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What are the three characteristics of *Trumpism*?: A Discourse Analysis of Trump's Four Major Campaign Speeches

Rachel D. Beeman



Rachel's goal in this paper is to advance a moderate voice on a controversial presidency. She uses text analysis techniques and a program outside her comfort zone called ATLAS.ti, with the help of her faculty mentor Dr. Roseanne Mirabella, to analyze four campaign speeches by President Trump. She hopes future research will take advantage of text analysis to explore how rhetorical patterns and cues might provide insight into the characteristics of leaders and elected officials.

“Today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.”¹ Millions of Americans listened to President Donald Trump's Inaugural Address, and their emotional responses ranged from anger and despair to elation and hope for a prosperous future. President Trump ran his campaign as a man of the people and as an executive.

This presidential election represents one of the most contentious in history. Citizens continue to worry about President Trump's connection with the Trump brand. There is also a national worry over whether or not this connection motivates his decisions' as president. Are there any common themes behind his various campaign promises? Do these themes represent Trump as an individual or are they representative of the Republican Party? Will establishing these themes help citizens in understanding President Trump's executive decisions? This paper will explore the ideology of President Donald J. Trump, in order to give insight into the potential answers to these questions. The author of this paper, hereafter referred to simply as 'the author,' asks the question, *what are the three characteristics of Trumpism?* The three characteristics are an appeal to populism, a business-like approach to politics, and an anti-establishment attitude.

This paper will use an empirical and pragmatic study of speeches given during the campaign to illustrate the overarching ideological themes—populism, business-like approach to politics, and an anti-establishment attitude. The timeline of this paper begins when President Trump announced his campaign on June 16, 2015, and concludes its analysis with the Inaugural Address on January 20, 2017. The author performed a discourse analysis using qualitative data compiled from four major campaign speeches. The author has chosen to analyze his presidential announcement, his acceptance of the Republican National Committee's nomination, the speech on election night after the election results, and his Inaugural Address. Only using four speeches allows the author to perform a focused and in-depth study on the language within each. The timeline of these speeches also offers insight into whether or not President Trump transformed the way he speaks to the nation over the course of the campaign. The author focuses on how President Trump presented key policy problems, the language he used to connect with his audience, and his business-like jargon to conclude the characteristics of *Trumpism*.

Trumpism represents the ideology of President Trump. This ideology relies on his background as an executive and an entrepreneur, referred to within the paper as a business-like approach to politics. This reliance on his background as an executive draws on four key literature references

¹ The United States Government. "The Inaugural Address." *The White House: Press Office*, 20 January

2017, Web. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/inaugural-address>.

for this paper. One of these references is his book *The Art of The Deal*. Two other important sources drawn on include an article written by Jayson Demers in *The Entrepreneur* on “10 Ways Entrepreneurs Think differently,” and a scholarly article published by a successful corporate leader Richard E. Byrd “Corporate Leadership Skills: A New Synthesis.” A study done on entrepreneurs by Associate Professor Sarah Sarvanthsy, “What makes entrepreneurs entrepreneurial,” influences the author’s inclusion of effectual reasoning as a main aspect of President Trump’s business-like approach.

This paper’s research method relies on a computer software program called Atlas.ti, and using qualitative analysis, shows the prevalence of each characteristic within the speeches chosen. The author used Atlas.ti to create codes reliant on the operational definitions of each of the characteristics of *Trumpism*. There are three main codes: business-like approach, populism, and anti-establishment. The analysis portion of this paper discusses the implications of the Trump Administration on the Republican Party. Specifically, the author asks the question of how the Republican Party will be shaped by the Trump Administration, based off the ideology presented and described in this paper.

The first operational definition is for populism. Populism is a complex ideology, usually associated with radicalism and socialist movements. This paper will combine Ernesto Laclau’s definition from *A Short introduction to Populism*, and Michael Kazin’s definition from *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* to illustrate the definition this paper utilizes for the code ‘populism’. Ernesto Laclau provides an approach that explains how populist leaders think rather than a definition for the word itself. Populism “is considered not only as the essence of politics, but also as an emancipatory force” highlighting “liberal democracy as the problem and radical democracy as the solution.”² Ernesto Laclau was the founder and director for the Graduate program in Ideology and Discourse

Analysis at the University of Essex in London. He was best known for his book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, in which he discusses the importance of populism within the socialist movement.

Michael Kazin focuses on the linguistic aspect of populism. The definition he provides is “a language whose speakers conceive of ordinary people as a noble assemblage not bounded narrowly by class, view their elite opponents as self-serving and undemocratic, and seek to mobilize the former against the latter.”³ Michael Kazin is a professor of History at American University, and his definition focuses on how language is a primary influence for populism as an ideological characteristic. This author defines populism as reliant on a charismatic leader seeking to deconstruct the power held by the elite, and continuously maintain a connection to the masses.

The second operational definition is for President Trump’s business-like approach to politics. The paper will explain how the major themes within President Trump’s four speeches represent his business-like approach to politics. The business-like approach is important when looking at the types of policies that President Trump suggests during his campaign, as well as his motivations and attitudes toward handling typical presidential situations. The author has defined this methodology to include being a risk-taker, using one’s opponents as research subjects, and continuously keeping in mind the visualized end goal. Effectual reasoning, as explained by Professor Sara Sarasvathy later in this paper, is what dictates how the author dictates this methodology.

