## Marek Górka

http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6964-1581 Koszalin University of Technology marek\_gorka@wp.pl

DOI: 10.35765/HP.2628



## Political image of Geert Wilders: Analysis of populist message on social media platform X

#### Summary

**RESEARCH OBJECTIVE:** The aim is to analyze Geert Wilders' activity on platform X (formerly Twitter), with the research aiming to better understand the influence of social media on contemporary politics, the image of political leaders, and the dynamics of relations between politicians and society.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODS: The research problem is to understand how populist political leaders, such as Geert Wilders, utilize social media, particularly platform X, to shape their political image, promote their agenda, and build relationships with voters. The research method relies on discourse analysis of selected cases (e.g., controversial posts) to understand the rhetorical strategies used by Geert Wilders. This method enables a deep understanding of the use of emotional and provocative language for mobilizing supporters and building a political image.

**THE PROCESS OF ARGUMENTATION:** The first step was an attempt to define the relationship between the development of digital communication tools and the rise of populism. Then, characteristic elements from Geert Wilders' biography contributing to his public image as a politician were described. The final part concerns selected elements of political narrative published on platform X.

**RESEARCH RESULTS:** The analysis of Geert Wilders' statements on social media platform X reveals a coherent communication strategy aimed at building his image as a strong leader fighting for national interests and European values.

Suggested cittation: Górka, M. (2024). Political image of Geert Wilders: Analysis of populist message on social media platform X. *Horizons of Politics*, 15(52), 127–144. DOI: 10.35765/HP.2628.

#### CONCLUSIONS, INNOVATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

This analysis also underscores the significance of social media in today's politics and the innovative potential in the realm of online political communication. It is recommended to implement media education to increase public awareness of politicians' communication strategies and their impact on society.

#### Keywords:

political image, political rhetoric, social media, populism, leadership

# INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUALIZING THE PROBLEM

According to observers, political competition is currently taking place in a "new era of populism" due to the increasing use of internet media (Mudde, 2016, p. 28). These media allow populists to bypass journalists and directly convey "raw messages" to the public (Engesser, Fawzi, & Larsson, 2017, p. 110). Some researchers (Kruikemeier, 2014) indicate that politicians need to interactively use platforms such as X (formerly Twitter) to gather votes, while others (Jungherr, 2016) suggest that they are primarily used as a one-way "broadcasting" tool.

The article poses the following questions: 1) What are the main features of Geert Wilders' political image on X, and what are his communication strategies? 2) What topics and messages does Wilders promote on X to strengthen his image as a populist leader? 3) What strategies does Wilders use on X to mobilize and engage his supporters? 4) What content does Wilders publish on X to build and maintain his identity as an independent political leader?

The article explores Geert Wilders' self-presentation, highlighting the appeal of his nationalist, conservative imagery combined with emotional rhetoric. Aimed at enriching research on populism, communication strategy, and political image in social media, the study analyzes Wilders' statements on X to understand the mechanisms shaping his political image. Using the netnographic method, the research examines his posts, tweets, and comments to identify the main elements of his communication, the topics he addresses, and his rhetorical strategies. This approach also sheds light on how

Wilders mobilizes his supporters and the content around which this mobilization occurs.

The research analysis covered statements related to: 1) anti-immigration and anti-Islam slogans that have become elements of building the politician's image as a defender of national values; 2) ways of portraying himself as a politician representing the average citizen, using emotional language and promises of economic and security improvements; 3) strategies of demonizing other social groups, especially Muslims and immigrants; 4) the image of a person persecuted by the establishment; 5) cooperation with similar politicians, positioning himself as a leader of the global movement against immigration and Islam.

The text highlights Wilders' consistency in using these rhetorical strategies and consciously shaping his political image as a leader fighting for national interests and European values.

#### SOCIAL MEDIA AS A POLITICAL TOOL

In recent years, we have observed a rise in populism and a decline in trust in authorities. Simultaneously, the technology of mobile broadband internet, including 3G and 4G, has been developing. These processes may be interconnected, as digital technologies can act as catalysts for negative phenomena. The internet allows citizens to bypass censorship and hold corrupt governments accountable, but it also serves populists in spreading disinformation through social media (Wang, Wan & Wang, 2022).

