

Self-driving van in S. Tahoe to test the snow

By Darrell Etherington, TechCrunch

Waymo is working on one of the key areas it still needs to tackle ahead of any general public launch of its self-driving technology: snow.

The company's vehicles still had a lot to learn in this specific realm as of late last year, and it's one of the most challenging road conditions any autonomous vehicle can face, because of the effects of deep cold and blanketing snow not only on traction and vehicle handling, but also on sensors and optics.

Waymo CEO John Krafcik posted a tweet Monday with an image of the Waymo Chrysler Pacifica minivan, kitted out with its in-house self-driving sensor technology, in a snowy setting at South Lake Tahoe.

[Read the whole story](#)

Indian casinos rethinking how to attract customers

By Richard Chang, Sacramento Bee

The region's Indian casino scene could soon get more crowded.

With two casino projects on the horizon in an already bustling

market, tribal operators old and new will have to offer entertainment and other amenities to retain the loyalty of customers in what experts say is a gaming market that will soon reach a breaking point.

“There are a finite number of gamblers,” said Rich Hoffman, CEO of the Jackson Rancheria Casino Resort in Amador County. “The more times you split that pie up, the fewer customers you have.”

California has 59 casinos and ranks behind only Nevada – with 270 casinos – in terms of gaming revenues.

When and if the new casinos open, they are expected to take much of their business from regional competitors.

Read the whole story

Boulders keep falling along Hwy. 50 in Nev.



Rocks continue to fall in Nevada along Highway 50. Photo Copyright 2017 Carolyn E. Wright

The evidence of the unstable slope along Highway 50 at Logan Shoals continues to pile up in what was the No. 2 travel lane and along the shoulder.

“Many of the boulders which have fallen into blocked-off travel lanes remain there as another physical object and barrier to help further diffuse and prevent future rock fall from reaching the travel lanes,” Meg Ragonese with the Nevada Department of Transportation told *Lake Tahoe News*.

The inaccessible travel lane will stay that way until crews can stabilize the slope. That should happen this summer.

The right eastbound lane has been off-limits since early February when multiple SUV-sized boulders fell into that lane. Since then NDOT has placed two rows of concrete barrier rail as well as large bags of gravel to prevent other boulders from

landing on vehicles or impeding traffic.

“We are right now finalizing design of a road improvement project to stabilize and reinforce the roadside slope,” Ragonese said.

– *Lake Tahoe News staff report*

Man dies falling from Harveys parking structure

A Fresno man accidentally fell to his death from the top of Harveys’ parking garage on Sunday.

David Garcia, 29, was found unresponsive next to the Stateline parking structure about 3am March 26.

Witnesses told Douglas County sheriff’s deputies that Garcia had been drinking alcohol during the evening, and had left the casino at 2:20am.

– *Lake Tahoe News staff report*

Snippets about Lake Tahoe

- Gunbarrel 25 at Heavenly Mountain Resort is April 1 from 10am-5pm. Skiers-boarders will take as many laps on the face as they can on Saturday.
- The Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest recently launched

an email subscription service to make it easier for the public to receive information. Go **online** to sign up.

- The pool at the South Lake Tahoe Recreation Center will be open Saturdays from April 15-May 20, 3:30-4:30pm for kayakers to practice rolling. Must bring own kayak; there will be no instruction. Regular day use fees apply. For more info, call 530.542.6056.

- The Junior Giants program is returning to South Lake Tahoe for a second year. Signups begin April 15 **online**.

- The South Tahoe Grizzlies Bantam B hockey team and South Tahoe Amateur Hockey Association Peewee A team will be competing in the California Amateur Hockey Association State Championship in San Jose March 31-April 2.

Exterior fire at Truckee auto parts store

A fire at the O'Reilly Auto Parts store in Truckee only caused damage to the outside of the building.

Even though firefighters had to cut holes in the roof March 24, the store was able to reopen the following day.

The call came in about 6pm from a passer-by who saw flames from the roof of the store in the Save Mart center.

While the cause is under investigation, old electrical wire is suspected to be the culprit, according to Truckee fire officials. An employee of the store told *Lake Tahoe News*. there was no damage to the inside of the store and just a little bit to the exterior.— *Lake Tahoe News staff report*

1 person hurt in avalanche on Mt. Tallac



Looking down at the
avalanche field on Tallac.
Photo/SAC

A back country skier survived being swept up by a 1,000-foot-long avalanche on Mount Tallac on Saturday.