The following three articles form the basis of the author’s methodology: “10 Ways Entrepreneurs Think differently,” “What makes Entrepreneurs Entrepreneurial,” and “Corporate Leadership Skills: A New Synthesis.” The author of *The Entrepreneur* article, Jayson Demers, is a Forbes columnist, and the founder and CEO of an internet marketing company. His company AudienceBloom specializes in marketing that is search engine optimized and social media

² Mudde, Cas and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press: New York, 2017, E-Book, pg. 3.

³Kazin, Michael. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Cornell Univ. Press, New York: 1998, Print. pg. 292.

focused⁴. Sara Sarasvathy is the author of “What Makes Entrepreneurs Entrepreneurial.” She is an Associate Professor at the Darden Graduate School of Business Administration, the University of Virginia. This makes her well qualified to speak on the subject of business, and a reliable source. The author finds her work essential in describing the attributes of entrepreneurs or businesspersons that transfer into *Trumpism*.

The third operational definition is for President Trump’s anti-establishment attitude. This “refers to the rhetorical appeal used in opposition to the elite,” and “captures the politics of opposition to those wielding power.”⁵ Another important aspect of President Trump’s anti-establishment attitude is his willingness to go against the status-quo of politics. Both of these aspects of anti-establishment form the operational definition of an anti-establishment attitude. The author describes the specifics of President Trump’s anti-establishment attitude within the body of the paper. The elite refer to the politicians within the various branches of governmental power. These types of politicians work for themselves, and have forgotten the people whose interests they are supposed to represent. The author will focus on how President Trump has emphasized the corruption of the legislative branch, as well as his rhetorical campaigns against his opposing democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton. Examples of the slogans referenced include “Drain the Swamp,” “Build the Wall,” and “Lock Her Up.”⁶

This paper relied on various major news websites including but not limited to *CNN*, *Politico*, *Fox News*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Entrepreneur* and *The Atlantic*. Each newspaper cited provided coverage of current events on a daily basis. The newspaper websites listed above are secondary sources. *The*

New York Times in combination with *The Federal News Service* serve as primary sources for President Trump’s speech transcripts. The Donald J. Trump website and The White House websites were primary sources for speech transcripts. The analysis portion of this paper utilizes secondary sources to provide information regarding the Republican Party. The author discusses two policies that President Trump has implemented. Specifically, how these policies increased the ideological division within the Republican Party. The analysis portion will focus on the difference between *Trumpism* and the Republican Party platform.

Several books influenced this paper. These books include *The Art of the Deal*, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, *The Making of a President: The 2016 Election*, and *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Each of these books assisted the author in the creating the three characteristics of *Trumpism*. *The Art of the Deal* provides a primary source of information relevant to proving President Trump’s business background. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* gave valuable information when it came to defining the complexities surrounding ‘populism.’ The two authors, Cas Mudde and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, are University professors in their respective Political Science Departments. Together they have authored two other books that discuss the variations of Populism within different countries. The author will begin with an explanation of their findings for the first characteristic of *Trumpism*: an appeal to populism.

The reader may wonder how can language or mere rhetoric prove an ideology? Professor Michael Kazin argues “discourse preceded, informed, and interpreted all [events pre-evidentiary proof], but it did not invent their horror or the misery they caused.”⁷ That is to say

⁴ DeMers, Jayson. “Profile: Jayson Demers.” *LinkedIn*, 2017, Web.

<https://www.linkedin.com/in/jaysondemers/>

⁵ Barr, Robert R. “Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics.” *Party Politics*, 1 January 2009, Web.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354068808097890>.

⁶ Overby, Peter. “Trump’s Efforts to ‘Drain The Swamp’ Lagging Behind His Campaign Rhetoric.” *National Public Radio*, 26 April 2017, Web.

<https://www.npr.org/2017/04/26/525551816/trumps-efforts-to-drain-the-swamp-lagging-behind-his-campaign-rhetoric>

⁷ Kazin, op. cit. pg. 292.

that before there was technology, newspapers, the associated press, or word of mouth informed individuals of current events. Language determined how people interpreted events, and formed their opinions. Why is this relevant to President Trump's ideology? This paper is arguing that through President Trump's four key speeches, the author of this paper delineates three characteristics using mere language as evidentiary proof.

