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Left and Right Wing Populism in the United States

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Abstract

Populism in the United States (US) has become an essential theme in American politics – starting from People's Party in 1892 to today's US president Donald J. Trump. This bachelor's thesis will examine the differences between contemporary left-wing and right-wing populism in the US by employing the method of quantitative linguistics. The context and the frequency of the word "people" used by the US presidential candidates in their speeches will be compared. As the main comparison for this study there are three candidates represented from the Democratic Party and one from the Republican Party: Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump, respectively.

Abstrakt

Populismus ve Spojených státech (US) je považován základním tématem americké politiky – od People's Party v roce 1892 po současného amerického prezidenta Donalda Trumpa. Tato bakalářská práce bude zkoumat rozdíly mezi současným levicovým a pravicovým populismem ve Spojených Státech s pomocí metody kvantitativní lingvistiky. Bude porovnána frekvence slova „lid" používaného prezidentskými kandidáty Spojených Států Amerických ve svých vlastních projevech. Jako hlavní srovnání pro tuto studii jsou vybráni tři kandidáty z Demokratické strany a jeden z Republikánské: Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama a Donald J. Trump.

Keywords

Right-wing populism, left-wing populism, US policy, the Republican

Party, the Democratic Party.

Klíčová slova

Pravicový populismus, levicový populismus, americká politika, republikánská strana,
demokratická strana.

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby certify that the thesis I am submitting is entirely my own original work except where otherwise indicated. I certify that this work was not used to obtain another degree. I consent to my work being used for the purpose of study and research.

V Praze, dne 26.5.2020   Kamilla Kharisova

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Obsah

1. Introduction

In recent years, populism became an issue between social scientists and political commentators, and it also attracted considerable interest from people all over the world. Populists have disrupted long-established patterns of party competition in many contemporary Western societies.[1] These forces have advanced in long established democracies, across the Europe, for instance in Austria (the Freedom party), Norway (the Norwegian Progress Party), Denmark (the Danish People), Swiss (People's Party), Netherlands (the Party for Freedom and the Forum for Democracy). In Central and Eastern Europe, the largest Authoritarian-Populist parties including Victor Orban's Fidesz in Hungary, Poland's Law and Justice, the Slovenian Democratic Party, the Bulgarian National Movement II, and the Jobbik movement for a Better Hungary.[2] Moreover, Libertarian-Populist parties and social movements has also grown in recent years in several European countries such as Spain's Podemos Party and the Indignados Movements, Greece's Syriza, the Left Party in Germany, the Socialist Party in Netherland, and Italy's Five Star Movement.[3] Nevertheless, the most dramatic case is the election of Donald Trump to the White House.

How could such a polarizing and politically inexperienced figure win major party's nomination – and then be elected President? Many observers find it difficult to understand his victory. Trump is a leader who uses populist rhetoric to legitimize his style of governance, while promoting authoritarian values that threaten the liberal norms underpinning American democracy. But he is far from unique. The US history has a long list of previous demagogues include Hucy Long's Share the Wealth Movement, Joe McCarthy's witch-hunting communists, and George Wallace's white backlash.[4] Therefore, the main objective of this thesis is to identify and highlight populist traits in a selected four of the US presidential candidates - Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump based on Paul Taggart's six key themes that run through populism. Taggart's six traits never exactly conform to anyone case, however by their adjustability help to understand each case in particular. The reason for choosing Obama and Trump is

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[1] Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 3.
[2] Ibid, 2019: 11.
[3] Ibid, 2019: 11.
[4] Ibid, 2019: 3.

because both are successful presidential candidates, while one is a populist and the another one is not. Sanders and Hillary, on the contrary, are examples of failed presidential candidates where one is a populist and the other one is far from it.

The secondary objective is to classify each of the candidate as leftwing or rightwing according to their responses, reactions and claims on the general issues. The analysis will be provided through candidate's campaign promises and public speeches, Simultaneously, the frequency analysis method will be used to calculate how often and in what context the US presidential contenders refer to the word "people" during their speeches. The major reason for choosing three candidates from Democratic Party and just one from Republican Party is to check if democratic candidates shifted too far right.

This paper is divided into three chapters. Following the preface and introduction, the theoretical and methodological framework are defined. Next, the roots of American populism are examined, as well as the basic values and features of this phenomenon. In the section defining the theoretical framework, first, I will introduce different concepts of populism and describe six key elements that run through populism according to Paul Taggart's theory; second, how these features can be applied to the US presidential candidates' campaign promises. The conclusion of this workpaper will expose the dynamics between left-wing and right-wing populism.

2. Methodology

This paper tries to analyze candidates' speech during the presidential campaign, on six different topics:

- Commencement speech
- Announcing candidacy
- Tax reform
- Economy
- Foreign Policy
- Immigration reform

The particular political issues were the most popular concerns of the public in the US during the debates. Candidacy announcement and the commencement speeches were chosen

to yield a general overview of the speaker's position.[5] For the analysis, the Quantitative Linguistics (QL) method was used, which looks for quantitative data, quantifies the phenomena of different language levels, and models their relations realized in lower units, in the word, as well as in higher units, in the sentence, text, etc. to enable us to have a better understanding of their causal mechanism, and the dynamism of the development of a language, their functioning in their formal as well as semantic aspects, and to disclose the causes of the potentiality of the phenomena of language.[6]

The QL method of this thesis is combined with two steps. First, find the word "people" and denote its relationship with other words in the sentence. Second, compare the results with the characteristics of left-right political spectrums. This method will help me to study the word "people" in the candidates' speeches, in terms of frequency and degree of polysemy. The context of the sentence has also been taken into account. In addition, the specific policy actions proposed by each candidate have been added, so we could also tell us whether they were populists.

The aim is to demonstrate the various ways of expressing the word "people," depending on the candidates' political positions. The results will help to identify whether the speaker is on the left or right of the political spectrum. Also, it is important to emphasize that this approach is rather heuristic.

3. Ideology of populism

„The leaders who work most effectively, it seems to me, never say "I". And that's not because they have trained themselves not to say "I". They don't think "I". They think "team". They understand their job to be to make the team function... There is an identification (very often quite unconsciously) with the task and with the group. "[7]

„I alone can fix this. "[8] (D. J. Trump)

[5] The Issues That Got the Most Time at the Debates So Far, New York Times, 2019 [online] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/20/us/politics/democratic-debate-issues.html)
[6] Mathesius, 1911 in Těšitelová, M., 1992: 13.

[7] Drucker, Petr, 1992: 14

[8] Donald Trump's Official Twitter account, 22.7.16. Available at: https://twitter.com/CNBC/status/756350652062830593

Populism is one of the main political buzzwords of the 21st century. The term is used to describe left-wing presidents in Latin America, right-wing challenger parties in Europe, and both left-wing and right-wing presidential candidates in the United States.[9] One of the definition of populism as an ideology was suggested by Cas Mudde in a series of studies that focus primarily on European right-wing populist parties: *„(populism is) a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite,' and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people"[10]*. Populism here is first and foremost a set of ideas characterized by an antagonism between the people and the elite, as well as the primacy of popular sovereignty, whereby the virtuous general is placed in opposition to the moral corruption of elite actors.[11]

For over a century ideology have been regarded as epiphenomena by sociologists and political scientists.[12] If we are to make sense of populism, we must treat it as, though not only as, an ideology.[13] To make things even more complicated, in different global regions populism tends to be equated, and sometimes conflated, with quite distinct phenomena. For instance, in the European context populism often refers to anti-immigration and xenophobia, whereas in Latin America it frequently alludes to clientelism and economic mismanagement.[14] That means populism can also be attached to different situations, and therefore to other ideologies. Populism has adaptability skills.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart in their book "Cultural Backlash" define populism as a style of rhetoric reflecting first-order principles about who should rule, claiming that legitimate power rests with "the people" not the elites. It remains silent about second-order principles, concerning what should be done, what policies should be followed, what decisions should be made. The discourse has a chameleon-like quality which can adapt flexibly to a variety of substantive ideological values and principles, such as socialist or

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[9] Mudde, Cas a Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017: 1

[10] Mudde, Cas, 2004: 543

[11] Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart: Verieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda, p.6 [online]

[12] De Kadt, Emanuel, MacRae, Donald, 1969: 153.