The skier was carried about 800 feet. The extent of injuries is not known. According to the Sierra Avalanche Center, the person lost equipment and some was broken.

The incident occurred at 12:30pm March 25 in The Cross; elevation 9,500 feet.

Eight people had skied that area 90 minutes earlier. At that time "minor loose wet activity was observed."

The avalanche occurred when one of two skiers descended from the skier's left. After several turns the slope gave way.

The avalanche danger for March 27 is considerable.

Tahoe Tails – Adoptable Pets in South Lake Tahoe



Ginger

Ginger is a fun little girl. She is about 2 years old, and very affectionate. She will climb right into your lap and snuggle with you. And so pretty. She has beautiful ginger colored fur and big brown eyes.

Ginger is spayed, microchipped, tested for heart worm, and vaccinated. She is at the El Dorado County Animal Services shelter in Meyers, along with many other dogs and cats who are waiting for their new homes. Go to the Tahoe animal shelter's Facebook page to see photos and descriptions of all pets at the shelter.

Call 530.573.7925 for directions, hours, and other information on adopting a pet.

For spay-neuter assistance for South Tahoe residents, go **online**.

– Karen Kuentz

Tahoe shelter for millennials as diverse as lifestyle

Publisher's note: *This is one in a series of stories about affordable housing in the Lake Tahoe-Truckee region. All articles may be accessed via the home page under Special Projects, 2017 Affordable Housing.*

By Susan Wood

When it comes to millennials and home ownership, the 30s could arguably be the new 20s.

The 16- to 34-year olds (per U.S. Census Bureau), aka millennials, have hit the pause button on certain aspects of the all-American dream.



With some exceptions, many demographic studies in the United States have pointed to a delay in home ownership among a generation known for its computer wizardry, independence and mobility. The findings coincide with their apparent hesitation about raising

children and even getting married in their coming of age period.

In 2015, the younger set numbering 83.1 million, according to the Census Bureau in 2015, appear more diverse than any other generation in minority status, goals and view of the world. (California tops the list with 61.5 percent among minorities.)

Whatever ethnicity or locale, millennials have brought home ownership to a record 30-year low at 34.1 percent compared to the overall U.S. population coming in at 62.9 percent.

Despite the generation splitting that number in half, Business Insider among other observers keeping a close eye on the demographic group, reports that 65.3 percent of these youth associates buying a home with the American dream. That's the plan for a majority when the time is right.

Timing is everything

The waiting by millennials says as much about their view of social norms in the world and rejections of climbing the corporate ladder as their income status and cautious optimism about the nation's finances.

Millennials are less likely to get married as they're coming of age than previous generations. According to the Pew Research Center, only 42 percent of millennials were married and living with their spouse last year. In 1963, that number exceeded 80 percent.

Moreover, the majority of millennials – 56 percent – was childless. By contrast, more than half of Gen Xers and Baby Boomers reared children at that similar stage of life.

Alongside mounting student loan debt, sources like SmartAsset have cited labor market opportunities as a key factor in jumping into life-altering moves. Millennials were hit hard by the recession of 2009, which ran parallel with a weak jobs recovery in subsequent years. Then, there's simply a lack of desire early in life to sign on to a spouse or children, much less being roped in to such a large investment like a home.



Brianna Biller is making ends meet by subletting her rental to tourists via Airbnb. Photo/Susan Wood

Home is relative

“Because a lot of us entered the workforce during the recession, I don’t know anything but living paycheck to paycheck. We’re overworked and underpaid,” Brianna Biller told *Lake Tahoe News* while in her rental off Pioneer Trail.

Biller works in sales for Sierra-at-Tahoe at a job she loves in paradise. The 29-year-old knows the ropes. She grew up in Tahoe and left to attend a performing arts school to become an actor.

She’s resided in a few different living arrangements here, including sharing space with her best friend in a place she affectionately referred to as the “ghetto in the meadow.” The term plays right into the longstanding nickname for Tahoe housing – “poverty with a view.”

Tahoe is known to test the will of even the steeliest of

residents. For years, ski resort employees would bunk up, sometimes 10 people to a house to make ends meet.