Michael Kazin's definition of populism highlights the need to analyze the specific language that President Trump uses in his various speeches. This definition is a language whose speakers conceive of ordinary people as a noble assemblage not bounded narrowly by class, view their elite opponents as self-serving and undemocratic, and seek to mobilize the former against the latter.⁸

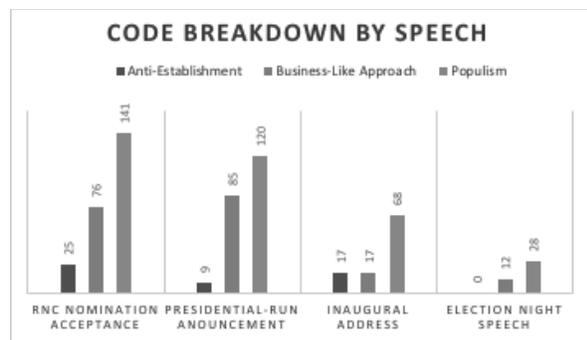


Figure 1. A code breakdown of the author's findings per speech

President Trump did not coin this particular aspect of his ideology; however, it is a central component. Populism is the dominant variable coded in his four speeches (Figure 1). Populism's coding reveals that it appears three hundred and fifty-seven times throughout the four speeches analyzed. The Republican National Committee Nomination acceptance has the most occurrences. The author postulates this is due to the prevalence

⁸ Kazin, op. cit. pg. 1.

⁹ McGill, Andrew. "The Trump Bloc." *The Atlantic*, 14 September 2016, Web. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/09/dissecting-donald-trumps-support/499739/>

¹⁰ Kazin, op. cit. page 4

of his voter base at this speech. Therefore, President Trump wants to appeal to the masses the most during this speech, to encourage his voter base to go out and vote for him which is why there is the highest occurrence of 'populism.'

Populisms' coding consists of three main characteristics. These include an appeal to the average citizen's desires, disparaging elite opponents, and simplifying complex ideas. The average citizens in this case are working, middle-class, typically Caucasian Americans. This was the typical demographic of the individuals who attended Trump rallies.⁹ Based on the speeches, the author has concluded their desires to include jobs, increasing economic growth, and a decrease in immigration. Michael Kazin suggests that the current period in history also brings about the Republican's voting bases desire to defend "pious, middle-class communities against the amoral governing elite."¹⁰

President Trump consistently refers to the mistakes and bad policies of his predecessors to disparage his opponents in the eyes of his audience. For example, in his Republican National Committee Acceptance speech he blames President "Obama for almost doubling our national debt" and talks about "the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism, and weakness."¹¹ This is also an example of mobilizing the ordinary people against the elite. By blaming President Obama for the National Debt increase President Trump argues that President Obama was an ineffective leader. As the speech continues, President Trump asserts himself and his governing ideals as the ideal United States leader. This type of appeal is a populist appeal because he is appealing to citizens desires to have a strong charismatic leader.¹² President Trump's comments on Hillary Clinton, further appeal to populism because many individuals were skeptical of her FBI investigations. Citizens not only desire to have

¹¹ Trump, Donald J. "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech." *Donald J. Trump Assets*, 21 July 2016, Web. https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/DJT_Acceptance_Speech.pdf

¹² Mudde, Cas and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, op. cit. page 5

trustworthy leaders, but they also want to have a leader who will create successful policies and elicit a better way of life (i.e. lower taxes, free healthcare, or lower higher education prices).

President Trump displaying the United States decline on the world stage further appeals to populism. In his announcement for his presidential run he says, “Our country is in serious trouble. We don’t have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don’t anymore.”¹³ This phrase emphasizes the idea that ordinary people are a part of political victories. By directly connecting the audience to the victories that he will give the country, he is appealing to populism. He uses the words ‘our’ and ‘we’ in order to emphasize that individual citizens are a part of the government President Trump will run. This exhibits a simplistic explanation of the economic problems the United States currently faces.

President Trump simplifies the complexities of economics for his audience. In his announcement of his presidential run, he refers to Mexico as the enemy of the economy. Specifically he says, “They are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re killing us economically.”¹⁴ This portion of his speech simplifies all of the nation’s economic problems into one concept: Mexico is the nation’s economic problem. President Trump appeals to the people’s desires to have victories. This is a common tactic used by politicians; however, in this specific case it exemplifies *Trumpism* by appealing to citizens’ perceived increase of illegal immigration from Mexico. Many working middle-class individuals blame immigration for a majority of economic problems, as demonstrated by a Pollfish Survey performed on 757 Americans.¹⁵ Therefore, President Trump is appealing to populism by demonizing Mexico as the United States economic opponent.

¹³ The Time’s staff. “Here’s Donald Trump’s Presidential Announcement Speech.” *Time Magazine*, 16 June 2015, Web. www.time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/

¹⁴ The Times Staff, op. cit.

¹⁵ Hinchliffe, Tim. “Majority of Americans ignorantly blame Illegal Immigrants for Unemployment.” *The*

President Trump continues to appeal to the average person’s desires through simple language and large ideas. In his Republican National Committee Nomination Acceptance speech, he discusses “leading our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace.”¹⁶ Achieving prosperity is not a simple task. President Trump promises to lead the United States into an era of peace and prosperity, words that citizens always want to hear. Therefore, this simple sentence, even though it contains large and difficult to achieve tasks, appeals to populism by appealing to citizen’s desires for peace and the ‘American Dream’.