[13] Ibid, 1969: 154

[14] Mudde, Cas a Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017: 2.

conservative populism, authoritarian or progressive populism, and so on.[15] According to P. Norris and R. Inglehart the populist rhetoric can be mainly distinguished first, by its challenging the legitimate authority of the "establishment". For instance, calling Europe Union "Brussels bureaucrats", the mainstream media "fake news" or scientists "who needs experts?", etc. Second, populist leaders claim that the only legitimate source of political power and moral authority in a democracy rests with "the people." The voice of ordinary citizens is regarded as the only "genuine" form of democratic governance.[16] Moreover, populism is a process that end up vanishing if we study it too closely.

3.1. Paul Taggart's definition of populism

Professor of politics at the University of Sussex, Paul Taggart, describes "populism" as "a difficult, slippery concept. It lacks features that would make it more tangible. Rooted in it are characteristics that render it quintessentially mercurial. For these reasons, it is profoundly difficult to constrict a generalized description, let alone a universal and comprehensive definition, of populism as an idea or as a political movement."[17]

In his book "Populism", Taggart tries to define populism by exploring six key themes that run through populism:

- *Populists as hostile to representative politics* – According to populist logic politics is messy and corrupting. In this regard populism seeks to avoid political involvement. Overcoming their reluctance, populists engage in politics when they perceive crisis. The components of representative politics such as parties and parliaments populists indicate as distraction and as an unnecessary complication. Eschewing the complexity of representative politics, populists advocate simplicity and directness in their politics.
- *Populists identifying themselves with an idealized "heartland" within the community they favor* – there is a concept of heartland within a populism. The heartland is that subset of the people who are the authentic people, it is the place where the real people live, the salt of the earth. Those people are God-fearing, they work for their money, they are not pretentious, they have common sense, they know what is good, they are

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[15] Norris, Pippa a Ronald Inglehart, 2018: 4.

[16] Ibid: 5.
[17] Taggart, Paul, 2000: 2.

pure.[18] Heartland is a notion that is constructed through looking inward and backward: a world that embodies the collective ways and wisdom of the people who construct it, usually with reference to what has gone before. It is populated by 'the people' and gives meaning to constructions and invocations of the people by populists.

- *Populism as an ideology lacking core values* – Populism has been a tool of progressives, of reactionaries, of democrats, of autocrats, of the left and the right. But unlike the other ideologies, which focus on one or more values such as equality, liberty and social justice, populism has no such core to it. This explains why populism is appropriated by such wide range of political positions and why it is very often appended to other ideologies.

- *Populism as a powerful reaction to a sense of extreme crisis* – Often populism is a warning sign of a political or economic crisis. The difficulty is that the crisis may be one in the imagination of the populist or it may be the true sense of the world.

- *Populism as containing fundamental dilemmas that make it self-limiting* – Taggart also assets that populism is an episodic phenomenon. He argues that populism comes up in times of crisis that are usually short-term, and it disappears as soon as the crisis is over.

- *Populism as a chameleon, adopting the colors of its environment* – it is adaptive and fundamentally colored and charged according to its environment. The nature of populism, the issues it focuses on, and what it celebrates as "low" politics derive from its context. This is why populism is particularly given to variation and it becomes particularly difficult to integrate the studies of populism across drastically different contexts.[19]

4. Left/Right

Left and right are terms used as a shorthand method for describing political ideas and beliefs, summarizing the ideological positions of politicians, political parties and movements. They are usually understood as the poles of political spectrum, enabling people to talk about the „center-left", „far right" and so on. The most common application of the

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[18] Roell,Sophie, Cas Mudde explains Paul Taggart's definition of heartland. (accessed 1.8.19). Available at: https*://fivebooks.com/best-books/cas-mudde-populism/*
[19] Taggart, Paul, 2000: 4.

left/right distinction is in the form of linear political spectrum that travels from left wing to right wing, as shown in Figure 1.[20]

Communism   Socialism   Liberalism   Conservatism   Fascism

Figure 1: Linear Spectrum.

However, the terms left and right do not have exact meanings. In a narrow sense, the political spectrum summarizes different attitudes towards the economy and the role of the state. So, the ideas such as freedom, equality, fraternity, rights, progress, reform and internationalism are what the left-wing put an emphasis on, while the right-wing is characterized by an emphasis on "notions such as authority, hierarchy, order, duty, tradition, reaction and nationalism". Furthermore, left and right have been used to sum up contrasting attitudes to political change in general, left-wing thinking welcoming change, usually based on a belief in progress, while right-wing thinking resists change and seeks to defend the status quo.[21] In the US case, the core values of the Democratic Party align with liberal ideology and the core values of the Republican Party align with conservative ideology.

4.1. Right and left wing populism

Just like there are substantial differences between left and right policies, there are also differences in right-wing and left-wing populism. From the historical point of view the terms left and right were first used in an ideological context during the French revolution of the 18th century. The left-wing movement supported the revolution, while the right wing stood in favor of the monarchy. This idea of the left supporting change and the right wanting to perpetuate the status quo continues today and is key in some of their philosophies. The difference between left- and right-wing ideology fundamentally comes down to the balance between individual liberty and government power.[22]

Even though both concepts have practice the same strategy – bringing together a crowd around a political idea in order to shape an „us" against „them", but the concept used to define these groups are absolutely different. Leftwing populists champion the people against an elite or an establishment. Theirs is a vertical politics of the bottom and middle, arrayed

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[20] Andrew Heywood, 2015: 119.
[21] Andrew Heywood, 2015: 119.
[22] The Life Guide. 29.12.2016. [online] YouTube.com

against the top.[23] Rightwing populists champion the people against an elite that they accuse of favoring a third group, which can consist, for instance, of immigrants, Islamists, or African American militants. That's why we consider leftwing populism is a *dyadic*, looking upward, and rightwing populism is a *triadic*: it looks upward, but also down upon an out group.[24] As an example the right-wing populism of Donald Trump, expressed in his "Make Amerika Great Again", limits national identity of "the people" excluding immigrants, refugees, and any other definable as "foreign" to a sentimental ideal. Although exclusion is also present in the left-wing populism of Bernie Sanders, he does not exclude categories of people but rather those sectors of the establishment in the service of neo-liberal global corporations. [25]

Right-wing populism differentiates from a conservatism which primarily identifies with the business classes against their critics and antagonists below. In its American and Western European versions, it is also different from the authoritarian conservatism that aims to subvert democracy. Right-wing populism operates within a democratic context.[26] On the other hand, left-wing populism is historically different from socialist or social democratic movements. It is not a politics of class conflict, and it does not necessarily seek the abolition of capitalism. Left-wing populism is also different from progressive or liberal politics that seeks to reconcile the interests of opposing classes and groups. It assumes a basic antagonism between the people and an elite at the heart of its politics.[27]

Just as there is no common ideology that defines populism, there is no one constituency that comprises "the people". They can be blue-collar workers, shopkeepers, or students burdened by debt; they can be the poor or the middle class. Equally, there is no common identification of "the establishment". The exact referents of "the people" and "the elite" do not define populism, what defines it is the conflict between the two (or, in the case of rightwing populism, the three).[28]

4.2. The roots of American populism from 1892 to 1990's.

The United States, has a long history of populist mobilization, going back to the late 19th century. There is, however, a particular kind of populist politics that originated in the North

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[23] Judis John B. 2016: 14.
[24] Ibid, 2016: 14.
[25] Zabala, Santiago,The difference between right and left-wing populism, [online] Aljazeera.
[26] Judis John B., 2016: 15.
[27] Ibid, 2016: 15.
[28] Ibid, 2016: 15.

