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Donald Trump's Presidential Campaign Promises and Policy Realities: The Case of Immigration

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Dedication

To my beloved family, especially my mother and father;
to my dear sisters and brothers and my lovely nephews and nieces,
and to my uncles and their wives, as well as my cousins and their sweet children.

Abstract

This dissertation aims to provide a historical background on American presidents' campaign promises and their actual implementation. It is a study on what presidential candidates promise and what they really perform once they are elected as presidents. Besides, this study examines the extent to which Trump is committed to his campaign promises. More precisely, the aim of this study is to explain the ways Donald Trump looks at the issue of immigration and how he will strengthen US immigration laws. Accordingly, this dissertation addresses three important questions about the relationship between presidential campaign candidates' discourse and action: Do US presidential candidates keep their promises once elected? What affects the tendency of elected presidents to break or keep their campaign promises? Will Donald Trump follow through with his campaign promises, in particular those related to illegal immigration, after winning the 2016 presidential election? The reached conclusions reveal that the promise Donald Trump made, during his long campaign to be the 45th president of the United States, on banning all Muslims entering the US is partially fulfilled, whereas there is no progress in his promise to building a wall along the border with Mexico.

ملخص

تهدف هذه المذكرة لتقديم نبذة تاريخية عن مدى التجسيد الفعلي للوعود الانتخابية للمرشحين لرئاسة أمريكا عند وصولهم الى رئاسة الجمهورية. كما تبحث هذه الدراسة في مدى التزام الرئيس ترامب بتجسيد وعده الانتخابية. وتهدف هذه الدراسة لشرح وجهة نظر دونالد ترامب المتعلقة بمسألة الهجرة وكيفية تعزيزه لقوانينها. وبناء على ذلك، تتناول هذه المذكرة ثلاثة أسئلة هامة حول العلاقة بين خطاب المرشحين خلال الحملة الانتخابية الرئاسية و تجسيدها الفعلي: "هل يفي المرشحين للرئاسة بوعودهم بعد انتخابهم؟ ما السبب الذي يدفع الرؤساء المنتخبين لكسر أو الاحتفاظ بوعودهم؟ هل سيؤدي دونالد ترامب على وعده، لا سيما تلك المتصلة بالهجرة الغير الشرعية بعد فوزه في الانتخابات الرئاسية عام 2016؟ وأظهرت النتائج المتوصل اليها أن قرار حظر جميع المسلمين دخول الولايات المتحدة الذي وعد به دونالد ترامب ، أثناء حملته الطويلة ليصبح الرئيس الخامس و الأربعون للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية قد تحقق نسبيا، بينما لم يتحقق أي تقدم في وعده ببناء جدار على طول الحدود مع المكسيك.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACA	Affordable Care Act
AFEP	America First Energy Plan
CBP	Customs of Border Protection
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GOP	Great Old Party
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	National Atlantic Treaty Organization
PCA	Paris Climate Agreement
SBIN	Southern Border Initiative Network
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States of America for International Development
VA	Veterans Affairs
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

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Introduction

The extent to which presidents' actions fulfil presidential election promises as a theoretical issue has raised an important scholarly debate. Despite the relative relevance of such a question in representative democracy, there are unexpectedly few studies addressing it. The objective of this dissertation is to contribute to these discussions by examining how the scholarly literature, in relation to this issue, assesses the relationship between campaign promises and presidents' actions. More specifically, there is need to ask the following fundamental question: Do presidents keep their campaign promises once elected?

Campaigning for president of the United States is fundamentally a long and difficult process, in which a candidate portrays himself as the best one, and makes propositions on how he will perform if he is elected to the presidency. Accordingly, presidential candidates fill their programs with campaign promises intended to affect voters' views in order to get elected. Campaign promises can generate disagreement, and can change the direction of an election toward the candidate that either has the best promise or convincingly promotes his ideas. This is why campaign promises are such an important part of the election process, especially if they relate to concerns that obsess the whole nation.

During campaigns, US presidential candidates aim to appeal to the greatest number of voters possible. They always make promises and try to persuade the voters that they have the solution to the nation's existing problems. Once elected to highest office, American presidents attempt to implement their campaign pledges. In this respect, earlier research proved that the majority of US presidents effectively translated the majority of their particular promises into laws. Previous studies also indicated that even those American presidents who failed to enact their pledges into law have seriously tried to implement them but Congress frequently negatively made an objection to what these presidents anticipated.

As a presidential candidate for the Republican Party, Donald Trump, compared to previous American presidential candidates, was no exception. He similarly prepared an agenda for his presidential election campaign including a string of promises through which he intended to tackle many controversial issues if elected as the 45th president of the United States. His slogan throughout his campaign: "Make America Great Again" combined with his many different pledges attracted most Americans' attention. However, Trump's pledges would surely face reality barriers and challenges on the ground. The main intention of this research work is to examine if president Trump, during his first few years in office, will be successful in implementing the majority of his campaign promises; in particular those related to illegal immigration.

The importance of this research work lies in the relationship between what presidential candidates promise and what they actually perform after assuming office. In other words, it is an examination of US presidential campaign promises and their implementation in reality. More interestingly, it will be significant to shed light on the promises that Donald J. Trump made during his presidential campaign and the challenges that would face him when translating such crucial issues as real policies after more than two years from his election as a President of the United States.

Some of the promises made by Donald J. Trump were focal points, from building the wall and forcing Mexico to finance it, to deporting illegal immigrants from the United States soil back to their countries, to imposing a ban on Muslim immigration, to enacting a tax cut three times the size of George W. Bush's. However, the strong belief of some of Trump supporters that he will not implement what he says he will do; and the firm decidedness of Trump to fulfil his promises and turn them into real policies, is a controversy that motivated this research work to analyze Trump's main campaign promises and to anticipate on the policies that would be carried out by this newly elected president. Accordingly, the main focus of this

research is to examine the extent to which Donald Trump will be able to fulfil his promises, in particular his promises in relation to immigration.

The major concern of this research is to provide answers to the following set of questions: Are presidential campaign promises just a show? Do what candidates say in campaign promises reveal how they will govern? Do American presidents usually follow through on their campaign promises? Which Presidents of the United States have actually kept all or part of the promises they made during their campaign elections? What are some of the major broken promises of previous US presidents? What are Donald Trump's major presidential campaign promises? Does his presidential campaign serve as a good indication of his future policy performance? Has President Donald Trump kept his campaign promises on immigration? Will these policies impact people who are not illegal immigrants or refugees? These questions will be discussed in this research work in addition to other items that will come with the discussion of the subject under study.

To scheme the essence and depth related to the analysis of presidential campaign promises and their implementation, the work is based on several studies that dealt with US presidents and promises they made during their presidential election campaigns. The present study relies on two works from the 1980s to make this point. Michael G. Krukones published in 1984 *Promises and Performance: Presidential Campaigns as Policy Predictors*. In this book, he studied the degree to which Presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Jimmy Carter, 1912-1980, have fulfilled their campaign promises in their presidencies. By scrutinizing nearly seventy years' of valuable campaign literature collected from different sources, the Krukones arrives to the conclusion that US Presidents have maintained around "75 percent of the promises made by presidents from Woodrow Wilson through Jimmy Carter were kept".

In 1985, Jeff Fishel published *Presidents and Promises: From Campaign Pledge to Presidential Performance*, a book in which he studied presidential campaigns from 1960 to

1980, with particular reference to Carter and Reagan; and argued that presidents always try to realize their promises; and that the main reason some pledges are not satisfied is congressional resistance, not presidential failure. More recent evidence supports this view, too.

It is also important to mention the main studies and scholarly works related to Donald Trump's presidential campaign promises, policy realities and immigration policy in particular. Actually many scholars and authors wrote about the presidential campaign of Donald Trump. In his article, "President- Elect Donald Trump", George Friedman has positive views about Donald Trump presidency. He asserts that Trump was the better politician in these elections. He also argues that as any newly elected president, Donald Trump's promises will face reality barriers. But he can make the challenge to be 'a great leader' just as he did, unexpectedly, when getting the Republican nomination and winning the elections.

