1. **Curiel, C. P., Rivas-De-Roca, R., & García-Gordillo, M. (2021). Impact of Trump’s Digital Rhetoric on the US Elections: A View from Worldwide Far-Right Populism. *Social Sciences*, *10*(5), 152.** [**https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10050152**](https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10050152)

In the framework of the 2020 US elections, populist leaders worldwide supported Trump’s speech on Twitter, sharing a common ideology and language. Populist politicians reproduced the discourse of fraud and conspiracy typical of Trump’s politics on Twitter. The 2016 electoral campaign in the US already provided evidence of Trump’s effectiveness at storytelling through Twitter-based strategies of far-right populism (Pérez-Curiel and Limón-Naharro, 2019). He developed an opposing position to globalization, integration, and establishment policies (Mudde, 2016), supranational entities such as the European Union (Mammone, 2009), and immigrants, refugees, and Muslim culture (Wodak, 2015; Fuchs, 2017).

Their policies do not identify with traditional populism but with the so-called "post-industrial" populism, which is not linked to fascist positions, advocating for a new agenda (Ignazi, 2006). Some key characteristics of these leaders are that they have xenophobic, protectionist, and nationalist values, as well as criticism of traditional elites. Indeed, the Le Pen phenomenon happened before Trump’s victory in 2016, showing the early consolidation of populism in Europe. Regarding Latin America, the rise of violence, impunity, and corruption interferes with social order and creates a feeling of insecurity among citizens (Serrano-Rodríguez, 2019). The rise of populist policies is fueled by a time of uncertainty and growing distrust in traditional politics (Acemoglu et al., 2013). As in the 2016 presidential elections, Trump stood out for his constant appeal to emotional feelings, xenophobic statements against minorities (Fuchs, 2017), and nationalist domestic and foreign policies (Ramírez Nárdiz, 2020).

These populist politicians have criticized legacy media and labeled them as antagonists (Waisbord and Amado, 2017), eroding independent journalism and democracy (Pérez-Curiel, 2020). These populist politicians have used social media channels like Twitter to criticize the contents of legacy media. Twitter is a key social network of non-mediated communication that allows direct contact with people and avoids traditional media, which are labeled as conventional "elites" (van Kessel and Castelein, 2016). In this sense, an alternative non-mediated agenda is developed (Enli, 2017), increasing interaction with citizens (Rúas Araújo et al., 2018). Populist leaders focus more on opinions than facts, making extensive use of cyber rhetoric for the purpose of achieving votes (Stromer-Galley, 2014).

Interestingly, Twitter also boosts fake news and the spreading of hate speech (Bimber and Gil de Zúñiga, 2020; Bracciale and Martella, 2017). Individuals take advantage of social networks to promote machismo, homophobia, xenophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and other forms of intolerance, making them seem acceptable (Colleoni et al., 2014). The 2020 US presidential election attracted global attention. Trump’s political campaign, the use of a cyber-rhetoric, and a narrative based on electoral fraud reinforced the image of the Republican candidate among populist politicians, the media, and citizens.

In an investigation into how the themes and strategies of far-right populism align with the speech of Trump and other populist leaders on Twitter, a prevalence of the conflictive framework (horserace) as a game framework was detected. Another of Trump’s strategies shared by the rest of the leaders was the use of rhetoric on Twitter. The most commonly referenced resources consisted of an appeal to emotion and the presentation of opinions as facts, showing a pattern of false messages. Information selection and the use of attributions also seem to be outstanding tools. Trump built false arguments about election fraud through the use of simple language, the selection of information, and by attacking other sources (adversaries, institutions, media, etc.).

1. **Torregrosa, J., Panizo-LLedot, Á., Bello-Orgaz, G., & Camacho, D. (2020). Analyzing the relationship between relevance and extremist discourse in an alt-right network on Twitter. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, *10*(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-020-00676-1>**

* Among the different Social Media platforms, Twitter has become especially popular thanks to its public interaction nature (Camacho et al. 2020; Yardi and Boyd 2010)
* Few literature analyses the effect of the use of an extremist discourse in relation to the relevance of these users on their online network.
* In fact, relevant users of specific networks can guide the direction of the public opinion of that network and lead information propagation (Cha et al. 2010; Romero et al. 2011).
* Their relevance on the network and the interactions they made with the rest of the people can modulate different flows, including behavior, opinion or emotions. These users, who are often called “opinion leaders,” can be analyzed in terms of their role on the network (Riquelme and González-Cantergiani 2016).
* These relationships varied depending on the topic discussed and the corpus of text screened. But the main discoveries were that high k-shells users tend to have a more racist discourse in all the conditions, hate speech topic is the one where the most aggressive language is used by all the high relevant users (no matter the criteria), and that retweets done by high betweenness and k-shells users tend to include significantly more aggressive, racist and supremacist content.