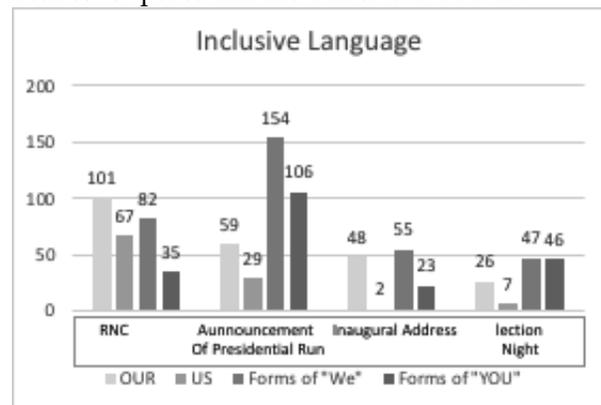


Figure 2: A code breakdown of the Author’s findings for inclusive language within the populism characteristic.

A specific form of Populism that appeals to citizens, and creates a feeling of inclusiveness in the governmental process is inclusive language (Figure 2). Inclusive language demonstrates one of populism’s main premises: seeking to mobilize ordinary people against, “elite, self-serving and undemocratic”¹⁷ opponents. Inclusive language includes the following words: “we, our, us and you.” The chart to the left shows word emphasis, breaking down the number of times each word repeats per speech. The numbers on the horizontal axis represent each of the four speeches. The term “forms of” includes the plural and singular usage

Sociable, 9 August 2016, Web.

<https://sociable.co/web/americans-blame-immigrants-unemployment/>

¹⁶ Trump, “Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech.” op. cit.

¹⁷ Kazin, op. cit. page 1

of the word, and combine all of these occurrences into one form. The most repeated word is ‘we’ during President Trump’s Announcement of his Presidential Campaign Speech.

The word ‘we’ is important to President Trump’s appeal to populism because it is a method of inclusion. During his speech to announce his presidential campaign run, he wanted to ensure his audience felt that they were a part of the movement he wanted to create. “Make America Great Again”¹⁸ became the slogan of Donald Trump’s Campaign. President Trump repeated this slogan “We will make America Great Again,” in every speech except his election night results. Based on the evidence provided, the author believes this slogan was not used in his Election Night Speech because it had become a slogan of division. During the Election Night speech, the author believes that President Trump, was attempting to accept the election results and begin the re-unification of the nation. A large majority of the population did not want President Trump to be President, as demonstrated by the numbers within popular vote of the election¹⁹. In the election night results speech President Trump focuses on “binding the wounds of division to come together as Americans.”²⁰ He does this as an appeal to populism, in an attempt to include all Americans regardless of political party affiliation.

The type of populism President Trump appeals to border’s on nationalism. President Trump emphasizes ‘America,’ ‘our nation,’ ‘our country’ and ‘Americans.’ The word cloud above demonstrates this emphasis from his Inaugural Address (Figure 3). A word cloud is a computer program that demonstrates the amount of times a word is repeated by increasing the size and bolding the font. The Inaugural Address of every president seeks to unite all citizens. An Inaugural Address should appeal to every facet of America, and not just to those who lean a specific way. Instead,

President Trump appealed to nationalism by emphasizing the specific words highlighted above. He also ended his speech with the slogan of division “together, we will make American great again.”²¹



Figure 3: Word Cloud of President Trump’s Inaugural Address

President Trump is an unorthodox politician because of his business-like approach to politics. The second most coded variable within *Trumpism* is President Trump’s business-like approach to politics. The business-like approach to politics’ key element is utilizing effectual reasoning to achieve the end goal.

The scholarly article by Sara Sarasvathy “What Makes Entrepreneurs Entrepreneurial,” established the foundation for the effectual reasoning aspect of the business-like approach to politics. Effectual reasoning is the ability of entrepreneurs as “brilliant improvisers [who] do not start with concrete goals, but rather assess how their personal strengths and abilities can be applied to develop the goals presented in front of

¹⁸ Trump, Donald J. “Home Page.” *Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.*, 2017, Web. <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/>

¹⁹Begley, Sarah. “Hillary Clinton Leads by 2.8 Million in Final Popular Vote Count.” *Times Magazine*, 20 December 2016, Web. <http://time.com/4608555/hillary-clinton-popular-vote-final/>.

²⁰ Federal News Service. “Transcript: Donald Trump’s Victory Speech.” *The New York Times*, 9 November 2016, Web.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/10/us/politics/trump-speech-transcript.html>

²¹ The United States Government. “The Inaugural Address.” op. cit.

them.”²² President Trump does not describe exact policy measures he will implement as President during his four campaign speeches. Instead, he relies on his instinct as a business executive to develop the goals as the problems arise in the moment.

President Donald J. Trump discusses the general issues that he will fix, but keeps the solutions vague. For example, in his announcement for his presidential campaign speech, he discusses the need to rebuild infrastructure

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they go.²³

President Trump does not mention a specific policy solution to fixing the United States infrastructure. Instead, he discusses the need to rebuild one specific airport because of what he refers to as its dilapidated state. Trump presented the complex idea of rebuilding the United States' entire infrastructure, highlighting his business-like approach to politics. He did not mention the specific legislative measures he would put before Congress, as a politician would. Instead, he said he would address and solve the problems as they arose. This type of attitude is commonplace in business. Verbally addressing a problem within a company, or country in this instance, and solving it, requires long-term visionaries and anticipation of future dilemmas.

