

APPENDIX

Method

Timeframe

The timeframe for the study, January – June 2016, represents the period when most state nominations took place and when the race narrowed its focus on the main three presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Donald Trump. This period overlaps also with the first two main electoral debates, during which the campaigns made further concerted efforts to present the candidates' main positions as unique and different from the ones of other two candidates in the race. Based on the literature on populism as electoral campaign rhetoric, we expect that political candidates make more use of populist claims more in the early stages of the electoral campaign compared to the period immediately preceding the election (Bonikowski and Gidron 2016; Bonikowski 2017).

Software

The paper draws on qualitative content analysis (using QDA Miner). Coders used QDA Miner, which is a computer-based qualitative content analysis software that allows the use of qualitative data. QDA Miner allows researchers to generate both qualitative and quantitative data after coding their text. When appropriate, researchers can use the integration of QDA Miner with SimStat (a statistical data analysis tool) or WordStat (a quantitative analysis and text mining program)(Provalis Research 2018).

Methodological approach & coding reliability

According to the principles of qualitative content analysis provided by methodological scholarship (Mayring 2000), systematic text analysis is based on the creation of categories of text that are initially identified and then revisited. Data were coded according to the thematic category that was the most appropriate. Such categories consist of 'idea clusters' that share features and resist reductive essentialization (Spiro and Jehng 1990). In the context of existing scholarship on populism, this coding method bears similarities with wholistic grading, which is type of textual analysis most readily associated with the work of Kirk Hawkins (please see references in the main manuscript for specific works). Coding was done manually by two coders and followed the same set scheme for all three candidates' official statements and tweets, seeking to capture positive or negative positions toward issues prevalent in political campaigns. Descriptive features of all textual data of the three campaigns that was included in the study is listed in Table 1.

To make sure that our coding was systematic, we carried out both inter-coder and intra-coder reliability tests. The inter-coder reliability test produced a coefficient of agreement of 0.80, which is in the high range of acceptable agreement (Krippendorff 2004, p. 241). As an additional test of coding reliability, one of the coders performed coding of all codes for populist claims in tweets and press releases several months after the initial coding was completed. The intra-coder reliability test produced a coefficient of agreement of 0.85, which is also in the high range of acceptable agreement.

Table 1: Descriptive user statistics for online campaigns

Candidate	Hillary Clinton	Bernie Sanders	Donald Trump
Press releases ¹ (total)	112	270	130
Tweets (as of 25 June 2016)	6,212 tweets	8,896 tweets	32,000 tweets
Twitter followers (as of 25 June 2016)	7.12 million	2.66 million	9.33 million
Average words in coded press releases	445	390	339

Coding

Selection of tweets and press releases

The units of analysis are whole tweets and entire press releases. More than one code can be linked to a single tweet or a press release. Coding focused only on text and does not encompass photographic or video context included in tweets. Coding excludes re-tweets or tweets that merely mentioned a campaign-related event in which the candidate may have taken place, or praising the work of the campaign team. All ideas that occur in the text are coded. Similarly, only press releases that introduced new ideas or positions were coded. New content does not include re-tweets, press releases that present an upcoming event, calls for volunteers, or issue thank you statements to official public endorsements of the campaigns.

¹ All press statements that are coded are linked to more than one code. Given that the Hilary Clinton campaign did not date their press releases, all press released published on the official campaign website were coded. The press releases included in this study for Sanders and Trump are the ones published during January -June 2017.

Two stages of coding

Human-based coding (Grimmer and Stewart 2013) took place in two stages. First, we drew on 50 general codes that identify references to several issues and groups that can be considered as central to American politics and this election. The 50 general codes are presented below to facilitate replicability of coding and make explicit the process of coding for populist claims, and it is not a part of the analysis. At the second stage, we focus on the codes that are specifically linked to populist topics (Table 3), and are defined from the scholarship on populism in electoral campaigns and the growing body of literature focused specifically on populism in the 2016 American election. Our qualitative content analysis determines whether references to these topics were positive or negative. Tables 5-6 and Figures 1-6 present the quantitative results of the analyses of populist codes, as these are the main focus of our analysis.

First stage

Codes are broadly organized along two dimensions:

- (1) foreign policy/international politics:
 - (1.1) the use of military power
 - (1.2) partnership-focused foreign policy

These categories focus on foreign policy and capture the tension between candidates' stronger preferences for the use of power (i.e. the use of armed forces, military

deployment, and military spending) and partnership (i.e. attitude toward US allies in particular the EU, free trade and open markets, anti-terrorism, anti-Muslim sentiments, and the support for American protectionism).

(2) domestic policy and politics

(2.1) social policy

(2.2) economic policies

(2.3) domestic politics

These three categories capture different aspects of domestic policies and were developed inductively: social policies target equality and inclusion of women and LGBT community members, the provision of free/affordable education, or simply placing a stronger focus on education in general, tackling climate change, support for universal healthcare, and positive/negative attitudes toward migration. The domestic economics dimension captures attitudes toward Wall Street and corporations, job creation, wealth and income inequality, taxation, income increase, infrastructure improvement, and economic reform. The domestic politics dimension consists of textual data on attitudes toward the Washington establishment, gun control, media, the opposing political party more broadly and its candidate(s) in the 2016 presidential election. We identified five main categories, with corresponding codes and words, coded in terms of attitude toward them, as either negative/positive or for/against, and not as individual words alone but rather in the semantic context of tweets and press releases.

Table 2: Main categories of topics, with corresponding discriminating words, identified in the particular context of official tweets and press releases of the main three presidential candidates in the 2016 American election

TOPIC DESCRIPTION	DISCRIMINATING WORDS IN TWEETS AND PRESS RELEASES	
DOMESTIC POLICY & POLITICS	Critique Democrats	'democrats', 'democratic party', 'Hillary Clinton', 'Clinton', 'Obama', 'Barack Obama', 'Sanders', 'Bernie Sanders'
	Critique Republicans	'Republicans', 'Republican Party', 'Trump', 'Republican candidates', 'Kasich', 'Cruz', 'Rubio', 'Carson', 'Bush'
	Gun control	'guns', 'control', 'gun legislation', 'weapons'
	Liberalism	'liberal(s)', 'liberalism', 'liberal elites', 'liberal values', 'political correctness', 'rights', 'human rights', 'equality', 'anti-discrimination', 'diversity'
	Mass media	'mass media', 'media', 'television', 'newspapers', 'social media', 'news', 'fake news'
	Washington elites	'Washington', 'elite(s)', 'political elite(s)', 'liberal(s)', 'liberalism'
DOMESTIC ECONOMICS AND FINANCE	Corporations	'Wall Street', 'company/ies', 'multi-nationals', 'corporation(s)', 'bank(s)', 'de-regulation'
	Economic reform	'economic reform', 'economic change', 'economic revolution'
	Infrastructure improvement	'infrastructure', 'roads', 'transport system', 'bridges', 're-building infrastructure'
	Job creation	'create jobs', 'new jobs', 'make jobs', '(un)employment', 'work'
	Taxation	'taxes', 'taxation'
	Veterans	'veterans', 'military', 'service'
Wealth/income inequality	'the rich', 'wealth', 'the 1%', 'the one percent' 'the poor', 'poverty', 'inequality', 'unequal', 'income',	

