**Name of politician:** Donald Trump

**Title of Speech:** Rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan

**Date of Speech:** November 7-8, 2016

**Category:** Electoral Speech

**Grader:** Cristóbal Sandoval

**Date of grading:** November 23, 2016

**Final Grade (delete unused grades):**

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

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|  | **Score here (0, 1,2)** | **Populist** | **Pluralist** |
| Manichaean vision | 0 | It conveys a Manichaean vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.  *“THEY WON'T BE TAKING OUR JOBS ANY LONGER. THEY WON'T BE DOING THE THINGS THEY HAVE BEEN DOING TO US. WE WILL END UP HAVING GREAT HEALTH CARE, STRONG BORDERS. WE WILL BUILD UP OUR MILITARY, WE HAVE NO CHOICE.”*  *“DID YOU WANT AMERICA TO BE RULED THE CORRUPT POLITICAL PLAN? NO!*  *OR DO YOU WANT AMERICA TO BE RULED BY YOU, THE PEOPLE? THE WAY IT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN FOR A LONG TIME. WE LOST TRACK”.*  *“IT IS A ONE LANE HIGHWAY RIGHT INTO THESE OTHER COUNTRIES, THEY TAKE OUR MONEY, THEY TAKE OUR JOBS, THEY BUILD THEIR PLANTS, THEY BUILD THEIR FACTORIES, WE END UP WITH UNEMPLOYMENT AND DRUGS, THAT IS WHAT WE END UP WITH.”*  *“HER PLAN WILL IMPORT GENERATIONS OF TERRORISM, EXTREMISM, AND RADICALISM INTO YOUR SCHOOLS AND THROUGHOUT YOUR COMMUNITIES. WHEN I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT, WE WILL SUSPEND THE SYRIAN REFUGEE PROGRAM. AND WE WILL KEEP RADICAL ISLAMIC TERRORISTS THE HELL OUT OF OUR COUNTRY, 100%. “*  *“WE WILL STOP ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, DEPORT ALL CRIMINAL ALIENS, AND DISMANTLE EVERY LAST CRIMINAL GANG AND CARTEL THREATENING OUR WONDERFUL CITIZENS. WE GOING TO DO IT EASILY. QUICKLY.”*  *“YOU HAVE ONE MAGNIFICENT CHANCE TO BEAT THIS CORRUPT, RIGGED SYSTEM AND TO DELIVER JUSTICE FOR EVERY FORGOTTEN MAN AND FORGOTTEN WOMAN, AND FORGOTTEN CHILD IN THIS NATION. WE ARE FIGHTING FOR EVERY CITIZEN WHO BELIEVES THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD SERVE THE PEOPLE, NOT THE DONORS, AND NOT THE SPECIAL INTERESTS.”* | The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on **narrow, particular issues**. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion. |
|  |  | The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing **cosmic proportions** to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to **national and religious leaders** that are generally revered. | The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections. |
| Populist notion of the people | 1,5 | Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.  *“TODAY WE ARE GOING TO WIN THE GREAT STATE OF MICHIGAN, AND WE ARE GOING TO WIN BACK THE WHITE HOUSE. WE ARE HOURS AWAY FROM A ONCE IN A LIFETIME CHANGE. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE REAL CHANGE, NOT OBAMA CHANGE.”*  *“NOW, IT IS UP TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DELIVER JUSTICE AT THE BALLOT BOX.”*  *“WE WILL OPEN A BRIGHT NEW CHAPTER, FOCUSED ON YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.”*  *“JUST IMAGINE WHAT OUR COUNTRY COULD ACCOMPLISH IF WE STARTED WORKING TOGETHER AS ONE PEOPLE, UNDER ONE GOD, SALUTING ONE AMERICAN FLAG, RIGHT?”* | Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic. |
| Evil elite | 0 | The evil is embodied in a minority—more specifically, an elite—whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.  *“THESE PEOPLE, THE MEDIA, THEY ARE NOT HAPPY. THEY ARE NOT HAPPY.”*  *“THE CORRUPT POLITICIANS AND THEIR SPECIAL INTERESTS HAVE ROLLED OVER THIS COUNTRY FOR A VERY LONG TIME. TODAY IS OUR INDEPENDENCE DAY.”*  *“HILLARY CLINTON IS THE MOST CORRUPT PERSON EVER TO SEEK THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES. SHE IS BEING PROTECTED BY A TOTALLY RIGGED SYSTEM THAT I HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT FOR A LONG TIME.”* | The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low. |
|  |  | Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.  *“I AM GOING TO COME BACK EVERY TIME WE OPEN A NEW FACTORY OR A NEW AUTOMOBILE PLANT. WE WILL DO A LOT OF EXPANSION.”* | The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”  *“AS PART OF THIS PART OF OUR PLAN TO BRING BACK JOBS, WE ARE GOING TO LOWER TAXES AND AMERICAN BUSINESS FROM 35% TO 15%. WE WILL MASSIVELY CUT TAXES FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS. HILLARY CLINTON WANTS TO RAISE YOUR TAXES VERY SIGNIFICANTLY. WE ARE THE HIGHEST TAXED NATION IN THE WORLD AND SHE WANTS TO RAISE YOUR TAXES. WE WILL REBUILD OUR INNER CITIES.”*  *“A TRUMP ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT ADMIT ANY REFUGEES WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY WHERE THEY ARE BEING PLACED. A TRUMP ADMINISTRATION WILL ALSO SECURE AND DEFEND THE BORDERS OF THE UNITED STATES. AND YES, WE WILL BUILD A GREAT, GREAT WALL.“* |
|  |  | Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent. | Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards. |

**Overall Comments (just a few sentences):**

El discurso presenta los elementos necesarios para ser considerado como populista. En primer lugar, se reconoce de manera clara la apelación al pueblo americano como una entidad virtuosa. Segundo, se reconoce la identificación de una elite representada por los políticos, Clinton, Obama, los intereses especiales y los donantes que atentan contra los intereses del pueblo. De esta forma, se reconoce una visión maniquea del mundo entre ellos y nosotros, en donde, por un lado, aparece el pueblo americano y, por el otro lado, la elite acompañada de los grupos no-nativos que deben ser deportados. En tercer lugar, se reconoce una noción de voluntad general como fuente de legitimidad política que permitirá al pueblo americano y el movimiento creado por Trump recuperar la casa blanca y recuperar el control por el futuro del país. Finalmente, el discurso se enfoca en algunas políticas publicas específicas como la reducción de impuestos, la construcción de infraestructura, la generación de empleos, industrialización, apoyo a los veteranos, fortalecer a los militares, construir el muro, entre otras. A partir de los elementos anteriores es posible clasificar el discurso con una **nota de 1,3.**