In their presentation at the Conference on the US Presidential Election 2016, James D. King and James W. Riddlesperger Jr. prepared an analysis entitled "The 2016- 2017 Transition into the Donald J. Trump Administration". In this paper, which explores the challenges facing Trump as he prepares for the assumption of office, the two authors argue that Trump sends out "first positions" on issues by making promises of changes. Mainly, building a wall between the United States and Mexico and making Mexico pay for it, banning all Muslims from entering the United States for a period of time (this is related to immigration promises), repealing the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), and backing away from the one China policy stand. Later, Trump might take other actions or make some changes to these issues. This shift in positions would affect Trump's credibility. In fact, the challenge that may face Donald Trump as a republican president is to get congressional democrats approval of his legislative proposals as the transition takes place.

Arnold and Porter Kaye Scholer in their “Post- Election Analysis” tackle the issue of “The Policy Choices, Challenges, and Consequences of an Outsider in the White House: What You Need to Know After the 2016”. In their analysis, they discuss the major policy issues and economic sectors that will achieve a progress in the first two years of the new Donald Trump Administration. One of them is Trump’s need to fulfil his campaign promise to build a wall on the Mexican border. As he plans, Mexico will pay for the wall. In this way, Trump will not ask the Republican Congress to fund such policy. But, they will do so in order to avoid an intra- party criticism that may lead to the end of the new president’s program. Simultaneously, for the deportation of illegal immigrants, the Trump Administration request of receiving enough money from Congress remains uncertain.

In his report “The 2016 presidential campaign and the crisis of U.S foreign policy”, Thomas Wright explains that it is difficult to have a clear idea about Trump foreign policy for the next few years. Whether he will stick to his promises or not, it depends on future circumstances. A report of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget entitled *Promises and Price Tags : A Final Guide to the 2016 Election* summarizes the proposals of Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump that are related to health care, tax, spending, immigration and social security. Trump’s plan focused on preventing illegal immigration and reducing the number of unauthorized immigrants. Such reforms would cost the government billions of dollars to be added to the debts.

An article entitled “Trump’s Promises before and after the Election” analyses the major promises of Donald Trump during his campaign. The article describes how the new president reacts to a number of policies that were controversial issues in his campaign, mainly the border wall paid for by Mexico and banning all Muslims from entering the US. Moreover, the author of this article argues that in his first few months as president, Donald Trump has changed his attitude toward some of his main promises.

In fact, a number of reports have addressed the 2016 presidential election. For example in his research paper “Trump’s Policies: Campaign Promises and the Realities of Governance”, Dr. Bernard E. Munk a senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute explores Trump’s campaign promises and the realities of governance. He explains that Trump has got the presidency through making rhetoric rather than giving many promises in which some of them are not used just to be fulfilled as stated, but rather to attract voters. Moreover, Dr. Bernard E. Munk discusses the issue of immigration and the "wall" as Trump’s main promises. He argues that reducing the number of Mexican immigrants in the US requires Mexico to adopt the new "wall" as a policy. At the same time, he explains that instead of making a real wall, it would be better to use technology on both sides of the borders.

In this research work, it is important to use both the descriptive and the analytical approaches. They are two essential tools to explore and accomplish this study. The former helps to depict Trump’s campaign with all his promises including the case of immigration in particular, whereas the latter is used to interpret Donald Trump’s speeches in relation to the pledges he made during his presidential election campaign, and to analyze the difficulties that would face the implementation of his policies. These two predominant approaches are to provide a better understanding of Trump’s campaign promises and post election policy realities.

Collecting data is an important element for making any research. And this research is based on Trump’s different speeches, letters, reports, executive orders and congressional acts as primary sources. A variety of secondary sources will also be extensively used, including dissertations, articles, and e-books.

In order to reach the objectives of the study and for a better understanding of the subject the work will be divided into the following parts: An introduction, three main chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter is entitled as “Us Presidential Campaign Promises and their

Translation into Policies”. It provides a historical background on the relationship between presidential campaign promises and their transformation into policies. It will deal with several past American Presidents to show whether they did or did not implement their campaign promises.

The second chapter is dubbed as “Donald Trump’s Presidential Promises”. Its main objective is to deal with Donald Trump’s presidential campaign promises. It will be a study of the 2016 Republican platform and Trump’s campaign strategy that he conceived in order to secure the US presidency. This chapter will also shed light on the pledges that Trump has made in his election campaign.

Finally, entitled as “Donald Trump’s Promised Immigration Policy Facing Implementation”, chapter three will review Trump’s progress toward fulfilling his presidential campaign promises with regards to trade and economy, foreign policy and security, and domestic policy. It will also focus on one of the controversial issues in his campaign agenda, which is immigration. It will examine the implementation questions or the existing barriers that will hinder Trump’s suggested immigration policy.

Chapter One

Presidential Campaign Promises and their Translation into Policies

Throughout the democratic world, political candidates in quest of elected office make promises during their electoral campaigns about the policies they will implement once elected. They mostly believe that advancing promises related to voters' concerns would likely affect voters' expectations and ultimately attract more voters' support. For voters, too, campaign promises provide a means by which to choose among a multitude of policies made by a variety of candidates.

The problem, however, is that statements made during electoral campaigns remain only a simple act of pledging to carry out certain policies. They are just a means to win the elections. Unconvinced views among the public and in the mass media depict campaign promises as “standard promotional materials” that are set just for an election or as “accessories to the politics of election” (Kim 201–207). This assumption can be explained by the fact that there are no pre-fixed guarantees that would compel candidates to accomplish their promises. Once in office, some candidates ignore their pledges. Others propose policies that oppose the promises sketched out in their programs. Still, others may face particular difficulties which may prevent them from performing their pledges.

Because mass media and voters have become nowadays very interested in all sorts of issues, they tend to watch and assess the extent to which office holders realize their campaigns promises. As a result, promises constantly remain a burden for incumbent presidents seeking re-election. Most of them usually work hard to implement their promises. They are aware that if they promise to perform particular policies once elected but later break their promises, voters may badly sanction them in future elections.

1. 1. Presidential Campaign Promises as a US Tradition

Campaign promises in the United States of America are one characteristic of United States presidential election campaigns. In addition to the relevance of this topic to democratic practice, the fulfilment of election pledges is a prominent topic of political debate in the American nation and around the world. Indeed, presidential candidates' programs and the promises that are included in them, receive considerable media and voters' attention before, during and after elections.

Campaign promises have always been an important part of presidential election campaigns in particular if they are related to matters that split the nation or generate emotional attention. Almost all presidential candidates adorn their platforms with convincing and realistic promises or credible policy proposals to gain a larger audience of voters. They pledge, for instance, to improve education, to cut taxes, fight crime, reduce the size of government bureaucracy, create new jobs, fight pollution, and decrease the national debt. Once elected to the highest office, most of United States' presidents try, indeed, to fulfil their promises despite the difficulties to make them a reality.

Scholars and political scientists have defined election promises differently in their continuous attempts to decide who gives and who receives those pledges. Naurin, for instance, argues that the whole party gives the promises under what is called a manifesto and that the party presidential candidate only presents them to the audience. The receiver of the promises can be a specific group of voters as it can be the whole electorate. He adds that an election promise is what politicians pronounce and say to voters directly without any mediation not what is interpreted in media (30-33).

The road to the US presidency is a long process and a demanding task. In fact, it has become a tradition over centuries that each presidential contender, before he enters the White House, passes through many stages to reach that position. As a candidate, he should

participate in the presidential campaign and make convincing promises along the way in order to show his eagerness and to explain his agenda for voters (Anderson). Furthermore, being the United States president is at the same time a “tremendous and glorious burden”¹. It is a hard responsibility to be so because the winning president has to meet most of Americans’ expectations.

Democratic representation has two models; mandate representation and accountability representation. For both models promises play an important role in a certain way. In the first model, representatives, previously, discuss with citizens the needed politics as well as proposals for the post-election stage. Citizens later comprehend, investigate and agree on them with representatives. After each party declares its program, voters would select what serves them. That is why the promises, in this case, identify parties’ policy wishes (Naurin, 15-16).

Americans got these expectations from the former presidents’ performances. These past presidents made important policies to the extent that they were called “the great presidents”. In this way, Americans will expect more interesting pledges from presidential candidates in each new election. Furthermore, according to Carolyn M. Shaw, “voters would like to see a platform that is precise and meaningful” (44). Such ideas will extremely affect the new president. Even if he has made very interesting campaign pledges, and he has the intention to fulfil them, “these expectations shape how presidents are covered by the press as well as how they are perceived and evaluated by elites and the mass public”(Vaughn and Mercieca 10).