America, which has recurred there in the 20th and 21st centuries – and which began to appear in western Europe in the 1970s.[29] Although the continent has had its share of populist leaders, often at the state level, almost all significant populist forces have been characterized by movements with relatively weak central leadership and organization.[30] The most successful of the early movements, the People's Party, emerged from the populist movement in 1892 as a left-wing coalition of cotton and wheat farmers and the labor movement, railing against capitalism and banks.[31] Despite the fact that the People's Party was short-lived, but their example established the basis for populism in the US and Europe.[32]

The sings of radical populism characterized outspoken leaders like Huey Long. As an elected Governor and the Senator for Louisiana, he provided the first impactful populist political movement of the 20th century. Long rode a wave of support thanks to his anti/corporate efforts. With the slogan *"Every man a king"* Long's control was wide in Louisiana. He gave police more power, installed cronies into government agencies and gained more centralized power from the legislature. He also funded education, infrastructure and energy programs by taxing the rich. Long as well started his Share the Wealth Club, offering a literal plan to redistribute wealth.[33]

The style was also exemplified by right-wing populist Governor George Wallace in the 1960s.[34] Governor of Alabama was already known nationally for his hard-pro-segregation stance thanks to his attempts to keep black students from entering the University of Alabama campus in 1963. He sought the presidency on four different occasions, first as a Democrat in 1964 challenging Lyndon Johnson. Populism and racism have often walked hand-in-hand, and Wallace is seen as one of the most successful practitioners of this partnership, though he sometimes claimed that his racist tones were merely political calculations to gain popular support.[35]

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[29] Judis B. John, 2016: 13.

[30] Mudde, Cas, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017: 22

[31] Kazin, Michael, 1998. in Norris, Pippa a Ronald Inglehart, 2018: 332.

[32] Judis B. John, 2016: The people's Party

[33] Populism in the United States: A Timeline, 2019, history.com [online]

[34] Kazin, Michael, 1995, Norris, Pippa a Ronald Inglehart, 2018: 332.

[35] Populism in the United States: A Timeline, 2019, [online]

The 1990s saw some moderate conservative populism with the presidential campaigns of Ross Perot winning 18.9 percent of the popular vote in 1992 and 8.4 percent in 1996.[36] Perot portrayed himself as an unpaid servant of the people against a corrupt government and inept corporate hierarchy. He promised to reverse the relationship between the people and their government with slogan "We own this country."[37]

5. Presidential candidates

President of the United States is arguably the most powerful official in the world. Majority of people around the globe follows the US presidential election campaign. For this paper I chose 4 presidential candidates from last and current terms. When, in 2008 Obama, Democrats party nominee, was elected the 44th president of the United States, he became the nation's first black president, sweeping away the last racial barrier in American politics. He was also the fifth-youngest president in history. However, the 2016 US elections are considered as a historic one. There are several reasons for this. No previous candidate has been elected president, in more than 60 years, without experience as a governor or in congress, no previous candidate has ever owned a chain of casinos and hotels. Nevertheless, Trump very skillfully and efficiently took advantage of this fact and responded that his experience doing deals, and the fact he is not too tied to the Washington establishment, stand him in good stead. By contrast, Clinton has long years of experience on the Washington scene and she could have been the first female president. The last historical candidate is Sen. Bernie Sanders who drastically shifted the Democratic platform and had an unparalleled influence on the national political discourse. He declared himself a democratic socialist and has been saying the same things for decades, which is a large part of what made him so attractive to young voters.

The following part will demonstrate the specific policy actions proposed by each candidate and their public speeches, where the QL method will be applied. Based on their campaign promises and the causality of using the word "people" within the specific context it may or may not reveal whether they could be considered populists or not. The main reason for choosing word "people", is because most of U.S. politicians on all sides of the political spectrum speak frequently about representing "the people" and placing the highest

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[36] Ibid, 2019, [online]
[37] Judis John B. 2016: Ross Perot: Chapter two [e-book]

importance on the "will of the people". For this reason, my thesis will show if there is a difference between democrat and republican in using word "people" during public speeches.

Additionally, four chosen issues will be presented, which were the most discussed at the debates during the presidential campaigns in 2008, 2012, and 2016. Each candidate's opinion on a particular topic will help us more accurately identify their position on the political spectrum.

6.   The U.S. 44th President Barack Obama

Barack Obama was inaugurated as the 44th president of the United States—becoming the first African American to serve in that office—on January 20, 2009. He served two terms, in 2008 and in 2012. As the son of a white American mother and black Kenyan father, Obama grew up in Hawaii. He earned degrees from from Columbia University and Harvard Law School. Obama was elected to the Illinois state Senate in 1996 and served there for eight years. In 2004, he was elected by a record majority to the US Senate from Illinois and, in February 2007, he announced his candidacy for president.[38]

In his campaign program for president in 2008 and 2012 Obama promised to "cut taxes for 95 percent of all working families," "end our dependence on oil from the Middle East," "invest $150 billion over the next decade in affordable, renewable sources of energy," provide "affordable, accessible health care for every single American," close "corporate loopholes and tax havens that don't help America grow," "end this war in Iraq responsibly and finish the fight against al Qaida and the Taliban in Afghanistan," and allow "our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters to live lives free of discrimination."[39]

6.1. Barack Obama on issues

Health Care[41]

On the health care reform, people in America are often offered two extremes – government-run health care with higher taxes or letting the insurance companies operate

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[38] Nelson, Michael, Barack Obama: Life in brief [online] millercenter.org

[39] Nelson, Michael. Barack Obama Campaign and Elections, Miller Center, [online] millercenter.org

without rules.[40] Under the Barack Obama plan, health insurance costs should go down by as much as $2,500 per year. For those ones do not have health insurance, they had a choice of new, affordable health insurance options. Here are some of his main points:

- Lowering health care costs;
- Aims to cover everyone;
- Uniform national rules for the individual insurance market;
- Expanding the role of employers in providing health benefits;
- Create a new Small Business Health Tax Credit to help small businesses provide affordable health insurance to their employees;
- Requirement to have coverage;
- Leverage to stimulate improvement in quality.[41]

Education[42]

Obama proposes $18 billion a year in new federal spending on early childhood classes, teacher recruitment, performance pay and other initiatives.