		'(re)distribution', 'the poor', 'poorest', 'disadvantaged', 'the 99%', 'the ninety-nine percent'
DOMESTIC SOCIAL POLICY AND WELFARE	Climate change control/regulation	'climate change', 'climate', 'environment', 'pollution', 'air'
	Education (not free)	'debt-free education', 'forgive debt', 'training', 'formation'
	Free education	'free education', 'universal education'
	Immigration	'migrant(s)', 'immigrant(s)', 'illegal immigration', 'illegal migrant(s)', 'Mexican immigrant(s)', 'refugee(s)', 'wall south of the border', 'wall with Mexico', 'build a wall', 'border(s)'
	Inclusionary or racialized & producerist	'African American(s)', 'native American(s)', 'Indian(s)', 'Hispanic', 'LatinX', 'race', 'racial', 'ethnicity/ies', 'skin', 'skin colour', 'segregation', 'women', 'LGBT', 'everyone', 'sex', 'discrimination', 'gender'
	Universal healthcare	'free healthcare', 'universal healthcare', 'healthcare for all', 'free medical care'
FOREIGN POLICY: THE USE OF MILITARY POWER	Military deployment	'deployment', 'troop deployment', 'military', 'army', 'soldiers', 'security', 'war', 'conflict'
	Military spending	'military spending', 'budget', 'investment', 'money', 'army'
PARTNERSHIP-FOCUSED FOREIGN POLICY	American protectionism nativism	'American', 'American products', 'domestic', 'home', 'American industry', 'bring jobs back home', 'the people'
	(Anti-)Muslim	'Islam', 'Muslim', 'Allah', 'Syrian', 'Arab', 'Arab refugee(e)'
	EU & other international allies	'EU', 'European Union', 'Europe', 'Transatlantic', 'NATO', 'allies', 'US allies', 'bilateral', 'multilateral', 'partners'
	Free trade & open market	'trade', 'free trade', 'international trade', 'free market', 'liberalization', 'import', 'export', 'NAFTA', 'TTP', 'TTIP'
	(General) Internationalism	'internationalism', 'multilateral/ism', 'international agreements', 'international organizations', 'United Nations', 'UN', 'NATO', 'treaties', 'commitments'

Terrorism

'terrorist/m', 'anti-terrorist/m', 'threat', 'al-Qaeda', 'bombing', '9/11', 'attack'

Tables 3-4 present simple and relative frequencies for all themes identified in the twitter and press release data, and Figures 1-6 present the most prevalent themes in the entire corpus of text.

Table 3: Selected frequencies and relative frequencies of codes corresponding to main themes in the official campaign Twitter-sphere, by candidate (Codes with zero positive/negative values across all candidates are not included in table.)

Variable/Code	<i>Clinton</i>		<i>Sanders</i>		<i>Trump</i>	
	Count	% of total tweets/candidate	Count	% of total tweets/candidate	Count	% of total tweets/candidate
Critique Democrats	5	0.08%	0	0.00%	102	0.32%
Critique Republicans	192	3.09%	0	0.00%	56	0.17%
Gun control (positive)	46	0.74%	6	0.07%	3	0.01%
Gun control (negative)	3	0.05%	0	0.03%	3	0.01%
Liberalism (positive)	28	0.45%	0	0.31%	0	0.00%
Liberalism (negative)	2	0.03%	0	0.02%	1	0.003%
Mass media (positive)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.01%
Mass media (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	53	0.17%
Washington elites (positive)	33	0.52%	2	0.20%	0	0.00%
Washington elites (negative)	22	0.35%	47	0.53%	56	0.18%
Corporations/Wall Street (positive)	5	0.08%	3	0.03%	0	0.00%
Corporations/Wall Street (negative)	13	0.21%	158	1.78%	5	0.02%
Economic reform (positive)	4	0.06%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Economic reform (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Infrastructure improvement (positive)	2	0.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Increase income (positive)	18	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Job creation (positive)	6	0.10%	20	0.22%	10	0.03%
Job creation (negative)	5	0.08%	4	0.04%	10	0.03%
Taxation (positive)	2	0.03%	0	0.00%	1	0.003%
Taxation (negative)	3	0.05%	0	0.00%	2	0.01%
Support for veterans (positive)	8	0.13%	0	0.00%	7	0.02%
Wealth/income inequality (positive)	5	0.08%	1	0.01%	0	0.00%
Wealth & income inequality (negative)	50	0.80%	89	1.00%	5	0.02%
Climate change control/regulation (positive)	33	0.53%	67	0.75%	0	0.00%
Climate change control/regulation (negative)	5	0.08%	1	0.01%	2	0.01%
Education (not free) (positive)	8	0.13%	0	0.00%	1	0.003%
Education (not free) (negative)	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Free education (positive)	9	0.15%	43	0.48%	0	0.00%
Free education (negative)	2	0.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Immigration (positive)	22	0.35%	29	0.33%	0	0.00%
Immigration (negative)	10	0.16%	0	0.00%	21	0.07%
Minorities & diversity (positive)	253	4.07%	169	1.90%	9	0.03%
Minorities & diversity (negative)	19	0.31%	5	0.06%	19	0.06%
Universal healthcare (positive)	21	0.34%	71	0.80%	0	0.00%
Military deployment/use of	0	0.00%	18	0.20%	0	0.00%

armed forces (positive)						
Military deployment/use of armed forces (negative)	5	0.08%	2	0.02%	4	0.01%
Military spending (positive)	0	0.00%	1	0.01%	1	0.003%
Military spending (negative)	0	0.00%	15	0.17%	0	0.00%
US Protectionism (positive)	8	0.13%	0	0.00%	32	0.10%
Anti-Muslim	6	0.10%	0	0.00%	8	0.03%
EU & other international allies (positive)	2	0.03%	1	0.01%	1	0.003%
EU & other international allies (negative)	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	4	0.01%
Free trade & open market (positive)	3	0.05%	3	0.03%	0	0.00%
Free trade & open market (negative)	0	0.00%	15	0.17%	2	0.01%
(General) internationalism (positive)	32	0.52%	67	0.75%	2	0.01%
(General) internationalism (negative)	4	0.06%	3	0.03%	16	0.05%
Anti-terrorism (positive)	15	0.24%	0	0.00%	13	0.04%
Anti-terrorism (negative)	3	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Figure 1