Elin Naurin, in her book *Election promises, Party Behaviour and Voter Perceptions*, has classified campaign promises, based on their fulfilment, into three main categories. First, fully fulfilled election promises or action promises is when post-election actions go with what was promised before (57). The second category includes partially fulfilled promises. In this group, politicians sometimes take actions but they cannot reach their goals due to certain

obstacles. This category shows to what extent politicians try to commit to their pledges (59). The third category concerns the election promises that receive no considerable actions. These unfulfilled pledges are described as broken promises (60).

Regardless of the fact whether presidential campaign promises are fulfilled or not, in Western democracies, they are considered important indicators that voters use to make voting decisions. Contenders for elected offices are also aware that the secret behind winning elections is to make great promises to put an end to particular problems that the voters care about the most.

1. 2. The Effects of Promise-making on Voter Behaviour

It is obvious that presidential candidates make a set of pledges during their campaigns, but what would be as a crucial issue is that whether the newly elected president will follow through on his campaign promises or it is just a show and a means to reach office. In other words, do American Presidents keep the pledges they make during presidential election campaigns? To address this question, this first part of the dissertation examines the relation between presidential candidates' promises and gaining electoral votes.

Terry Royed has defined election promises as “a commitment to carry out some action or produce some outcome, where an objective estimation can be made as to whether or not the action was indeed taken or the outcome produced” (79). According to this definition, voters will expect from politicians to go through on their pledges as they expect the opposite.

What characterizes any election is the interaction between candidates and voters. On one hand, with the coming of a presidential campaign candidates set their agenda based on the important issues for the nation in order to convince or attract voters. On the other hand, voters, and despite their perception that presidents do not fulfil their campaign promises, frequently listen to presidential campaign candidates' pledges. Almost all newly elected candidates face difficulties in their efforts to accomplish their promises. Nonetheless, they

“must carefully consider their promises as well as the barriers they will face when translating their promises into policy once in office” (C. Shaw 49).

Making promises is the only way for presidential candidates to gain voters’ trust and to show their commitment to current matters that are on the minds of voters. A campaign promise is a position statement. Bonilla defines promises “as a policy-statement that a candidate issues while also indicating they will act on that position in the future, distinct from other position-statements that candidates make without attaching plans for future actions” (2).

Campaign promises operate as an indicator to voters, who can realize the kind of president that candidate will be once in office (Callendar and Wilkie 268-71). Voters analyze and compare between different candidates’ statements in their agendas and programs because their promises reflect their characters and their positions towards certain issues (Mansbridge 521).

In addition to that, voters can expect representatives’ future performance through the promises they provide; as they can expect whether politicians will go through their pledges or not. On this particular point, Nourin comments that “...citizens can use election promises both to form opinions about parties’ future politics and to evaluate how well parties have performed” (5).

What link voters with politicians during any election are the pledges listed in presidential candidates’ agendas. Again, Nourin believes that “Election promises could be seen as a means of direct communication between citizens and representatives” (6). Election promises decide who voters will choose in the Election Day. However, once citizens have less knowledge about politics, they will not have good relationship with representatives.

In this regard, when political scientists deliver facts as they are, they will guide and facilitate that communication between candidates and voters. That is why it is worth mentioning that researchers and political scientists have an important role in the process of

elections, especially, during the political campaigns (Naurin 6). According to Hanna Pitkin, there should be a continuous contact between politicians and voters. This statement implies that the contact between the party and the citizens must be an uninterrupted course, rather than a process something that happens only before election times (209).

Voters sometimes feel confused towards a certain candidate. This happens when they agree and support some of the promises listed in the candidate's agenda and disagree with others at the same time. Such feeling may affect voters' behaviours in which they cannot decide whether to vote for or against this candidate: "A voter is ambivalent when he or she possesses both positive and negative feelings or beliefs about a candidate... ambivalence has important consequences for both attitudes and behaviour" (Thornton 26).

Some voters turn to vote against their favourable party while most of them are hesitated and pay less attention to the candidate. The latter voters' reaction requires for the candidate with his own party to make more efforts in order to gain their support. Often voters, who usually support one party, vote for its nominated candidate even though they do not strongly support his proposals. That is to say, partisanship is more powerful.

Communication takes place between voters and politicians when the two sides get much information about each others. Citizens can get candidates' policy proposals directly through reading what the party writes; or attending candidates' speeches as they can get them, indirectly, via media. In addition to that, citizens may depend on shortcuts in forming an idea and decide what political party suits their interests.

Shortcuts are points of view stated by expert people in the field of politics and whom citizens trust. Such shortcuts can be helpful for voters to choose their representatives as they can confuse and put citizens in hard positions. So, it all depends on how short cutters interpret and deliver information. That is why direct communication is more useful in which

“[Promises] facilitate direct communication between citizens and representatives by helping citizens understand the ideas of the different political parties” (Naurin 17).

In his book, *The Principles of Representative Government*, Bernard Manin, talked about voters’ negative expectations of election promises. According to him, voters need to think in a retrospective way instead of the prospective one simply because they cannot predict whether presidential candidates will honour their words or not. It would be better for them to look at candidates’ records and what they achieved previously (Naurin 9).

Other researches, however, argued that “In real life, the relationship between citizens and their political representatives is not distinctively divided between a forward looking and a backward-looking process of representation. Instead, the periods between elections are related to each other” (Naurin 14). In addition, according to some studies, citizens before they vote for a candidate, they evaluate his past actions. At the same time, they look at what he can do in the future (14).

Presidential candidates also need to know about citizens’ interests. The promises listed in their agendas may help to do that. It goes without saying that the promises the voters support the most can be considered part of their wishes for the future (Naurin 17). The other role of promises in presidential elections is that they show to what extent the party and its candidate have unified and clear ideas. Moreover, as scholars in the field of politics argue, the more the party and its presidential candidate are cohesive the more the candidate will follow through on his promises once elected (20).

1. 3. Presidential Campaign Promises and their Fulfilment

The fulfilment of presidential election promises is at the heart of American accountability. If a presidential candidate is responsive to the demands of his constituency, there should be a substantial level of correspondence between his policies in government and the promises found in his election program. Whether presidents realize their campaign promises is not only

a theoretical issue. The issue has become an important aspect of the political debate both before and during elections.

Presidents or generally politicians focus more on issues they tackled during their campaigns even when there are no executive or legislative actions. For voters, they may prefer a candidate who promises rather than his position taken since they value honesty. That honesty will be counted in the candidate's records and serve him for future elections. Voters also consider candidates' fulfilment of their promises once as proof that they will do so in the future. In the same way their opinion about the promise-breaker candidates is that they will repeatedly break their word and that, in the future, those candidates cannot be trusted any more (Naurin 20).

Most scholars who study government implementation of election promises repeatedly contend that there is a high degree of congruence between promises and subsequent government actions. This is in sharp contrast to citizens' who generally hold negative perceptions of the performance of politicians in terms of keeping their promises. Researches on citizens' views show that voters strongly believe that politicians break their campaign promises (Petry).

According to Elin Naurin, the negative view to politicians' performance among voters is common and it is not in only one country or specific to one type of promises: "if I were to find more people with a negative view than with a positive view in different contexts (countries and over time), within different groups of people, and when using different questions, I would conclude that the negative perception of election promises is a widespread phenomenon" (82).

So, it seems very clear that there is contradiction between scholars' conclusions and voters' perspectives about politicians' performance. This is due to the different criteria used by both sides in their evaluations. First, as they are specialized in the field, political scientists

go deep in their analysis. They collect as much information as possible about the promises; how and when they would be fulfilled. However citizens look at things superficially with less data about the promises. Second, while political scientists see promises execution as decisions; i.e. outputs, voters consider the impact of the promised policies on their lives which are the outcomes. Thirdly, political practitioners are objective when analyzing the promises that can be achieved whereas citizens are very subjective especially those who support a certain party (Petry).

In other words, if citizens support the party in power, they will have positive expectations and vice versa. The other reason is that scholars study only the promises listed in the platform of the party in power unlike citizens who look also at the promises given by parties of the opposition. Finally, voters care more about the promises that serve them (Petry). Stated differently, voters evaluate the president or the governing party according to what they prefer; and compare the president's performance with what they expect.