1. **Khan, M. H., Qazalbash, F., Adnan, H. M., Yaqin, L. N., & Khuhro, R. A. (2021). Trump and Muslims: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Islamophobic rhetoric in Donald Trump’s selected tweets. *SAGE Open*, *11*(1), 215824402110041. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440211004172>**

* the study purposively takes 40 most controversial tweets of Donald Trump against Islam and Muslims and carried out a critical discourse analysis with the help of macro-strategies of the discourse given by Wodak and Meyer and van Dijk’s referential strategies of political discourse. The findings reveal that Trump uses language rhetorically to exclude people of different ethnic identities, especially Muslims, through demagogic language to create a difference of “us” vs. “them” and making in this way “America Great Again”.
* he role of Twitter in the transformation of democracy is irrefutable as it provides a platform to political leaders and the public to communicate in an easy way (Grant et al., 2010). Twitter is widely used to assist campaigns and the trend of utilizing this platform by the politicians and their parties has been analyed by scholars. Hendricks and Kaid (2014) and Campos-Domínguez (2017) argued that Twitter has become the main theoretical trend in political communication. In addition, Strandberg (2013) contented that Twitter functions as a tool of political mobilization and it could be seen during Barack Obama’s presidential campaigns in the 2008 and 2012 elections as there was over 100 personnel managing the Twitter handlers for @BarackObama (Hong & Nadler, 2012). Twitter’s substantial bearing, especially in politics, has garnered the attention of researchers to explore its effects in the elections and public opinion poll results (Liu, 2017).
* In contrast to other social media websites such as YouTube and Facebook, the number of users on Twitter has been significantly on the rise (Parmelee, 2014).
* Donald Trump, as he is considered to be among the most prolific Twitter users in the contemporary politics with over 43 million followers (Müller & Schwarz, 2018). Similarly, Ott (2017) opines that Trump has been extraordinarily active before running for the presidency in 2016, throughout his candidacy, and hitherto, tweeting 7.5 times a day on average which totalled up to more than 36,000 tweets per year. Nevertheless, at the same time, he was also considered as the most controversial user of Twitter (Liu, 2017; Müller & Schwarz, 2018). Particularly, when it comes to Islam and Muslims, Trump’s anti-Muslim political rhetoric on Twitter became very evident during the current U.S. Presidential election, when Trump stated that Muslims would be disallowed to enter the country in his presidency (Khan et al., 2019). In the same line, Ahmed and Matthes (2017) and Kazi (2017) argued that the way Muslims are being portrayed has become a stereotype since 9/11.
* This also resulted in a barrier on immigration from Islamic countries. Marko (2019) and Ott (2017) contented that soon after Trump’s announcement as a candidate for U.S. president, he used Twitter to promote anti-Muslim discourse and used it is a medium to promote himself throughout his election campaign.
* Trump restores his anti-Muslim rhetoric both before the presidential election of America (2016) and after to reinforce the shared conception of American identity with his people.
* The researchers have also concluded that Trump intentionally uses a dehumanizing perspective for Muslims to create a façade that Muslims are invading America and measures have to be taken against them. In doing so, Trump successfully portrays himself as the American hero, who wishes to save America from suffering and destruction.
* He always used language to paint them as terrorists, religious extremists, and called them anti-democratic bodies hurting America.
* Khoirunisa and Indah (2018) found that Muslims are represented as violent people who are fanatic ready to wage a Holy war on the name of “Islamic Jihad” against Western democracy and eager to implement “Shariah Law.” To Trump, Shariah Law is totally oppressive, enslaving women and anti-homosexual because it instigates Muslims to kill gays and the related LGBT community.
* Using dismantling strategy, Trump implies that Muslims are uncivilized and if America and Europe have to survive, they need to build “walls” against them.