The public sphere is becoming increasingly radicalized, highlighting the need to understand who is mobilizing voters and how. Politicians constantly seek new methods to mobilize the electorate, significantly shaping contemporary politics (Kligler-Vilenchik, Vries Kedem, Maier & Stoltenberg, 2021). An example is the 2023 parliamentary elections in the Netherlands, where right-wing populist Geert Wilders and his Freedom Party won the most seats. Studies indicate that social anger is primarily generated on platforms like Facebook and Twitter, which, aiming to maximize profits, favor provocative and controversial content (Nai & Maier, 2024). These platforms contribute to the escalation of social conflicts while shaping

public opinion and the political landscape (Bast, 2024). Social media enable marginalized communities to participate in public discourse and support social movements. However, despite democratizing access to information, they also pose challenges regarding misinformation and manipulation (Serrano-Puche, 2021).

Direct communication between political leaders and voters through social media influences public opinion. Contemporary campaigns use viral videos and candidates' personal stories to motivate the electorate to financially support their campaigns (Venus, Intyaswati & Prihatiningsih, 2023). Examples include Stacey Abrams, who gained support by openly discussing her debts (Moore, 2022), and Beto O'Rourke, who raised a record amount for his campaign through social media (Zulli & McKasy, 2020). Social media have become a platform for new candidates and voices previously unable to gain public presence, significantly changing the face of politics.

The scale of image production in cyberspace has reached such proportions that it has become a crucial factor shaping the quality of social life (Gulati & Williams, 2013, p. 579). Contemporary politics, described by various terms such as populism, post-truth democracies, or post-factual politics, indicates a dynamic change where images play a significant role, thereby questioning the status of reality (Sayan-Cengiz & Tekin, 2022).

It is worth noting that social media platforms rely on algorithms that determine the posts presented in newsfeeds based on the likelihood of receiving likes from users. This mechanism can lead to the creation of highly emotional visions of reality, dividing those with different worldviews. Instead of serving an informational function, the algorithm becomes a mechanism promoting the creation of self-fulfilling visions of reality. An example of this is the belief among Trump supporters that the Democrats allegedly "stole the presidential election" in 2020 (Zhang, Lukito, Suk, & McGrady, 2024).

Content on social media platforms is increasingly generated by combining words and images in ways that do not reflect reality, operating under the logic that anything is permissible as long as it captures people's attention. This phenomenon partially explains the rise of populism, wherein people are more willing to replace true information with lies based on suggestive and persuasive content published in the media (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1245).

An illustration of this phenomenon is the support expressed by Trump supporters, who portray him as "one of us" while possessing extraordinary qualities that facilitate identification with his image. This becomes a symbol of the myth of a great, white, colonial, and patriarchal America. A leader who becomes both ordinary and extraordinary appears authentic and genuine (Nørgaard & Klemmensen, 2019). Unlike previous U.S. presidents who used social media sparingly, Donald Trump used it intensively, constantly expressing his views and emotions, sometimes even against the advice of his advisory team. The key to this phenomenon is emphasizing the closeness of these contents to the audience and building unique participation in this relationship, despite having 88 million followers on Twitter (Nai, Martinez & Coma, 2019). Personalities like Trump, who base their narratives on an imagined human story, fit into new social media because they co-create a kind of political spectacle enabled by new technology through interactions with the audience on Twitter and Facebook (Kessel & Castelein, 2016, p. 596; Muis, Schie, Wieringa & Winkel, 2019).

# GEERT WILDERS: TRADITIONAL POPULIST OR A UNIQUE FIGURE IN EUROPEAN POLITICS?

Geert Wilders's victory is likened to the phenomenon of the French far-right led by Marine Le Pen from France. (Cebulak & Lippert, 2024, p. 4). The anti-immigration stance is a common point for the French National Assembly Party and Wilders's Freedom Party. He has long advocated for the Netherlands' withdrawal from the European Union and does not support the expansion of the bloc. He gained popularity through his clear opposition to mass Muslim immigration, using the strong belief that the country fails to assimilate them. Additionally, he criticized the Dutch government's climate policy, which was highly unpopular, termed as political "black gold" (Pas, Vries & Brug, 2011).