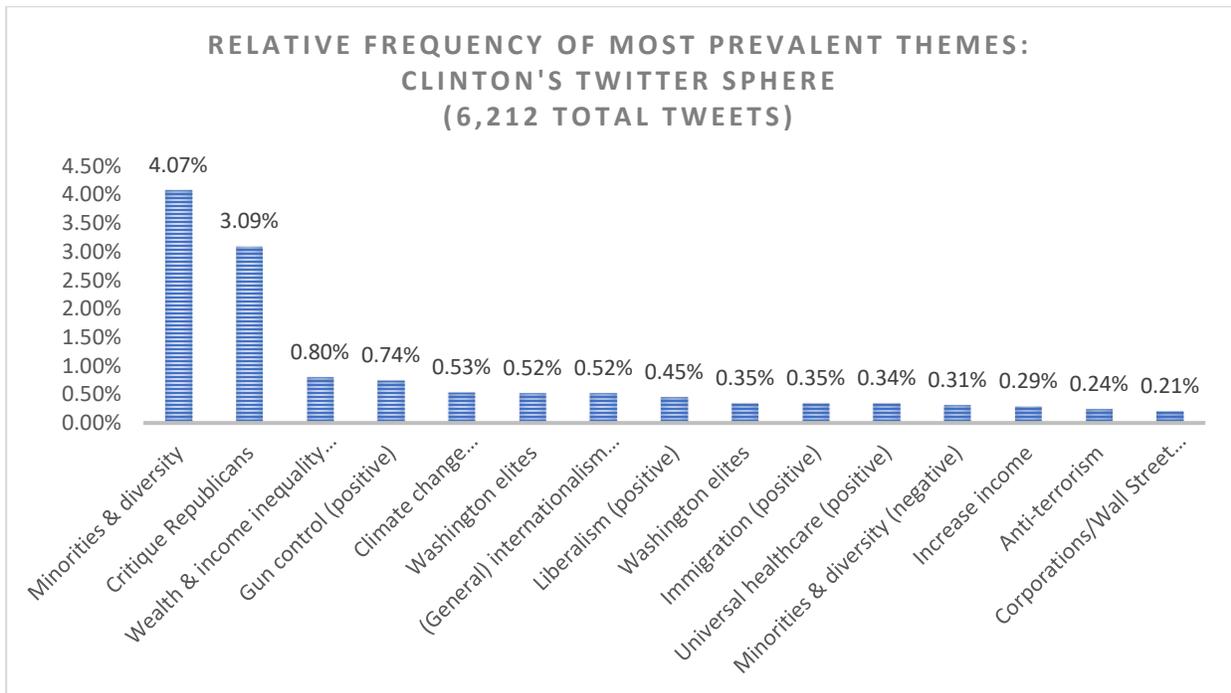


Figure 2

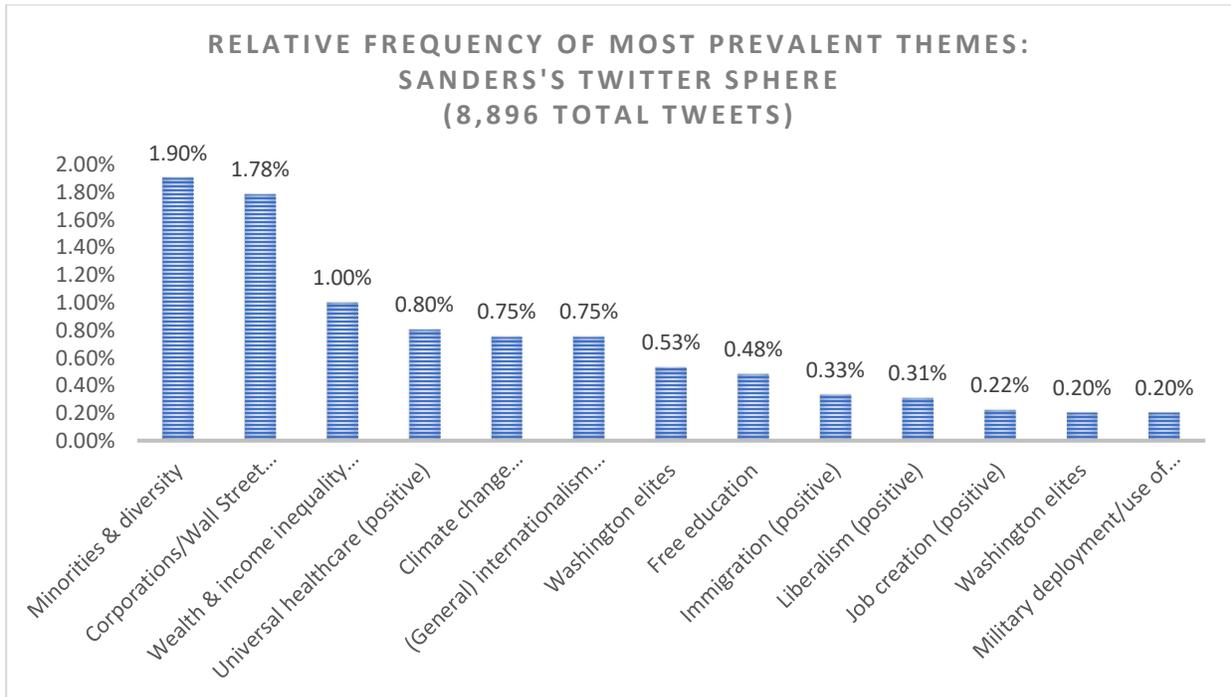


Figure 3

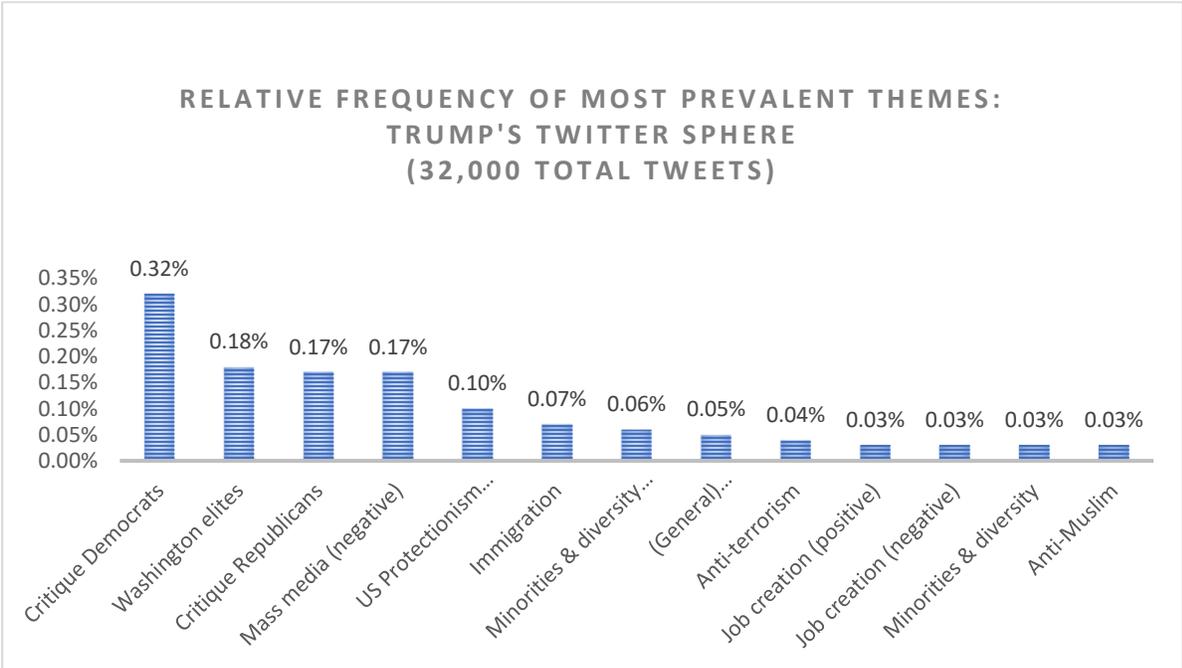


Table 4: Selected frequencies and relative frequencies of codes corresponding to main themes in official campaign press releases, by candidate (Codes with zero positive/negative values across all candidates are not included in table)

Variable/Code	<i>Clinton</i>		<i>Sanders</i>		<i>Trump</i>	
	Count	% of total releases/ candidate	Count	% of total releases/ candidate	Count	% of total releases/ candidate
Critique Democrats	7	6.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Critique Republicans	17	15.18%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Gun control (positive)	3	2.68%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Mass media (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	2.31%
Washington elites (positive)	20	17.86%	4	1.48%	0	0.00%
Washington elites (negative)	5	4.46%	15	5.55%	27	20.77%
Corporations/Wall Street (negative)	9	8.04%	51	18.88%	3	2.31%
Economic reform (positive)	3	2.68%	7	2.59%	4	3.08%
Infrastructure improvement (positive)	8	7.14%	4	1.48%	1	0.77%
Increase income (positive)	9	8.04%	17	6.30%	2	1.54%
Job creation (positive)	25	22.32%	12	4.44%	4	3.08%
Job creation (negative)	0	0.00%	12	4.44%	8	6.15%
Taxation (positive)	2	1.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Taxation (negative)	3	2.68%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Support for veterans (positive)	2	1.79%	5	1.85%	3	2.31%