The scholarly article “Corporate Leadership Skills: A New Synthesis” places importance on a corporate leaders anticipatory and visionary skills. These skills refer to a corporate executives ability to anticipate, or predict, what the outcome of a specific decision will be and visualize a future

solution. President Trump exemplifies this within his Inaugural Address when he discusses his decision to put ‘America First.’ He understands that this may have negative unforeseen consequences from other nations, and despite this, decides to implement a plan to “Buy American and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world.”²⁴ Even though President Trump supports a trade policy that creates isolationism, he does not want to alienate other countries. This business tactic shows how he implements his business background into politics: taking risks. President Trump did not isolate foreign nations without explanation rather; he does “so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.”²⁵ President Trump portrays himself as a candidate interested in working with other nations, while still maintaining the integrity of the United States interests.

In the business-world, it is important to establish one's credentials in order for the investors in a company to trust in the executive's vision. In this case, President Trump is asking the citizens of the United States to invest their votes in his administration. When President Trump was an executive working to build his brand, he established himself as capable of building public works projects early and under budget.²⁶ President Trump establishes himself as capable of tackling the large task of rebuilding the nation's infrastructure in his announcement of his Presidential run speech:

Rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.²⁷

²² Patel, Samir and Khanjan Maheta. “Systems, Design and Entrepreneurial Thinking: Comparative Frameworks.” *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 9 November 2016, Web. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11213-016-9404-5>

²³ The Times Staff, op. cit.

²⁴The United States Government. “The Inaugural Address.” op. cit.

²⁵ Trump, “Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech.” op. cit.

²⁶ Trump, Donald J. *Trump: The Art of the Deal*. Ballantine Books: New York, 1987. Print. Page 308.

²⁷ The Times Staff, op. Cit.

In this way, President Trump sets himself aside from the typical politician, and takes a business-like approach to politics. He speaks to his abilities as an entrepreneur to envision successful changes to the current infrastructure in the United States. President Trump also demonstrates how he will create economic change within the United States. Specifically, he refers to the current administrations’ over-spending, and how, as president, Trump will be a completely different business leader. President Trump promises to lower the national debt, increase jobs, and rebuild infrastructure. He promises to accomplish all three tasks under projected budgets for each project he will create. In this way, President Trump will create change within the United States’ economy. When President Trump emphasizes the current administrations’ inability to create effective change, he demonstrates another key component of the business-like approach to politics: opponents as research subjects.

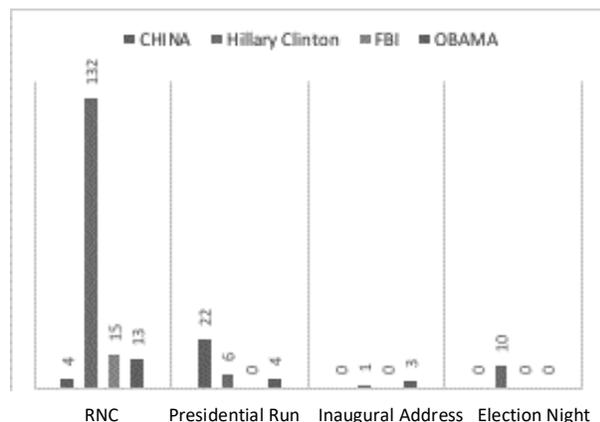


Figure 4: A Word Emphasis Bar Graph demonstrating his focus on political opponents.

The chart above shows the word emphasis for each speech of his political opponents (Figure 4). The FBI, is not a political opponent, but is included because it is in reference to Hillary Clinton’s investigation with the FBI. The chart’s horizontal axis represent each speech.

²⁸ Häkkinen, Sari and Taina Savolainen. “Trusted to Lead: Trustworthiness and its Impact on Leadership.” *Technology, Innovation Mngement Review*: March 2011. Web. <http://www.timreview.ca/article/429>

President Trump mentions Hillary Clinton more than one hundred times in his speech to the Republican National Committee. She was the Democratic candidate, and his opponent. President Trump’s deconstruction of Hillary Clinton’s trustworthiness and capabilities as a leader, exhibits the business-like approach to politics. Trustworthiness is an important characteristic to possess as a leader²⁸, or at least the appearance of possessing such a quality as a politician, and most importantly as a Presidential candidate. The American people are more likely to vote for a candidate they trust, than one they do not. In this speech, there are multiple instances of this, but the following presents particularly strong claims against her:

But Hillary Clinton’s legacy does not have to be America’s legacy. The problems we face now—poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad – will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them. A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes.²⁹

President Trump disassociates Hillary Clinton from the future of America in order to show that she will not be an effective leader who creates change. He emphasizes her past work as member of the Presidential Cabinet in order to demonstrate her lack of credibility to accomplish effective change. This demonstrates the continuous patter of politicians and politics, rather than what President Trump can offer citizens. President Trump presents himself as the atypical candidate by stepping outside of the status quo. He hints at the idea that as President he will tackle the large task of poverty, violence and destruction to the United States. This facet of his business-like approach to politics directly ties into the anti-establishment attitude characteristic of *Trumpism*.

