

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
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UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF – M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGE

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION

**THE IMPACTS OF TRUMP'S POPULISM ON THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for a Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

Candidates:

Ms. Fatima BAALI

Ms. Nesrine NOUAOUI

Supervisor:

Ms. Fadila ABADOU

2018/ 2019

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2018/ 2019

Declaration

We hereby declare that this dissertation has been composed by ourselves only. Except for ideas and passages that are properly cited in the text, this writing is all our own work. The work has not been previously submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. It respects the scientific standards for the scientific research.

Signed,

Fatima Baali & Nesrine Nouaoui

Dedication A

It is believed that no success can be achieved without hard work, and no goals can be obtained without strong will, and when reaching both, we forget all pain and suffering. These happy moments should be shared with those who were part of our lives and participated to make our dreams real.

To my dear father...

The one and the only source of tenderness, security, inspiration and support.

To my sweetheart mother...

The pure love, and the sun that brightens my days.

To my dear brothers...

Rabeh and Abdelmalek, my soul mates.

To my lovely sisters...

Iman, Oumaima and Chahrazed, my little angels.

To all my lovely friends...

Whom I met in my whole life and became a part of my soul.

To everyone...

Who had contributed to make this work successful.

Fatima

Dedication B

The moment we reach the anticipated success, the extreme joy, and the desired satisfaction, We gratefully think of those who supported us to pick up the fruits of our achievement by the end of the season.

To my parents...

The reason I never give up.

*Thanks **Mom** for your endless love and tenderness, and **Dad** for being always there for me.*

To my sweetheart sisters...

***Linda** and **Chaima**, thanks for your endless love and constant motivation.*

To my dearest brothers...

***Djamel**, **Faouaz**, **Hamza**, **Mohamed**, **Zakaria**, **Boubakeur**, and **Ayoub**, thanks for standing by my side.*

To my brothers in law...

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To my little spoiled nephews...

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And my little nieces...

***Chahd**, **Maria**, **Roua**, **Rayhana** and **Oumaima**.*

To my best friend ever...

***Widad**, **Fatima Zahra**, **Amel**, **Roufeida**, **Asma**, **Khaoula**, and **Hadjer**.*

Nesrine

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Abstract

The study investigates the impacts of Donald Trump's Populism on the United States of America. It provides a brief historical look on Populism in the U.S. from its first appearance till the 2016 election of Trump. It deals also with different definitions of Populism as seen from several angles. The study goes further with identifying Trump's Populism features and its impacts on the future of the country. The current study is actually discussed through a descriptive analytical method in order to portray Trump's Populism and presenting its implications on the U.S.A. Thus, the research is made up of two major chapters. The first chapter is a general overview about Populism. The second Chapter represents the most important part of the study in which the main impacts of Trump's Populism are mentioned. Eventually, Trump's Populism may seem very beneficial for the populace the moment of the President rhetorical promises. Yet, the nation may face a drastic failure due to the aftermath of Trump's Populism and its impacts which are mostly negative ones.

Key Words: 2016 Election, Donald Trump, Impacts, Populism, U.S.A.

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Introduction

Populism, both as a political phenomenon and a political term, is an American creation. The rise of the Peoples' Party amid the late 19th century maybe the clearest illustration of populism within the American history. Farmers and laborers joined together and took hold of a social dissent development in reaction to intense financial conditions and soaring debts, and shaped the Peoples' Party. The latter contended for the farmers' requests, including disallowance of lands, implies of communication and transportation ownership, and the use of tax collection. The American populism came to the beat of its importance with the presidential campaign of 1896 of the populist candidate, William Jennings Bryan. The 20th century witnessed several signs of this political phenomenon. Between 1940's and 1960's, America was the center of populism. Within the late 1980's, the radical legislative issues of American pioneers were characterized by the rise of neo-populism. Moreover, the Tea Party of 2009 was one of the most considerable signs of populism in the U.S (*Populism and the Politics of Redemption 2*).

The 2016 election was one of the foremost surprising occasions within the history of the U.S. Legislative issues. It brought Donald Trump to the presidency, a figure that had never held open office. Trump's disappointment with the Obama administration in 2012 pushed him to run within the presidential campaign in 2016. He introduced his campaign as "Make America Great Again." He sought to end any agreement that he felt damaged the U.S.A. politically and economically as well. Those who had at first seen his candidacy as a joke were dazed by the realization that Trump was chosen a president (Campbell 2).

Numerous ordinary people consider the American elites as the evil that caused what they feel has gone wrong during the past era since they profited from the free flow of goods, people and capital. One clarification of Donald Trump's victory was his capacity to

put through with these overlooked conventional individuals, who had long felt distanced from the political handle. Most of those individuals who trusted Trump were ordinary, marginalized and poor people who were undermined by the corrupt elite and prevented from enjoying their rights.

Trump's victory brought about the rise of populism in the U.S.A. Many political critiques warned of the return of populism because they considered it as a threat to the nation. Both opponents and defenders presented their arguments concerning this political phenomenon as an attempt to decide its impacts, whether positive or negative ones.

As a result of the steady rise of populist parties and politicians all over the world, and particularly since the election of Donald Trump, populism research has become increasingly popular and widespread. The intent to conduct this research emerges out of a personal interest in exploring this attractive topic mainly because it has recently gained prominence across the world, especially in the U.S.A. since it is the nation that struggles for the new world order leadership.

Before the election of Donald Trump to the presidency, the U.S.A. government was untouchable by the everyday citizen. Every single decision related to the economic, political and social systems is directly taken in favor of the nation as a global power without taking into account the public view. Trump's election victory is considered as a symptom of a new nationalist populism in America. Thus, many political critiques have warned of the return of populism; as unusual, the time of doing what people want to accomplish and listening to them at inclusive decision making. This thesis is concerned most with this last idea by providing a historical and philosophical examination of this ideological movement's impacts on the U.S.A.

With the unexpected rise of populism in the United States of America, it is highly expected that discussing issues related to this phenomenon has attracted a considerable attraction since the 2016's elections till recent years. Many studies attempted to debate this concept and its implications on the U.S, whether good or bad ones. A fine number of researchers including Douglas Kellner, Koen Abts, Stefan Rummens, Peter Kivisto and Eugene Goodheart have made researches on this political and ideological movement, and discussed it from different angles.

Douglas Kellner is one of the authors who took the Trump's phenomenon as a major concern in a book entitled *American Nightmare: Donald Trump, Media Spectacle, and Authoritarian Populism* (2016). In his book, Kellner discusses the way Trump used media in his fame and political campaign. Keller also underlines the threats of authoritarian populism that the U.S.A. would face. He argues that with the rise of populism, regressive ideas such as racism, nationalism, Islamophobia, xenophobia and segregation will prevail. Kellner states, "Trump's anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric, his Islamophobia and his xenophobic nationalism plays into a violent racist tradition in the U.S. and activates atavistic fears of other races and anger among his white followers." (24)

Koen Abts and Stefan Rummens present an analytical article, "Populism versus Democracy" (2007), discussing the ambiguity of the relationship between populism and democracy. In their short article, the authors provide an analytical comparison between the two ideological concepts. They present various definitions of advocates and opponents for both of them. The authors argue that democracy is the source of populism. They try to find out how democracy brings about populist leaders who in turn will be harmful to it. They states, "It is one of the lessons democrats can learn... that the proper identification of the enemy is an essential part of the art of politics." (422)

Another work that discusses the topic of Trump's populism is Peter Kivisto's book *The Trump Phenomenon: How the Politics of Populism Won in 2016* (2017). Kivisto addresses the unpredictable Trump's victory, the rise of authoritarian populism, and the expected future implications of this phenomenon. He expresses a serious view concerning Trump himself, being elected a president despite his personality disorder and the high negative public views of him. The author emphasizes the Trump's supporters and forces that facilitate his success. Kivisto argues that "For a large swath of American population there is an uncomfortable sense that serious damage has been done to the body politic and to the well-being of civil society." (6)

"The Trump's Cultural Populism" (2017) is an article in which the author, Eugene Goodheart, discusses a very interesting point concerning the topic of Trump's populism. Goodheart argues that Trump's populism is neither economic nor political; it is rather a cultural and rhetorical one. He states, "Trump's heart and mind are with his fellow billionaires and his own financial interests." (22)

In order to realize the aims of this work, the research main question to be investigated is the extent to which can the rise of populism affect the U.S.A? Moreover, the research will be guided by further sub questions among which the question of how can we define the term populism? Additionally, Is it good or bad for the future of the country?