Wealth/income inequality (positive)	0	0.00%	3	1.11%	2	1.54%
Wealth & income inequality (negative)	17	15.19%	35	12.96%	3	2.31%

Climate change control/regulation (positive)	8	7.14%	9	3.33%	0	0.00%
Education (not free) (positive)	4	3.57%	1	0.37%	0	0.00%
Free education (positive)	0	0.00%	4	1.48%	0	0.00%
Immigration (positive)	8	7.14%	6	2.22%	0	0.00%
Immigration (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18	13.85%
Minorities & diversity (positive)	34	30.36%	21	7.77%	2	1.54%
Minorities & diversity (negative)	0	0.00%	7	2.59%	3	2.31%
Universal healthcare (positive)	8	7.14%	14	5.19%	0	0.00%
Military deployment/use of armed forces (positive)	1	0.89%	0	0.00%	5	3.85%
Military deployment/use of armed forces (negative)	0	0.00%	2	0.74%	0	0.00%
Military spending (positive)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	2.31%
US Protectionism (positive)	4	3.57%	0	0.00%	16	12.31%
Anti-Muslim	1	0.89%	0	0.00%	1	0.77%
EU & other international allies (positive)	11	9.82%	2	0.74%	4	3.08%
EU & other international allies (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	2.31%
Free trade & open market (positive)	2	1.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Free trade & open market (negative)	0	0.00%	16	5.93%	4	3.08%
(General) internationalism (positive)	14	12.5%	15	5.55%	3	2.31%

(General) internationalism (negative)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	5.38%
Anti-terrorism (positive)	3	2.68%	1	0.37%	9	6.92%