The fact that the majority of voters supported Wilders, a politician who was once an outsider due to his controversial views and convicted of hate speech, surprised observers. Additionally, the possibility of a candidate with such views winning in liberal and moderate Netherlands raised concerns about potential future political events in other European countries. The surprise is not so much the electoral

result itself but the confirmation of his views by so many Dutch people (Segers, 2023). Almost one-fourth of all votes went to Wilders's party. In this context, two questions arise. First: how to understand the political earthquake that put him and his party in the first place? The Netherlands is a country with a diverse society. There are urban centers such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or The Hague, where progressive and metropolitan tendencies are present, similar to those in some cities in the southeast of the UK. These areas are characterized by trendy and progressive ideas, including green ones, which enjoy significant social support. Beyond the major cities, there are also areas inhabited by people with deeply rooted religious values, as well as farmers, particularly affected by actions to counter climate change. This dual nature of the Netherlands was clearly revealed in the election results, where one part of society, representing traditional values, expressed its political preferences through opposition to refugee influx and anti-climate change actions (Veuger, 2023).

The second question is: why did such a turnaround occur in these elections, which was not visible before? Geert Wilders had a perfect opportunity to exploit the situation. Many factors favored his success in these unplanned, early elections. The sudden government crisis last summer surprised everyone when Prime Minister Mark Rutte's cabinet found itself in crisis over a dispute about family reunification (Smit, 2023).

The sudden collapse of the cabinet in July 2023 led to rapid changes in the mood of Dutch society. The Dutch began to blame Prime Minister Rutte for the migration crisis, which resulted in a loss of trust in him. Rutte, realizing the difficult situation, resigned as leader of his party and as prime minister of the country, stating that he would not run for prime minister again. His resignation ended a 13-year tenure, making him the longest-serving prime minister in Europe and in Dutch history. Additionally, Rutte and Wilders worked together in the government between 2010 and 2012, but their alliance was broken by Wilders. Rutte consistently declared that he would no longer collaborate with Wilders, but the new leader of his party signaled readiness to cooperate with Wilders, leading to an increase in support for him in polls.

It is worth noting that a similar reaction occurred after the stunning victory of Javier Milei in November 2023, when this politician

became the president of Argentina (Kapoor, 2023). Milei promised to reform the overly bloated and corrupt government that led to hyperinflation. His plans included replacing the Argentine peso with the US dollar as the country's official currency and closing the central bank. The victories of both Milei and Wilders illustrate voters' tendency to support politicians of a nonconformist nature when they are disillusioned with traditional political leaders (Feffer, 2023).

Geert Wilders' image is strongly based on his populist rhetoric and hostility towards political elites. His anti-Islamic stance and questioning of democratic institutions often lead to comparisons with Donald Trump. Many Dutch people find his message appealing, arguing that Muslims are taking their jobs and attempting to Islamize the Netherlands (Windsor, 2023). Marine Le Pen in France was a close ally of his, although Wilders, unlike Le Pen in 2023, avoided embarrassment during the elections and extreme rhetoric attacking Islam and Muslims (Hülsemann, Camut & Ngendakumana, 2023). However, his stance reflects general trends in European politics, where more and more politicians present similar positions, especially on immigration. His anti-Islamic and anti-EU stance garners wide support among certain social groups, but it also sparks strong controversy and opposition. Geert Wilders has been repeatedly accused of "discrimination" and "incitement to hatred against Moroccans" (Geerdink, 2023). And like Trump, thanks to his controversial statements, he is in the public spotlight, which evidently helps in raising public awareness.