This work is structured upon the hypothesis that the election of Donald Trump to the presidency of the U.S.A. has shaken the foundation American power because it brings about a new nationalist populism which may enter a serious conflict with the former ideologies. Additionally, the rise of populism is probably a crucial issue raised by the majority that speaks about populism as something overwhelmingly negative.

In fact, the essential aim of this study is to help the reader understand how the rise of populism would affect the U.S.A. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to discuss the issue from several angles, beginning with the concept of populism, and giving it some historical and philosophical analysis. Including some views about populism, as being positive or negative for the future of the nation, would be a crucial point to tackle so as to attain the aim stated for the study. This is in addition to shedding light on the most influential implications of populism, whether good or bad ones, which would lead us to reach a result for our research.

This study is an analytical description of the ideology of populism and its impacts on the U.S.A. after the election of Donald Trump to the presidency in 2016. It is a selection of the appropriate information needed for the research from primary resources including books and articles, as well as secondary resources namely dissertations and reviews of books.

The current research is actually presented in the form of two major chapters. The first chapter provides a general overview about Populism, particularly in the United States. It introduces a collection of various definitions of Populism. Then, it presents a brief history of Populism in America, starting from its first appearance till 2016. Yet, this chapter also discusses Trump's Populism and its characteristics.

Indeed, the second chapter represents the core part of the study. It deals with the impacts of Trump's Populism on the U.S.A. It starts with explaining the Trump's phenomenon. Then, it discusses some facts related to Trump and his personality. Additionally, it presents the impacts of Trump's Populism on Democracy. Finally, it introduces some of Trump's new policies and deals with their possible Implications on the country.

Introduction

The finding of this study will redound to the benefit of any future research concerning the topic of Trump's Populism and its impacts on the United States since the latter is considered as a very sexy and attractive topic for most researchers in the field of American civilization. The steady spread of Populism all over the world, especially in America since being the world super power, justifies the need for more investigation about Populism.

Chapter One:

A General Overview About Populism.

1.1. Introduction

Populism becomes one of the most interesting topics for the majority of researchers in the field of civilization because populist leaders and parties widely spread all over the world. the term Populism is defined accordingly, depending on the individual or approach's own perspectives and views about it. Some defined it as an ideology, while others regarded it as a discursive frame. Long time ago, Populism has been a part of the American history. It went through different phases since its first appearance in the 1890s till the 2016 election. The latter brought about a populist leader, Donald Trump, to the presidency of the country. Trump's victory was surprising and unpredictable for the populace and the other candidates as well.

1.2. What is Populism?

Populism has become one of the most widely used notions in today's politics, media, public discourse and academia. A diverse number of books and countless articles have been produced, aiming to explain its theoretical meaning and practical impact. As stated several decades ago: "to each his own definition of populism, according to the academic axe he grinds" which means that different people still use it with very different intentions (Balcere 17).

Populism is a heterogeneous term used to describe a diverse set of political movements around the world. It is applied equally to rightist parties in Europe, leftist movements in Latin America, and anticorruption crusaders in Asia. In the 2016 election, it has been used to characterize candidates as diverse as Sanders, Ted Cruz, and Trump (Oliver & Rahn 190).

To build a clear understanding of Populism, it is useful to begin with a simple definition that captures its most fundamental features. Most scholars would concur with

political scientist Cas Mudde who defines populism as a form of politics based on the juxtaposition of a nefarious, parasitic elite with a morally virtuous people (Bonikowski 10).

1.2.1. Populism as a Discursive Frame

populism is a sort of political rhetoric that brings virtuous, good people into opposition with corrupt elites who try to undermine the rightful sovereignty of the common people. As a style of political communication, populism has various remarkable characteristics. Its goal is restorative, restoring the existing corruption with virtuousness by putting the people back in their right place which is more reliable to their longings and aspirations. Its tone is “Manichean,” casting politics as a twiforked conflict between the people on one hand, and the elite on the other. Its worldview is apprehensive, suspicious of any economic, political, or cultural claim; for populists, “the good is found in the common wisdom of the people rather than the pretensions of the expert ” (Oliver & Rahn 190).

Some scholars treat populism as a speech-level phenomenon. Populism, thus, becomes a strategic tool based on context. The latter consists of the traits of the audience, the speaker’s own political background and career longings, and the political position or party of him or her (Bonikowski 14).

populism is characteristically a strategy of “political mobilization” using a typical style of political rhetoric. Attempting to challenge the validity of the prevalent political establishment, Populist parties and leaders appeal to the power of the common folk. Populism alludes to a “mobilization” portrayed by governmental issues of a character focused on a charismatic leader who is believed to represent the will of the common people and who is able to speak on their benefit and interest. As a consequence, a specific “style of communication ” characterizes this populist mobilization. In order to appeal to the common sense of the people and to criticize the intellectualism of the elites, Populists

propose overly simple solutions to complicated political problems in a very direct language (Abts & Rummens 407).

1.2.2. Populism as an Ideology

Others think of populism as an ideology; that is, they view it as a set of ideas that cohere into an overwhelming worldview that shapes people's actions. Populism is centered on a basic moral logic that has few direct policy influence and does not provide a general understanding of society or politics. In other words, populism does not offer a worldview, but it rather offers a simplistic critique of existing configurations of power (Bonikowski 12).

Populism is also defined as “an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous others who are together depicted as depriving the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice.” According to this definition, populism comprises of two essential elements: an “anti-elitist message” that insists that power must be turned back to the people and a “nationalist message” that argues that the “others,” including immigrants and those with different ethnic backgrounds, are responsible for the obstacles faced by the majority group in a state (Campbell 4).

Campbell (2017) declared that Populism is characterized by a deep and continuing mistrust of political corrupt elites who are believed not to have the people's best interests at heart. Populist leaders try to develop their base of support by stirring up popular view against the political establishment. Second, populist leaders are often charismatic figures who may introduce themselves as the sole possible solution to their nation's problems as they campaign for office and as the principal reason for their nation's success after a period of service. In this way, populist movements frequently emphasize the identity of their leaders. Third, populist leaders often appeal to anti immigrant or xenophobic sentiments

among the general population and aim to inspire patriotic attitudes among their supporters (11-12).

Populism is also defined as a “thin-centered ideology” which encourage support for the sovereign rule of the people as a homogeneous body (Abts & Rummens 405). Both Abts and Rummens (2007) argued that:

populism needs to be understood as a thin-centered ideology. Populism does not provide a comprehensive vision of society. It only gives a precise meaning and priority to certain key concepts of political discourse, thereby generating a certain ideological picture of parts of the political domain. Since populism mainly focuses on concepts such as ‘the people’, ‘democracy’ or ‘sovereignty’, we suggest, more specifically, that populism provides a thin-centered ideology concerning the structure of power in society. Three elements of such a populist ideology are recurrently highlighted in the literature. (408)

Abts and Rummens (2007) explained that Populism is firstly concerned with the central contradictory relationship between the people and the elite. Populism is an appeal to the people against both the established structure of power and the governing ideas and values of society. The establishment is criticized for its supposed but doubtful claims, its corruption and, especially, for the absence of accountability to the people. Elites are blamed because they represent only their own interests, values and opinions rather than the ones of the common people.

Secondly, populism seeks to give power back to the people and reestablish popular sovereignty. Populists argue that politics should be centered on the direct expression of the general will of the people. Thereby, populism is cautious of compromise and accommodation, and focuses on the need for a politics of will and decision; that is, there is a need for charismatic leaders, who can act directly on behalf of the people, proclaim the

essential will of them, and choose to call upon popular sovereignty, rather than a need for elaborate discussion or party politics.

Thirdly, the accessibility of the will of the people is possible because populism conceives the people as a substantive unity. In populist ideology, the people function as a principal signifier which is offered a basically monolithic conceptualization. The people are joined into a single entity, incapable of being divided, fully formed, self-aware and capable of being distinguished by the majority of numbers. On the basis of a supposed shared identity, the people are considered to form a collective body, which is capable of having a common will and a single behalf and which is able to express this will and to take decisions. All current populist movements need to provide their “thin-centered populist ideology” with additional values and beliefs that give content to this homogeneous unity (408-409).

Therefore, it is concluded that populism is a “thin-centered ideology” that has three core concepts such as the virtuous people, the nefarious elite and the general will. Additionally, it is important to mention the fact that these three concepts portrays the essential criteria for defending something that is populist; that is, all of these three must be present in order to categorize a phenomenon as populist (Avetisova 18).

