriotism (2) Humbleness and authenticity (3) Intimate proximity with followers [p.513]	[Food used to communicate] ‘exclusionary populism’ (1) Defence of traditions (2) Exclusion of the Other [p.94]

Figure 2.1: Contextualising the current empirical gastropopulism studies

active role in gastropopulism by analysing it as a communicative mode. Conflating (gastro)populism with nationalism not only obstructs useful analysis of (gastro)populism, it simultaneously validates exclusionary nationalist actors’ claims to connecting with ‘the people’ (Hunger and Paxton, 2021, p630). Whilst populism is often conflated with right-wing nationalism, extant *gastropopulism* research has arguably compounded this, specifically conflating the phenomenon with a single actor’s communicative performances — Matteo Salvini, presented in Figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1 shows that empirical evidence of gastropopulism is overwhelmingly drawn from Italy (84.9%) and Salvini (70%). Salvini posts significantly more food-related content than Bolsonaro and Meloni in the samples’ timeframes. This lends

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support to my gastropopulism-as-performance approach, as it indicates that the use of gastropopulist communication is linked to the *individual* actor more plausibly than the ideology or country.

Approaches rooted in ideology and discourse cannot usefully engage with (1) why gastropopulism is not used by all ‘populist’ actors, (2) what motivates the use of ‘gastropopulism’ over general ‘populism’, and (3) why ‘non-populist’ actors sometimes invoke gastropopulism. My performative approach easily accommodates these questions: actors tailor performances to the context and intended message; gastropopulism is used if the food-mode has particular affordances for these needs.

2.6 My Account of Gastropopulism

This qualitative thematic literature review has synthesised the relevant themes (populism; performance and multimodal communication; celebrity and social media; food semiotics and the body; gastropopulism) to the emerging field of gastropopulism. The deep critical engagement with the three existing empirical gastropopulism studies has demonstrated the clear gap in the literature. This has established the need for my dissertation, which aims to radically reconstruct gastropopulism research. In my view, the limited scope of current gastropopulism theory and evidence need not be entrenched; my performance-based account and comprehensive research design can broaden our understanding of the phenomenon.

This dissertation formulates gastropopulism as *an actor’s use of multimodal communication integrating language, food, and the body in performances of connecting with ‘the people’, bad manners, and immediacy, in order to construct a consistent public identity that performs authenticity through strategically blending their celebrity, politician, personal, and professional roles.*

There is a yet unaddressed concern regarding structural classism potentially being reproduced and entrenched in academia. Jayne *et al* (2008, p88) criticise another paper for “accepting rather than critiquing the use of terms such as European/continental drinking and the implicit binge drinking British ‘other’”.

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‘Classed’ assumptions regarding bodily composition and tastes, as advanced by Diehl (2017) and Bourdieu (1984), may not be accurate; a US government study of fast food consumption found a positive association with income (Fryar *et al*, 2018, p3). However, for Bourdieu, “A class is defined as much by its *being-perceived* as by its *being*, by its consumption— which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic” (1984, p483). Under Goffman’s (1959, p20) “dramatic realisation”, actors must *within the performance* draw attention to the intended meaning for observers, so gastropopulist class performances reflect stereotypes rather than reality. For Kress (2011, p41), certain modes — herein the body and food— are “less subject to social policing”, making their communicative power “much more difficult to challenge”. In my view, this is why it is essential to challenge and extend our understanding of gastropopulism, with the knowledge that gastropopulist performances are catered to common perceptions rather than accuracy.

In the next chapter, I present my research approach and explain how the methodological design of the dissertation’s four analytical methods work together to robustly overcome the limitations of current gastropopulism theory. This will empirically test my account of gastropopulism and provide a multidimensional answer my research question, ***How do political actors use multimodal gastropopulist performances to construct and legitimise their public identities?***

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3

Research Approach

Methodological considerations

Social semiotics are inherently subjective and situated (Kress, 2011, p36), which is congruent with my philosophical approach of constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology. Social semiotics approaches are iterative, so ‘description’, ‘analysis’ and ‘interpretation’ are not distinct stages of the research process (Bezemer and Mavers, 2011, p196). The core of the methods used are informed by the works on multimodal communication analysis produced by Norris (2004; 2009), Kress (2011), Bezemer and Mavers (2011), and Cowan (2014). These authors are/were (socio-)linguistic experts in the education field. However, their works are adaptable to the political science context, and proved invaluable for analysing multimodal communication.