- Would spend $10 billion a year to expand early childhood education;
- Would increase federal funding for after-school programs;
- Would double federal spending on public charter schools while holding them accountable

Climate Change[43]

Senator Obama envisions legislation that leaves little space on emissions cuts and exacts a price from the start for emissions permits. He would use $15 billion a year from those proceeds to promote non-polluting energy sources and cut energy waste. Here are some of his key points about climate change:

- U.S. must lead global efforts to reduce emissions; would institute cap-and-trade system;

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[40] The Obama-Biden Plan, Health Care Agenda, [online] web.archive.org

[41] Collins R. Sara, Kriss L. Jennifer, Rustgi Sheila, Davis Karen, The 2008 Presidential Candidates' Health Reform Proposals: Choises for America, [online] commonwealthfund.org

[42] Carter Shan, Ellis, Jonathan, Hossain, Farhana, McLean, Alan. On the Isues: Education. [online] nytimes.com

[43] Revkin C. Andrew, Carter Shan, Ellis Jonathan, Hossain, Farhana, McLean, Alan. On the Isues: Climate Change [online] nytimes.com

- Reduce carbon emissions 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050;

- Increase fuel economy standards within 18 years;

- Require all transportation fuels in the United States to contain 5 percent less carbon by 2015 and 10 percent less carbon by 2020;

- Would consider banning new coal plants without "clean coal" technologies.

Foreign Policy[44]

Central part of Obama's foreign policy emphasizes negotiation and collaboration rather than confrontation and unilateralism in international affairs. The main objective of Obama's foreign policy is to see the world without nuclear weapons:

- Ending the war in Iraq responsibly;

- Finishing the fight against al-Qaida and the Taliban;

- Securing all nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists and rogue states;

- Achieving true energy security;

- Rebuilding our alliances to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Obama's answers can be described as moderate, not over ambitious, with no intense of separating voters into two different camps. According to the above, Obama primarily eagers to cover with healthcare more people by lowering the price, aims to make education more affordable by increasing federal funding, admits climate change and suggests taking measures, and also boost cooperation with the US partner states. Based on Figures 1 and 2, his attitude can be hardly labeled as an extreme right or left, but as center-left leader.

6.2. Obama's speeches (not all expressions with the word „people" were used in this table)

The table below visualizes six selected speeches, which were performed by Obama during both campaigns and terms in the office as a president of the U.S. The number on right side shows amount of using word "people" and context.

In speech number two, during the announcement of his candidacy for the second term in 2011, Obama asked people to look back and see how much they accomplished together and how much more they still have to do.

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[44] Nelson, Michael: Barack Obama: Foreign Affairs, [online] millercenter.org

Occasion	"The people" frequency used by Obama
Commencement speech (8)	• At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or **vision of those in high office**, but because **We the People** have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers, • And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account—to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day—because only then can **we restore the vital trust between a people** and their government. • For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of **the American people** upon which this nation relies. [45]
Announcing candidacy (1)	• But I want everybody here to remember everything we've accomplished over the last two years, and the record of accomplishment in making a difference for **ordinary people:** making sure that they can get the health care that they need, making sure that they are able to find a job, or get trained for a job for the future.[46]
Tax reform (13)	• So many of **these debates in Washington** end up being portrayed as **which party is winning**, **which party is losing**. But what we have to remind ourselves of is **this is about people**; • What's happening right now is exactly why **people** just **get so frustrated with Washington**. (due to $1,000 tax increase from 1.1.2012)

[45] Miller Center, Barack Obama's inaugural address. 20.01.09. [online] millercenter.org

[46] American Rhetoric, Barack Obama announces candidacy for 2012 presidency. [online] americanrhetoric.com

	• I believe compromise going to happen sooner or later. Let's **give the American people** -- the people who sent us here -- **the kind of leadership they deserve**. [47]
Economy (24)	• It combined the breathtaking **greed of a few** with irresponsibility all across the system. And it plunged **our economy** and the world into a crisis from which we're still fighting to recover. It claimed the jobs and the homes and the basic security of millions of **people -- innocent, hardworking Americans**…; • After all that's happened, after the worst economic crisis, the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression, **they** want to return to the same practices that got **us** into this mess • …, there is a **certain crowd in Washington** who, for the last few decades, have said, let's respond to this economic challenge with the same old tune. "The market will take care of everything," they tell **us**. • Remember that in those same years, thanks to some of the same **folks who are** now **running Congress**, we had weak regulation, we had little oversight, and what did it get **us**? [48]
Foreign policy (13)	• **American people**, who **helped to the world** with Marshall plan, but then went through the attacks of September 11. brought this new reality. • … **the purpose** and pragmatism of **the American people** could outlast any foe.[49]

[47] The White House. Remarks by the President on the Payroll Tax Cut. 2011. Obamawhitehouse.archives.gov
[48] The White House. Remarks by the President on the Economy, 2011. Obamawhitehouse.archives.gov
[49] Obama, Barack, Full text: Obama's foreign policy speech. The Guardian. 2008. TheGuardian.com

Immigration reform (9)	• **People** as native Americans, who are free and not trapped by the past and people as immigrants. The last ones should take on the responsibilities of living in America. [50]

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[50] Miller Center, Barack Obama's address to the Nation on Immigration. 2014. [online] millercenter.org

7. The US 55th president Donald J. Trump

Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946, in the borough of queens, New York City.[51] He is the fourth child of New York real estate developer Frederick Christ Trump, whose parents were German immigrants. At the age 13 he was sent off to a military academy. In 1966 Trump enrolled at University of Pennsylvania. He graduated in May 1968 with a B.C. in economics. He helped his father's projects in the New York City boroughs and took control of the company – which he renamed Trump organization – in 1971.[52]

Trump's involvement in politics begins in the late 80's, when he expressed interest in running for presidency and even entered the presidential race in 2000 as a Reform Party candidate and received more than 15,000 votes in the party's California primary.[53]

After 2008, he became one of the most outspoken members of the "birther" movement, which questioned whether Obama was born in the US. After those claims have been thoroughly debunked, Trump finally admitted there was no truth in the claims during the presidential race, although, characteristically, it was unapologetic.[54]

In 2013, despite a strong backing from Republican voters, Trump refuses to run for governor of New York. On June 15, 2016 he announces his presidential bid, along with racist comments describing Mexican immigrants as drug dealers, criminals, and rapists[55] („And some, I assume, are good people").[56] Despite massive protests at his campaign events and the best efforts of his Republican rivals Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, Trump became the presumptive Republican party nominee for president after the Indiana primary.[57]

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[51] Department of Health – City of New York – Bureau of Records and Statistics. [online]
[52] Donald Trump's life story: From hotel developer to president, [online] , BBC.com
[53] Timeline of every Time Donald Trump ran for president, [online] TVGuide.com
[54]Donald Trump's life story: From hotel developer to president, [online] BBC.com

[55] Norris, Pippa a Ronald Inglehart, 2018: 333.

[56] Trump's announcement for prezidential bid, 2016, Washington post, [online] Washingtonpost.com
[57] Timeline of every Time Donald Trump ran for president, [online] TVGuide.com

7.1. Trump on issues

Health Care[58]

Trump is strongly agains the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and has called it "a broken mess".[59] Furthermore, according to him, ACA „imposed a Eurostyle bureaucracy to manage its unworkable, budget-busting, conflicting provisions"

- Cutting $845 billion from Medicare;
- Bigger copayments in Medicaid - additional flexibility around benefits and cost-sharing, such as increasing copayments for non-emergency use of the emergency department;
- A nationwide work requirement for Medicaid - The idea is to use the medical coverage as an incentive to get more Americans to join the workforce. The Trump budget would create a nationwide Medicaid work requirement that would save the government an estimated $245 billion — cuts that would likely come from fewer Americans getting coverage through the program;
- No more premium-free Obamacare plans.