1.3. Brief History of Populism in the U.S.A.

Populism has a long history in America. It is common in the American political culture due to the clash between the standard of rule by the people and the reality of rule by the Elite. It is true that the core democratic principle is that people should have a meaningful say in political decisions that affect their lives. White rich men, who made up the minority of the U.S. population, have made most of its political decisions. They showed no sign of having listened to the people they are deciding on behalf of (Mehserle9).

1.3.1. Left -wing Populism

Kazin (2017) explained the traditions of left-wing populism by saying that:

Two different, often competing populist traditions have long thrived in the United States. Pundits often speak of left-wing and rightwing populists. The first type of American populist directs his or her ire exclusively upward: at corporate elites and their enablers in government who have allegedly betrayed the interests of the men and women who do the nation's essential work. These populists embrace a conception of the people based on class and avoid identifying themselves as supporters or opponents of any particular ethnic group or religion. They belong to a broadly liberal current in American political life; they advance a version of civic nationalism. (75-76)

left-wing populists speak for the “common people” and express opposition to the dominant corrupt elites who care of their personal interests at the expense of the people's interests. They also do not support or oppose any particular ethnic or religious group.

True American Populism started in the 1890s as the People's Party or what is known as the Populist Party. This latter is a left-wing party comprised by farmers and laborers in the American South and West. Though it lasted no more than a decade, the Democrats and the Republicans approved most of its ideas into their own political stance, including the expansion of women's rights, currency reforms, progressive tax and federal farm assistances (Mehserle 9-10).

The People's Party sought to free the political system from the grip of the money power. Its activists, most of whom came from the South and the West, hailed the common interests of rural and urban labor and blasted monopolies in industry and high finance for impoverishing the masses. We seek to restore the Government of

the Republic to the hands of the 'plain people' with whom it originated. (qtd. In Kazin 77)

The party members believed in white nationalism, but they vindicated the full rights of African Americans. They also encouraged support for greater authority over the state power using measures such as the voting systems involving ballots available only at official polling places, prepared at public expense, containing the names of all candidates, and marked in secret at the polling places, and direct elections of senators. During the 1880s and the 90s, populism shared some points with modern progressive movements, focusing mainly on the rejection of social equality for African Americans, particularly in the Southern part (Mehserle 10).

1.3.2. The Ku Klux Klan Populism

According to Mehserle (2017), in the 1920s, the populist party paved the way to the reactionary populism of the Ku Klux Klan which gained support from several groups and different angles. He argued that:

The KKK drew support from a cross-section of white protestant society, concerns about race and the growing influence Jews, Catholics, and Ethnic groups, and from concerns about law enforcement, public immorality in relation to the prohibition, challenges to traditional gender rules, and even popular demands for public services such as modern schools, paved roads, and new sewer lines. (Mehsler 10)

He also stated that after the 1920s, left-wing populist movements continued to grow and occurred in different forms; for instance, the congress of industrial organizations of the 1930s. The latter continued to express its anger and opposition to the establishment (10).

1.3.3. Right -wing Populism

In the late 1940s, populism shifted from left to right when anti-communist conservative figures such as George Wallace, Richard Nixon and Ronald Regan appropriated populist rhetoric (Mehserle 10). “The vocabulary of grassroots rebellion now served to thwart and reverse social and cultural change rather than to promote it” (qtd. In Mehserle 11). According to Mehserle (2017), “populist rhetoric is a political language employed by individual leaders which divides the populace into two categories: a pure, moral people and a corrupt elite” (1).

1.3.3.1. Wallace’s Right -wing Populism

During the 1960s, George Wallace marked the starting point for the right-wing populism in the U.S.A. Preserving segregation was the major basic for the campaigns he run. He depended on populist style and rhetoric as an attemption to win the votes. He used “the rhetorical defense of hardworking Americans against the liberal elite.” Wallace directed an intention of giving chances to any citizen who was annoyed by authoritarian bureaucrats, negligent and selfish protesters, and criminals, those who did nothing useful for society. He believed that the system of the corrupt, liberal politicians, who underestimated the common men, is the reason of common white Americans being at a disadvantage. Pure indignation, “an ability to whip up the hostilities of certain average whites and channel them in his direction,” drove his campaign (Kazin, *Populist Persuasion* 247-224-239).

Wallace argued for segregation, the separation of people into various categories, and against civil rights bills principally through challenging federal infringement. As stated by Kazin (2009), Wallace argued that “segregation serves the best interest of all of our people.” Judges, politicians and bureaucrats were considered as the elite of Wallace’s

right-wing populism. He aggressively challenged them by giving an extra emphasis to the states' rights, particularly segregation. He argued that Wallace complained against civil rights bills, the Civil Right Act of 1964 in particular, through invoking the exclusive rights of property (231-234).

During the 1960s, Wallace run campaigns which were based on the establishment of racial indignation and the argument that the proponents of civil right bills were preferring Americans over white Americans. His campaigns relied on discriminatory explanations for segregation (Leshner 263). Then in 1968, Wallace shifted from racism by avoiding racist declarations in front of the masses; instead, he used coded language in his speeches (Kazin, *Populist Persuasion* 231).

Media and intellectuals were also considered as a part of the elite in Wallace' right-wing populism. He was always trying to remind the masses that the Americans are annoyed and frustrated with media which attempts to bias, demolish and affect the country. He believed that media causes a distorting effect upon one's memory, beliefs or ideas. He attacked the editors instead of the individual hardworking reporters in public (Leshner309).

1.3.3.2. Nixon's Right -wing Populism

During the elections of the 1968 that Wallace was running in, the republicans started repeating the strand of Wallace's right-wing populism. In a campaign of him, Richard Nixon accepted and supported more and more of Wallace's campaign, concerning his speeches about the issues of federal enforcement of school desegregation, antiwar activists, school busing and crimes. Nixon tried to portray himself as the most suitable version of Wallace to be elected to office in the South (Leshner 403). For Nixon, "the people" are two, labor leaders and people from middle America who still have character, guts and a bit of nationalism. The concept of Nixon, "middle America," brings about a

feeling of being condensed between the elite and the welfare recipients. He also used the term “silent majority” along with the one of “middle America” in order to show his complete support for the people and to gain the votes as well (Kazin, *Populist Persuasion* 249).

Nixon also spoke out against protesters, once saying the government should meet them with force and provide punitive response against the perpetrators and planners of violence. Nixon also cared about White America through his Southern Strategy. This strategy is made up of promising segregationists he would stop accelerating racial integration as well as using coded language just as Wallace had. During the 1968 campaign, Nixon argued that the federal government was dealing with the pursuit of school integration in the South. This attention to White America at the expense of African-Americans, while much less obvious than Wallace’s racism, was a way to categorize African-Americans as part of an undeserving minority group who are considered unworthy of reward (Leshner 403).

The significant development to right-wing populism during the Nixon years was the fierceness with which Nixon and his administration attacked the media. While Presidents have always censured the press for treating them unfairly, Nixon’s administration believed that media had an insensitive and more dishonest sound than the traditional press and considered it as a new type of the elite. “there is no element in American life more out of touch with the concerns and beliefs of the common man than the liberal press”. Members of Nixon’s administration were the first to attack the liberal media in a serious way (Kazin, *Populist Persuasion* 252).

1.3.3.3. Reagan’s Right -wing Populism

Kazin (2009) claimed that Ronald Reagan also depended on the rhetoric of populism to a great extent. He claimed to represent “the people” as opposed to the

Democrats, who fought for the working families of America, but now only seem to fight for the special interests. Reagan's rhetoric separating "the people" from the special personal interests is populist in nature. Liberal bureaucrats, mass media and supercilious intellectuals were also included in Reagan's populism and regarded as parts of the elite (262- 263).

1.3.3.4. Tea Party Right -wing Populism

Conservatives following the Reagan years, among which were Pat Buchanan, Sarah Palin and others, continued to imitate his populist rhetoric complaining about the academic and cultural elite. Stretching from Reagan to the Tea Party was a line of conservatives who knew how to successfully develop arguments that were inherently populist (Kazin, *Populist Persuasion* 270).

the Tea Party is a conservative populist, social and political movement that appeared during Barack Obama's course as president in 2009. It generally objected extravagant taxation and government intervention in the private sector and supported stronger immigration control as well. The rise of this movement led to an unprecedented crisis of confidence in American economic, political and social systems (Ray 2019).