Currently, Wilders is the fourth-longest-serving member of the lower house of parliament in the Netherlands. In his early years as a member of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie – VVD), Wilders gained popularity based on two distinct characteristics in his public image. Firstly, he was known as a rebel within the party, often ready to oppose decisions that he felt weakened the political formation. Secondly, he gained a reputation as an expert on Islamic terrorism, although before September 11th, this issue was of little interest to many of his political companions. Wilders' disdain for Islam had been shaping for decades but significantly increased during his year-long trip to Israel as a teenager, which may explain his pro-Israeli stance. The 9/11 attacks shaped Western policy, with the Netherlands being no exception (Franssen & Rock, 2020). Suddenly, Wilders' views became

an attractive narrative, but still being a member of VVD, Wilders felt constrained by its political agenda and was concerned that the party was not ready to accept his anti-Islamic policies. In 2004, Wilders broke ties with VVD. Shortly afterward, an attack on a prominent politician shook Dutch political life. Conservative Pim Fortuyn, whom Wilders admired for his anti-immigration and anti-Islamic stance, was murdered by an ecologist in 2002 (Herman, 2017). Another significant event for Wideers's political career was the murder in 2004 of filmmaker Theo Van Gogh, who was killed by a Dutchman of Moroccan descent. The motive for the murder was outrage at the film titled "Submission", which critically portrayed Islam's attitude towards women. During the investigation, it was discovered that the assailant intended to kill Wilders as well, contributing to popularizing him as a outspoken politician. These events did not change his views but rather strengthened him in expressing opinions, such as the Quran should be banned, and immigration should be halted. Wilders also wants the Netherlands to withdraw from the EU, and his economic policy emphasizes elements of protectionism. The above attacks on well-known public figures and radical views also made him the target of subsequent assassination attempts, as a result of which Wilders lives under constant police protection (Sauer, 2023). Due to the constant threat, in 2023 (as in previous elections), it was not possible to conduct a traditional election campaign. Therefore, Wilders and a small team of supporters used the internet and social media to convey their message to the audience. Unlike other political parties, there was no significant bureaucracy or organizational structure used to disseminate the party's message.

### GEERT WILDERS ON TWITTER: ANALYSIS OF ANTI--ISLAMIC AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION RHETORIC

Building Geert Wilders' political image through social media is a key aspect of his communication strategy. Wilders uses his online presence as a tool for mobilization and conveying antagonistic content, as well as for inclusion and exclusion from the political establishment. For example, in his tweets, he often emphasizes national pride, praising Dutch achievements and celebrating national traditions,

which builds his authenticity and connection with societal moods. Additionally, Wilders uses his social media profiles to mock critics, often by exaggerating controversial statements, which increases his popularity and strengthens his authority. Through these emotional strategies, Wilders constructs an image strongly associated with national identity, enabling him to reflect the sentiments of his party and maintain a strong position in public debate.

Wilders distinctly accentuates his anti-immigration and anti-Islamic stance, suggesting nationalist tendencies. This is a common element of this politician's image, aimed at attracting voters with similar views who fear the negative consequences of immigration and the development of Islam in the country. He appeals to national interests and citizens' concerns.

Millions of Dutch people have had enough of the Islamization of our country. End mass immigration and asylum, terrorism, violence, and uncertainty. Here's our plan, instead of funding the whole world and people we don't want here. We will spend money on ordinary Dutch people. (Platform X, Nov 23, 2023)

He emphasizes the need to protect ordinary Dutch people from the effects of mass immigration and Islamization, which may garner sympathy from those who feel threatened by societal changes. The statements suggest promises of economic improvement for citizens through immigration control. National interests are also prioritized. This can build the image of a politician as a leader who cares about the economic well-being of his country and its citizens. The politician's image is constructed through appeals to national interests and concerns of citizens.

The hope of so many people is that things will change in the Netherlands, that the influx of asylum seekers will be limited, that ordinary Dutch people will have more money in their pockets again, that houses will return to the Dutch, that Dutch people will be put first. (Platform X, Feb 19, 2024)

Wilders connects immigration and Islam with the economy, suggesting that his policy aims to improve citizens' living conditions by controlling the influx of migrants and public spending. This builds his image as a politician caring about the country's economic well-being,

using emotional language, pointing to hope and promises of change. It also portrays him as a leader capable of bringing positive transformations for the country and its citizens.

He emphasizes the priorities of his policy, including immigration control, cultural and economic protection, and concern for national interests. This builds the image of a leader as a consistent defender of national and social values. He also expresses a clear anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic stance, suggesting closing borders to immigrants from Muslim countries and promoting a negative image of Islam as a "violent ideology".