Education[60]

The overall idea of Trump's education plan is to oppose Commont Core curriculum standarts and make education run locally.

- Invest USD20 billion on federal dollars into a voucher program for students to attend school of their choice;
- Supports charter schools;
- Eliminates Department of Education;
- Criticizes teachers' unions;
- Promises to tight Clinton's debt-free college proporsal;
- Plans to get rid of Common Core States Standards Initiative.

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[58] Kliff, Sarah, Trump's vision for American health care, explained by his budget, [online] Vox.com
[59] @realDonaldTrump, 13.10.2017, [online] Twitter.com
[60] Donald Trump on Education, 2016, [online] OnTheIssues.org

Climate Change[61]

Trump's position on climate change is well defined by his own words: "mythical", "nonexistent", or "an expensive hoax" - but also subsequently he described it as a "serious subject" that is "very important to me."

- Pull out of the Paris agreement;
- Climate change is hoax;
- Slash funding to the Environmental Protection Agency;
- Reverse Obama-era restrictions on greenhouse gas emissions from coal and natural gas power plants.

Foreign Policy[62]

Trump has approach where he puts American interests on the first place. He also frames alliances in business terms, vowing to get better value from them or pull back from historic commitments he says the US can no longer afford.

- „America First" approach;
- To rebuild and extent of the US military "America stronger than ever";
- Let NATO allies pay 2% of GDP;
- Defeating ISIS;
- "Embrace diplomacy"
- Ease tensions with Putin.

Trump's response is significantly different from his predecessor Obama. His political approach is vigorous, isolationistic and biased. Based on Trump's political campaign he will primarily repeal ACA, eliminate Department of Education, quit Paris Agreement, and pursue America first policy. According to Figures 1 and 2, Trump can be classified as an extreme right politician.

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[61] First 100 days: Where President Trump stands on key issues, 2017, [online] BBC.com
[62] Donald Trump on Foreign Policy, 2016, [online] OnTheIssues.org

7.2. Trump's speeches (not all expressions with the word "people" were used in this table)

Occasion	"The people" frequency used by Trump
Commencement speech (30)	• the fake news will say… • Together, we stared down a **corrupt and broken political establishment** and we restored **government of, by, and for the people**; • We went through the greatest witch hunt in political history. The only collusion was committed by the Democrats, **the fake news media** and their operatives and **the people who funded the phony dossier**, crooked Hillary Clinton and the DNC; • This election is a verdict on whether we want to live in a country where **the people** who lose an election refuse to concede and spend the next two years **trying to shred our Constitution** and **rip your country apart;** • **The people** tried to stop our movement are the same **Washington insiders**, who spent their careers **rigging the system**, so your losses will be their gains, you know that; • When I get behind my desk in the beautiful oval office, I think about only one thing: h**ow the American people are going to win**, win, win today; • Our **political opponents** looked down with hatred on our values and with **utter disdain for the people** whose lives they want to run. • We want **people to come into our country based on merit** more than 120 Democrats in Congress have also signed up to support crazy Bernie Sanders socialist government takeover of healthcare;

	• We are one movement, **one people**, one family and one glorious nation under God. [63]
Inauguration speech (9)	• we are **transferring power from Washington, D.C.** and giving it **back to you, the American People;** • For too long, a s**mall group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government** while **the people** have **borne the cost**. Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth; • January 20th, 2017 - **people** became **the rulers of this nation again**; • We will get our **people** off of welfare and back to work – **rebuilding our country** with American hands and American labor.[64]
Tax reform (38)	• We need **people** that are going to do a great job and keep us in the right direction; • **the people are happy**, and you see tax cuts, in this case, or whatever that party is — but **you see the big tax cuts**, you see what we're doing, jobs are coming back. And the people that voted for us become complacent a little bit. They're happy; • **We're** one team, **one people**, and one family; • One drug dealer can kill thousands of **people;** • the **future of America doesn't belong to the privileged few**, it belongs to **all of the people** — all of those people that I saw for two years now.

[63] Factbase, Donald Trump announces his 2020 candidacy, 2019, [online] Factba.se

[64] Donald Trump Inauguration speech, 2017, [online] Millercenter.org

Economy (23)	• **I represent the interests of American people;** • Old immigration system stops our economic system. We have to select **people based on their ability** to contribute to our economy • I don't think **the United States would have done very well** if it went through four or eight more years of regulation and, really, a very **anti-business group of people**. [65]
Foreign policy (11)	• My foreign policy will always put **the interests of the American people** and American security **above all else**; • We must **stop importing extremism** through senseless immigration policies. We have **no idea where these people** are coming from; • Americans must know that we're putting **the American people first again on trade**. • We will **no longer surrender** this country or its **people to the false song of globalism**. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down and will never enter. [66]
Immigration reform (14)	• Throughout our history, we have proudly **welcomed** newcomers to our shores. Out of many **people**, **from many places**, we have forged one people and one nation under God, and we're very proud of it. • Our proposal is pro-American, pro-immigrant, and pro-worker. It's just common sense. It will **help all of our people**, including millions of devoted immigrants, to achieve the American Dream.

[65] Miller Center, Donald Trump's address at the World Economic Forum. 2018. Millercenter.org

[66] Donald Trump's remarks about foreign policy. 2016, [online] nytimes.com

	- We scan only a small fraction of the vehicles, goods, and all of the other things coming across, including **people**. And, sadly, the **drugs pour across our border**.
	- **Gang members and criminals** are inadmissible. These are some of **the worst people** anywhere in the world
	- America's immigration system should **bring in people who will expand opportunity for striving, low-income Americans**, not to compete with those low-income Americans.
	- Instead of admitting **people** through random chance, we will **establish simple, universal criteria for admission** to the United States. [67]

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[67] White House, Donald Trump: Modernizing Our Immigration System for a Stronger America, [online] whitehouse.gov

8. Bernie Sanders as a political outsider

Bernie Sanders was born on September 8, 1941, in New York. His father came to America in 1921 at age 17 from a small village in Poland southeast of Krakow. Members of his father's family were murdered by the Nazis. [68] He spend a year at James Madison High School, Brooklyn College before transferring to the University of Chicago, where he graduated in 1964.[69] While he was getting a degree in political science he simultaneously joined the Congress of Racial Equality (a militant civil rights group) and the Young People's Socialist League, the youth wing of Socialist Party.[70]

In 1981, at 39 years old, Sanders won the election for mayor of Burlington, Vermont, by 10 votes, defeating a longtime Democratic incumbent whom many believed was out of touch with working-class issues.[71] Sanders was a successful mayor. He was reelected three times and helped turn the town of 45,000 into one of New England's most livable cities.[72]

In 1986, he ran for governor and lost significantly, by getting less that 15 percent of the votes. In 1988, he ran for Congress and lost again, but it was close with 37.5 percent to the Republican's 41 percent. During his four terms as mayor, Bernie provided significant improvements in affordable housing and roads, enhanced the quality of the environment, and pushed for more progressive taxation, childcare, women's rights, and youth programs.[73]

In 1990, he won a seat in the House of Representatives with 56 percent of the votes. In the House, he was leading campaigns in favor of taxing the rich, being against the Iraq War, and being against the North American Free Trade Agreement.[74]

Since he was not a candidate for reelection to the House of Representatives, he ran for the US Senate seat in 2006, where he was elected as an independent candidate.[75] Thereafter he was reelected, and again in 2018 for the term ending January 3, 2025.