Figure 4

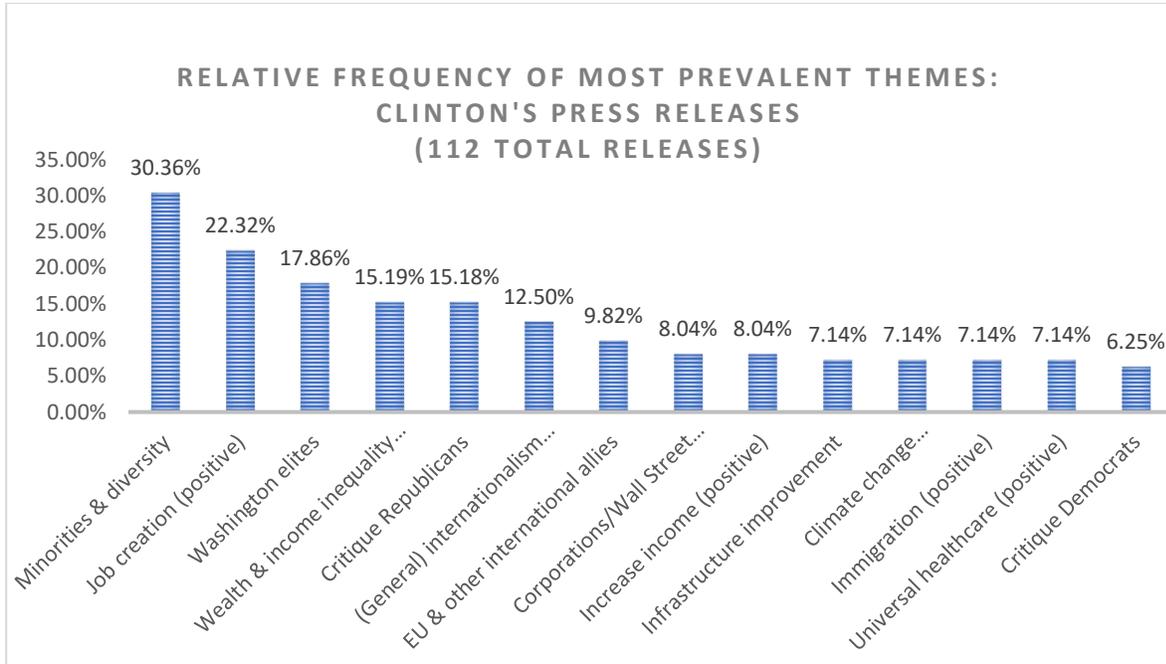


Figure 5

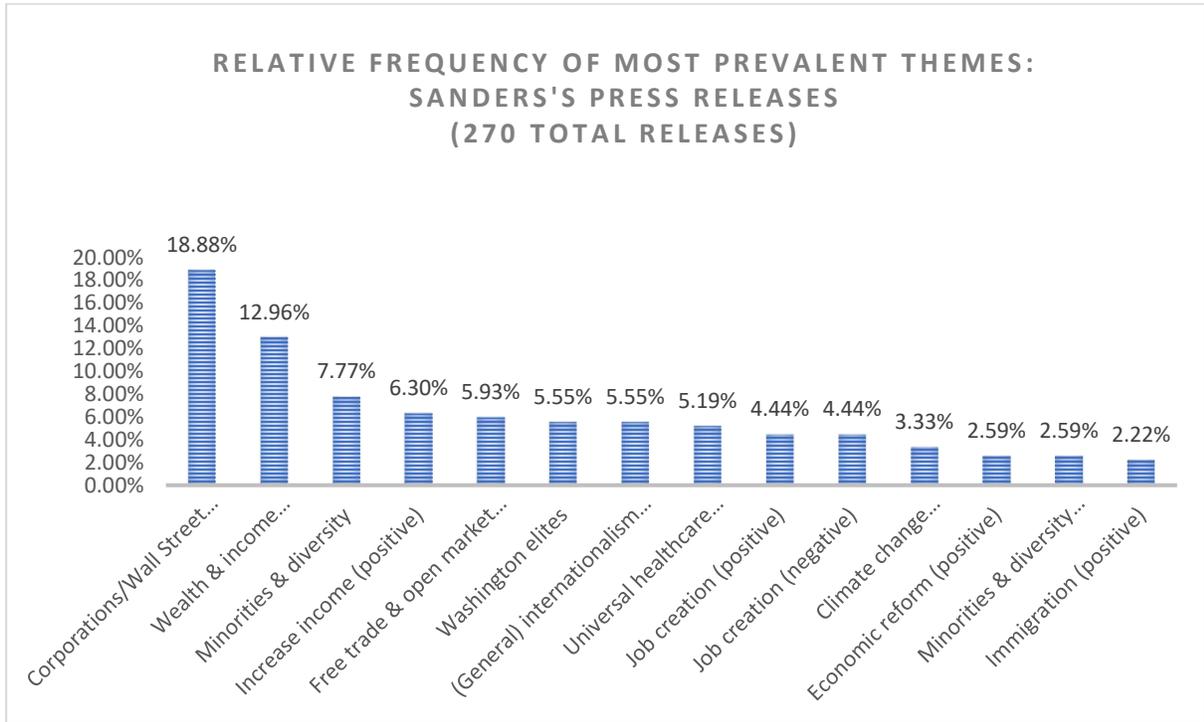
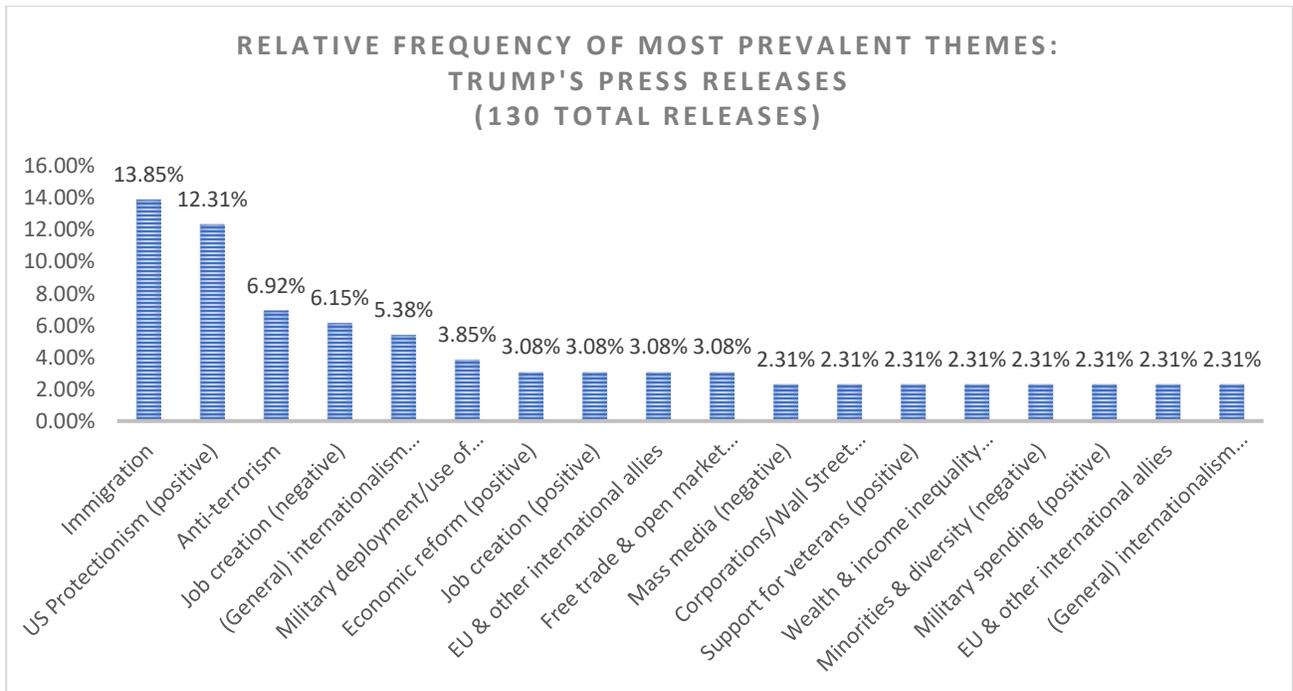


Figure 6



Second stage

At the second stage, we focus the codes that are specifically linked to populist rhetoric (Tables 2 and 3), listed in categories of attributes that can occur on both sides of the ideological spectrum, whether as different categories or as the same category presented from either a positive or a negative perspective (codes as ‘anti-’ or ‘pro-’).

To increase concept validity and facilitate coding across human coders, we generated a list of words identified in the textual data, which match the thematic categories derived from the literature on populism (Table 2) and which can indicate populist claims in their respective contexts in tweets and press releases. In line with best practice in qualitative content analysis generating dictionaries, this word list was developed specifically for this application (Grimmer and Stewart 2013), drawing directly from the findings of existing studies on populism in political campaigns (Bonikowski and Gidron 2016), to which we added specific insights from a number of studies on populism in the 2016 American election (Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2016; Bonikowski 2017; Galston 2017; Groshek and Koc-Michalska 2017; Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado 2017; Ott 2017; Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2017; Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser 2018).