The president's achievement of his promises can be evaluated through "executive orders and legislative proposals". Fishel argued that "the focus is on effort rather than on actual achievements since success based on the latter may be dependent on factors beyond the control of the president". Based on this view, he introduced seven categories concerning the level of the president's efforts to fulfil his campaign pledges.

The first category is known as "Fully comparable", and it happens when the content of the proposal and the pledge are completely correspondent. The second one is called the "Partially comparable". This category occurs when the "proposal does not meet the full requirements of the pledge". The third category is the "Token action" and it takes place when the proposal's representation to the pledge is too little. There is also the "Contradictory action". In this category, the president proposes what opposes his campaign promises. Next, there is the "No action" category in which there is no consistency between the presidential

policies and pledges. The sixth category is the “Mixed Action” and it means that the proposal goes hand in hand with the pledge in some parts and opposes it in others. As a final category, there is the “Indeterminate”. In this category the nature of the pledge or proposal does not permit any classification” (C. Shaw 51).

Presidents usually adopt promises which are either rejected or neglected by Congress. Consequently, their promises remain unfulfilled. But at least they do their best to keep their word. They know that voters will appreciate their unfulfilled efforts, and accordingly, they will not lose faith in that president. For the presidents who break their promises, they will pay the price (Klein). If the winning candidate does not fulfil his campaign promises, he will be punished under what is called a payoff (Aragonès et al. 850-52).

Many scholars have conducted their researches for the sake of answering the question of whether politicians perform their promises or not. Generally, most of them agreed on one answer which is parties do fulfil their election promises (Naurin 39). What proves that politicians take their promises seriously is that they prepare an interesting agenda. Also it is the fact that sometimes politicians face obstacles that hinder them from fulfilling their pledges even though politicians have the intention to do so (43).

The winning party does not have a total authority in order to take decisions. However, it shares power with other parties, with some institutions, individual actors including lobbyists as well as the compelling circumstances (Naurin 45). Studies have shown that parties that face more constitutional constraints carry out less election promises. In addition, parties in one-party system countries are more successful in implementing their pledges than parties in coalition governments where the ruling party has the same chance as opposition parties in implementing their promises.

What matters also when fulfilling election promises is the type of promise in itself. That is to say, controversial promises will face more constraints, consequently; it will be difficult,

if not impossible, to be fulfilled (Naurin 50). Those are not the only reasons why politician may break their promises. It is also the interference of some events in the society such as natural disasters and terrorism or wars. However, it is not like the economic conditions which highly affect politicians' plans for the government (50).

1. 4. A Brief Overview of US Presidents Keeping or Breaking Campaign Promises

Throughout centuries many presidents passed through the White House and it is important to know which presidents have kept their promises and which ones did not. The achievement of campaign pledges is a sign as well as a condition of democracy. In the United States of America as in any other country, people do not trust political leaders. They all share the idea that politicians, including presidents, break their promises. Furthermore, voters never consider the pledges as fulfilled until they see their real implementation.

So, the president's task "does not stop at the level of decision making, but ... [rather] in the chain of implementation" (Naurin 11). In fact, some voters' views are not stereotypes since not all of the forty-five US presidents kept their promises. Many presidents broke their pledges whether intentionally or due to other factors that are beyond their control. Others hold the perception that some campaign promises are broken since candidates cannot keep them or do not want to do so. Often, those attractive promises mislead voters (Nelson). Accordingly, this section will provide examples of US presidents who either kept or broke their promises and find out the reasons that impede the fulfilment of their pledges.

1. 4.1. US Presidents as Promise Breakers

In almost all countries of the world, presidents do break some of their campaign promises as they keep others. America is no exception. In their campaigns, presidential candidates adopt attractive slogans to gain more voters and to reflect their interests. But for some of them, it is just a cover for their campaign. When re-elected in 1916, Woodrow Wilson's slogan of his presidential campaign was: "He kept us out of war". Yet, he led the country to World

War I in his first year as a president (Hampson). The same thing happened with Lyndon Johnson who was considered as a candidate who called for peace. Unfortunately, he laid the nation into the Vietnam War (Kight).

A caring president will reorder his promises and propose policies with priorities, just like President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) who criticized Hoover for his government's high spending. Later when he won the presidential election, the nation witnessed serious economic problems. In order to save the nation from the depression, president FDR increased spending just like what Hoover did. Franklin Roosevelt also promised not to send American boys to any foreign war. But the attack on Pearl Harbour changed everything (Hampson).

Even though Franklin D. Roosevelt had no clear strategy on how to calm down the country after the Great Depression, but he attempted to do so by means of the New Deal. He did not have a consistent approach to the New Deal, but his experimentation was ultimately successful in alleviating many of the worst effects of the Great Depression. He was not successful in balancing the budget but made serious efforts to do so. His promise in the heat of the 1940 campaign not to send US soldiers to war was not well-thought, yet he was able to convince the American people that Hitler had to be confronted (Pfiffner 17).

At the 1988 Republican convention, George H.W. Bush said: "Read my lips: No new taxes". But that pledge disappeared as he won office (Hampson). Herbert Bush's betrayal was clear when he signed a bill of increasing taxes. After ruling for a short period of time, he found that revenues were very low and there were no other solutions, but to increase taxes. This can be considered as an excuse for President G.H.W Bush's increase in taxes. That is why he was defeated in 1992 for re-election. But he was not the only US president who broke his promises (Ufberg).

During his presidential campaign, Obama made ambitious promises. They were related to issues such as universal health care, immigration reform, shutting down Guantanamo Bay's

enemy combatant prison, repealing the Bush tax cuts, increasing government transparency, limiting the role played by professional lobbyists, and creating a cap and trade program to battle the burgeoning global warming crisis (Krebs). Later, the president deviated from some of his promises mainly those of Guantanamo Bay, the Bush tax cuts and other promises which remained unfulfilled. For Obama, it was the banking crisis and other economic problems at that time which made his campaign promises in 2008 of hope and change unfulfilled (Krebs).

Studies on Clinton's promises performance in his first term indicate that despite the fact that he made efforts to enact his pledges, those efforts were insufficient to completely fulfil all of his promises mainly because of his lack of motivation. Clinton in his campaign used vague promises which increased voters' expectations (C. Shaw 60). Thus, "promises should also increase sanctions on candidates who break their word when in office. Conversely, promises should strengthen the rewards that candidates get for keeping their word" (Bonilla 8). In this way, promises are a double-acting concept for candidates.

Some candidates set brilliant promises that are difficult to be properly achieved, either because such promises cost a lot and the president could face a risk; or because he never intended to do so. As a concrete example, Ronald Reagan in 1981 pledged to allow school prayers, he was the first candidate who proposed such a promise, but later the pledge he made had no priority in the president's program. By contrast, Bill and Hillary Clinton spent all what they had in order to renew the health care. Unfortunately, they failed because such a program cost a lot (Hampson).

1. 4.1.1. Challenges Facing US Presidents in Implementing their Campaign Promises

It is worth mentioning that when presidents take office, some of them find difficulties in keeping their promises due to many reasons. One reason is that the circumstances during the campaign are not the same as those after elections. Thus, candidates set their agendas based on certain conditions of that time with the intention to keep their words. But when the new

president enters the White House, things change and new factors will interfere. Thus, when conditions change, the new president should clarify to the public why he is changing otherwise he will be dubbed as a promise-breaker.

In this logic, newly elected presidents may face some barriers. The latter include opposition, whether of Congress, of other political parties or even within the candidate's own party. According to Meg Jacobs, the author of *Panic at the Pump* "[Candidates] can have an ambitious agenda", but it would be senseless if it faces a strong opposition. For example, in 1976 presidential candidate Jimmy Carter promised to free the gas and oil industry. Later, in office, his liberal party opposed his proposed policy. As another example, Barack Obama's many promises were rejected by Congress (Hampson).

1. 4.1.2. Effects of Breaking Campaign Promises

Breaking campaign promises may affect both of the candidate and the citizen voter. The former will lose his credibility and will no longer be publically trusted. Whereas the latter will feel disappointed because he was waiting for those pledges to be realized. Pfiffner argues that:

At a personal level, the failure to keep promises undermines one's credibility and social trust more generally and may cause harm to individuals who expected the promise to be kept. The failure of a president to keep a public promise has a similar but much broader effect. The undermining of trust is more insidious because the president's role as moral exemplar may encourage or seem to excuse similar behaviour, and many more people may have taken actions based on a president's public promise. (16)

Promises are different in terms of importance. The importance of a promise is measured with the extent it will affect voters. When Obama broke his promises concerning the Guantanamo Bay detention camp, voters in a way tolerated that. Whereas when George W. Bush did, he

was severely punished. This was mainly because Americans often prioritize their interests and matters over foreign affairs.