Tea Party supporters believed that the economic system only served the elite and that the political elite are becoming separated from the nation at large. In the Tea Party's imagination, "the people" who are being hurt by the elites and the undeserving minority groups that the elites favor are ordinary people. The latter have always believed that if they worked hard and paid their taxes things would work out in the end and they would get ahead. This is not a reality for these ordinary people anymore, and they respond by condemning political, economic and cultural elites (Mehserle 11). As stated by Campbell (2017):

Not long after Barack Obama was swept into office as the forty-fourth President of the United States, a significant opposition movement began to voice its strong disagreement with a range of liberal particularly economic policies. Dubbed the Tea Party in reference to a comment made by a reporter in early 2009, this movement decried increased government spending and legislation ... the anger and discontent that were captured by the Tea Party likely helped the GOP regain control of the House in the 2010 midterms. However, the Tea Party's ire was not simply reserved for President Obama and congressional Democrats; indeed, some of the most bitter feuds involved establishment-minded Republicans in Congress and their more conservative primary challengers (24).

The undeserving minority groups in Tea Party populism were similar to the groups Wallace first attacked. Tea Party supporters wanted to get rid of entitlements they believe go to undeserving African-Americans and immigrants. Another major issue to members of the Tea Party was immigration: 83 percent of Tea Party supporters saw immigration as a serious problem, significantly more than any other group. Tea Party supporters were also anti-government, and many of its candidates were elected to the House of Representatives in 2010. The Tea Party showed the appeal of right-wing populism in the years preceding the 2016 campaign (Ray 2019).

Whatever its influence during Obama's tenure as president, it now seems that the Tea Party's period of success and popularity has come and gone. Though it only lasted for a few years, the movement proved that there existed an essential base of white, working-class voters who disagreed vigorously, not only with the direction in which the U.S. was ruled under Obama, but with the whole political establishment in Washington. And this lesson would not be lost on a man whom almost no one took seriously as a candidate for President even months after he announced his intention to run (Campbell 25).

1.4. Populism in the 2016 Election

The 2016 election was one of the more outstanding events in the history of U.S. politics because it brought the “true outsider,” Donald Trump, to the presidency. He is an improbable populist president who inherited a fortune, brags about his wealth and his many properties, shuttles between his exclusive resorts and luxury hotels, and has adopted an economic plan that would slash tax rates for rich people like himself. But a politician does not have to live among people of modest means, or even tout policies that would boost their incomes, to articulate their grievances and gain their support. In 2016 Trump clearly tapped into a deep vein of distress and resentment among millions of white working- and middle class Americans. Trump is hardly the first politician to bash elites and champion the interests of ordinary people (Kazin 75).

Donald Trump has become the President of the US. A political outsider, Trump set himself up as the populist candidate and voice of the unrepresented. He swept aside other candidates for the nomination, took over the Republicans, a hitherto mainstream political party; and finally, to the horror and disbelief of the political establishment and now-reviled elites everywhere, won the election. His victory marks the triumph of divisive rhetoric, disregard for facts, promises of simple cures for all ills, nativism, demagoguery, and the power of seductive slogans, which are common features of the new populism (*Economic Policy and the Rise of Populism – It's Not So Simple* 50).

1.4.1. Donald Trump

In the late 1980s, Donald Trump became politically active. Then, in 1999 He tried to get nominated as a candidate of the Reform Party for the presidential election in 2000. Trump launched his campaign book “The America We Deserve” on January 1, 2000. Trump believed that he was the perfect presidential candidate because he can “sense

things” due to his prediction that a major terrorist attack would happen in the near future in the U.S. He further insisted on problems with illegal immigration and described the country’s immigration policy as vulgar and ridiculous. On February 14, 2000, Trump withdrew his candidacy following a failed primary election and disputes within the party (Avestisova 9).

Avestisova (2017) stated that Trump’s dissatisfaction with the Obama administration in 2012 pushed him to run in the presidential election in 2016. Trump announced his candidacy for the 2016 presidential election in the Republican’s primary election on June 16, 2015. In a speech of him, Trump focused on issues such as illegal immigration, stealing US jobs, the US government’s debts and terrorism, all of which later became key issues in his election campaign (10).

She added that Trump presented his campaign as “Make America Great Again”. During his presidential campaign, Trump presented himself as one of the “people” against the corrupt elites. He claimed that the old system was rigged against him and the American citizens. On November 8, 2016, Donald Trump won the presidential election over his opponent, the Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton. He received over 62 million votes, which is the highest result a Republican candidate has ever received. Trump was installed as the 45th President of the USA on January 20, 2017 (10).

On the back of promises on immigration, international trade, taxation, public spending, and healthcare, Trump was elected to the presidency of the US in 2016. On immigration, Trump promised to limit flows of Muslims into the US, to build a wall along the Mexican border, and evict millions of illegal immigrants living in the US. Concerning international trade, he promised to refuse the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) at the very beginning of his service, and to impose heavy tariffs on some Chinese imported goods, while accusing China of dumping. He promised to abandon The Transatlantic Trade and

Investment Partnership (TTIP). Trump has claimed that he will restore manufacturing jobs to America through his new policies. He also promised tax cuts, and expansion in public infrastructure spending, which will obviously lead to a significantly higher Federal borrowing (*Economic Policy and the Rise of Populism – It's Not So Simple* 50).

1.4.2. Trump's Populism

Trump belongs to right-wing populism which blame elites in government and big business for undermining the common people's interests and liberties. But this tradition's definition of "the people" is narrower and more ethnically restrictive. For most of U.S. history, it meant only "real Americans," whose ethnicity alone gave them the right to share in the country's bounty. Typically, right-wing populists believed that there is a nefarious alliance between evil forces on high and the unworthy, dark-skinned poor below; as a result, the interests and values of the nationalist white majority are systematically put in the middle. (Kazin⁷⁶). Trump once claimed that:

The only antidote to decades of ruinous rule by a small handful of elites is a bold infusion of popular will. On every major issue affecting this country, the people are right and the governing elite are wrong. The elites are wrong on taxes, on the size of government, on trade, on immigration, on foreign policy. (qtd. In Olive & Rahn 189)

Trump also condemns the global elite for promoting "open borders," which supposedly allow immigrants to take jobs away from U.S. workers and drive down their living standards. At the beginning of presidential campaign, he was brutally specific about which groups pose the greatest danger. He accused Mexicans of bringing crime, drugs, and rape to an otherwise peaceful, law-abiding nation and Muslim immigrants of favoring "horrendous attacks by people that believe only in jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life." Although Trump's rise and election demonstrated the enduring

appeal of the racial-nationalist strain of American populism, his rhetoric misses one crucial element of the traditional discourse. It lacks a relatively coherent, emotionally rousing description of “the people” whom Trump claims to represent (Kazin 83-84).

1.5. Conclusion

The topic of Populism is broader to be discussed in few pages. However, we sought to shed light on the most essential points of our study in order to deduce our results. Populism is a political style that is widely spread all over the world. Many researchers and approaches are seeking to investigate this topic. Each one of them provided definitions and analysis for Populism, depending typically on their own perspectives and views. The United States have been a centre for Populism long time ago. It witnessed the rise of Populism with its various traditions from the 1980s till the 2016 presidential election.

In the next chapter of the present research, we will try to introduce impacts of Trump’s Populism so that we would be able to find out whether its rise is good or bad for the future of the country.

Chapter Two:

Impacts of Trump's Populism

2.1. Introduction

After the construction of a clear idea about Trump's Populism and its major traditions, it would be beneficial to discover its impacts on the United States of America. In this chapter, we will understand the Trump's phenomenon which is mostly regarded as a rhetorical one. This would be achieved through recognizing the character of Trump himself. Then, we will discover the impacts of Trump's populism on Democracy; more specifically, on democratic institutions. Finally, we will have a look on Trump's policies in different domains since the president brought about new administration policies. These policies would explicitly have serious impacts on the future of the entire country domestically and internationally as well.

2.2. Cultural rather than Economic Phenomenon

Populism is the title of the diversion, and Trump played it to triumph. His rhetorical populism guarantees to bring back manufacturing jobs to America, to limit immigration, subsequently diminishing competition for occupations and jobs, and to change free trade agreement that result in losses of American jobs to other trading partners. The guarantees are for the foremost portion just rhetorical. Trump's heart and mind are with his individual extremely rich people and his own financial interests. "Trump's real populism is cultural rather than political or economic. It is to be found in the ways in which he thinks and speaks. he is an advocate of the interests of the American worker and supports higher taxation of the wealthy" (Goodheart 22).

Goodheart (2017) claimed that Trump epitomizes Authoritarian Populism and has utilized bigotry, patriotism, xenophobia, Islamophobia¹, and the aggravating underside of American legislative issues to mobilize his supporters in his effective Republican essential campaign and within the fervently challenged 2016 common decision (22).

¹ dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force.