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[68] Stanton, Zack, Muller, Jordan, Kruse, Michael. *55 Things You Need to Know About Bernie Sanders.* 2020 [online] politico.com
[69] About Bernie. Bernie Sanders U.S. Senator for Vermont, [online] sanders.senate.gov
[70] Stanton, Zack, Muller, Jordan, Kruse, Michael. *55 Things You Need to Know About Bernie Sanders,* 2020 [online] politico.com
[71] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: 151.
[72] John B. Judis. „The Populist Explosion" [ebook]: Sanders and the Billionaire Class.
[73] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: 151-152.
[74] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: A Brief Biography of Bernie.
[75] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: A Brief Biography of Bernie.

8.1. Bernie Sanders on issues

Health Care[76]

Sanders's government-run health care plan might be considered as the main idea of his policy agenda. Bernie has supported a single-payer, medicare-for-all health care system for several years, including his years in the House. He claimed that the United States is the only major country in the world that does not guarantee health care to all citizens. A medicare-for-all, single-payer system would provide better care at less cost for more Americans.[77]

In his speech in the Senate, December 16, 2009, he explains why his idea of national health care system makes the most sense:

- Medicare-for-all will run by the government and will be financed by taxpayers;
- Health care plan would be available to all Americans;
- Single-payer program could save USD 350 billion a year in administrative simplification, bulk purchasing, improved access with greater use of preventive services, and earlier diagnosis of illness;
- Federal spending on health care would increase by at least USD 2.5 trillion a year – most likely paid by higher payroll taxes;
- Private for-nonprofit health insurance companies in this country would no longer exist.

Education[78]

Millennials are embracing Sanders due to his support for student debt as a national crisis, and for proposing to make four-year colleges tuition-free. To put this into practice, Sanders proposes putting a teensy charge on Wall Street transactions, an amount so small that the average investor would not even notice it. [79]

Here are some key aspects about Sanders' vision of education system in the US:

- The College for All Act will provide free tuition at every public college and university in this country;

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[76] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: Healthcare.
[77] Ibid, 2015: Health Care.
[78] Sen.Sanders, Summary of Sen.Sanders' Colege for All Act [online] sanders.senate.gov
[79] Tasini, Jonathan, 2015: Education

- Under the College for All Act, the federal government would cover 67 percent of this cost, while the states would be responsible the remaining 33 percent of the cost;

- Lower student loan interest rate to about 2 percent for undergraduate students.

Climate Change[80]

Sanders' climate change plan is the most categorical among the other presidential candidates. His plan is to make the Green New Deal a reality as fast as it can be possible. Here are the program key points:

- Transform our energy system to 100 percent renewable energy and create 20 million jobs needed to solve the climate crisis;

- A Carbon tax;

- Commit to reducing emissions throughout the world, including providing USD200 billion to the Green Climate Fund, rejoining the Paris Agreement, and reasserting the United States' leadership in the global fight against climate change;

- Invest in conservation and public lands to heal our soils, forests, and prairie lands;

- End the greed of the fossil fuel industry and hold them accountable.

Foreign Policy[81]

Sanders' future vision of American foreign policy emphasizes high level diplomacy and working collectively with allies. Here are his key points about it:

- Implement a foreign policy which focuses on democracy, human rights, diplomacy and peace, and economic fairness;

- Allow Congress to reassert its Constitutional role in war-making, so that no president can wage unauthorized and unconstitutional interventions overseas;

- Follow the American people, who do not want endless war;

- End US support for the Saudi-led intervention in Yemen, which has created the world's worst humanitarian catastrophe.

Sanders pushing an antiestablishment and progressive message in his campaign. His plan for the US for the next four years is full of ambitious, radical and bold ideas. The former senator launched an unexpectedly vigorous challenge with a platform of tackling Medicare accessible for everyone (which would remove private insurance as a middleman and

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[80] Bernie Sanders, The Green New Deal, key points, [online] berniesanders.com
[81] Bernie Sanders, Responsible Foreign policy, key points, [online] berniesanders.com

guarantee health insurance as a right), making a free tuition to public colleges financed by a transaction tax on Wall Street speculation, taking action on climate change by making carbon tax to reduce carbon emission, and work side by side with US allies. Therefore, he can be considered as far left presidential candidate according to Figures 1 and 2.

8.2. Bernie's speeches (not all expressions with the word „people" were used in this table)

Occasion	"The people" frequency used by Sanders
Commencement speech (22)	- Political revolution which will transform America; **People** that are part of a campaign which is not only going to win the Democratic nomination, which is not only going to defeat Donald Trump, the most dangerous president in modern American history, but with your help is going to transform this country and, finally, create an economy and government which works for all Americans, and not just the one percent; - Healthcare to **all people** as a right; **American people** will rebuild our crumbling infrastructure; - Trump is dividing us **American people;** **People** who should not have guns, will not have guns; - Donald Trump wants to divide us up by the color of our skin, our country of origin, our gender, our religion and our sexual orientation. We are going to do exactly the opposite. We are going to **bring our people together** – black, white, Latino, Native American, Asian American, gay and straight, young and old, men and women, native born and immigrant; [82]

[82] VTD Editor, Full text: Sen. Bernie Sanders' 2020 presidential campaign kickoff speech, 2.03.19. (accessed 1.08.2019); Available at: https://vtdigger.org/2019/03/02/full-text-sen-bernie-sanders-2020-presidential-campaign-kickoff-speech/

Tax reform (3)	• **The wealthiest people** and the largest corporations are doing phenomenally well; • The best way to expand the economy is to raise wages and create good jobs to increase the purchasing power of the **American people**; • In the last two years, **the wealthiest 14 people** in this country increased their wealth by $157 billion. [83]
Economy (4)	• There are **45 million people** living in poverty and we have the highest rate of childhood poverty of any major country on earth; • All this grotesque level of income and wealth inequality comes from Wall Street; • On Wall Street six years ago that drove this country into the worst recession since the Great Depression.[84]
Foreign policy (4)	• Trade with Vietnam, where the minimum wage is 56 cents an hour, independent labor units are banned, and **people** are thrown in jail for expressing their political beliefs. We must help **poor people** around the world. • TTP agreement helps multi-national corporations to pollute and degrade the global environment • People should make decisions by their own, without unelected international tribunal. [85]
Immigration reform (15)	• Immigration reform is needed for **all our people** not just for **a handful people** on the top; • It is time to end the politics of division on this country, of **politicians** playing one **group of people** against another: white against black, male against female, straight against gay, native born against immigrant;

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[83] Bernie Sanders, The War on the Middle Class, Boston Globe, 2015. [online] bostonglobe.com

[84] Sanders, Bernie, Break Up Bug Banks, Huffpost, 2015. [online] huffpost.com
[85] Sanders, Bernie, The TPP Must Be Defeated, Huffpost, 2015. [online] huffpost.com