While mandate representation looks for what candidates will implement from their campaign promises, the accountability representation focuses on what politicians have done in their previous terms. In this regard, promises execution has an important role in the election process: “Citizens cannot hold parties accountable if they do not have adequate information about the parties’ actions and achievements” (Pfiffner 21). In addition to that, the degree of parties’ completion of their promise shows to what extent they are honest with their voters.

A politician, who honours his words and commits to his promises, will be absolutely re-elected by voters in the next term if he seeks re-election. However, if he does not work well, they will not support him again as a punishment (Pfiffner 22). Fulfilment of the promises also tells voters how much this party is skilled and competent. That is to say, such party is able to take the correct decisions to what comes up. Even that they may contradict their campaign promises, citizens will understand that it is for their benefit (23).

It is politics and the campaigning process which requires from candidates to propose shining promises without taking into account the consequences of the failure to implement these pledges for one reason or another. This would sometimes mean that when the candidate takes office he may face some obstacles that would hinder him from fulfilling his promises. On this particular issue, Schmidt believes “It would be ideal for all presidential candidates to just tell us that we will have to raise taxes and cut spending to make ends meet, but unfortunately, what candidates promise and what they are able to deliver can be very different things, particularly when candidates are met with unforeseen political or economic hurdles once in office”.

1. 4.2. US Presidents who Fulfilled their Campaign Promises

Throughout the history of American presidential elections, most presidents tried to enact the policies that they outlined in their campaigns' agenda. In fact, statistics and studies held on this topic found that about 75 % of the promises made by presidents from Woodrow Wilson through Jimmy Carter, in addition to other American presidents, were kept (Ufberg).

One of the United States presidents who totally kept his promises is James K. Polk. He is a one term president who governed from 1845 to 1849. Polk's nomination for the presidency was not planned. He was known for his honesty, reliability and his success in politics. During his campaign, he set clear goals including re-establishing the Independent Treasury System², reducing tariffs, acquiring Oregon territory³ and to buy California and New Mexico from Mexico. Polk also pledged to run for only one term. Indeed, he accomplished all of his promises and he is considered one of the top ten US presidents (*Promises and Price Tags...*).

In early elections of the United States, there were no campaigns and hence, no promises made. Although George Washington was the first US president who had no electoral campaign and voters did not have any idea about the way he would run the country, he succeeded in ruling the nation perfectly. He honoured his name to be considered as one of the greatest leaders in the world history (Marshall 139).

George Washington made unrecorded policies mainly those in relation to rejecting royal titles, the cabinet system and resigning after two terms to be emulated by other presidents and to assure the peaceful transition of power. Starting from 1796, US presidential elections witnessed a competition between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, but with no organized campaign. By 1800, democracy in the United States flourished. That seemed to be clear through more structured electoral campaigns (Marshall 142).

Rutherford B. Hayes was one of the US presidents who tried hard to accomplish all his campaign pledges. He introduced a number of pledges including the promise not to have more

than one term if he would be elected as the US president, to appoint officials from the Republican and the Democratic Party as well, and to stop the “spoils system” also called patronage system, practice in which the political party winning an election rewards its campaign workers and other active supporters by appointment to government posts and by other favours (Peskin 64-66).

When Hayes took office, he committed to most of his pledges. He appointed both Republicans and Democrats to cabinet and advisory positions, and he did not nominate himself for a second term. His focus was on civil service reform. Besides all this, Hayes had also great intentions and good ideas for the nation (Peskin 67-69). He was able to enact most of his campaign promises despite the fact that the two parties were fighting him and the corrupted administrators were around him.

In his presidential campaign, Bill Clinton called for change. Accordingly, he gave the priority to the economic changes as the first concern of the Americans. In his first term, he showed commitment to his campaign pledges. Carolyn M. Shaw indicates that President Clinton’s initiated policies correspond with his campaign promises (1). Similarly, studies on President Barack Obama’s presidential campaign indicated that he made more than five hundred pledges. 70 % of them were fulfilled and he made compromises on 24 % 5 (Ufberg).

His agenda was based on three main issues: economy, health care and environment. After he won the election in 2008, Obama worked hard on enacting his promises in a special confrontation with such a difficult Congress ever. He especially wanted to fulfil those promises which were related to environment in which he cooperated with China and other countries on the climate change despite the strong legislative opposition that faced him. Similarly, in his presidential campaign George W. Bush made promises concerning tax cuts and education reform. During the same year he took office, he enacted both promises (C. Shaw 69).

Many studies have been made on the issue of presidential promise-keeping in which recent US presidents' performances have been measured. In addition to that, whether presidents are modern or recent, they work on keeping their promises. In fact, not all the promises are alike in terms of importance. It has become a common belief among US presidents that those which are related to serious policy issues are highly important and should be fulfilled. Whereas other promises that are considered as additional ones can be marginalized by the president after he takes office (Pfiffner 17).

When a new president enters the White House, it means that he has the power and the authority he looked for. He can deny or neglect all what he has pledged before in his campaign. But presidents usually believe in what they have said. Thus, they try hard to fulfil their campaign promises mainly because they usually look for a second term. They follow through on their campaign pledges and try to have a good reputation among voters: being honest is among their main principles. Perhaps what helps many presidents to win office is the ambiguity that lies in their agenda because sometimes American voters prefer candidates with no clear agenda and fewer promises than those who make a lot of pledges (Bonilla 22).

Candidates' reputations and their commitments to the promises in the first term decide whether voters will choose them again or not. Sometimes, however, when a candidate with a bad reputation takes office, he will work on fulfilling his main promises in order to prove himself. Unlike the candidate whose reputation is good, he will implement any promise just to show off (Enriqueta Aragonès et al.).

Even though the American public has the view that most politicians break their promises, when they take office candidates should at least, try "to make a serious effort to keep their promises" (Pfiffner 16). The reason is that there are some political factors, as mentioned before, which may interfere in and hinder the full performance of those pledges. In addition, some politicians make seductive rhetoric during their campaign just to attract voters'

attention. Moreover, the circumstances during the political campaign may differ from those of post election. Thus, the elected candidates may find it not worthy for the nation to enact some promises (17).

Campaign promises are very important in the election process. They are made first by the candidates as proposals. Campaigning in the United States is a marketing process in which each candidate introduces himself as the best through speeches and rhetoric. In fact, not all candidates keep their promises after holding office, and not all of them break promises as well. It depends on each candidate's interests and intentions as well as the surrounding factors or conditions that either would be with or against the new president. Generally, candidates believe in what they have said during their campaign. Many US presidents make big challenges to follow through on their pledges, whereas others do not. But still, the challenge for any American incumbent president seeking re-election is to gain voters' trust and support by fully implementing his campaign promises.

Endnotes

¹ For more details on the use of this phrase, see Stefan Lorant, *The Glorious Burden: The History of the Presidency and Presidential Elections from George Washington to James Earl Carter, Jr.* Dec 1, 1976. Web. 4 Mar. 2018.

² Independent Treasury System has existed in the US since the 1940's. It is a law under which the government was supposed to keep its own money and to have no connection with the banking institutions of the country (Kinley 8).

³ Oregon Territory (1849-1850) is an act to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon in which the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States assembled all parts of the territory to extend its laws on the new region see Richard Cledggett's "US Territorial Expansion-The Oregon Territory 1846." 2018. Web. 22 Apr. 2019.

Chapter Two

Donald Trump's Presidential Campaign Promises

As an established tradition, in each election the Republican Party nominates the most convincing and reliable candidate. To do so, Republicans always look for a candidate who will be loyal to the party's principles and who will never work out of its ideology. For the 2016 presidential election and against all expectations, the Republican Party chose the businessman Donald J. Trump to lead the race for the presidency. Even though Trump faced some opposition within the Party, the majority, nevertheless, supported him. They ordained the basic values and beliefs of the party and commanded other reforms and voted for it as the 2016 Republican Platform.