With such a low inventory of rentals, those not buying a home are forced to stand in long lines to compete for places. Biller recalled going to an open house and seeing prospective renters standing there “with folders” to sell themselves. To top it off, scams exist. She later found her place because she knew the right person.

“I can’t do (permanent) roommates anymore. One of them turned the heater on and left the window open,” she said in disgust. “It’s just stuff like that.”

But good rentals aren’t cheap.

A light bulb was turned on

Biller discovered the clear advantage of her generation’s advancements in the digital age.

She rents out her upstairs loft on Airbnb, the increasingly popular online home sharing website. She has renters but on a temporary basis, most often on the weekends because who doesn’t want to visit Tahoe?

Biller has found a lifestyle so pleasing: “It makes me want to open a hostel.”

She established a little seating area similar in looks to the front lobby of a bed and breakfast. She assembled a binder full of hikes, bike rides and other activities visitors may partake in while they share a roof with her for a few days.

“I love waking up here and hearing people laughing in the morning,” she said.

Plus, money is not the concern it was.

“Now I can afford good wine,” Biller said.

This is the lifestyle Biller wants, even though living through the recession has been challenging. Nonetheless, millennials have learned to do what they need to do to pay the bills, given their diverse views of the working world.

“My generation is getting creative in getting corporate America dethroned. Our generation is all about the experience and not collecting stuff,” she said. “This is our generation’s response to wasted resources.”

Smart, single and savvy, this Tahoe woman doesn’t necessarily buy into a certain protocol of falling into line.

“Not everyone has to have kids. I have no desire to chase that ideal and move up to a bigger house,” she said.

Instead, her golden retriever Cody fills in the gap nicely. They love romping in the woods steps from her humble abode.



Dondra Biller and Ryan Elson are new homeowners on the South Shore. Photo/Susan Wood

Stages and outcomes vary

Biller's sister, Dondra, 30, returned to Tahoe a few months ago after a stint in Colorado, but she took on a different living arrangement.

She bought a home here with her 35-year-old husband, Ryan Elson, and got a job in her environmental science discipline selling water quality products for General Electric.

"I look at working for corporate America as a means to an end," said Dondra Biller, who travels a region and calls Tahoe her work-home base. "Colorado was nice, but I really wanted to live in Tahoe."

The Earth science/oceanography major met Elson in Santa Cruz. She graduated from college in 2009.

Like her sister, Dondra's attitude about being responsible with money but skeptical about what it can do were somewhat formed by the financial crash and consequential ailing jobs market.

"One thing that has shaped the millennials is we literally came out of the age of recession. For me, I keep waiting for the other shoe to drop," she said.

"We wanted to buy a house so we could do what we want with it," said Elson, who works for Bentley Nevada in engineering.

The two rely on each other greatly in a world filled with insecurity, doubt and mistrust. While they're being creative with their home, creating life in their household might be on hold.

"A lot of my friends have the pressure to be perfect like having a child," Biller said.

Instead, they're focusing on their careers and want to contribute to their community.

"Millennials want everyone to have what they need. We're

willing to pay for the greater good,” she said. Call it a new sense of socialism.

“In Tahoe, things crashed, but came back. Still, we don’t buy into that you must have kids and the bigger house. Millennials are not stuck on that at all. We can make our lives what we want them to be,” said Biller, noting how the couple wants to develop an energy-efficient home.

And like Brianna, Dondra stated they’re well aware of a lack of short-term housing and good-paying jobs “but we were hell-bent on being in the community here.”

Think globally, act locally

The Biller sisters aren’t the only ones who grew up at Lake Tahoe and returned upon leaving the nest.

Many say Tahoe has a draw.

Millennial Devin Middlebrook reinforced this notion. At age 27, he has a job in the basin at the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency.

Having graduated in business and sustainability at Chico State in 2007, Middlebrook is now using his studies to protect the lake he grew up loving. This is so appropriate, given his friends and family are here.

Still, Middlebrook wanted to be independent. He shares a home with his girlfriend, something he admits he’s “lucky” to be able to do.

“Tahoe was always home. I always had a plan to come back,” he told *Lake Tahoe News*.

Having endured the recession while in school, he crossed his fingers he would find a job here. He returned in 2012, going to work for the Tahoe Resource Conservation District before landing the job at TRPA.