	- Immigrants – **people** who are ruthlessly exploited. Immigrants play central role in U.S. economy; - U.S. as a protector of **vulnerable people**; - to truly empower our minority communities, we must address the crippling poverty that affects tens of millions of **people** in this country. - Give **young people** a dream of going to college without being in debt - I also opposed tying immigration reform to the building of a border fence. Let me say what **most people** already know. Undocumented workers come to the United States to escape economic hardship and political persecution; - We cannot and must not shirk the historic role of the United States as a protector of **vulnerable people** fleeing persecution. [86]
Speech to supporters (32)	- Real change always occurs from the bottom on up – when tens of millions of **people** say "enough is enough"; - **People** (who support Bernie) will to shape the future of this country. Those people are future of this country; - Almost all new wealth and income goes to **the people on top**, where the 20 wealthiest people own more wealth than the bottom 150 million; - To end the disgrace of having more **people in jail** than any other country on earth and move toward real criminal justice reform at the federal, state and local levels; - We must pass comprehensive immigration reform and provide a path toward citizenship for 11 million **undocumented people**;

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[86] Attanasio, Cedar, Bernie Sanders on immigration, Latin Times, 2015. [online] latintimes.com

	- the Democratic Party needs leadership which is prepared to open its doors and welcome into its ranks **working people** and **young people**; - We need to start engaging at the local and state level in an unprecedented way. These are **people** deeply concerned about the future of our country and their own communities; - For government to work efficiently and effectively, we need to attract **great and dedicated people** from all walks of life; - we need **a new generation of people** actively involved in public service who are prepared to provide the quality of life **the American people** deserve. - Government which represents **all the people** and not just the few, they will note that, to a significant degree, that effort began with the political revolution of 2016. [87]

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[87] White, Daniel, Bernie Sanders' Speech to Supporters, Time, 2016, [online] time.com

9. Hillary Clinton

Hillary Diane Rodham was born in a suburb outside of Chicago, Illinois in 1947 to middle-class parents. They encouraged her to take education seriously, and she earned entrance to Massachusetts' Wellesley College. [88]

In 1969, Clinton attended Yale Law School, where she served on the Board of Editors for the Yale Review of Law and Social Action. It was there that Clinton met her future husband, William "Bill" Clinton. After she graduated, Clinton turned down offers from lucrative law firms to work for the Children's Defense Fund, as well as on the congressional committee that investigated the Watergate scandal.[89]

In 1992, when Bill Clinton was elected president, Clinton became the first First Lady to hold a law degree. She continued her tradition of public service, most notably leading an attempt to reform the nation's health care.[90]

In 2000 she ran for the New York Senate seat, where voters chose her by a solid 55% majority. She served on four major Senate committees: Armed Services; Budget; Environment and Public Works; and Health, Education, Labor and Pensions. New Yorkers gained confidence in her, and Clinton easily won her 2006 reelection.[91]

On January 20, 2007 Clinton announced her candidacy for president, and joined the historic 2008 race. Although Clinton received roughly 18 million votes, she lost in the Democratic Primary to Senator Barack Obama, who went on to win the presidency. Clinton served as Secretary of State for the Obama administration from 2009-2013. During this time, Clinton focused on women and human rights.[92]

In April 2015 Clinton announced that she was entering the U.S. presidential election race of 2016, and she immediately became the favorite to win the Democratic nomination. However, her campaign faced an unexpected challenge from Bernie Sanders, a senator who was a self-described "democratic socialist." Clinton, seen as a political insider, initially struggled to counter Sanders's policies, which she criticized as unrealistic. Instead, she advocated a "sensible agenda," which was based on traditional Democratic goals, notably

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[88] Patrick Jeanette: Hillary Clinton [online] womenhistory.org
[89] Ibid: Hillary Clinton [online] womenhistory.org
[90] Ibid: Hillary Clinton [online] womenhistory.org

[92] Ibid: Hillary Clinton [online] womenhistory.org

tax increases on the wealthy, an increase to the minimum wage, and immigration reform. 93Though she won the popular vote 48.2% to 46.1%, she lost the presidential race to her Republican opponent, Donald Trump, in the Electoral College.[94]

9.1. Hillary Clinton on issues

Health Care[95]

Hillary Clinton has made it clear that she plans to build on and expand Obama's signature policy reform — the Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare. She also supports offering a „public "option", which would create a government-sponsored health-insurance option to compete with private insurers, including:

- Defend and expand the Affordable Care Act, which covers 20 million people;
- Full Medicare benefits at age 55 or 50 and up;
- Bring down out-of-pocket costs like copays and deductibles;
- Reduce the cost of prescription drugs;
- Fight for health insurance for the lowest-income Americans in every state by incentivizing states to expand Medicaid;
- Expand access to affordable health care to families regardless of immigration status;
- Expand access to rural Americans, who often have difficulty finding quality, affordable health care;
- Defend access to reproductive health care.

Education[96]

Clinton has made childcare and early childhood education a key plank of her campaign, including:

- Says Trump's voucher program "would decimate public schools across the US;
- Invest $500 billion to eliminate tuition for millions of students at public colleges and universities across the country;

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[93] Hillary Clinton biography. Encyclopedia Britannica. 2019, [online] Britannica.com

[94] Patrick Jeanette, Hillary Clinton [online] womenhistory.org

[95] Clinton, Hillary, Health care, The office of Hillary Rodham Clinton, 2019 [online] hillaryclinton.com

[96] Clinton, Hillary, Making college debt-free and taking on student debt, The office of Hillary Rodham Clinton, 2019 [online] hillaryclinton.com

- Supports charter schools;
- Supports Common Core;
- Borrowers will be able to refinance loans at current rates, providing debt relief to an estimated 25 million people;
- A $25 billion fund will support historically black colleges and universities, Hispanic-serving institutions, and other minority-serving institutions in building new ladders of opportunity for students;
- Aspiring entrepreneurs will be able to defer their loans with no payments or interest for up to three years.
- Debt-free college tuition plan includes providing free public college for families who earn less than $125,000;

Climate change[97]

Climate change is a major topic of Clinton's 2016 campaign. She promised to work both domestically and internationally to slash greenhouse gas pollution over the coming years.

- Climate change is an Urgent threat;
- Uphold Paris Agreement to reverse the effects of global warming;
- Establish a Western Water Partnership to coordinate water among agencies and states;
- Generate enough renewable energy to power every home in America, with half a billion solar panels installed by the end of Hillary's first term;
- Invest in clean energy infrastructure, innovation, manufacturing and workforce development;
- Make environmental justice and climate justice central priorities;
- Cut the billions of wasteful tax subsidies oil and gas companies have enjoyed for too long and invest in clean energy;
- Cut methane emissions across the economy.

Foreign policy[98]

Hillary Clinton strongly believes that the US role is to uphold a global security order.

- Against nuclear proliferation;

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[97] Clinton, Hillary, Climate change, The office of Hillary Rodham Clinton, 2019 [online] hillaryclinton.com
[98] Clinton, Hillary, Foreign policy, [online] OnTheIssues.org,

- Keep America engaged militarily;

- Create „No Fly Zone" in Syria for the refugees;

- Go after ISIS;

- Find a compromise between national security and human rights;

- „Smart power": combines civil society, development and traditional diplomacy.

In comparison with Sanders and his *Medicare-for-all plan*, Hillary Clinton's proposes *Medicare for more*, suggesting that the program should cover people not 65 and up, but 55 or 50 and up. She considers broadening an access to the higher education as well. On the Climate change Clinton has proposed investing in a clean energy and taking Climate change as an emergency. Her Foreign Policy is more interventionist than Obama's. Based on her statements she can be placed closer to the conservative sight than liberal democrat Obama.