Unlike previous US presidential campaigns, Trump's campaign was a bit different from long-established Republicans' campaigns. Since he was less popular and was considered as a newcomer to politics, Trump and his advisors knew that they needed a strong and well planned strategy for their campaign to make his platform known and understood by all American citizens. He, thus, placed himself with the extreme right, evangelical and White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP). To catch the attention of the American public and to convince voters that he would restore American greatness, he used a striking slogan "Let's make America great again".

As a fighter needs to be well armed to win the battle, the presidential candidate also prepared an interesting campaign agenda to arrive to the office. American voters did not care too much about who the candidate was or how he looked like. But what mattered for them were the content as well as the promises he made. In his program, Trump tackled the most common, either foreign or domestic, issues even though it received some criticism from different sides. That said, the main focus in this chapter will be on the 2016 Republican

platform and Trump's campaign strategy as well as the content of his campaign. In other words, the focal point will be on the promises he made on domestic and foreign affairs.

The 2016 US presidential campaign election was distinguished by the competition between two totally different presidential candidates, the Democratic nominee Hilary Rodham Clinton and the Republican candidate Donald J. Trump. The prevailing difference was obvious at the level of their values as well as their concepts about how they will rule the government if elected. The campaign was not that easy for both candidates. It was, however, much harder for Donald Trump who came into the political world for the first time. Despite the fact that he faced an opposition from members of his own party, such as recent presidential nominee John McCain and the speaker of the House Paul Ryan, Trump unpredictably won the 2016 Republican primaries (Thornton 26).

2.1. The 2016 Republican Platform

The Republican Party or as it is commonly called the Great Old Party (GOP) comes after the Democratic Party as the two most influential political parties in the United States. The Democratic Party is liberal whereas the Republican Party is Conservative. The Republican Party emerged in 1854 as an opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act¹ that dissolved the terms of the Missouri Compromise². It was against slavery and advocated popular sovereignty (Shadgett 430). In 1994, Republican Congressional Candidates ran on a platform of major reforms such as balanced budget and welfare reform. This was the first attempt for the Republicans to form a party platform (432).

With the coming of the presidential elections each four years, US political parties prepare their platforms which include the shared beliefs, norms and positions of each party. On July 18, 2016 a number of delegates and leaders from the Republican Party formed a committee to draft the principles and the policy proposals that all members agreed upon, and they adopted it to be the 2016 Republican Party platform. The Republican presidential candidate's agenda

and the promises he may include in will be based on what was listed in the party platform. So, it would be the compass and the framework of reference to the campaigner. The platform included positions and proposed policies on about all important fields of the economy, foreign policy, education, criminal justice and government reform.

The platform introduction or the preamble starts as follow: “with this platform, we the Republican Party reaffirm the principles that unite us in a common purpose”. As usual, it was evident that the Republicans would restate the principles upon which their party is based since its foundation, such as their belief in American exceptionalism, constitutional system, and the political and economic freedom. They also strongly believed that people are a superpower to the extent that they are considered as one of the main natural resources (Republican Platform 2016: The Preamble).

They also expressed their intention to seek peace and good relations with other nations. Furthermore, they showed the importance of the platform and its central layout which was making America great and united again. Finally, they turned to criticizing the president and the Democratic Party and referring to their party as the best choice for Americans (Republican Platform 2016: The Preamble). As a common practice, platforms are written just as an American political tradition without high importance. However, the 2016 Republican platform received a considerable media attention for its interesting content.

After a long and fruitful discussion, the committee platform members finally agreed on the official document. The platform consists of six main titles as chapters, under each title there are subtitles. It started first with: “Restoring the American Dream”. This part is all about the economic issues. The party recorded its positions and future actions about trade and taxes, the ways that can make America more competitive. They also tackled free markets and housing issues, as well as technology as America’s future, workforce, debts, small businesses and entrepreneurship (Republican Platform ... 1-8).

The second section is entitled: A Rebirth of Constitutional Government. It mainly deals with the constitution and different Americans' rights including the right to vote, freedom of speech, the right to bear arms and religious freedom. The Republican Party pledged to protect all those rights from any government control (Republican Platform... 9-16). The third part is dubbed: America's Natural Recourses: Agriculture, Energy and the Environment. The platform mentioned the richness of America in energy sources and how these resources will improve both the economy and the environment under the Republican administration (17-22).

Next, comes this title: "Government Reform". It is the main part of the platform. It includes all the reforms and some of the issues that Republicans changed their position on. The subsequent title is about "Great American Families, Education, Healthcare and Criminal Justice". It deals with issues of marriage, families and society in addition to education and healthcare reforms (Republican Platform... 31-40). Finally is the title: "America Resurgent". This last part starts with a criticism of President Obama's administration. According to the Republicans, America became weak and unsecured under the previous administration. They also mentioned their support for American troops and soldiers and their families. In conclusion, the Republicans emphasized the strong connections with and support to Israel (Republican Platform ... 47).

Since the Republicans adopted conservative social values in their new platform, they tackled the issue of transgender people and their rights, especially at public schools. They proposed that students' use of bathrooms and locker rooms would be according to their gender identities (Flores). Moreover, Republicans stated homophobic and very clear stances about same-sex marriage as it is written in the platform: "the cornerstone of the family is natural marriage, the union of one man and one woman" (Republican Platform... 31). The platform also announced its rejection to the Supreme Court's decision about this issue: "we do not accept the Supreme Court's redefinition of marriage and we urge its reversal,

whether through judicial reconsideration or a constitutional amendment returning control over marriage to the states” (Republican Platform... 32). Among the central issues mentioned in the platform is the denial of basic civil rights to guys, lesbians and transgender people and showing little empathy with them: “We oppose policies and laws that create a financial incentive for or encourage cohabitation” (Republican Platform... 31).

Republicans have strongly criticized the Affordable Care Act³. The Platform states: “Any honest agenda for improving healthcare must start with repeal of the dishonestly named Affordable Care Act of 2010: Obamacare. It weighs like the dead hand of the past upon American medicine” (Republican Platform... 36). According to them, such an Act led to high costs and taxes that not all American families can afford. They decided to repeal it and proposed instead a new approach related to health care. As stated by the Republicans, this approach will provide excellent care, well and in time treatment as well as a genuine competition.

To be successfully implemented, Republicans proposed a series of policies. The first policy is meant to build a strong and trustee relationship between patients and physicians. The second policy is to reduce mandates and to help insurers achieving more developed and innovated health care options. To give the states more authority for organizing local insurance markets, federal makings on private insurance and Medicaid would be limited. The next policy is to build up competition and to achieve price transparency; as well as to open the doors for individuals and small businesses to get insured (Republican Platform... 36-39). These policies, obviously, aim to improve health care services and provide good treatment for patients.

The platform also mentioned that Republicans would improve health care services for militants, especially those who fight in the Middle East, with their families (Republican Platform ... 43). They also planned to create private veteran enterprises and special service

organizations. To provide high quality services, they would integrate technology to the field. Improving medicines and giving veterans the opportunity to choose whether to receive health treatment in Veterans Affairs (VA) facilities or in community (Republican Platform ... 41-45).

Donald Trump's touch and the policies he proposed, especially those on immigration and trade, created disagreement among the party members. This divergence seemed to make the 2016 Republican platform exceptional. The dispute was comprehensible, but it did not last for a long time. The Republican Party finally made a consensus in which Trump's policy proposal that sought to ban Muslims from entering the country was not mentioned in the platform. In addition to his rejection of Iraq invasion or his position toward the same sex marriage issue. This did not mean that all of Trump's proposals were refused by his party.

In fact, the party considerably dropped its earlier moderations and espoused Trump's plan on trade and immigration, and that was an ostensible shift. To stop illegal immigration, the platform plans to build a wall with Mexico which was one of Trump's unprecedented policies. As stated in the platform: "In a time of terrorism, drug cartels, human trafficking, and criminal gangs, the presence of millions of unidentified individuals in this country poses grave risks to the safety and sovereignty of the United States". The platform adds "That is why we support building a wall along our southern borders and protecting all ports of entry" (Republican Platform ... 26). Moreover, instead of calling them "illegal immigrants", the platform changed their label to "illegal aliens" (Stein).