“Tahoe can be very tough on young people. I had my parents’ house to come home to. Some are not as fortunate,” he said.

Middlebrook recalled how a friend had to move away because she couldn’t find a place that would take a dog.

“It’s a humble house (we have), but it gives us what we need,” he said. “You don’t make a ton of money here, but that’s the trade off of experiencing life in Tahoe.”

And there lies the common denominator expressed by numerous millennials. It’s all about the experience – not the prestige.



Jamie, Annika and David Orr are living the Lake Tahoe dream. Photo/Provided

Seize the day

One could say David Orr understands this better than most.

Bucking the millennial tradition of delaying marrying and having kids, Orr, 33, prides himself on establishing a life for he and his wife, Jamie, 35, and their daughter Annika, 5, within a one-mile radius.

Again, living is about seizing the most out of it – opposed to wasting time, for example sitting on a freeway in the San Francisco Bay Area to get to a corporate office.

Orr had that life and shows no plans of returning. In fact, he's taking all those idea-building brain cells and creating a sense of community for not only his family, but for others.

He opened Tahoe Mountain Lab on Harrison Avenue with his wife as a way to provide a commercial space for the mobile worker. He recently expanded the operation to the restaurant at the top of the Heavenly Mountain Resort tram.

He's seen his fair share of what's being referred to as "digital nomads" in his generation. Those workers provide a service online and can live and work anywhere to accommodate most any whim.

"The old ideals are in question. It's the experience that's important – not collecting possessions," Orr told *LTN* that he's come to realize about his age group. His claim echoes the Biller sisters' assessments.

Of course, everybody's different. However, he has noticed a disproportionate number of millennials choosing to move around without having an anchor on their heels.

"Most millennials these days don't want to be tied to a mortgage," he said. "If they are buying homes, they don't want a ton of space."

There's a movement going forward that bills those modular spaces used commercially and personally as the wave of the future.

"At the Mountain Lab, there's a place where we're trying to solve problems in our lives besides being in these four walls," he said, motioning to the building he's running. "It's designed to spur the South Shore economy."

The Mountain Lab houses many business professionals just needing ample, minimal office space. There are attorneys, financial consultants and real estate agents. The building remains full.

Orr would like to see the commercial idea in other buildings expand into living spaces. Developing this further would take a lot of effort, especially given regulations and the structural layout of Tahoe.

But this is a new day, with a new groundswell to accomplish progress.

“There are experience-driven places, and that’s what makes Tahoe special. That’s why the millennials are moving here,” he said. Orr almost sounds like a prophet when he talks about his vision for the South Shore.

It’s all part of a cycle

South Lake Tahoe Association of Realtors spokeswoman Theresa Souers has seen many trends as a longtime Realtor in this market area.

She’s noticed a slight uptick about the latest adult generation buying homes, but not necessarily a huge increase.

“I am noticing my kids’ friends coming back,” she said.

Of those who do, some will get their parents to co-sign like the Gen Xers did – while the Baby Boomers are downsizing in their moves.

“Those that can’t afford the high rents, buy,” Souers said. “Today, millennials are yesterday’s Gen Xers.”

Some like the Orrs made their mark in the lucrative Bay Area and can afford it by utilizing their highly demanded computer programming skills and creative sense.

Beyond housing, Souers has also seen a rise in the number of small businesses popping up with a young influence at the helm. These businesses are providing products and services that are unique. Even with the companies that have been around town for a while, there's a sense of more profitability to be had.

It's only a matter of time when more millennials buy into that dream of owning a home, if anything because their "experience" may become more grounded in home and hearth.

Zillow and Realtor.com are predicting 2017 will be the year it all turns around as millennials make the plunge. Estimates indicate that home prices will increase by 3.9 percent, according to a Reuters report. Realtor.com believes much of the sales will be driven by that age group.

Of the top 10 metropolitan areas in the United States, Sacramento ranks No. 4 with a projected sales growth of 4.9 percent. Perhaps, there could be spillover to Tahoe.

The state of home ownership needs a jolt

Making the big move into home ownership is long in coming for millennials – especially in California. Just ask Troy Matthews.

The 32-year-old South Lake Tahoe man admits that if he and his wife had not qualified for a USDA loan through El Dorado County with no down payment required, they'd be renting.