Close the refugee centers. These are terrible places. Criminals, rapists, it's a disaster. No Muslim hijabs will be worn by public sector workers. This is the Netherlands. It's not some Middle Eastern war zone. (Platform X, Jan 25, 2020)

He focuses on portraying immigration and Islam as threats to society, which can build the image of a politician as someone who identifies and responds to alleged threats to the country and its citizens. This kind of rhetoric can build the image of a politician as a conservative who consistently opposes immigrant inflow and promotes national values. His statements contain emotional elements, such as warnings of an "asylum seeker tsunami" and comparisons of Islam to communism and fascism:

Islam is not just another leaf on the tree of religions. It cannot be compared to Christianity. It is a violent ideology, just like communism and fascism. And we should treat it as such. If not, Islam will eventually eat us. (Platform X, Nov 23, 2023)

It can be seen that the sender emphasizes the need to protect the nation from threats related to immigration and Islam. His statements are emotional, cautionary, and consistent in their anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic rhetoric. He also clearly expresses an anti-EU stance, presenting the organization as responsible for the influx of immigrants and simultaneously depriving member states of their sovereignty and decision-making authority. He emphasizes the need for liberation and restoration of a sovereign nation-state, possessing autonomy in decisions regarding immigration.

If you want to decide in your own home who to invite as a guest and when guests should leave, you have the right to do so. We can no longer do that. [...] I believe that every democracy needs a nation-state, its own country, where people gather around their own flag, have their own identity. [...] The nation-state is exactly what the European Union wants to get rid of. (Platform X, Jan 25, 2024)

By calling for the ability to make independent decisions in this matter, Wilders seeks to be seen as someone who prioritizes national interests and control over borders above the commitments resulting from EU membership. In some quotes, he links the issue of immigration with concerns related to Islam, portraying it as a threat to society and European culture.

Brussels wants to flood us with immigrants from Third World countries, mainly from Islamic countries. It wants to distribute these immigrants throughout the European Union. And that, my friends, will be a disaster. Banning mosques, Islamic schools, Qurans, and headscarves on government buildings are among the proposals in the PVV party's manifesto. (Platform X, Jan 20, 2024)

He uses alarmist rhetoric, warning of a "disaster" caused by mass immigration and Islamization, thereby positioning himself as someone who defends European values and opposes Islamic influences. This stance also corresponds to presenting himself as a supporter of regaining national sovereignty and independence, which is supposed to be a key element for the country's economic and social development:

We should all regain this national sovereignty and continue to trade with other countries, just as Switzerland does today, and as Britain will do tomorrow, and both countries will flourish even more, while remaining independent and sovereign, and that's what I want for the Netherlands. (Platform X, Nov 26, 2023)

By referring to countries like Switzerland and the United Kingdom, which remain independent and sovereign, the sender builds the image of a politician who strives to achieve a similar status for his country. The sender's statements focus on the issue of immigration and emphasize the need to control it and restore state control over borders. He presents a tough approach to illegal immigrants

and migration, suggesting deportation and freezing asylum intake. Statements like these are intended to convince the audience once again that such a stance aims to defend national interests and care for the well-being of citizens by ensuring security and stability. Wilders frequently suggests in his communications that limiting immigration will improve the economic situation of citizens. The aim is to portray the sender of such messages as someone who focuses on the daily needs of citizens and promises to improve their material situation through national actions.

Wilders often emphasizes the superiority of a culture based on Christianity, Judaism, and humanism. By comparing cultures and labeling Islamic culture as "backward", he tries to present himself as a defender of his country's values and traditions against the influence of Islam.

Our culture, based on Christianity, Judaism, and humanism, is better than the backward Islamic culture. And that's hard to say, but it's true. We should defend who we are and get rid of this cultural relativism, because ultimately it kills us. [...] I believe that Islam is an aggressive and dangerous religion, and even a backward culture. (Platform X, Jul 14, 2022)

He seeks to limit the presence of Islam in society by closing Islamic schools, banning the burqa, and possessing the Quran. This stance aims to highlight the politician's position as someone who seeks to protect national culture and tradition from foreign influences. He clearly aims to question the compatibility of Islam with fundamental democratic values and emphasizes the need to protect democratic institutions from the influence of religion.