Trumpism’s final characteristic is an anti-establishment attitude. This particular aspect of his ideology polarizes citizens because it calls for an

²⁹ Trump, “Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech.” Op. cit.

end to the political norm. The author focuses on two criteria for evaluation how President Trump's speeches portray an anti-establishment attitude. The author will demonstrate how his speeches show the "politics of opposition to those wielding power."³⁰ Specifically, this connects to one of the main characteristics of populism, appealing to ordinary people's desires. This aspect of the anti-establishment attitude focuses on mobilizing citizens to rally behind President Trump as he promises to end corruption within politics. Another criterion for evaluation is how President Trump presents the elites and politicians as out-of-touch with their constituents. In other words, how President Trump represents himself as outside of the status quo usually associated with politicians.

The anti-establishment attitude is most coded and prevalent in President Trump's Republican National Committee Nomination Acceptance speech (Figure 1). The author postulates that this is because he is speaking to an audience in line with the conservative Republican platform. The majority of the audience who attended, and watched this speech were members of the Trump base group. Therefore, he called for drastic change to the corruptness within government, in order to best appeal to his base.

During the Inaugural Address and the Election Night results, the author expected to see low occurrences of the anti-establishment attitude. Instead, the data shows that the Inaugural Address was the second highest in the number of coded phrases associated with the anti-establishment attitude. Coded phrases are the phrases that the author chose as pertaining to the specific characteristic (i.e. populism, business-like approach, or anti-establishment attitude), based on the operational definitions provided in the introduction. The anti-establishment's low number of coded phrases shows that though the Inaugural Address in the past has been a time to bring together both sides of the aisle, President Trump continued his presence as the alternative candidate. This alternative candidate is someone

who is outside of the status quo and usual politicians, which President Trump has continuously demonstrated. In order to distance himself even further from the typical politician, President Trump demonstrates how his opponent Hillary Clinton is the elite politician he does not want to represent.

President Trump discusses Hillary Clinton's association with the elite, demonstrating the politics of opposition to those wielding power. Specifically, his campaign created the slogan 'Lock her up,'³¹ calling for an ethics investigation into her conduct during her time as Secretary of State. In the Republican National Committee Nomination Acceptance speech he says, "big business, elite media and major donors, are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place."³² President Trump creates a direct association between Hillary Clinton and the elite. He describes the elite in a way that represents them as different the average citizen, making them less likely to put forward the citizen's interests before their own. In this way, President Trump rallies his supporter's against the 'rigged' or unfair system and shows that he is the better candidate.

President Trump represents himself as "the law and order candidate."³³ This establishes his credibility with the people as an individual who will follow the law, and will not continue the status-quo of corruptness. During his Presidential Campaign Announcement speech, he describes how he is different from the typical politician:

Well you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us—believe me—to the promise land. They will not... I watch their speeches and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all these wonderful things will happen. And people say 'I just want a job.'³⁴

In this short section of his speech, President Trump uses the term 'us' to create a connection between his audience and himself as also a victim

³⁰ Barr, Op. cit.

³¹ Overby, op. cit.

³² Trump, "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech." op. cit.

³³ Trump, "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech." op. cit.

³⁴ The Times Staff, op. cit.

of the politician's games. Then he goes on to show that politicians use rhetoric that is confusing and full of hyperbole. President Trump throughout all of his speeches has demonstrated a colloquial tone and a determination to keep things simple for his audience. He does not wish to make grand promises such as 'the sun setting' or leading people to the promise land. Though President Trump presents large ideas that are not easily accomplished, it is different from using poetic terminology, as other politicians do, to discuss their vision of how the world should be. President Obama demonstrates his use of poetic language in his Inaugural Address, "The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob."³⁵ President Trump, in contrast, promises in very simple terms to increase economic growth in the country and provide jobs for the 'forgotten people.'

The United States government is a republic, with representatives who are supposed to represent the will of the people. These representatives are also politicians, and expected to convince other Congressional leaders to create legislation that reflects the people's desires. President Trump's inclusion of himself as among the people who are 'forgotten' further exemplifies his willingness to work for the people, and not for himself. During his Republican National Committee Nomination Acceptance speech he says,

These are the forgotten men and women of our country. People who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice. I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good.³⁶

³⁵ The United States Government. "Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama." *The White House: Office of the Press Secretary*, 21 January 2013, Web. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama>.

³⁶ Trump, "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech." op. cit.

President Trump describes himself as the direct messaging system between the ordinary people and the government. In this way, he creates the clearest connection between him and the people, and blurs the line association between him and a normal politician. Yes, every politician promises to be the voice of the people; however, President Trump continuously represents himself as the alternative to the other politicians who are running for President. He disparages the elites by associated politicians with crying mothers and 'lost children.' This discourages the citizens' trust in the political system, and seek to mobilize his followers against the elite politicians following personal, rather than national, agendas. In this way, he is the anti-establishment candidate.