Trump uncovers the danger of Authoritarian populism, a wonder that's presently worldwide in scope, and the perils of the rise to control of a person who is exceedingly damaging, who speaks to the most noticeably awful of the 1 percent extremely rich businessman. Trump disguises as a “voice of the forgotten man,” as he propels a political plan that benefits the wealthy and the military to a great extent, and may be a clear and threat to U.S. democracy and worldwide peace, constituting an “American Nightmare” for the world (Kellner 1).

Trump's supporters over long time have endured financial hardship, political estrangement, mortification, and an assortment of difficult times, and they show up to be trying to find a political savior to assist them out with their issues and to address their grievances. Trump proposes mysterious arrangements like building a wall along the Mexican border that will keep out swarms of workers that he claims are taking away jobs in the U.S., as well as committing waves of crime. Trump claims he will make millions of “great” occupations without giving particular plans, a claim negated by his risky trade record that incorporates numerous bankruptcies, enlisting foreign laborers to drudge on his projects, a few of whom he does not pay. Kellner (2016) stated that:

Trump thus presents himself as a Superhero who will magically restore the U.S. to greatness, provide jobs and create incredible wealth, and restore the U.S. to its rightful place as the world's Superpower. In this Fairy Tale, the billionaire King will fight and destroy all the Nation's domestic and foreign enemies and the Superman will triumph and provide a Happy Ending for the U.S. people. (21)

Trump incites his supporters rage with classic authoritarian propaganda procedures just like the “enormous lie,” when he dishonestly rehashes over and over that foreigners are pouring over the border and committing crimes, that all his essential rivals, the media,

and Hillary Clinton are “big liars,” and that he, Donald Trump as being the only one telling the truth is clearly the greatest lie of all (Kellner 24).

Trump’s anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric, his Islamophobia, and his xenophobic patriotism plays into a rough racist convention within the U.S. and enacts atavistic fears of other races and outrage among his white supporters. Like European totalitarianism or fascism, Trump draws on restorative nostalgia and guarantees to “Make America Great Again,” a regressive return to an earlier never specified time. To mobilize his supporters, Trump both appeals to nostalgia and controls racism and patriotism, whereas playing to the abhorrent side of the American mind and the long convention of patriotism, America First-ism, and xenophobia², wanting to keep minorities and individuals of color outside the nation (Kellner 24-25).

2.3. The Worst about Donald Trump himself

On November 8, 2016, American voters chose Donald J. Trump to be the 45th President of the U.S. He was a candidate who had been broadly criticized, portrayed as dictator in his authority fashion and whose psychological fitness for office was frequently called into question, with mental health specialists concluding that his behavior uncovers what might be an undiscovered personality disorder. American voters selected him in spite of Trump being seen as an abnormal candidate running an exceedingly unconventional campaign. Negative views of him have been as high as 70%, it proposes that some people who viewed him negatively in any case voted for him (Kivisto 1).

Trump was a central figure over several years in stirring the birther conspiracy theory that tried to delegitimize the decision of being under the rule of a black president. His bullying and title calling of his Republican rivals was uncivil, uncovering a need of regard for those he competed against for the nomination. He demonized Mexicans as

² dislike or prejudice against people from other countries: the resurgence of racism and xenophobia.

criminals, rapists, and drug dealers, and recommended that the Mexican government was responsible for controlling their migration to the U.S.A. He called for the prevention of Muslims from entering the country, “a violation of constitutional protections of religious freedom.” He threatened to send Hillary Clinton to jail, the sort of threats one anticipates to hear from “cult-of-personality dictator,” but not from a candidate competing for election in a democratic country. A standard portion of his campaign rallies and in various tweets was to call reporters “dishonest,” “scum,” “slime,” and “liars.” He rehashed conspiracy theories and gained support from far-right groups. Trump’s use of his Twitter account was frequently seen as uncovering a need of self-control. He was accused of mocking a reporter with a physical handicap. According to Kivisto (2017):

His saber rattling has unnerved high ranking members of the military and the intelligence community...history of investigations and reportage on his business career that questioned Trump’s own claims regarding his business acumen. At the Republican Party convention, Trump’s self-belief led him to contend that in addressing the problems confronting the nation, I alone can fix it. His repetitious claim that he would make America great again was never followed up with realistic policy proposals. (2-3)

Kivisto (2017) also resumed that for a huge swath of the American populace there's an awkward sense that serious damage has been done to the body politic and to the well-being of gracious society (6).

2.4. Impacts of Trump’s Populism on Democracy

Trump’s successful presidential campaign was a deviation in the U.S. political domain. Analysts struggled to find out the secret behind Trump’s victory against a crowded Republican establishment. What was previously believed to be the party of Reagan and Bush was redefined by Trump’s populist message. Because of its contentious

stances, Trump's Populism caused a split in the Republican party. These stances included immigration reforms, cutting Medicaid and building a border wall. Trump's populist movement targeted cultural components, beliefs, traditions and economy of the republicans. It largely responded to the growing support for liberal values: "tolerance of diverse sexuality, openness to foreigners, multicultural diversity and support for cosmopolitan ideals." (Hannon, et al. 78-79).

Trump's Populism affected the republicans' recent success with white working-class voters because his policies primarily benefited the wealthy but not the marginalized poor minority of his rhetoric (Campbell 45). For Trump, the major focus should be on homeland security, immigration reforms and improving the economic environment for working and middle-class citizens. Thus, the Republican party will be careful while aligning with Trump's populist movement (Hannon, et al. 79).

2.4.1. Main Impacts on Democratic Institutions

Many academics have sounded the alarm about the negative effects of Trump's populist rule on political systems and the stability of liberal democracies. Trump's Populist movement is criticized for being the core cause for worry that the U.S.A. is heading in the direction of becoming a "less-free nation." This populist movement affected the integrity of American democratic institutions. Judicial independence, the political freedom of disadvantaged groups, freedom of press, and gender equality are the major democratic institutions that are threatened by Trump's populist administration (Kyle & Mounk 2018).

2.4.1.1. Trump's Populism Versus Judicial Independence

Judicial independence is an essential democratic institution and needs to be present in all successful democracies. It can be defined as "the existence of a judicial system which acts in a manner free of influence or interference from outside actors, whether

public or private, institutional or individual.” The government is commonly the responsible of setting judges and enforcing its ruling. “An independent judiciary wields real power ”; that is, it is capable of making serious decisions against the government and influential parties and actors as well (Hannon, et al. 6).

Judicial independence is one of the first democratic institutions to be targeted by Trump’s populist movement. In his first year in service, he had many disagreement and conflicts with the judicial branch. The best known case of Trump’s disagreement with judiciary independence is the travel ban case in which he issued an order banning entry for 90 days by citizens from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. The federal judges blocked the ban few days after. Then, Trump issued more executive orders, but were rejected also. These banning orders were considered as points of tension between Trump and the federal judges (Hannon, et al. 81).

Hannon (2018) and others claimed that though the U.S. court system is made up so as to be able to confront the force of a president in open disagreement with the court, it should take into consideration the long-term effects of Trump’s populism on the judiciary. Since populist movements try to install governments that promote and improve their interests and behalves, the judicial branch may become at risk (81).

2.4.1.2. Trump’s Populism and Political Rights of Disadvantaged Groups

Disadvantaged groups are “groups of persons that experience a higher risk of poverty, social exclusion, discrimination and violence than the general population. Disadvantaged groups include, but are not limited to, ethnic minorities, migrants, people with disabilities, isolated elderly people, children and political opposition groups in some cases.” (qtd In. Hannon, et al. 9). These groups are the most threatened category because of the populist attitudes. They suffer from the state or conditions of being weak and poorly

defended. Their susceptibility to marginalization and discrimination is not a quality inherent to certain groups, but is rather a result of political economic, cultural and social conditions. These groups are prevented from enjoying their full political rights; for instance, participation in the administration of a government, the holding of public office and many other activities. Hannon (2018) and others claimed that according to the United Nations:

political rights include: right to liberty and security of the person, right to equal protection before the law, right to freedom of assembly, right to be free from torture, right to freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination, access to the judicial system, participation in political life, freedom of religion, access to information, right to private and family life, property rights, freedom of movement, and right to seek asylum (9).