"For a lot of millennials, that's an issue. We just don't have the money," he said, comparing Tahoe to major cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco. "If we lived there, I guarantee you we would not own a home."

Matthews works for Tahoe Youth & Family Services and is the civic engagement chairman of the Tahoe Regional Young Professionals, a social group at 250 members strong and

growing.

He's witnessed other young professionals struggling with the same challenges.

Matthews understands the interest in waiting for the bigger milestones in life. He just got married a few years ago and has no children.

"Many millennials don't want to be tied to mortgages. Renting offers mobility, and we came out of the recession," he said. "It's really hard to save money."

Putting away the down payment with home prices what they are may seem like a daunting task for someone entering the housing market. But their sheer numbers in the population carry clout.

That's why the California Association of Realtors is studying the demographic.

"A lot of them are living at home for various reasons – with a lot hit by the recession," CAR spokeswoman Lotus Lou told *LTN*.

In its 2016 Millennial Survey, CAR discovered that 44 percent of millennials live with their family. The household annual income rounds out at \$49,000 a year. With that money, CAR found out millennials in the Golden State plan to buy in the next five years. Half rent now because "they cannot afford to buy," according to the survey.

Notably, "an affordable home price would be the No. 1 motivator" to get millennial renters to turn the key. In the meantime, 10 percent of California millennial respondents have used home sharing services such as Airbnb.

"The Lake Tahoe real estate market is very desirable for cost and also lifestyle. You can't buy a house in the (San Francisco) Bay Area for under \$300,000, let alone a home that's at the base of a ski resort, close to world class mountain biking trails and in a top-notch school district,"

Jenna Palacio explained.

Palacio, who is also active with TRYP like Matthews and Middlebrook, has noticed a shift in millennials moving into the Tahoe area for the active lifestyle – and in doing so, have reshaped the culture to a sharing and collaborative society.

Opinion: Conspiracy theorists create distrust

By Jennifer Mercieca

“Nothing is more surprising,” wrote David Hume in his 1758 “First Principles of Government,” than “the easiness with which the many are governed by the few.”

What explains this surprising easiness? Trust is at the heart of the answer. Hume believed that since the people always outnumber their leaders (and thus retain the power of “force”), the legitimacy of all government rests merely “on opinion.” Governments exist solely because “the many” trust the government to serve their needs. Once government loses the trust of “the many,” then they will refuse to be governed by the few.

From my perspective as an American scholar of communication and rhetoric, Hume frames many questions, including: What tools of rhetoric and communication inspire the trust needed to support legitimate governments? And, in eras such as ours when trust in government declines, what rhetorical appeals must government leaders make to keep power? And conversely, as trust in government declines in the U.S., what role does

rhetoric play in diminishing that trust?

Americans today still trust the government to do a lot of things—even if we don't always value and recognize its role in our lives. According to a 2015 Pew Research Center survey, 94 percent of Americans think it's the government's job to keep "the country safe from terror"; 88 percent think it's the government's job to respond "to natural disasters"; 87 percent think it's the government's job to ensure "safe food and medicine"; 76 percent think it's the government's job to maintain "infrastructure"; and 70 percent think it's the government's job to ensure "access to high quality education."

We trust, when we buy food or drinks from a grocery store or a restaurant, that the government has checked to make sure we won't be poisoned. We trust that the government has made sure that the water we drink and the air we breathe won't give us diseases. We trust that if we get sick, the government has credible research about how to cure us and has credentialed enough people as doctors and nurses to treat us. We trust that the government-provided roads we drive on won't destroy our cars and will take us in the direction that we want to go. We trust that the government-printed money we earn will be deposited into government-guaranteed checking accounts and available for us when we want to buy things. We trust that the government will make sure that the lights, heat, and water will go on, and if there is a natural disaster that all of these services will be restored as quickly as possible.

But such trust and legitimacy, as Jürgen Habermas reminds us, is fragile. And so political communities can be destroyed when the "system does not succeed in maintaining the requisite level of mass loyalty." What is the requisite level of "mass loyalty" and have we crossed over into a dangerous decay in trust in our government?