Left-wing	Right-wing
<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ Anti-corporations✓ Against the 1%✓ Pro-“Main Street”✓ Progressive social justice agenda✓ Inclusionary of immigrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ Nativist✓ Producerist✓ Racialized interpretation of ‘the people’✓ Anti-Muslim✓ Anti-liberal elites

Table 5: Attributes of populist claims across the political spectrum in contemporary US (compiled by author, from relevant literature)

The above attributes of populist claims include positive or negating claims about main variables included in the list of themes and codes. Some of these categories can occur on both sides of the political spectrum (i.e. such as immigration), but the claims of left-wing politicians and on the right-wing politicians are in numerous contexts diametrically opposed (i.e. left-wing politicians tend to have an inclusive approach, while right-wing politicians are opposed to migration).

Table 6: Main categories of topics, with corresponding discriminating words, which can indicate populist claims. These have been identified in the particular context of official tweets and press releases of the main three presidential candidates in the 2016 American election

TOPIC DESCRIPTION	DISCRIMINATING WORDS IN TWEETS AND PRESS RELEASES
(ANTI-)MUSLIM	'Islam', 'Muslim', 'Allah', 'Syrian', 'Arab', 'Arab refugee(e)'
CORPORATIONS	'corrupt Wall Street', 'company/ies', 'multi-nationals', 'corporation(s)', 'bank(s)', 'de-regulation'
IMMIGRATION	'migrant(s)', 'immigrant(s)', 'illegal immigration', 'illegal migrant(s)', 'Mexican immigrant(s)', 'Mexican(s)', 'refugee(s)', 'wall with Mexico', 'wall at the border'
INCLUSIONARY OR RACIALIZED & PRODUCERIST	'African American(s)', 'native American(s)', 'Indian(s)', 'Hispanic', 'LatinX', 'race', 'racial', 'ethnicity/ies', 'skin colour', 'segregation', 'LGBT', 'everyone', 'sex', 'discrimination', 'gender'
WASHINGTON ELITES	'Washington', 'elite(s)', 'political elite(s)', 'liberal(s)', 'liberalism'
PROGRESSIVE AGENDA/SOCIALISM	'free education', 'free healthcare', 'socialist', 'socialist revolution', 'free access', 'for all', 'inclusive'
US PROTECTIONISM NATIVISM	'American people', 'American products', 'American goods', 'domestic', 'home', 'American industry', 'American people'
WEALTH & INCOME INEQUALITY	'the rich', 'wealth', 'the 1%', 'the one percent', 'the poor', 'poverty', 'inequality', 'unequal', 'bring jobs back home', 'low income', '(re-)distribution', 'the poor', 'poorest', 'disadvantaged', 'the 99%', 'the ninety-nine percent'

Descriptive results

In the following two tables (7 and 8), we present raw and relative frequencies per each candidate, corresponding to populist claims in the official campaigns of the three main candidates to presidency in 2016.

Table 7: Selected frequencies and relative frequencies of codes corresponding to populist claims/themes in the official campaign Twitter-sphere, by candidate

Variable/Code	<i>Clinton</i>		<i>Sanders</i>		<i>Trump</i>	
	Count	% of total tweets/ candidate	Count	% of total tweets/ candidate	Count	% of total tweets/ candidate
Anti-Muslim	6	0.10%	0	0.00%	8	0.03%
Anti-corporations	13	0.21%	158	1.78%	5	0.02%
Pro-immigration	22	0.35%	29	0.33%	0	0.00%
Anti-immigration	10	0.16%	0	0.00%	21	0.07%
Inclusionary of minorities & diversity	253	4.07%	169	1.90%	9	0.03%
Pro-Washington	33	0.53%	2	0.02%	0	0.00%
Anti-Washington	22	0.35%	47	0.53%	56	0.18%
Socialism (healthcare & education)	30	0.49%	114	1.28%	0	0.00%
US Protectionism	8	0.13%	0	0.00%	32	0.10%
Wealth & income inequality negative	50	0.80%	89	1.00%	5	0.02%

Table 8: Selected frequencies and relative frequencies of codes corresponding to populist claims/themes in official campaign press releases, by candidate

Variable/Code	<i>Clinton</i>		<i>Sanders</i>		<i>Trump</i>	
	Count	% of total releases/ candidate	Count	% of total releases/ candidate	Count	% of total releases/ candidate
Anti-Muslim	1	0.89%	0	0.00%	1	0.77%
Anti-Corporations	9	8.04%	51	18.88%	3	2.31%
Pro-immigration	8	7.14%	6	2.22%	0	0.00%
Anti-Immigration	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18	13.85%
Inclusionary of minorities & diversity	34	30.36%	21	7.77%	2	1.54%
Pro-Washington	20	17.86%	4	1.48%	0	0.00%
Anti-Washington	5	4.46%	15	5.55%	27	20.77%
Socialism (healthcare & education)	8	7.14%	18	6.66%	0	0.00%
US protectionism	4	3.57%	0	0.00%	16	12.31%
Wealth & income inequality negative	17	17.18%	35	12.96%	3	2.31%

Relative frequency distributions of populist themes for each candidate:

In the figures below, we provide the visualisation of the frequency distribution data for included in the tables 7 and 8. Codes are visualised by candidate and source (i.e. Twitter or press releases). We order the variables on the basis of frequencies, with the most prevalent codes at the top.