"Extreme vetting" or "Special scrutiny" are two similar proposals. The first was suggested by Trump, while the second was recorded in the Republican platform. The proposal involves very strict enquiries with immigrants who want to enter the United States. It seems clear that such policy is addressed to those from "regions associated with Islamic terrorism". However, there was no reference to any ban on Muslims from passing the US borders as it was

mentioned in Trump's campaign agenda. In fact, the Republicans' position toward refugees differs from what was mentioned in their 2012 platform: "We affirm our country's historic tradition of welcoming refugees from troubled lands". It added "In some cases, they are people who stood with us during dangerous times, and they have first call on our hospitality" (Flores).

While the 2012 platform did not mention any idea about teaching the Bible in public schools, the 2016 platform did (Republican Platform... 33). They saw that this will improve education and will build up good citizens (Flores). According to the Republicans: "A good understanding of the Bible being indispensable for the development of an educated citizenry, we encourage state legislatures to offer the Bible in a literature curriculum as an elective in America's high schools" (33).

During the convention, the Republican Party did not only adopt Trump's immigration policy, but also approved that related to trade affairs. "America first" is Trump's trade policy that the GOP mentioned in the platform. The new platform also stated: "we cannot allow China to continue its currency manipulation, exclusion of US products from government purchases, and subsidization of Chinese companies to thwart American Imports" (Republican Platform ... 2). Accordingly, the party members agreed with Trump that China represents a real threat to American trade which the new administration ought to deal with. It is true that the party embraced Trump's "America first" trade philosophy, but this stance does not mean that Washington retreated from its support for free trade.

2. 2. Trump's Campaign Strategy

Politicians, leaders, and political researchers, inside and outside the United States, considered the 2016 election as incomparable to preceding elections at all levels. As the two competing candidates, Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton had distinct ideologies; they also adopted different strategies during their campaigns. Clinton is a well known candidate to the

American public. They, at least, have an idea about the way she would rule the nation if she were elected; since she worked with President Barack Obama as secretary of state. However, from the primary elections, Donald Trump was among many unknown candidates who were considered as newcomers to politics. Even though he was a host of a TV show years before the election which enabled him to have mass audiences, this was not enough for him. This was the reason why he adopted different strategies to attract more voters.

During the nomination process and the campaign, candidates were challenging each other using different ways and techniques to get as much voters' support as possible. Many politicians and specialists in the field viewed the 2016 presidential campaign; especially Trump's campaign, as an unprecedented one: a campaign that broke all the established norms of politics in the United States. Trump's use of live videos and Facebook created a kind of authenticity that did not exist in previous presidential campaigns and that was missing in his challenging candidate Hilary Clinton's campaign (Galston).

Trump's digital campaign was based on the marketing agency Giles-Parscale⁴, the micro targeting firm Cambridge Analytica⁵, and the Republican Party digital team. Although Trump depended more on businessmen who never entered politics before, they designed successful accounts and web sites which worked as online advertising for his campaign (Galston).

Additionally, "One of the most characteristic features of Trump's political career is his willingness to embrace the instant communication opportunities of social media, most notably Twitter" (Korhonen 7). Twitter was highly effective in Trump's campaign. His thirteen-million Twitter followers share what Trump tweets about election. In this way, the campaign's circle became larger. Trump's digital and social media strategy achieved high success in addition to his other strategies.

American politicians used to deliver well structured, convincing and powerful speeches in order to get more votes, consequently, more authority. But Donald Trump was an

exception. Political scientists as well as linguists criticized his simple language that is, grammatically, not well structured and they described it as a “not presidential” language. They thought that Americans may consider Trump as disqualified to be the US president because of his language. However, others considered that the simplicity in Trump’s speeches reflects his authenticity which led voters to trust and support him more. Moreover, his oversimplified style with an everyday language gave his supporters the impression that “...Trump is speaking for himself and that he has not paid someone to write him a speech” (Kerner 18).

In fact, Trump was a clever politician because he targeted specific groups of voters which he could confirm their support, like the case of the low-middle class group which Clinton’s Democratic Party excluded and displaced from their agenda. As Liberals, they support inequality. It is simply an upper class party. The White- middle class think that Democrats cared more about immigrants’ rights than theirs. By contrast, Trump gave a major concern to those groups. He worked on tackling all their concerns mainly that of being ignored in comparison to minorities; especially issues related to jobs (Friedman).

While Clinton did not pay attention to the importance of their votes, Trump made strong connections with low-middle class groups. As a result, more than 20 % of Hispanics voted for Trump and served as his base that Clinton had not. In this sense, George Friedman argues that: “This presidential campaign pivoted on the fact that Clinton did not understand the political movement that was rising and dismissed it as marginal. Trump understood it, played to it and won the presidency” (4).

In his campaign, Trump did not ask for any donations. He depended on his own money to finance his campaign. Trump used his wealth as a winning card to win the election. One way is that he depended on charitable works as a strategy to show his kindness and attract more voters. David Cay Johnston, a journalist who wrote a detailed book about Trump entitled: *The*

Making of Donald Trump, argues that: “Trump had checks sent to veterans groups by overnight delivery. A few days later, he announced he had turned over \$5.6 million, including \$1 million of his own money, to veterans, and his campaign handed out a list of the recipients”. Johnston found that such an action was very successful for his campaign. In this respect, he asserted that “The campaign continued to engage charities in ways that helped Trump” (Johnston 21).

Making flashbacks to Trump’s past can affect his marketing image; especially his involvement in bribery and drug affairs which is a deed highly questioned. That is why he did not want journalists to report anything about his past that would change voters’ views about him. In many cases, Trump tried to avoid journalists’ questions when they raised old issues. He worked on sharing facts about his family, his wealth and work on social media and TV shows in order to be close to his voters. However, he avoided any sensible issues that may lead to long discussions (Johnston 25).

Despite the fact that Trump’s relationship with journalists was not so good; media was a winning card in his campaign. A candidate like Donald Trump with a special character and his controversial stands on some critical issues attracted media attention and drove it, unintentionally, to cover his campaign. In fact, their purpose was to show Donald Trump as bad and unsuitable candidate for the presidency to the public. However, due to the extensive interest and the free publicity of media towards his campaign, Trump became a well known figure in the 2016 presidential campaign.

Moreover, Trump turned to be the presidential frontrunner. In this regard, Mazzoleni argues that:

Donald Trump, to be true, helped the media to help him. The candidate was a celebrity on his own, a flamboyant tycoon, a controversial outsider in the GOP camp. He crisscrossed the country rallying crowds with intemperate speeches

against blacks, Muslims, Mexicans; raised hell worldwide with outrageous comments on females, tweeted insults to politicians and stars, he was a newsmaker and an agenda-setter all the way through. How could the media ignore such a bizarre presidential hopeful? (21)

Media also benefited from covering his campaign in which more sales were recorded and much money were got during that period: “It’s the unusual, the sensational that draws the attention of the media, and Trump was both, and sensational stories ‘sell well’, and bring in a lot of money”(21).

Trump not only used rude statements, but also attacked and insulted undocumented immigrants, Muslims, Democratic frontrunner Hillary Clinton, his GOP rivals and the media. Even when he misstated facts, he never went back on his statements. Despite the harsh expressions he used in his speeches, his “tell- it- like- it- is- style” (Crotty), the falsified facts, and the controversial proposals outlined in his agenda, Donald Trump was perhaps the most popular candidate in the 2016 presidential election. In fact those factors served his campaign and attracted more voters. Trump’s supporters considered him as a different politician who tackled the hidden problems to seek solutions, an honest politician who does not lie, even if his speech is not completely true (Schwartzman and Johnson).

Donald J .Trump was so enthusiastic during his campaign. It was known that he loves success and challenge. He chose a very attractive slogan: “To Make America Great Again”. Such a slogan made most Americans voters turn around him. Besides, he is talented in delivering speeches. He has the power to convince people. “He was also at ease in front of large audiences, had a quick response to almost everything and knew how to package complex ideas in a few pointed, if often angry, words” (Crotty) .

Trump benefited from other candidates’ mistakes, including that of Hilary Clinton who voted for the war in Iraq in 2003 while in the senate. Trump considered that as a fault and

pretended that he was totally against that. Many previous issues were used against Clinton during the campaign. Trump also has been criticized for being reckless. He did not only criticize Hilary Clinton in his campaign, but also Obama for weakening the military and the economy; in addition to high spending, huge debts with less growth and open borders (Cherkaoui 4).