According to a 2015 Pew Research Poll, "Only 19 percent of Americans today say they can trust the government in

Washington to do what is right," which is consistent with trends since 2007. Pew reports that this widespread distrust represents "the longest period of low trust in government in more than 50 years." A 2016 Gallup poll found that we also have historically low trust for all sorts of authority figures, including clergy (44 percent of Americans have a very high or high opinion, down from well above 60 percent in the 1970s and 1980s), journalists (23 percent of Americans have a very high or high opinion), lawyers (18 percent of Americans have a very high or high opinion), and labor union leaders (18 percent of Americans have a very high or high opinion).

What explains our distrust in our government and our leaders? According to Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam, Americans have grown more distrustful of one another and our government because we have less "bridging social capital" and more "bonding social capital" than previous generations of Americans. That is, we spend more time with people like us and we spend less time interacting with others, including government organizations and schools—we are failing to join the PTA or the bowling league and instead are cocooned in our media bubbles. Our lack of participation negatively influences our trust in one another and in the decisions made by the government because, in this case, unfamiliarity breeds contempt.

Today, not only is our trust in government and established leadership waning, but lately it is under attack by a surprising figure: the president of the United States.

Donald Trump became a political aspirant on the strength of a conspiracy theory—the "birther" argument over President Barack Obama's birth certificate. According to one count he subsequently advanced more than 50 conspiracies during his presidential campaign. Now, as president, Trump foments distrust by proclaiming corruption and conspiracy in many aspects of American life.

Trump has sought to undermine the trust that we have for judges by referring to them as “so-called” and implying that they are part of a plot against American safety. He has sought to undermine the trust that we have for the media, polls, and facts by claiming that journalists are an “opposition party” and by pre-emptively claiming that any negative polls are “fake news.” He has appointed cabinet members who actively purport to distrust established science such as inoculations and climate change.

What makes such conspiracy theories appealing—and what are the consequences of such appeals for government legitimacy? As Richard Hofstadter famously noted, conspiracy rhetoric is premised on the “paranoid style.” Conspiracy argument, he observed, is rife with “heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy” that creates a coherent narrative of a dangerous plot. Conspiracy theories in American history often have been premised on the blurring of difference between appearance and reality: what is apparent is false and hides the actual plotting that is determined to and capable of destroying America.

Conspiracy rhetoric is also premised on a self-confirming or circular reasoning (Latin: *circulus in probando* or “circle in proving”). Once the narrative of conspiracy and corruption takes hold within a political community it is difficult to dispel because conspirators cannot be trusted to tell the truth about their plot. Conspiracy argument is “self-sealing” in that any holes in the story are quickly covered up by the logic of the conspiracy. For example: why didn’t media reports show that there is a massive increase in crime, as Trump claimed? Not because crime didn’t increase, but because the media are part of the plot to deny that crime has increased.

In this way, conspiracy rhetoric creates a perverse sort of legitimacy for the leader who uses it. And conditions are ripe for conspiracy rhetoric.

Communication scholar Jack Bratich explains via Michel Foucault, that conspiracy theories participate in any society's "regime of truth," or the politics surrounding the techniques and standards that a society uses to determine "true" from "false." Obviously, there is much power at stake in labeling one version of "truth" a "conspiracy" and another "fact."

It's easier for society to control what counts as "true" when there is a unified "truth" presented to the public via mass media. But the fracturing of media and the dominance of polarized news have created concurrent truth realities that enable conspiracy theories to flourish.

Trump's conspiracy arguments have exploited pre-existing distrust, frustration, and polarized versions of "truth." What are the potential consequences? Conspiracy rhetoric is dangerous because it creates a cohesive reality for those who adhere to its narrative, and naturally lends itself to violence.

The Civil War, for example, can be seen as the culmination of two opposing conspiracy arguments. Abolitionists believed that there was a "slave power" conspiracy determined to deprive the North of political power. Slaveholders believed that Abraham Lincoln was part of a plot to abolish slavery, deprive them of their justly owned property, and destroy the South. Despite Lincoln's assurances in his First Inaugural Address, Southerners had been convinced of the conspiracy of "miserable fanatics" against their rights and believed themselves justified in seceding from the Union.

Like the polarizing rhetoric leading up to the Civil War, Trump's distrustful conspiracy rhetoric could potentially make the nation even more distrustful of the government and established leaders. In this way, Trump is at war with his government and himself. The conspiracy rhetoric he uses to legitimize himself as president threatens the fragile trust

that legitimizes his government.

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