1. **Kreis, R. (2017). The “Tweet politics” of President Trump. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *16*(4), 607–618.** [**https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.17032.kre**](https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.17032.kre)

* This study explores how U.S. President Donald Trump employs Twitter as a strategic instrument of power politics to disseminate his right-wing populist discourse.
* The findings show how Trump uses an informal, direct, and provoking communication style to construct and reinforce the concept of a homogeneous people and a homeland threatened by the dangerous other. Moreover, Trump employs positive self-presentation and negative otherpresentation to further his agenda via social media.
* Right-wing populism is currently on the rise in many countries (Wodak 2015). Across Europe, right-wing populist parties have gained ground both on the European and national level, and in the United States, right-wing populist discourses have been employed by the Tea Party Movement (Wodak 2015) and currently dominate the discourse of U.S. President Donald Trump (e.g., Ott 2017). Both in the U.S. and in Europe, these populist discourses focus on the threat of Muslims and Islam for the national identity and security or on the prioritization of the citizens over immigrants, for example, on the labor market (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2009; Richardson and Colombo 2014; Richardson and Wodak 2009; Ott 2017).
* Right-wing populist politicians seem to have been particularly successful in adopting social media for campaign purposes and have used them as a strategic communication tool and as an instrument of power politics (e.g., Bartlett 2014; Engesser et al. 2016; Enli 2017; Krzyżanowski 2018) as they provide an effective, low-cost tool through which politicians can quickly share messages, directly interact with their followers, self-promote, and criticize the establishment (van Kessel and Castelein 2016).
* he has used the platform as a major form of communication and tool to disseminate his ideologies.
* His image as a candidate was “largely formed by his widely circulated tweets, which were often quoted and debated in the mainstream media” (Enli 2017, 56).
* **Populism** can be defined as an ideology that focuses on the dichotomy between the people, imagined as a homogeneous community, and the corrupt elite that deprives the people of their sovereign rights. According to Mudde (2004, 543).
* Populism also employs the construction of an opponent or an “Other” that threatens the imagined people. Mudde (2004, 544) points out that the “opponents are not just people with different priorities and values, they are evil”. Another concept that is instrumentalized by populists is the notion of the “heartland” (Taggart 2000), which refers to ideas about the homeland of the people and is connected to their national identity and culture of the people.
* Gimenez and Schwarz (2016) argue that “right-wing populist parties often define national identity by a process of negation, that is, by defining what creates a threat (immigration) or what has to be condemned (a corrupt elite). Consequently, identity is determined by what is not a feature of an affirmed identity or ‘the good people’” (Ibid., 237).
* Right-wing populists not only highlight the imminent dangers and construct fear but also propose culprits, that is, either the elite or the otherwise constructed “Other”, and provide simple solutions for the countries’ real or constructed problems, for example, the construction of a wall to keep out the “Others” that are portrayed as responsible for the problems. Right-wing populist discourse is thus characterized by a rhetoric of exclusion (Wodak 2015).
* Another feature of populism is the focus on a charismatic leader who defends the common people as an outsider to the establishment. This may also be connected to celebrity culture: the leader is not only the defender of the common people, but also the rich and famous idol that is already known and liked by the people and who does not depend on the patronage of the establishment (Wodak 2015).
* Furthermore, scholars point out that right-wing populists quickly learned to leverage the communicative and technological affordances of digital and social media and used them to reach larger audiences, mobilize followers, and gain power (Casero-Ripollés, Feenstra, and Tormey 2016; Nilsson and Carlsson 2014; Bartlett 2014).
* The analysis of President Trump’s tweets demonstrates that his language is simple and direct and his messages are succinct and polarizing, which is a common strategy of right-wing populist discourse.
* he employs an “authentic style” which corroborates his constructed position of an outsider and legitimate representative of the people distancing himself from the establishment.
* He distinguishes between “us” and “them” by using personal pronouns and the notion of the people as a homogeneous whole, and by referring to the other as “bad” and “evil”.
* At the same time, he employs positive self-presentation to reinforce his position as a person who fights the corrupt elites for the sake of the American people.
* Previous studies have demonstrated Trump’s right-wing populist rhetoric as a presidential candidate (e.g., Ott 2017; Enli 2017).
* the analysis of his tweets as President shows that he continues to employ right-wing populist discourses and, given the new “travel ban” that was issued on March 6, 2017, we can expect to continue to see such rhetoric reflected in his policy.

1. **Duina, F., & Carson, D. (2019). Not so right after all? Making sense of the progressive rhetoric of Europe’s far-right parties. *International Sociology*, *35*(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580919881862>**