Trump's populist interests affected the freedoms of disadvantaged groups. The latter can be clearly seen in various cases, including the immigration reforms, The proposed Mexico border wall, the Muslim ban and others. Trump's populist administration ignored the behalves and freedoms of African Americans, Muslims and other ethnic groups who are regarded as "Non-real Americans." It caused the spread of racism and racial divisiveness, social instability, growing violence against racial and religious minorities and other unsatisfying circumstances in the U.S. Hannon (2018) and others also declared that:

Overall, the language and actions for the populist movement and enabled by the Trump administration has limited the freedoms of disadvantaged groups. Huge contributors to these issues are historical and are made more robust through the populist movement. Racial divisiveness and identity politics are key to the

preexisting and current limitations to political freedoms of disadvantaged groups.
(82-83)

2.4.1.3. Trump's Populism and Freedom of Press

Press freedom indicates that “opponents of government or of government leaders, laws or policies can publish effective criticisms without suffering government retaliation in the form of fines, imprisonment, or even death.” Freedom of press alludes to the freedom to criticize government without having fear of punishment or official interference before and after publication (Hannon, et al. 13).

Freedom of press is a major target for most populist movements, the one of Trump in particular. There have always been an unfriendly relationship between Trump and media. He criticized the press for spreading “fake news.” After Trump’s election, the press confronted an increase in hostility. He declared that major news corporations in the U.S. are lacking transparency and responsible for their fake news. Thus, Trump’s populism threatened the integrity of press freedom (Hannon, et al. 84).

2.4.1.4. Trump's Populism and Gender Equality

When all genders have the opportunity to enjoy the same rights, including economic participation and decision making, gender equality is then achieved. Trump’s populism affect gender equality in different ways. His rhetoric and opposition to abortion and to the full participation of women and transgender people in U.S. military do not reflect support for gender equality, but rather reflects the opposite (Hannon, et al. 18).

Trump’s administration enabled religious values through executive powers. The latter threatened women and transgender individuals as well. This behavior created a kind

of religious and racial tensions and led to the rise of racism and discrimination. It is stated by Hannon (2018) and others that:

The impact of the populist movement and Trump's Administration can be seen through the recent happenings for transgender individuals and women. Democratic checks and balances³ have provided protections for women and transgender individuals, but some executive powers are able to empower certain biases on specific groups of people. (86-87)

2.5. Trump's New Policies and Their Implications

The result of the 2016 presidential and congressional decisions marks a turning point for the U.S. and its international role, not only because the White House will be changed from Democratic to Republican Party control, but moreover because the man chosen to the administration, Donald J. Trump, takes office with no earlier involvement in government (Wickett 1).

Trump's campaign was stamped by his explicit dismissals of his own party's positions and pioneers; in reality, he was lifted to the administration absolutely by his outsider status. Whereas there was an extraordinary vulnerability around America's foreign policy after 20 January 2017, the environment in which Trump takes office is more concrete. Wickett (2017) believed that this gives a few boundaries to his policy choices. As was the case for his forerunners, Trump will confront residential as well as universal limitations, from the part of Congress to the activities of other states. He will face the additional challenge that his character and operating style might not easily translate from the private sector into government (1).

³ The mutual oversight provided by a system of independent organizations with control over each other.

2.5.1. Economy Policies

A crucial set of ideas in terms of economic policy with considerable outcomes has been presented by president Trump. The tax plans suggested by Trump are considered to be the most difficult to classify. On one hand, they consist of an intense set of cuts preferred by many Republicans. Following his schedule, the tax price in the top income tax bracket would decline from 39.6 per cent to 33 per cent, the estate tax would be totally removed, and whatever business is big or small it would not pay more than 15 per cent of earnings in taxes. On the other hand, classical Republicans are alarmed by this declaration on closing tax loopholes so that the rich pay more in taxes, and on forcing U.S. firms to pay taxes on cash currently sitting abroad (Smart 14).

Concerning immigration, Trump has offered a variety of regulations to restrict the influx of foreign laborers, which he argues “holds down salaries, keeps unemployment high, and makes it difficult for poor and working-class Americans to earn a middle-class wage”. Most dramatically, he has suggested to exclude 11 million illegal immigrants within about two years, despite the fact that his advisers actually seem to be backing away from such rigid measures. Trump officially declared that the U.S. would withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which is considered to be the most significant element of President Obama’s international economic agenda, just a day after a meeting of TPP leaders in Peru. But traditional Republican leaders may resist his policies more openly if Trump seeks to take a significantly protectionist turn (Smart 15).

Meanwhile, Trump’s tendency for direct and confrontational rhetoric may have important effects of its own, particularly for cooperative international economic initiatives like the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)⁴ discussions, or the Summit of the

⁴ the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, organization that seeks to promote free trade and economic cooperation throughout the Asia-Pacific region. It works to raise living standards and education levels through sustainable economic growth and to foster a sense of community and an appreciation of shared interests among Asia-Pacific countries.

Americas. Under extreme scenarios, these consultative mechanisms to support balanced growth and coordinate financial market regulation could turn much more acrimonious or break down entirely. It would be much difficult to conduct any new menace to global financial stability under Trump. While initial investor reaction to his victory was positive, the very unpredictability on which he prides himself could unsettle global financial markets at a time of weakening economic growth almost everywhere outside the U.S. Smart (2017) claimed that:

The Trump presidency promises significant departures from the Obama administration and also from many elements of traditional Republican ideology. The consequences of his ideas on taxes, healthcare, immigration and trade are difficult enough to project, but they will clearly go a long way to refocusing the economic debate. Tax cuts and deregulation may offer the US economy some initial support. Nevertheless, pressing for substantial revisions to economic relations with China and Mexico may lead financial markets to price in the greater constraints on world trade and weaker global growth. (16)

The administration of Trump suggested proposals that are definitively different from previous administrations. He has brought changes at the level of immigration, trade, and healthcare which would make an economic debate.

2.5.2. Trade Policies

As Trump has declared his support for free trade, he has also shown his opposition to various U.S. trade agreements. He has argued that they were negotiated by foolish officials which have resulted in job losses for Americans. During the campaign he promised to withdraw the U.S. from the TPP, identify and remedy every violation of a trade agreement, renegotiate or withdraw the U.S. from NAFTA, label China a currency manipulator, address unfair trade practices by China by invoking domestic and World

Trade Organization (WTO)⁵ remedies, and impose tariff or other measures on China if it fails to comply with U.S. demands. More specifically, he has threatened to impose tariffs of up to 45 per cent on Chinese and Mexican imports and to punish U.S. companies that relocate their manufacturing operations overseas (Sapiro 19).

The reformative recommendations of President Trump for a more powerful trade policy in general is the negotiation of “great trade deals” to bring jobs back to America, but he has not offered many details on how he would achieve the previously mentioned points. One corrective prescription he has made is to return to an emphasis on import tariffs rather than taxes. However; such a prescription does not take into consideration the negative impact that higher tariffs would have on American workers, specifically poorer families, and would reinforce an already inequitable tax code (Sapiro 20).

According to Sapiro (2017), an isolated American economy and a lengthy recession are to be arrived at due to the application of Trump’s campaign offers and proposals. It predicts an increase in the rate of unemployment; decreased cross-border trade; cuts in investment, personal and corporate tax; and a larger federal government deficit and debt load. A trade-induced slowdown in the U.S. economy would surely have ripple impacts across the international economy. Trade policies adopted by the Trump administration will have a significant influence on the U.S. and the global economy (21).

She also argued that advocates of the agreement point to the economic losses encountered by the U.S. as a result of currently high tariffs on its exports to Asia. They also note the damage to US position and credibility in the region at a challenging time when China feels both threatened and emboldened Energy and climate change (22).

⁵ international organization established to supervise and liberalize world trade. It is the successor of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

2.5.3. Energy and Climate Change Policies

In order to enhance domestic energy resources, Trump campaigned on an “America First Energy Plan”, with a focus on coal, oil and natural gas, and emphasized on rolling back government regulation. Even though he downplayed the significance of climate change, he realized the importance of clean air and water. According to his speech, Trump seems to regard energy as a powerful instrument to promote and enforce the economy, as well as to earn some extent of economic and foreign policy advantage over other countries, including China. Crucial components of his plan consists of becoming energy-independent, using revenue from energy production to rebuild infrastructure which will positively result in creating jobs opportunities for American workers, using cheaper energy to promote agriculture, and eliminating regulations that are harmful for workers (Ladislaw 23-24).

Ladislaw (2017) asserted that energy agenda of President Trump implies a familiar Republican theme of a smaller role for, or a less interventionist, government. It also seems to disagree with the idea that renewable energy resources should be favored over fossil fuels such as coal, oil and natural gas. On the campaign trail Trump pledged his most specific actions in the area of rolling back policies dealing with climate change, such as the need for clean and safe water for local communities (24).

The U.S. plays a large role in national and international energy markets, as well as an important leadership role in setting international climate change purposes. Major changes in its energy policy, such as the creation of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve in the wake of the Arab oil embargoes in the 1970s, the onset of nuclear power, and more recently the unconventional energy revolution, influence energy markets and policies abroad. Ladislaw (2017) believed that several of the Trump administration’s potential areas for action may influence global energy markets and policies (25).