President Trump encourages a national agenda, in which the United States interests will take priority to the global interests. This goes against the previous administration's goal of increasing our global presence and a commitment to "global development."³⁷ In his Republican National Committee Nomination Acceptance speech he says

As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect. This will all change when I take office. The American people will come first once again.³⁸

President Trump calls for the removal of politicians who put their personal agendas above that of the ordinary people. President Trump emphasizes the importance of deconstructing this politician first agenda by showing that it decreases other nation's respect for the United States. This is both an appeal to populism as well as a demonstration of his anti-establishment attitude. This American first agenda goes against the status quo of previous administrations. President Obama

³⁷ The United States Government. "Fact Sheet: President Obama's Commitment to Global Development." *The White House: Press Office*, 20 July 2016, Web. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/07/20/fact-sheet-president-obamas-commitment-global-development>

³⁸ Trump, "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech." op. cit.

created a global initiative, based on the previous standards set by President Bush, so important that it became known as the “core pillar of American engagement.”³⁹ This core belief of America First imbedded in President Trump’s campaign clearly demonstrates his anti-establishment attitude. President Trump’s appeal to populism within his anti-establishment claim shows that these two characteristics of *Trumpism* are intertwined. How are the three characteristics connected?

Each of these characteristics demonstrates how President Trump is different from other presidential candidates in the past and current politicians. President Trump increased the lack of trust citizens already have in the elites. A Gallup survey shows that “Americans generally agree that lobbyists, major corporations and banks have too much power, potentially making them vulnerable to calls for greater regulations.”⁴⁰ The American people feel that the elites, or the individuals with monetary resources, have the ability to represent their interests before congress through lobbyists. President Trump has promised to remove special interests from Washington D.C. and further serve the interests of the people through acts that directly coincide with the changes they want to see in their government.

In analysis, *Trumpism* is the ideology of President Trump. His business-like approach to politics causes him to turn large complex policy issues into simple easy to understand concepts that he approaches as they occur. He did not focus on giving specific details regarding policy he will implement as president because in the business-world executives are reactionary, and respond as problems present themselves. President Trump appeals to populism by disparaging elites, maintaining connection with the masses, and simplify complex ideas into small phrases. President Trump’s speeches included grand ideas like rebuilding the United States infrastructure and

creating new jobs, and increasing economic growth by decreasing global presence. All of these ideas are complex and require intricate details to accomplish, but President Trump presented them in a simple way to engage his audience and make them feel included in the governmental process. His anti-establishment attitude demonstrated his desire to eliminate corruption within the Congressional branches. President Trump during his campaign promised to reverse the trend of politicians in the White House only serving their donors interests, and serve the citizens desires. “We are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.”⁴¹

What does *Trumpism* mean for the Republican Party? This paper has discussed the prevalence of populism, business-like approach to politics, and anti-establishment attitude, within President Trump’s four major speeches during his campaign. The following analysis portion of this paper will discuss how these three characteristics of *Trumpism* differ from the Republican Platform.

The Republican Platform has transformed over the years to encompass a wide-range of conservative views. The author summarizes the main premises of the Republican Platform into four main goals: to decrease gun control, increase immigration regulations, decrease/simplify the tax code, and institute across-the-board governmental reform.⁴² President Trump embodies the Republican ideal of instituting governmental reform; however, his mannerisms and business-like approach to politics has exacerbated the growing division within the Republican Party.

The Republican Party and Democratic Party are polarized, and the ideological division continues to grow as the years pass. This final portion of the paper will ask, what are the implications of the Trump Administration for the Republican Party based on two major policy

³⁹ Trump, “Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Speech.” op. cit.

⁴⁰ Saad, Lydia. “Americans Decry Power of Lobbyists, Corporations, Banks, Feds.” *Gallup News*, 11 April 2011, Web. <http://news.gallup.com/poll/147026/americans-decry-power-lobbyists-corporations-banks-feds.aspx>

⁴¹ The United States Government. “The Inaugural Address.” op. cit.

⁴² The GOP. “Republican Platform: 2016.” *The Republican National Committee*, 2016, Web. <https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/static/home/data/platform.pdf>

changes? These two policy are the Travel Ban and the elimination of DACA. This author suggests that President Trump will continue the polarization within the Republican Party, necessitating a Party reformation.

The United States political atmosphere is the most polarized it has been in over two decades. The Pew Research Center conducted the largest political survey with more than 10,000 adult respondents.⁴³ Their results concluded “the median, or typical, Republican is now more conservative than 94% of Democrats, compared with 70% twenty years ago.”⁴⁴ This demonstrates that there are ideological barriers between the members of the two parties, which are steadily increasing. President Trump represents a candidate who is outside of the typical politician. In this way, he was able to appeal to populism, and convince these politically polarized Americans that because he is different than the broken and polarized establishment, he will bring change. What exactly is the change he will bring?