My party believes, and millions of people who currently support us believe, that Islam and freedom, Islam and democracy are incompatible. (Platform X, Jun 7, 2022)

The sender builds the image of a politician as a strong opponent of Islam as a culture and religion, actively seeking to protect traditions, national values, as well as freedom and democracy from what are considered negative influences of Islam. This stance can be perceived as anti-Islamic and culturally conservative.

An important element of Wilders' image is portraying himself as someone persecuted by the system for his beliefs or actions. By referring to himself as a "martyr", he builds the image of a politician who fights against the system or establishment and is ready to make personal sacrifices for his beliefs. This can attract sympathy and support from individuals who also feel unfairly treated by the system.

I pay a high price for it. In the process of fighting for freedom, the name of my party is the Party for Freedom. I have lost my own freedom for almost six years now. I am under 24-hour police protection, traveling in an armored car with a large police presence. I was locked up in prison cells with my wife, not as a criminal, but for protection in military barracks. Now I live in a safe house provided by the government, and unfortunately, it goes on. (Platform X, Feb 22, 2023)

The narrative about his political environment is complemented by a story of personal suffering and sacrifice in the fight for his beliefs, once again aiming to convince the audience that Wilders is a politician willing to sacrifice himself for the cause he represents. He also expresses disapproval of hate speech laws, which he considers "crazy" and outdated. Such a statement may build the image of a politician as someone who fights for freedom of speech and expression, even if they are controversial or unpopular. He perceives himself as the target of attacks and attempts at discredit by political opponents.

I was convicted in a political trial, which, shortly before the elections, seeks to invalidate the leader of the largest and most popular opposition party. Moroccans are not a race, and people criticizing Moroccans are not racists. (Platform X, Jan 28, 2023)

At the same time, he defends himself against accusations of racism, claiming that criticism directed at Moroccans does not stem from racism, and the trial was an attempt at a political attack. Such a defense may be an attempt to cleanse the politician's image of controversies and negative accusations and gain sympathy among those who consider these allegations unjust or unfair.

The politician emphasizes the identity of his party as a new political force that addresses issues of mass immigration from non-Western countries, especially from Islamic countries. This narrative builds the

image of the party as bold, openly criticizing the current political elite and fighting for changes in immigration policies.

We are not part of the political elite. We are a new political party. We are the only party that speaks so strongly about being fed up with mass immigration from non-Western countries, especially from Islamic countries. (Platform X, Dec 17, 2023)

He also highlights his international aspirations by founding a global anti-Islamic organization and advocating for halting immigration from Muslim countries, which presumably adds to his prestige as an international actor fighting for global issues.

Europe, as we know it, is on the brink of collapse. We are currently witnessing profound changes that will forever alter the fate of Europe. [...] This is an international struggle to defend our freedom and stop Islam. We will operate in many countries. [...] and we will try to support organizations rallying around this message and also try to gain some influence at the political level. (Platform X, Apr 6, 2023)

Wilders also indicates which politicians he aligns with, thus attempting to build the image of a politician with similar beliefs and values. He expresses support for Donald Trump as the first "real leader" who dared to address difficult issues such as immigration and Islam.

I believe that Donald Trump, regardless of what you think of him, is the first real leader, who I hope will become in the United States, who dared to talk about the issue of immigration, about Islam, about national sovereignty. I think he's very brave to be able to and want to address the issue of the threat of Islam and the threat of increased immigration. To show him support, I'm very happy and proud to be present in America. (Platform X, Nov 24, 2023)

Such a statement suggests that the politician is also courageous and willing to tackle controversial topics, which can build his image as a strong and decisive leader.