Figure 7

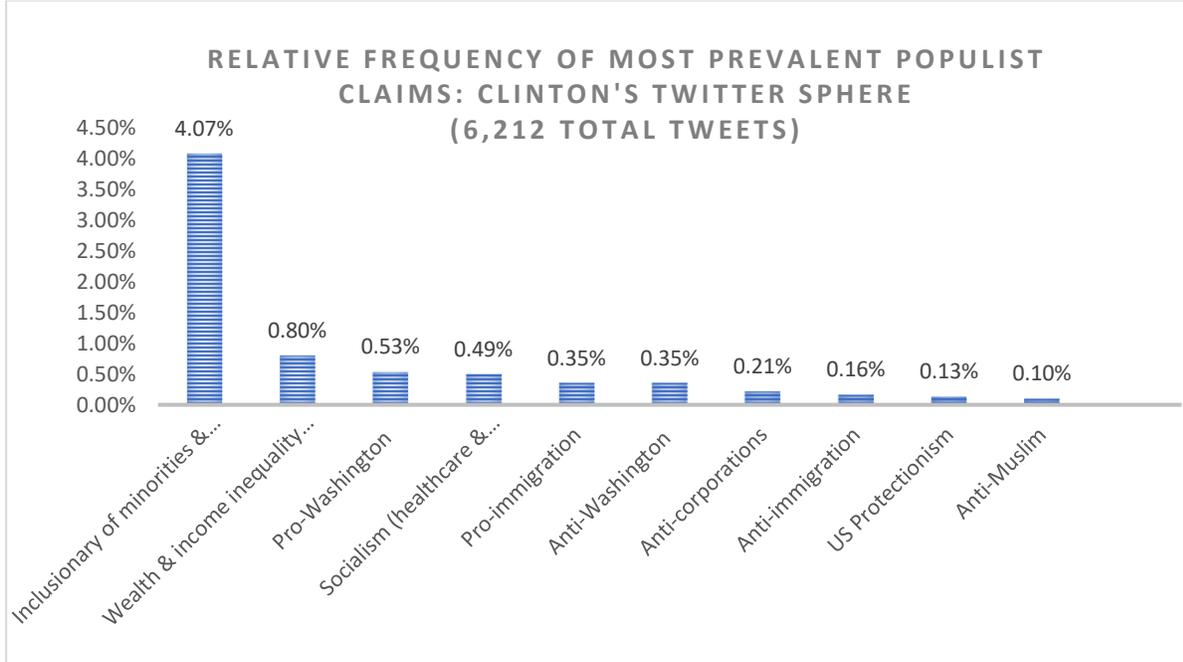


Figure 8

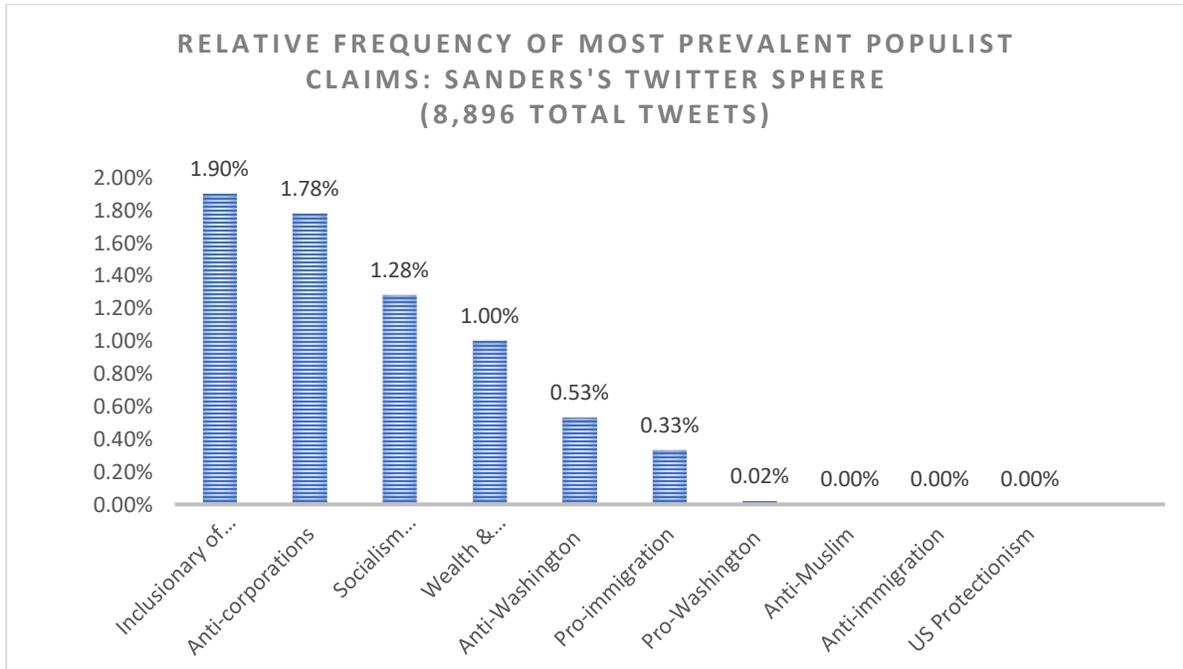


Figure 9

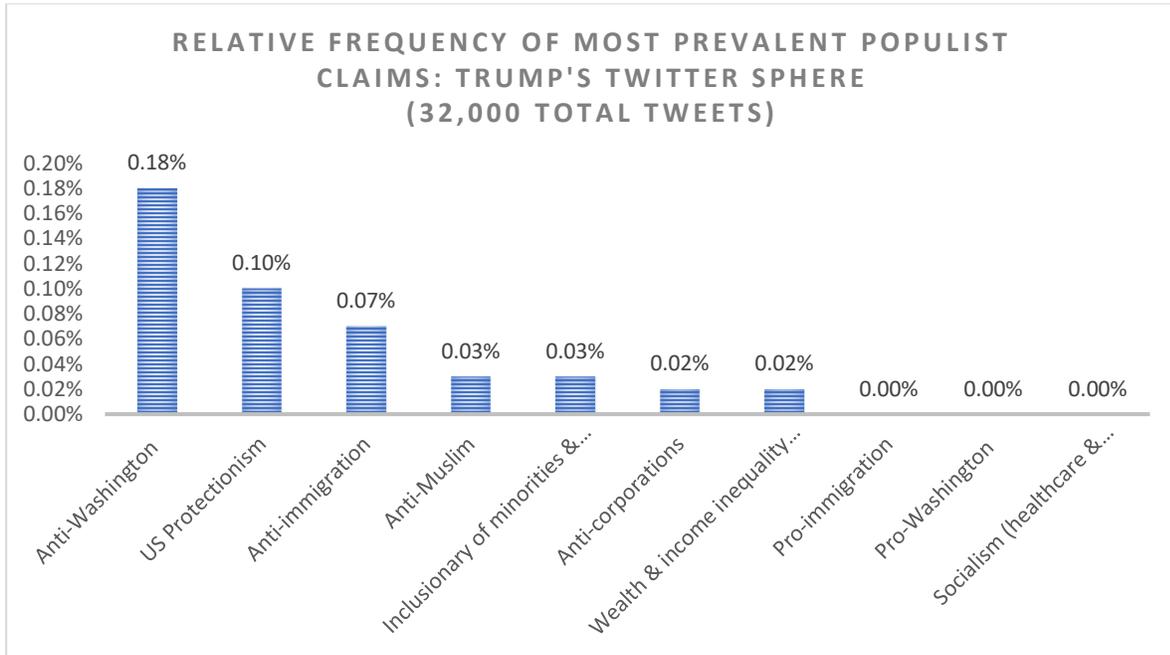


Figure 10