Ladislaw (2017) also added that the Trump administration could continue policies across a broad range of issues that could impact global energy markets and interfere with U.S. relationships with both key producing and consuming countries. The prices of oil are lowered which led the U.S. to feel quite secure in its energy supply situation. However, another fundamental role for any relatively new administration is to deliberate how it manages global oil market issues; for instance, responses to a global supply disruption. In this kind of events, the U.S. will need to set some plans with its international partners in order to resolve with the shortfall and advance strategies for the purpose of ensuring appropriate supply (25).

2.5.4. Defense Policies

According to President Trump's campaign rhetoric, his defense policy may be greatly different from President Obama's as well as upending points of consensus in the foreign policy establishment. But, since the realities of governing are widely different from campaigning, it is not possible to predict if Trump will accomplish many or even some of his unconventional defense policy views. Those views, including the way in which the U.S. ought to place itself in international affairs and engage with allies and adversaries, made of him virtually different from every major presidential candidate in latest years in American history. Smith (2017) and others stated that:

He has said that he would take a more forceful stance towards China, has vowed to crush Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)⁶, has promised to grow the military, and has pledged to stop allowing allies such as Japan or NATO members to free ride on the benefits of the U.S. security blanket. On the Middle East, Trump advocates a more intensive campaign against ISIS and its affiliates, stating that his administration will aggressively pursue joint and coalition military operations to

⁶ Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, since June 2014, the Islamic state, transnational Sunni insurgent group operating primarily in western Iraq and eastern Syria. First appearing under the name ISIL

crush and destroy ISIS. But he also made clear that the fight will not just be limited to ISIS, and that he will also decimate Al Qaeda, and seek to starve funding for Iran-backed Hamas and Hezbollah. (9-10)

Trump has declared that it is necessary to strict international relationships, especially with China, Japan and the Middle East.

When moving to domestic politics, Trump appears to be quite different from the previous administrations at the level of defense budget. He promised a military that will “be much stronger than it is right now.” He has shown a great criticism of expensive weapons systems. However, weapons ownership is the product of a network of political relationships between the Department of Defense, defense companies and Congress that presidents often have a hard time navigating effectively (Smith, et al. 10).

Since President Trump has no experience in the field of defense budget policy and its planning, many obstacles are likely to appear; especially; from the defense community if he rudely contradicts its recommendations and pursues aggressive cuts to existing procurement projects. Moreover, despite he has promised to restrain federal spending and cut waste, it would be predicted that the defense outlays will highly increase. He has ordered for a removal of the sequester on defense imposed by the Budget Control Act. Even though Trump has not provided observers with sufficient information about his defense priorities to make confident predictions about future budgets, the National Defense Panel suggests that his policies may result in \$800–900 billion more in defense spending over the next decade than current budget projections predict (Smith, et al. 10).

Smith (2017) and others agreed on the fact that president Trump will compete with the increasing skepticism that exists among American people about the value of engagement abroad, global institutions and alliances. Since most Americans preferred their country to keep isolated from international conflicts, they are wary of increased

global engagement, even more wary of constant overseas wars, and would show disagreement of continuous military interventions. Recently, 60 per cent of those aged 18–29 are against sending ground troops to Iraq and Syria, and 47 per cent of the population declared that too much dependency on military force would result in creating resentment towards the U.S. and more terrorism (11).

They also added that despite the fact of being so difficult to precise the shape that president Trump's defense policy will take, the only certain thing is that the coming four years could seem very different for the U.S. and its allies at the level of defense. He might simply conceive to keep at bay on “Washington establishment” thinking, and pull the U.S. inward, resulting in disengagement from international affairs. However, it is also possible that the pressure of unforeseen crises and the complexity of the international security landscape could unexpectedly lead to a more aggressive American policy in the Middle East or Asia. If the U.S. disengages from world affairs, this could be detrimental to the liberal world order and could have a knock-on effect on American security through increased international instability and uncertainty (12).

2.5.5. Policies Related to Latin America

Trump's main argument is that illegal immigration casts a serious threat on the economy and security of U.S. citizens and needs to be solved with maximal force. Consequently, he promised not only to build a physical barrier the length of the U.S.–Mexican border but also to deport a great number of undocumented immigrants. Moreover, he is quite willing to tax remittances, or in other respects get involved in the economic relations with Mexico for the ultimate purpose of coercing its government into paying for the construction of the wall (Parakilas 52).

Trump maintains almost similar opinions on trade and immigration which are quite interrelated. Illegal immigration from Latin America, Trump argues, results in U.S. citizens

losing their jobs and economic security, and that trade deals have further encouraged both American and multinational corporations to relocate manufacturing facilities out of the U.S. in order to find cheaper labor in Mexico and other regions. Therefore, Trump will most probably seek to basically renegotiate free-trade agreements, and he will likely discard them completely if the conclusion of the negotiations is not quite positive for the U.S. (Parakilas 52).

Since Trump has complete authority, U.S. can be withdrawn from NAFTA, if he so chooses, but to put this into practice, he will likely face opposition from three sources. Firstly, Canada and Mexico will not agree on cancelling the agreement, and may have the ability to assuage Trump's concerns through renegotiation; the thing that both countries were willing to do right after the election. Secondly, the business community will probably object to cancelling it and channel that opposition through Commerce Secretary-designate Wilbur Ross, who has supported free-trade agreements at an earlier time. Finally, opposition from Congress is likely to take place, which on the whole is more pro-free trade than Trump. Parakilas (2017) confirmed that:

The impact of a new U.S. policy in Latin America will primarily be felt in the region. If Trump's restrictions on immigration, a clampdown on nascent relations with Cuba, and the break-up of the TPP⁷ and NAFTA lead to a substantial degradation of ties with Latin America, it might open an opportunity for China to build on its ties in the region. (53-54)

2.5.6. Policies Related to Europe

Radical change is also brought about by Trump in other policy areas that would set the U.S. in opposition to important European principles and objectives. He specifically adopts a mercantilist approach to trade which breaks with decades of U.S. policy. Trump

⁷ Trans-Pacific Partnership, a series of talks designed to create a huge Asia-Pacific free-trade zone that would include Australia, Brunei, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Singapore, and the United States, among others.

has threatened to remove the U.S. from the World Trade Organization (WTO). Furthermore, he has threatened to “tear up” what he identified as “disastrous” Iran nuclear deal which was concluded in 2015 Under President Trump. In short, the U.S.’s values are likely to become different from those of Europe. Trump’s administration may neither support the international rule of law nor the liberal international order, which suggests a real danger that could result in a more extreme version of the controversial differences witnessed during the Bush era European foreign policy successes known in recent years (Kundnani 44).

2.5.7. Policies Related to Russia

Trump’s statements on Russia insinuate that he might take a significantly separate approach to the country in contrast with those of his predecessors. Since Trump wants to essentially reconfigure the U.S.’s role in the whole world, this is quite suitable within a broader theme in his foreign policy views. His statements, both before and during the campaign, supposes that he harbors a transactional view of alliance relationships, and that he prefers removing American forces from allied countries or demanding these to either pay financially or in kind for U.S. continual strategic support (Parakilas, *Russia* 34).

Concerning the Middle East, the indications of a new direction in Russia policy will be consequential but will likely cause less of an abrupt shift. The biggest change will be over Syria, where Trump seemingly intends to follow realignment towards Russia and Assad. While definitely a change in U.S. goals, the Syrian conflict would not be reshaped on any significant level, even if it makes a settlement on Assad’s terms somehow probable. This kind of settlement would make Russia appear as more of a player in Middle Eastern politics, though a Russia-brokered end to the war would still be decidedly far from Russia replacing American influence in the entirety of the region (Parakilas, *Russia* 34).

Parakilas (2017) deduced that the U.S.'s allies basic features of the geopolitical positioning are needed to be re-examined with reference to how the Trump administration will compose and practice its policy with Russia. Eastern European countries, in particular, will need to determine whether or not they can retain a Western orientation if subjected to a U.S. that is no longer undoubtedly willing to help them counteract Russia. As a matter of fact, Western European countries might need to reevaluate how much of a united front they could preserve on sanctions and Ukraine. Additionally, some contingency plans are needed to be prepared by the rest of the world in order to be able to confront a U.S. that is much less able evidently and unambiguously to signal its intent regarding Russia (36).