#### **SUMMARY**

The article analyzes the main features of Geert Wilders' political image on the social media platform X and the strategies he uses to promote his political agenda and mobilize his supporters. The main features of his political image include national patriotism, anti-immigration and anti-Islam rhetoric, criticism of the establishment, and the defense of national values. Wilders often celebrates Dutch achievements and traditions, and he presents Islam and immigration as threats to Dutch culture and security. He positions himself and his party as outsiders fighting against the political establishment and institutions such as the European Union, portraying himself as a defender of Dutch values, culture, and national identity. He also emphasizes his personal difficulties and sacrifices, building an image of a "martyr".

In his communication strategies, Wilders uses emotional rhetoric, employing strong, alarmist statements to provoke strong reactions from his audience. His controversial and antagonistic statements provoke debate and attract media and public attention. He regularly uses social media to mobilize his supporters, publishing engaging and motivating content. Criticism of opponents, mocking and criticizing political adversaries and institutions, reinforces his image as a strong leader.

On the platform X, Wilders promotes topics such as criticism of immigration and Islam, national sovereignty, the defense of traditional Dutch values, and criticism of the political establishment. He links these topics with economic and social issues, emphasizing the need to protect national sovereignty and independence from the EU, and he promises to improve economic conditions for citizens by limiting immigration and redistributing funds.

To mobilize and engage his supporters, Wilders uses simple and direct language, creates content that evokes strong emotions, personalizes his messages, regularly publishes posts, and engages with users, increasing the sense of direct contact. Wilders builds his identity as an independent political leader through criticism of the EU and the political establishment, declarations of national sovereignty, emphasizing personal sacrifices, and anti-immigration and anti-Islam rhetoric. He also supports other controversial leaders, such as Donald Trump, which strengthens his image as a politician with similar views and strategies.

#### REFERENCES

- Bast, J. (2024). Managing the Image. The Visual Communication Strategy of European Right-Wing Populist Politicians on Instagram. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 23(1), 1–25.
- Cebulak, P., & Lippert F. (2024). SHOCKS TO THE SYSTEM. Lessons from Geert Wilders' Victory in the Dutch Elections. Wrocław: College of Eastern Europe.
- Engesser, S., Fawzi, N., & Larsson, A. (2017). Populist online communication: Introduction to the special issue. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20, 1279–1292.
- Feffer, J. (2023). *The Return of the Far Right*. Institute for Policy Studies. https://ips-dc.org/the-return-of-the-far-right/ (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Franssen, G., & Rock, J. (2020). The Dutch star on the flag of Europe: the personalisation of national identity in Geert Wilders' celebrity politics. *Celebrity Studies*, 11(3), 287–304.
- Geerdink, F. (2023). *In a Diverse Corner of the Netherlands, Geert Wilders Didn't Win*. New Lines Magazin. https://newlinesmag.com/spotlight/in-a-diverse-corner-of-the-netherlands-geert-wilders-didnt-win/ (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Gulati, G., & Williams, C. (2013). Social media and campaign 2012 developments and trends for Facebook adoption. *Social Science Computer Review*, 31(5), 577–588.
- Herman, Y. (2017). A history of Dutch populism, from the murder of Pim Fortuyn to the rise of Geert Wilders. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/a-history-of-dutch-populism-from-the-murder-of-pim-fortuyn-to-the-rise-of-geert-wilders-74483 (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Hülsemann, L., Camut, N., & Ngendakumana, P.E. (2023). Euroskeptics applaud shock Wilders win in Dutch election. *Politico*. https://www.politico.eu/article/euroskeptic-cheer-shock-geert-wilders-dutch-election/ (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Jungherr, A. (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(1), 72–91.
- Kapoor, R.S. (2023). From Javier Milei to Geert Wilders: How liberals malign conservative leaders. First Post. https://www.firstpost.com/opinion/from-javier-milei-to-geert-wilders-how-liberals-malign-conservative-leaders-13426542.html (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Kemal Rijken, K. (2023). *How Mark Rutte and his party gambled and lost in the Dutch elections*. Aspenia Online, https://aspeniaonline.it/how-mark-rutte-and-his-party-gambled-and-lost-in-the-dutch-elections/a (accessed on 22th October 2023).