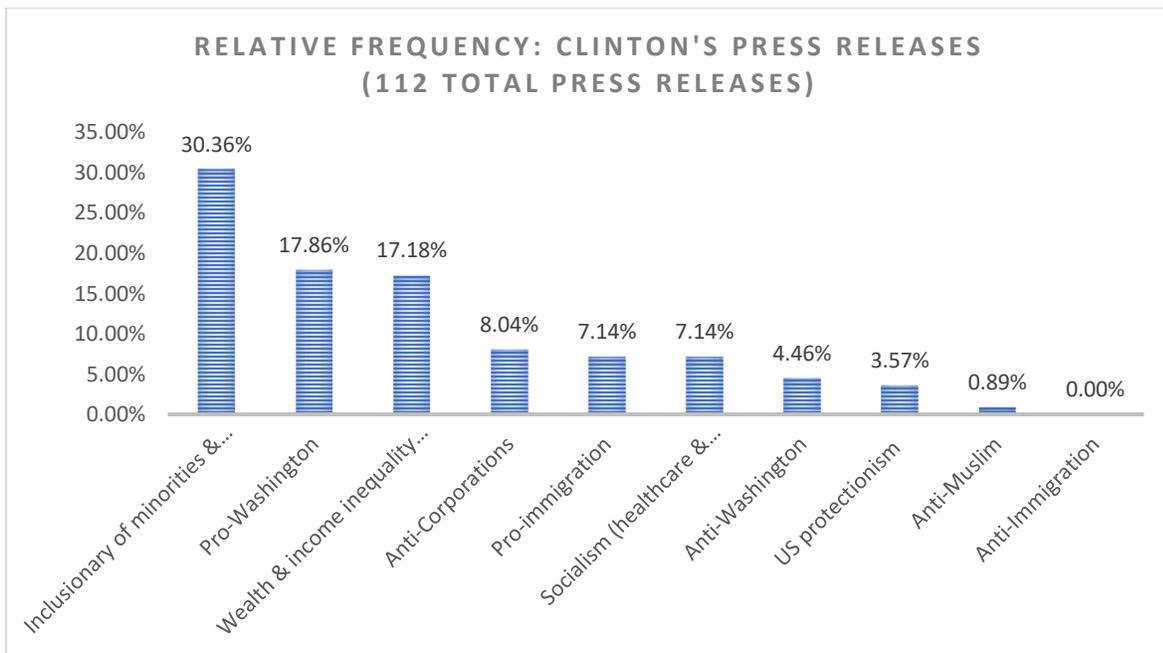


Figure 11

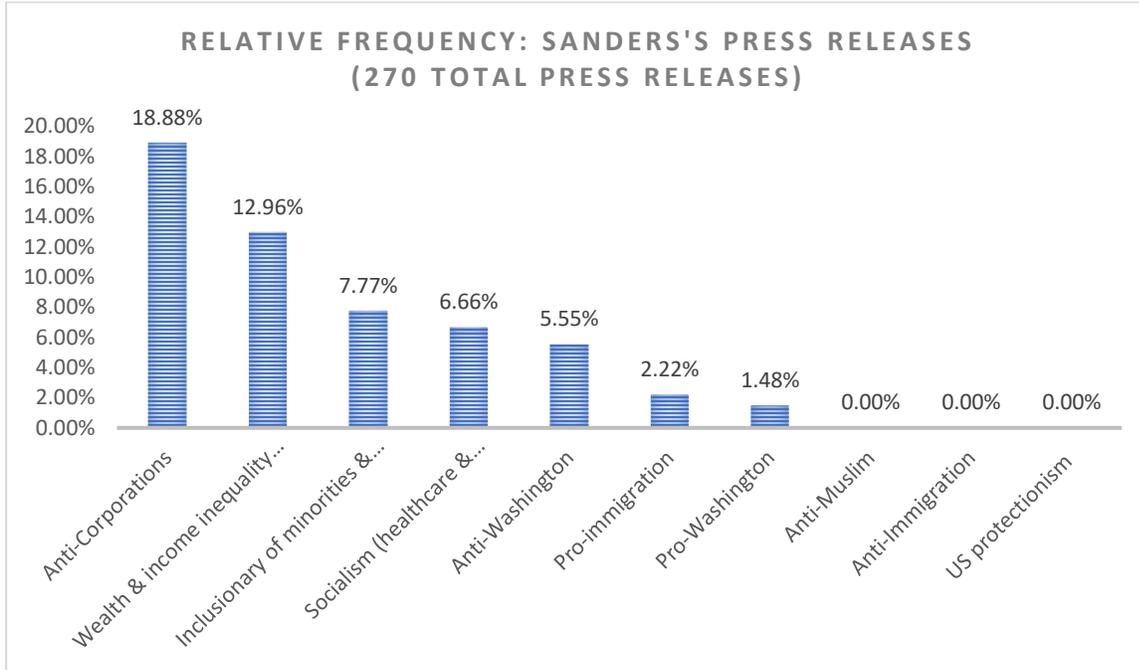
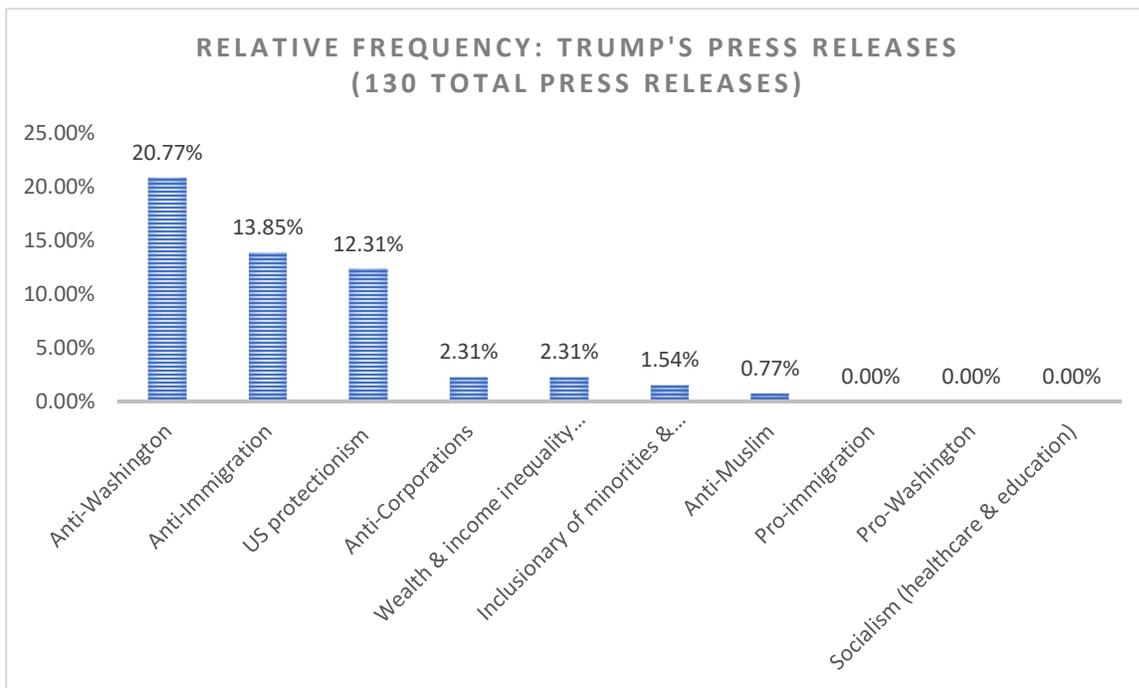


Figure 12



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