2.5.8. Policies Related to Asia

With the erosion of the legitimacy of political elites, representative institutions and the globalist orientation that has governed US politics, the election of Donald Trump is a mere reflection of a crisis of the US state. The so called “rules-based” world order may suffer from many notable consequences due to this crisis. The election of Trump represents the social foundations fracturing that supported the U.S. led world order, which was deemed to be consolidated by the Asian rebalance. Furthermore, Trump’s election highlights the rise of “authoritarian populism” (Chacko & Jayasuria 121). Both Chacko and Jayasuria (2017) argued that:

The gist of our argument in this short piece is that the impact of the election of Trump on the future of the rules-based order in Asia will be the outcome of more than just the resilience and adaptability of international institutions. Rather, regional and world orders are the products of processes of capitalist development and their mediation and management by a range of political actors. What we are now seeing is a fundamental crisis in the social foundations of the post-1970s U.S. state, which

has underpinned the liberal rules-based order. Trump's rise, which in part can be attributed to Obama's mode of crisis management, may hasten its demise. (126)

2.5.9. Policies Related to China

Engaging with China, which is famous for her fast developing economy along with a huge market for U.S. goods and major investment resources, presents significant economic opportunities to the U.S. If established by the Senate, the appointment of business figures to influential cabinet positions will make sure that economic interests are taken into account in regard to deciding China policy. However, Trump probably intends to push back hard against what he regards as unjust Chinese economic activities such as currency manipulation. If China or Chinese entities pursue their engagement in cyber espionage against U.S. businesses or hacking, the Trump administration response would be quite strong, which will most likely escalate not only in the cyber and economic realms but also cover broader security connotations (Wickett, *China* 30).

As stated by Wickett (2017), the capacity of U.S. and China working together implies some major implications for global institutions. The Bretton Woods institutions reform would most likely occur if the bilateral relationship is not hostile. The effectiveness of such institutions influences many spheres from economics to security, counterterrorism, cyber security, space activities and a number of other domains. These are all fields for which a likely collaboration between the U.S. and China is quite possible. On the other hand, other areas could suffer from severe damage if the relationship between the two grows more confrontational (30).

2.5.10. Policies Related to Middle East

Presenting himself as a prescient opponent of both the Iraq invasion and the Libya intervention, Trump dismissed U.S. instigated regime change, even though he clearly stated his support for both actions at the time they transpired. He regarded the long term

allies like Saudi Arabia as partners in projecting U.S. power and impact with great skepticism, examining the nature of the U.S.'s supposedly unconditional security ties to them. While he seemingly declared his support for Israel's security with as much passion as any candidate, pro- Israel constituencies in the U.S. harbored some worries regarding his distaste for alliances which might ultimately extend to Israel too. Moreover, some elements of Trump's classical balance of power thinking made him appear to be more comfortable than most members of the U.S. policy elite, making him less concerned in regards to the participation of other great powers such as Russia in the region (Leverett 38).

Trump rejected intervention in Syria, but approved no-fly zones there to provide protection for the civilians. Trump sharply criticized the Iran nuclear deal, while he railed against U.S. interventions. This arguably lowers chances of another regional war instigated by U.S. government. The balance of opinion on Trump's team steadily agree on muscular militarism against jihadist, reinforced efforts to suppress and undermine Iran, as well as collaboration with republican strongmen, whether secular or religious (Leverett 39).

Since the election, Trump's advisers have stated that his administration will expand airstrikes against jihadi targets in both Iraq and Syria in addition to loosening Obama's rules of engagement for these kinds of operations continuing to rule out by deploying a large number of troops in either country. Some suggestions imply that Trump does not entirely reject the idea of cooperation with the Syrian government, which has the biggest contingent of ground forces in Syria. Leverett (2017) explained by saying that:

For most international constituencies, the U.S.'s Middle East policy will almost certainly become more confrontational and interventionist under Trump than it was during Obama's second term. At a minimum, the US is likely to expand and intensify airstrikes against ISIS, in ways generating more civilian casualties and

collateral damage. If so, there will be an upsurge in anti-American sentiment boosting jihadi recruitment not just in the Middle East but in the West too, and renewed refugee flows. Heightened perceptions that Trump is anti-Muslim could also make some Middle Eastern states reluctant to cooperate with his administration (40-41).

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we sought to provide more information on Donald Trump himself as a populist leader. Even though he was regarded in a negative way, he successfully maintained his campaign and was ultimately elected a president of the United States of America. We also attempted to provide some explanations regarding his phenomenon as being a rhetorical instead of an economic one. This implies that Trump primarily depended on speeches rather than actions in order to acquire more supporters and followers. Then we discussed the Trump's populism impacts on the most essential democratic institutions. In brief, we identified a set of Trump's policies so that we could understand their implications on the U.S. role and relations.

Conclusion

Populism is a very debatable topic nowadays. It attracts the attention of most researchers all over the world. It is really broader than to be discussed in few pages. However, we tried to shed light on the most important points concerning it. In our current research, we firstly presented a general overview about Populism. We provided several definitions of Populism. Then, we precisely discussed the history of the American populist traditions from the 1980s till the 2016 election.

Secondly, we dealt the Impacts of Trump's Populism. We provided an explanation for Trump's Populism as a rhetorical phenomenon. Then, we presented some facts about Trump. These facts are enough to consider his Populism as a risk to the country. After that, we discussed the impacts of Trump's Populism on Democracy, basically on the democratic institutions. At the end, we introduced some of Trump's new policies and discussed their possible implications on the U.S. roles and relations.

Left-wing and Right-wing are two different populist traditions that have flourished in the United States of America long time ago. The rhetoric of left-wing populism often consists of anti-elitist sentiments, opposition to the establishment and speaking for the common folk. Left-wing populists blame the elites in big business and government for undermining and ignoring the common people's economic interests and political liberties. They develop a definition for the people based on class, but they do not show support or opposition to any specific ethnic or religious group.

The second type, right-wing populism, also criticizes the corporate elites and their enablers in government for betraying the interests of the common people. They believe that those corrupt elites think only in their personal interests and marginalize the people's interests and liberties. Right-wing populists also embrace a conception of the people based

Conclusion

on class, but it is narrower and more ethnically restrictive. For them, only real Americans have the right to enjoy rights and liberties in their mother country. Thus, they direct opposition to other ethnic groups, especially African Americans and Muslims. These populists think that the nefarious elites on high, and the unworthy dark-skinned below place the interests of the nationalist white Americans in danger.

The president Donald Trump belongs to the second American populist tradition. His victory marked the return of Populism in the U.S.A. Populism is a style of politics that is used to mobilize mass movements against most ruling powers and to speak for ordinary people. Many critics have warned from the rise of Populism. They have shown confusion and fear about its future impacts on the country. Populism may seem beneficial for the country if we consider its short-term impacts. However, leaders should think twice before having any serious decision if long-term impacts are taken into consideration. Thus, Populism is considered as a threat to the United States of America.

This research will hopefully invite future researchers to analyze the topic of Trump's Populism and investigate its impacts on the U.S.A. It can provide useful information regarding Trump's Populism. It can give people a fruitful understanding of the extent to which Trump's Populism can be harmful to a nation that is struggling for being a global super power. By knowing the negative impacts of Trump's Populism on the future of the U.S, researchers in the field of American civilization would be able to think about the topic to a great extent. After the impacts are fully investigated, they may direct researchers to look for solutions to be applied in order to stop or at least minimize the surge of Populism.

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ملخص

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في آثار الشعوبية الترامبية (لدونالد ترامب) على الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. حيث توفر نظرة تاريخية موجزة على الشعوبية في أمريكا منذ أول ظهور حتى انتخابات عام 2016. بالإضافة الى ذكر مجموعة من التعاريف المختلفة لمصطلح الشعوبية. تذهب الدراسة إلى أبعد من ذلك في تحديد ملامح الشعوبية الترامبية وتأثيراتها على مستقبل البلاد وذلك باستخدام طريقة تحليلية وصفية. وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تصوير الشعوبية الترامبية وعرض تداعياتها على الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. وهكذا يتكون البحث من فصلين رئيسيين. الفصل الأول وهو عبارة عن نظرة عامة حول الشعوبية. اما الفصل الثاني فيمثل الجزء الاهم للدراسة حيث تم فيه ذكر التأثيرات الرئيسية للشعوبية الترامبية. في النهاية قد تبدو الشعوبية مفيدة لحظات الوعود الخطابية للرئيس ومع ذلك قد تواجه الأمة فشلا ذريعا بسبب تداعيات الشعوبية الترامبية وتأثيراتها عليها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: انتخابات 2016، دونالد ترامب، تداعيات، الشعوبية، الولايات المتحدة الامريكية.