9.2. H. Clinton's speeches (not all expressions with the word „people" were used in this table)

Occasion	"The people" frequency used by Clinton
Commencement speech (23)	- Corporations, CEOs making record pay, while paychecks of **working people** have barely budged. **American people** - the successful and the struggling, innovators and inventors, the factory workers and food servers, nurses, the truckers, veterans, small business owners - I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise **young people**, **poor people**, **people with disabilities**, and **people of color**. - They (Republicans), who do not listen the scientists warning about climate change, those who want to take away health insurance without an alternative, shame woman for their abortion decision, turn their backs on **gay people;** **Young people** as an investment for better future; - America inspires **people around the world;** - Element of America's power improve lives around the world with **people**, not just with governments; - We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, **corrupting our political process**, and **drowning out the voices of** our **people**. - I'll fight back against **Republican efforts** to disempower and disenfranchise **young people**, **poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.**[99]

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[99] Frizell, Sam, Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech, Time, 2015. [online] time.com

Concession speech (6)	• **People of all races and religions**, for men and women, for immigrants, for LGBT people, and people with disabilities (race, religion, man, woman, LGBT, people with disabilities) believe in American dream; • **Young people** – should fight for what they are believe in. [100]
Tax reform (4)	• I want you to hear this: Bringing millions of **hard-working people** into the formal economy would increase our gross domestic product by an estimated $700 billion over 10 years. • There are nearly **6 million young people** aged 16 to 24 in America today who are not in school or at work. The numbers for young people of color are particularly staggering. [101]
Economy (11)	• American people – **hardworking people;** • Clinton as a representor of the **people;** • More **hard-working people** – better economy, higher HDP • **People** as an investment in the future • 6 million **young People** from 16-24 – no job, no school (especially Latinos and Black men); • new rules that deal with some of the challenges on Wall Street - to encourage responsible loans to **local people** and businesses they know and trust. [102]

[100] Clinton, Hillary, Hillary Clinton's concession speech, 2016. theguardian.com
[101] Clinton, Hillary, My Plan to Prevent the Next Crash, 2015, [online] bloomberg.com
[102] Allen, Jonathan, Hillary Clinton's economic speech, Vox, 2015. [online] vox.com

Foreign policy (6)	• **People as middle class;** • Eliminate ISIS through supply-line disruption and increased airstrikes • Cooperation with all countries to protect and help **civil people** and refugees from Syria • Supports the Iran nuclear deal; • Supportive of Israel and two-state solution in Israel/Palestine conflict.[103]
Immigration reform (58)	• Clinton as a champion of **hard-working American people;** • **American people** support comprehensive immigration reform; • Equal citizenship for **people who pay taxes**, work hard, love this country, contribute to the economy; • **People** who disagree need to have a conversation with Clinton.[104]

[103] Woodruff, Judy, Wellford, Rachel, Hillary Clinton on trade pact doubts, dealing with Putin. PBS, 2015 [online] pbs.org
[104] Hillary Clinton Immigration Roundtable, C-SPAN, 2015 [online] c-span.org

10. Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to classify the positions of four US presidential nominees according to the left-right political spectrum. First, my thesis analyzed each candidate's political position in four different spheres: healthcare reform, the educational system, climate change, and foreign policy, and examined their correlation with Paul Taggart's definition of populism. Second, the quantitative analysis was used to count the frequency and context of the word "*the people*", which was used by candidates during their presidential campaigns.

After analyzing speeches and political programs of four chosen presidential candidates I made the following conclusions.

Obama and Clinton cannot be considered as populist politicians, even though they used some populist rhetoric in their speeches. However, their policies did not show any key features that were presented in Taggart's theory of populism. Obama's, as well as Clinton's campaign promises, supported representative politics, both called out for social justice, liberty and equality. They were both skilled politicians and did not build their political agenda according to mainstream tendencies. Unlike many politicians who cast the income-and-wealth gap as a result of impersonal forces, Mrs. Clinton rightly noted that growing inequality also comes from "choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens." In contrast, Trump and Sanders set up political dividing lines that can be characterized as populist. The political divide in Sanders's discourse was defined in terms of the gap in wealth and power. His political agenda demanded radical change by calling for a political revolution (by "political revolution", he meant fighting for a progressive economic, environmental, racial, and social justice agenda that created jobs, raised wages, protected the environment, and provided healthcare for all.) Sanders combined anti-elite rhetoric with socially liberal values. However, this did not mean that he is a populist. Sanders, as well as Clinton and Obama, had twenty-five years of service in the Senate and a long history of political activism which helped him shape his ideas along the way. On the contrary, Trump was a true outsider to the political system, and he first became a prominent political figure as the instigator of the "birther movement", questioning whether Barack Obama was born in the US. Trump's political behavior fulfilled six key populist traits described by Taggart. Trump claimed that the political establishment (representative politics) was broken and corrupt and that it should be restored by and for the people. He has continued to associate himself with *real* Americans:

white, God-fearing, hard-working, gun-owning, which he calls "his family" and "one nation under God." Furthermore, his political agenda lacked basic core values such as liberty, social justice, and equality. On the contrary, it spread anxiety and even further mistrust. Hence, Trump and his political campaign could be identified as populist.

The next step was to classify the positions of each candidate on the left-right political spectrum by looking at the way each candidate used the word "people" and how often.

Obama, though he used the word 68 times, did not emphasize the word "people" in any specific way. During his commencement speech, Obama asked people to look back and see how much they accomplished together and how much more they still have to do. In a foreign policy speech, he raised issues, such as the Marshall Plan in 1948 and the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. He expected America to lead in all aspects and help countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan to end the war. He also blamed the Washington government as a whole, due to their internal contradictions which made people feel frustrated by their leadership.

Clinton, the Obama patron, said "people" 108 times, and had almost the same rhetoric as Obama, but without any distinct populist context. Here are some key elements of what her campaign promised: close the wage gap for women, and fight against disempowering and disenfranchising the young, poor and people of color. In terms of foreign policy, Clinton wanted to increase American presence in the Middle East. She supported comprehensive immigration reform and equal citizenship for people who paid taxes.

Having said "people" 80 times during his presidential campaign, Sanders blamed the political-economic structure in which the super-rich had amassed extraordinary sums of wealth at the expense of everyone else, and our shared planet. His most frequently used expressions were *"the wealthiest 14 people", "poor people", "vulnerable people", "young people", "our people", "people on the top"*. In his speeches, he also raised questions about different types of injustice, like income inequality, racial inequality, gender inequality, and the environmental breakdown and blamed corporate greed for that.

In Trump's case he not only fit into Taggart's concept of populism, but also showed even further elements of populist leadership. He used the word "people" during his performances 125 times with an anti-elitism and anti-establishment contexts. While using expressions such as *"corrupt and broken political establishment", "transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to the American people", "people are rulers of the nations, gang*

members and criminals are the worst people", he not only puts representative politics into a question but also favored intolerance. Moreover, his foreign policy was and is transactional (*What can you do for me?).*

In conclusion, it is more or less possible to define the positions of the four chosen candidates. Sanders is the furthest to the left, followed by Obama with a few steps closer to the center and almost in the center is Clinton. Trump can be put somewhere in the middle on a scale between center and the far right.

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