My mixed-methods research design is complex and carefully considered. There are four analytical chapters: **Chapter Four: Statistical Analysis** of key variables to assess the dataset and set up further analysis; **Chapter Five: Individual Timeline Trends Analysis** pairing interactive quantitative timeline visualisations with inductive qualitative thematic analysis to explore each actor’s use of gastropopulism; **Chapter Six: Nationalism and Class** uses deductive

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qualitative thematic analysis to examine how the central themes of extant gastropopulism research manifest in my sample and theory; **Chapter Seven: Performative Eating** develops an original framework, Multimodal Social Semiotics Timeline Transcription (MMSSTT), to analyse performative eating videos. This dissertation’s structure will produce breadth and depth of analysis of multimodal gastropopulist performances.

Sample

The population of my study is multimodal content of British and American political actors associated with populist performances using food as a communicative mode. The political actors selected for my sample are: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (USA, left-wing); Donald Trump (USA, right-wing); Jeremy Corbyn (UK, left-wing); Nigel Farage (UK, right-wing). Farage and AOC were named in Garcia-Santamaria’s (2020, p146) concluding remarks about other political actors who use food to connect to audiences. The addition of Trump and Corbyn enables analysis of how gastropopulism is performed within and across ideologies and countries. This is an important element to empirically test the impact of conflating of (gastro)populism with ideology and/or region. I next briefly contextualise the selected actors’ celebrity origins.

AOC represents New York’s 14th Congressional District, population ~700,000, yet she has 8.5 million Instagram followers ([ocado-cortez.house.gov](https://www.ocado-cortez.house.gov), *n.d.*). Her ‘everyday influencer’ celebrity role attracts a large social media audience through “carefully crafted and stylised” interactive and multimodal politainment centring relatability and ‘ordinariness’ (Starita and Trillò, 2022, p334; Rasulo, 2020, p125). She frequently self-presents idealised gastropopulist performances of her personal role through ‘stories’ and livestreams, which disappear after 24 hours, aligning with Moffitt’s (2016, p85) concern that the celebrity role may enable political actors to avoid scrutiny and accountability. This resonates with ‘disappearing’ gastropopulist performances, as the aura of spontaneity and ‘personal’ content may be used to disguise explicitly political messages.

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In 2023, the active and crucial part Trump’s Apprentice role played in his public identity during his 2016 campaign is easily forgotten; he planned to work on season eight until June 2015, when the network publicly cut ties due to Trump’s “derogatory statements” at campaign rallies about Mexican immigrants (St. James, 2015). Though his reality star celebrity origins were filtered through traditional broadcast media, he quickly adapted this to harness the affordances of social media platforms, particularly Twitter (McDonnell and Wheeler, 2019, p430). Furthermore, his adversarial ‘billionaire boss’ reality star role fostered parasocial illusions and inherently blurred the line of perceived (in)authenticity regarding his political role and politics, mutually reinforcing his celebrity and politician roles (Street, 2019, pp7-8).

Farage and Corbyn’s political careers long pre-date social media (and ‘populism’ becoming a buzzword), so their public identities were largely filtered through traditional media. As such, their celebrity politician origins are rooted in their ‘politics’, inclusive of style and substance (Street, 2019, p10; Moffitt, 2016, p85). Moffitt (2016, p84) states that a “key tactic” for populists relying on traditional media is brazen opportunism with media appearances, “particularly those that ostensibly bring them closer to ‘the people’”.

As an MEP for a minor party — both elements of which inspire little media attention — Farage courted press coverage to establish his identity through extensive gastropopulist performances, frequently involved holding a pint of beer (Tindall, 2022, p135). Farage leveraged the traditional media and asserted the political relevance of euroscepticism, and over decades of work, significantly contributed to shifting the UK’s political landscape (Hart and Winter, 2022, p38).

In contrast, the ‘celebrity politician’ role was seemingly given to, rather than sought by Corbyn. Corbyn was a highly rebellious but relatively unknown backbench Labour MP for 32 years before his shock landslide victory in Labour’s 2015 leadership contest (Quinn, 2016, p765). However, his performed (or perhaps more accurately, *perceived*) authenticity and radical-left policies were extremely popular with young people, dubbed ‘Corbynmania’ (Quinn, 2016, p764). Given his long-established reticence to blend his personal and politician roles (Hattenstone,