President Trump has instituted two major policies while in office that demonstrate both that he is outside of the Republican Party platform and a candidate different from other politicians. The first policy examined is President Trumps call for an end to DACA, a controversial executive order instituted by former President Obama. President Trump did not worry about the political consequences that calling for an end to a humanitarian policy would bring. This demonstrates his business-like approach to politics, as many executives will focus on the end goal and not the precise steps to achieving the goal. The end goal in this case was to decrease the presence of illegal immigrants within the United States. During his presidential campaign speeches, President Trump promised to decrease illegal

immigration, and give jobs back to the American citizens.⁴⁵

President Trump understood that the Executive Order was against federal immigration laws, and many conservatives saw the order as an abuse of executive power. Throughout his campaign, President Trump promised an end to the trend of political agendas being put before American citizens wants. One way he demonstrates this is by eliminating this controversial Executive Order issued by former President Obama. However, a majority of Republicans did not support President Trump’s decision, and publicly voiced their aversions.⁴⁶ Paul Ryan admits, “President Obama did not have the legislative authority to do what he did. You can’t as an executive, write law out of thin air,” but at the same time urged President Trump to leave DACA to Congress.⁴⁷ When President Trump decided to go against the Republican Party’s leaders and terminate DACA, he was showing his ideology was more important than the Republican Party. After eliminating one controversial executive order, President Trump created a controversial, bordering on illegal executive order of his own.

The executive order 13769 President Trump implemented, was intended to decrease immigration from individuals affiliated with anti-American countries—specifically, those countries affiliated with Muslim extremists. President Trump created this ban, as one measure to fulfill one of his campaign promises of returning peace and safety to the United States. The United States Supreme Court discussed the constitutionality of this ban. Many states’ questioned President Trump’s legal authority to create such an executive order, as well as, the constitutionality of the order

⁴³ Doherty, Carroll. “7 Things to know about polarization in America.” *The Pew Research Center*, 12 June 2014, Web. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/12/7-things-to-know-about-polarization-in-america/>

⁴⁴ IBID

⁴⁵ The United States Government. “The Inaugural Address.” op. cit.

⁴⁶ O’Keefe, Ed, David Nakamura and David Weigal. “Paul Ryan, other GOP congressional leaders urge Trump not to terminate DACA.” *The Washington Post*, 1 September 2017, Web. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/09/01/moderate-republicans-pitch-daca-fix-but-are-short-on-votes/?utm_term=.cd3559941793

⁴⁷ IBID

itself.⁴⁸ Though the Republican Party Platform supports increased immigration control, specifically increased vetting to decrease terrorism, many in the party did not support President Trump's order.⁴⁹ This kind of quick decision-making and wanting to create a solution without oversight demonstrates President Trump's business-like approach to politics. Many Republican leaders publically voiced their dislike of President Trump's actions. For example, John McCain said,

It is clear from the confusion at our airports across the nation that President Trump's executive order was not properly vetted. We are particularly concerned by reports that this order went into effect with little to no consultation with the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and Homeland Security. Such a hasty process risks harmful results.⁵⁰

This undermining of the political party leader for the Republican's demonstrates the widening gaps of division the 'Republican' President Donald J. Trump has created.

The ideological gap within the Republican Party is widening. Senator John McCain and Paul Ryan, prominent leaders within the Republican Party, publically criticize President Trump's actions. This paper has only mentioned two, of many, incidents of public criticism from within the Republican Party. The "Republican establishment, from the Bushes to McCain and Romney, fought bigotry, and racism was not a common feature in the conservative"⁵¹ movement. Now, The

Republican Party is associated with supporting White Supremacists violence⁵² and increased identity crisis. The Trump supporter's within the Republican Party are clashing with anti-Trump supporters within the Republican Party⁵³, as demonstrated by a poll conducted by NBC. In the words of David Brooks, "As long as he is in power, the G.O.P. is a house viciously divided against itself, and cannot stand⁵⁴."

Again, the author asks, what are the implications of the Trump Administration for the Republican Party? The Trump Administration will increase and deepen the ideological divides within the Republican Party, and require the Republican Party to completely transform. This transformation, however, is not a negative result of the Administration. This author views this as a positive on the Party as a whole, which has become increasingly divided on many issues over the years. The Trump Administration has merely highlighted, and perhaps exaggerated the need for a Party Reformation. It will likely occur as a complete platform reformation, and much needed update. Most likely, the platform will need to be adjusted to include a more succinct party mission, which will help to lessen the political divide among Republican citizens.

⁴⁸ Liptak, Adam. "Supreme Court Wipes Out Travel Ban Appeal." *The New York Times*, 24 October 2017, Web.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/24/us/politics/supreme-court-travel-ban-appeal-trump.html>

⁴⁹ The GOP, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Blake, Aaron. "Whip Count: Here's where Republican's stand on Trump's Controversial Travel Ban." *The Washington Post*, 31 January 2017, Web. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/29/heres-where-republicans-stand-on-president-trumps-controversial-travel-ban/?utm_term=.240bc8cf12e1

⁵¹ Brooks, David. "How Trump Kills the G.O.P." *The New York Times*, 29 August 2017, Web.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/29/opinion/trump-identity-politics.html>

⁵² Reilly, Katie. "White Supremacists Loved President Trump's Latest Comments on Charlottesville." *Time Magazine*, 15 August 2017, Web.

<http://time.com/4902308/white-nationalists-supremacists-donald-trump-charlottesville/>

⁵³ Dann, Carrie, Mark Murray and Chuck Todd. "How Donald Trump is Splitting the Republican Party in Two." *NBC News Online*, 22 Sept. 2017, Web.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/how-donald-trump-splitting-republican-party-two-n803746>

⁵⁴ Brooks, op. cit.