* newly successful far-right European populist parties have deviated from traditional conservative stances by embracing progressive values such as gender equality, gay rights, religious freedoms, and the provision of generous social services.
* the parties, when stating their resolute commitment to their nations or Western civilization more generally, have pitted the tolerance and inclusiveness of their societies against the threats of backward immigrants – especially Muslim ones.
* deas: nationalism (with its principles of equality, secularism, and sovereignty for members of the community) and European superiority vis-a-vis other cultures.
* Far-right populist parties (FRPP) in Europe have enjoyed remarkable successes in recent years. Described by experts as the ‘fastest-growing party family in Europe’ (Golder, 2016: 477), FRPP have won significant numbers of seats in national elections and assured for themselves a place in governing coalitions as partners or outright leaders.
* How are we to explain such considerable successes? Media commentators (Groshek and Koc-Michalska et al., 2017; Der Spiegel, 2010; Lebor, 2016; New York Times 2016) point to increasing distress among national electorates about their financial futures, the EU’s reach, excessive immigration, and loss of national identity. The votes for Brexit and Donald Trump in 2016 offered further proof of such distress (Givens, 2017).
* after delving deeply into the literature concludes that ‘extreme right’ parties in Western Europe center on a rejection of democratic principles and norms, and of the idea of fundamental human equality. Indeed, in an assessment of these parties, Golder (2016: 479) concludes that despite some variation in economic policies, what FRPP in Europe ‘have in common is a desire to create an authoritarian system
* Such tolerance translates into the articulation of specific standpoints relative to women, LGBTQs, people of various religious orientations, and those in need of economic support.
* The ‘external’ actors who threaten the ‘nation’ happen to be from countries which European nations have, for centuries, considered essentially inferior. These are former European colonies, many of them with Muslim majorities, which were subjected to extensive periods of racial discrimination, religious oppression, and various kinds of exploitation. The calls for ‘cultural protection’ and fears of ‘extinction’ (Elgenius and Rydgren, 2019; Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015) typical of these parties acquire an especially dramatic quality when the ‘others’ (Rydgren, 2007) are seen, explicitly or implicitly, as standing on lower grounds.
* This is a civilizational conflict between not just different worldviews but between a better, more enlightened civilization and a far more backward and barbaric one.
* In this sort of rhetoric, concerns about protecting homosexuality and women are seamlessly combined with those about religious freedom – namely Christianity and Judaism. All, after all, are grounded in liberties guaranteed by belonging to the ‘nation’.
* The PVV, NF, and SD have included progressive values in their otherwise xenophobic and extremist rhetorics.
* With the primary goal of protecting the nation, its values, and Western civilization from repressive and destructive foreigners, all citizens are considered worthy of protection and part of the struggle. Underlying such logic are two deeper ideas: nationalism – with its principles of equality, secularism, and sovereignty for members of the community – and the longstanding sense of European superiority vis-a-vis other cultures.
* The PVV highlights Islam’s attacks on the tolerance of Western civilization. Gays, gender equality, and Christianity and Judaism must thus be protected against Muslim intransigence. The RN wishes to safeguard the French Republic’s core values, especially liberty, above all against the threats of radical Islam.
* has sought to protect a generous welfare system, LGBTQ rights, and gender equality – all of which it sees as under attack by excessive Muslim immigration.
* many have criticized these parties for being opportunistic, disingenuous, and misleading.1
* The first concerns the ability of FRPP to mobilize certain categories of voters – women, gays, etc. – on the basis of their new language.

1. **Wahlström, M., Törnberg, A., & Ekbrand, H. (2020b). Dynamics of violent and dehumanizing rhetoric in far-right social media. *New Media & Society*, *23*(11), 3290–3311. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820952795> CONCLUSION**

* The analysis shows that violent rhetoric primarily occurs in the context of narratives about criminals and crimes with (imagined) immigrant perpetrators and often particularly vulnerable victims, linked to a social problem definition of a corrupt and failing state as well as the alleged need to deport immigrants.
* The far right is on the rise. This trend is visible in electoral successes of parliamentary parties, changes in popular discourse and emerging protest mobilizations.
* The overall purpose of this article is therefore to study how far-right political violence is promoted and instigated in social media, through an analysis of violent and dehumanizing rhetoric in an online far-right milieu.
* We have argued that online media – and in particular, social media – provide a central context for far-right violence. Whereas other contemporary studies have demonstrated correlations between social media activity and political violence, this study contributes to understanding why these correlations appear.
* Whereas various anti-immigrant and right-wing populist themes were present in most discussion threads analysed in the study, the quantitative analysis demonstrated that dehumanization and calls for violent action were primarily linked to expressions of negative emotions and themes such as crime, victimization and a failing state. Corroborating these results, the qualitative analysis also indicated that top posts provided opportunities for moral micro-shocking among the participants, serving to maintain commitment and to legitimize violence.
* This gave rise to emotions such as vindictiveness, disgust and hate, and calls for retribution and deportation.

1. **Boukala, S. (2021). Far-right discourse as legitimacy? Analysing political rhetoric on the “migration issue” in Greece. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.24434/j.scoms.2021.02.014>**

By equilibrating democracy and human rights, and absolutism and racism within the ambiguous limits of a “state of exception”, Kyriakos Mitsotakis’ government is seeking a position on the right of New Democracy’s centrism, insofar as it shares a far-right rhetoric.