- Kligler-Vilenchik, N., Kedem, M. de V., Maier, D., & Stoltenberg, D. (2021). Mobilization vs. Demobilization Discourses on Social Media. *Political Communication*, 38(5), 561–580.
- Klinger, U., & Svensson, J. (2015). The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach. *New Media & Society*, *17*(8), 1241–1257.
- Kruikemeier, S. (2014). How political candidates use twitter and the impact on votes. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 34, 131–139.
- Moore, M. (2022). Stacey Abrams' spending questioned after manager reveals campaign's \$1M debt. New York Post. https://nypost.com/2022/12/19/stacey-abrams-campaign-reportedly-1-million-in-debt-after-midter-m-loss/(accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Mudde, C. (2016). Europe's populist surge: A long time in the ma king. *Foreign Affairs*, 95, 25–30.
- Muis, I., van Schie, G., Wieringa, M. & de Winkel, T. (2019). 'Liberation Begins with Stating the Facts': Framing Statistics and Information Bricolage in Geert Wilders' Twitter Practice. *Open Library of Humanities*, *5*(1), 1–31.
- Nai, A., & Maier, J. (2024). The Wrath of Candidates. Drivers of Fear and Enthusiasm Appeals in Election Campaigns across the Globe. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 23(1), 74–91.
- Nai, A., & Martinez, I., Coma, F. (2019). The Personality of Populists: Provocateurs, Charismatic Leaders, or Drunken Dinner Guests? *West European Politics*, 42(7), 1337–1367.
- Nørgaard, A.S., & Klemmensen, R. (2019). The Personalities of Danish MPs: Trait-and Aspect-Level Differences. *Journal of Personality*, 87(2), 267–275.
- Sauer, P. (2023). *Geert Wilders: the Dutch far-right figurehead sending a chill across Europe*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/22/geert-wilders-profile-netherlands-elections-far-right (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Sayan-Cengiz, F., & Tekin, C. (2022). Gender, Islam and nativism in populist radical-right posters: visualizing 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *56*(1), 61–93.
- Segers, I.B. (2023). *Landslide victory for Geert Wilders but can he form a government?* The Loop, https://theloop.ecpr.eu/landslide-victory-for-geert-wilders-but-can-he-form-a-government/(accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Serrano-Puche, J. (2021). Digital disinformation and emotions: exploring the social risks of affective polarization. *International Review of Sociology*, 31(2), 231–245.

- Smit, L. (2023). Far right, anti-Islam populist Geert Wilders wins massive victory in Dutch elections. ABC News, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-11-23/geert-wilders-wins-massive-victory-in-dutch-elections/103140464 (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Van der Pas, D., de Vries, C. & van der Brug, W. (2011). A leader without a party: Exploring the relationship between Geert Wilders' leadership performance in the media and his electoral success. *Party Politics*, 19(3), 458–476.
- Van Kessel, S., & Castelein, R. (2016). Shifting the blame Populist politicians' use of Twitter as a tool of opposition. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 12, 594–614.
- Venus, A., Intyaswati, D., & Prihatiningsih, W. (2023). The role of cognitive elaboration in social media political information consumption and persuasion. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1), 1–13.
- Veuger, S. (2023). *Populist Rage Gives Dutch Far Right a Worrying Shot at Power*. Foreign Policy. https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/11/27/netherlands-dutch-election-coalition-geert-wilders-pvv-far-right/ (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Wang, S., Wan, Q., & Wang, G. (2022). Building public support by internet regulations in China? Evidence based on quasi-natural experiment. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 1–19.
- Windsor, M.P.J. (2023). *The Victory of the Netherlands' Geert Wilders and the Crisis of Western Values*. Newsweek. https://www.newsweek.com/victory-netherlands-geert-wilders-crisis-western-values-opinion-1850185 (accessed on 22th October 2023).
- Zhang, Y., Lukito, J., Suk, J. & McGrady, R. (2024). Trump, Twitter, and Truth Social: how Trump used both mainstream and alt-tech social media to drive news media attention. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 1–14.
- Zulli, D., & McKasy, M. (2020). Political equivocation in a less-adversarial campaign context. *Communication Research Reports*, *37*(4), 202–211.

### Copyright and License



This particular article is published under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) CC-BY public copyright licence to any VoR (Version of Record) version arising from this submission.