To conclude, “the politics of fear” (Wodak, 2015) is used by political leaders to disseminate ambiguous political decisions at critical times and is linked to the mainstreaming of far-right discourses and strategies.

its members’ discourses on the migration issue and the national security that illustrate the revival of the party’s extreme voices as an aporia of the party’s de-demonisation of its extreme ideological roots.

1. **Hakoköngäs, E., Halmesvaara, O., & Sakki, I. (2020). Persuasion through Bitter Humor: Multimodal Discourse Analysis of rhetoric in internet memes of two Far-Right groups in Finland. *Social Media + Society*, *6*(2), 205630512092157. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120921575>**

* Social media has provided extreme movements on important platforms to organize, reach new audiences, and disseminate their message with loose control and at relatively low costs (Huntington, 2016).
* The discourse in the memes aimed to challenge the present immigration policy and balance of power in Finnish society. We suggest that looking at Internet memes as a distinctive form of communication (in comparison to written excerpts such as blogs and chat discussions) makes it possible to analyze broader multimodal forms and persuasive ideological functions behind social media communication.
* When used by extreme groups, the humor seems to acquire a form of bitter irony, which actually brings a persuasive dimension to the joking (Billig, 2001; Gal, 2019; Weaver, 2016; Yoon, 2016).

1. **Thesis**

* The theory suggests that successful propaganda requires profound understanding of the audience. Based on the analysis provided by this thesis it is safe to say that Geert Wilders has mastered this, as he seems to know exactly what his audience wants to hear.
* Wilders has found very perceptive audience on Twitter and he has crafted his message to suit his audience perfectly.
* Wilders himself, on the other hand, is painted as the only politician that truly cares about what bothers the Dutch society and the only one to voice their fears. This is of course also built in the propaganda.
* There is a prevalent sense of fear of Muslims among the followers of Geert Wilders, sometimes manifesting through rather radical rhetoric.
* The high speed of interactions on Twitter do not require much deliberation, which ultimately plays in Wilders’ favor, as his followers retweet basically anything he sends out and then even build on the narrative further, without Wilders’ participation.

1. **Gonawela, A., Pal, J., Thawani, U., Van Der Vlugt, E., Out, W., & Chandra, P. (2018). Speaking their Mind: Populist Style and Antagonistic Messaging in the Tweets of Donald Trump, Narendra Modi, Nigel Farage, and Geert Wilders. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, *27*(3–6), 293–326. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10606-018-9316-2>**

Our data show that Trump is a consistent outlier in terms of using critical language on Twitter when compared to Wilders, Farage, and Modi, but that all four leaders show significant investment in various forms of antagonistic messaging, including personal insults, sarcasm, and labeling, and that these are rewarded online by higher retweet rates. Each of these four politicians took a nationalist position and was active on Twitter at the time of our study. All four leaders profiled here exhibit characteristics of populist politics in their campaign rhetoric.

Second, we consider a body of work on the ‘political spectacle’. We approach the act of public tweeting through a lens of political performativity, of which individual tweets and the impression left by their aggregation act as a form of political spectacle. Social media offer a low-cost campaigning tool in which political agents can phrase their messaging precisely and hope to create an alternative form of reaching an audience, bypassing mainstream media channels. Groshek and Koc-Michalska (2017), in their analysis of social media, used populism in the 2016 US election to argue that social media technologies helped create support for populist politicians, through both active and passive social media use.

Former US President Barack Obama is widely seen as having pioneered the use of social media in politics, using Facebook and Twitter to directly reach out to his audience and the electorate (Bode and Dalrymple, 2016; Tumasjan et al., 2010). Wilders’ rhetoric is also characterized as extreme, culminating in a conviction in 2016 for a speech he made in which he promised to reduce the number of people in the Netherlands with a Moroccan background.

Several major politicians around the world, including some of those studied here, are increasingly in the news for how they use social media and what they say on it. In this study, we show that politicians’ antagonistic tweeting includes the personalization of ideological attack and that such messaging has payoffs as measured through their higher purchase in the Twitter universe. Indeed, if the politicians are consistent in their style of antagonistic messaging, such behavior becomes part of their style, and they can then be seen as rational actors when they persist with that social media behavior, particularly when it has measurable payoffs.

It is important to be cognizant of the politics of performative demonization and identity creation as we strive to design understanding and collaborative online discussion environments, and at a more general level, ICT tools (Saeed et al., 2009; Yu, 2017). We show that there is much need to further understand the reverse hierarchy—i.e. how public sentiment motivates critical messaging, and particularly that part of critical messaging that is uncivil.

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