Among the factors that helped Trump to win the election is the interference of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director James Comey during the presidential campaign. Hilary Clinton was about to win the polls, however Comey's letter to the US Congress changed all the accounts. The letter had a real impact on her campaign as it included the FBI's restarting their investigations of Hilary Clinton's State Department emails. Even though, she tried to retrieve her status in the race again later, but she could not (Gaughan).

In addition to his egocentric personality, Donald Trump created his own language to be an idiolect which added an authenticity to his talks. He tended to use some expressions repeatedly when addressing the audience. Amongst, the phrase "believe me", "a lot of money" and his frequent use of the two words in pair "win" and "loser" "You'll never get bored with winning" and "I would like to extend my best wishes to all, even the haters and losers, on this special date, September 11th" (Kerner 19).

These statements were criticized by specialists in the field of politics. They argued that by using such phrases, Trump shows some negative aspects. For example, people may have the impression that Trump's speeches are less credible as he always says "believe me". When he mentions money repeatedly, he will show to the American public how much he prefers money. In fact, while only few numbers of Americans were thinking that way. The majority of them were influenced by Trump's speeches (Kerner 20).

Additionally, Trump uses specific expressions to make the audience feel that he is closer to them and to appear as a good person to them. "Trump comes across as more informal and

familiar, when he says things like “as you know”, “we have to be strong”, “we have to take a look at” and “let me tell you”. He reinforces the perception among his supporters that they are “in this together” and makes his image softer despite what is often a harsh message ” (Korhonen 15). Trump also used to mention his success as a businessman as an indirect message to the public that he will be a successful president as well “Winning” has always been a big part of Trump’s image, and during his presidential campaign he promised again and again that he is used to winning and that America would start winning too ” (19-20).

According to Mohammed Cherkaoui, Trump used the language artfully in his speeches to compensate his lack of political experience:

Trump tends to use a simplified and fiery language beyond political correctness and the nuances of the public discourse. His communication strategy reveals two main tendencies: a) his limited political knowledge which he derives from watching news’ programs on television, and b) the no-university educational background of most of his supporters. However, Trump’s apparent populism is not innocent; it hides a deliberate ideological exploitation of the gap between the political elite in Washington and ordinary Americans. It is also an extension to his demagogy in playing the card of identity politics. (8-9)

Since the starting of the 2016 presidential campaign, different sides considered that Trump’s entering the elections without a grassroots organization would affect him. But, in fact, he did not need such an organization because the American public already recognizes his name. As he was working in media for about 30 years, Trump established himself as a celebrity. Thus, he received a condensable media attention since the early days of his campaign. As a consequence, the campaign incomes and the number of his followers were continually increasing. Moreover, Trump recognized that his controversial speeches were

working well and he continued his strategy. Moreover, the charming and charismatic personality of Donald Trump enabled him to motivate voters with his rhetoric (Gaughan).

Usually presidential candidates in their campaign speeches tend to show their intention to unify the nation and propose laws that make the different racial, cultural and religious groups live in harmony. Exceptionally, Trump in his campaign adopted the strategy of divide and conquer. He showed his hatred to Muslims and immigrants as he tried to prove their effect on the country's security and economy. Additionally, he empathized and supported with low-middle class who felt marginalized in Hilary Clinton's campaign agenda (Gaughan).

During the presidential campaign Trump has adopted a political and an economic protectionism as his "fear of the other" was rising up. That pessimistic expectations has shifted to his supporters, especially workers, who were no longer trusting foreign bodies to the extent that they welcomed Trump's compulsory tariffs imposed on the US outsourced products. Although, such a plan has been suspected to affect American own incomes as well as their economy (Cherkaoui 8).

In addition to the previously mentioned adopted strategies, Trump is known for his humour which helped him a lot in his campaign. "Trump's style was effective, and his use of comedy was a natural extension of past practice in terms of using entertainment as a campaign strategy" (Bessler 36). Moreover, instead of the formal speeches that make them feel bored, people liked Trump's attractive, convincing and spontaneous way of addressing the audience. His entertaining speeches left no chance for his followers to raise any questions about the issues he tackled since they cannot hold them seriously.

They would also not judge him in case of not fulfilling one of his campaign promises. "Trump's humour entertained audiences, decreasing his listeners' ability to scrutinize his arguments and allowing them to dismiss any questionable points he made as "just jokes".

Trump made sure to leave “wobble room”, both for himself to later claim something was a joke and for his audience to discount it if they disagreed” (Bessler 42).

Since he was considered as a newcomer to politics, Trump’s efforts to gain Americans’ trust were much harder than any other candidate. To do so, he adapted short policies, less detailed and unclear agenda. It was a strategic step to use his attractive slogan. Then, he provided no hints about how he will realize most of his shining promises. He, therefore, intended to make the majority of Americans support him and follow his ambiguous promises. Though Donald Trump did not have many advisers as other presidential candidates usually do, he nonetheless skilfully managed his campaign.

2. 3. Trump’s Presidential Campaign Content

In his presidential campaign, Trump prepared a long list of optimistic promises for the nation and he showed enthusiasm to enact them if elected. Trump said “On November Eighth, Americans will be voting for this 100-day plan to restore prosperity to our country, secure our communities, and honesty to our government,” He added: “This is my pledge to you and if we follow these steps we will once more have a government of, by and for the people and importantly we will make America great again. Believe me” (Spiering).

As previously mentioned, one of Trump’s adopted strategies for the campaign was the repetition of/and emphasis on some expressions. In the same way, a number of elements have currently appeared in his speeches to be the content of the campaign. Firstly, Trump used to mention, in the opening of each speech, his self-aggrandizement and his greatness. He keeps on telling his supporters that he is a winner and others are losers. His supporters are winners too that America needs. The second component of Trump campaign is the key issues in his agenda. They are immigration and the Iran nuclear deal. Whenever he faced the audience, Trump tackled the issue of immigration, the extent to which illegal immigrants are harmful to

the country and what he prepared to fight it. He usually referred to the US-Mexico border wall that will be paid by Mexico to become a rallying cry of the campaign (Berenson).

For the Iran nuclear deal, Trump said that he will be a better negotiator. He also talked about foreign countries, mainly China, and how their negotiating ability threatened the US trade. Additionally, Trump used to call the Islamic states as the bad guys. And that he will fight them with their families. The Republican candidate's relationship with journalists was not so good. He attacked them directly and in front of the audience. Not only that, but he also asked the crowds to ridicule them. Another element which repeatedly appeared in Trump speeches to the extent that it became an essential part of the campaign content is his insult comedy. Trump insulted media, presidents, his opponents and even foreign leaders. In the beginning, voters saw it as a strange phenomenon in politics. But later, they liked the idea and found it funny. They considered it a big change in the US politics (Berenson).

As a final element in the content of Donald Trump campaign, one has to point to the protesters who were present at every Trump rally interrupting and showing him their anger and their refusal to accept him as a potential candidate for the presidency. In fact, they disturbed Trump in the beginning, but later, he knew how to use that in his favour. He asked his audience not to hurt adverse protesters and to keep them safe. This was another reason for his followers to support him (Berenson).

Broadly speaking, Trump made a number of interesting promises. Some of them were considered as unrealistic pledges which were meant to be just a political show while others were regarded as important and unprecedented proposals that really would make America great again. Trump based his campaign promises on a number of interesting domestic and international issues as well.

2. 3.1. Donald Trump's Main Presidential Campaign Promises on Domestic Affairs

In his deal with American voters, Trump anticipated a “100-day action plan to make America Great Again”, in which he promised to bring change to Washington and to fight corruption through different actions. First, he projected to impose term limits on members of Congress. Second, he proposed to stop hiring federal employees to reduce their number in the workforce. Then, he promised to eliminate the existing regulations established by President Obama, and to establish new ones. He also intended to restrict officials of Congress and those of the White House by five years before they become lobbyists (Trump, “Donald Trump’s Contract with...”).

Each presidential candidate tends to mention taxes in his agenda, and he has to do so, since it is among the public interest. In the 2016 US presidential campaign, the Republican candidate Donald J. Trump promised to make an income tax reform in order to decrease rates on individuals and business income by reducing tax breaks. He also announced that he would repeal the estate tax (*Promises and Price Tags: A Fiscal Guide to the 2016 Election* 21-25).

The pre-election circumstances often decide which policy issues will the candidate focus on. In a society where unemployment is highly widespread, promises of job creation would make the campaigning candidate very popular. Workers have an important status in the American society as in Trump’s agenda. To protect the labour force, he promised to take far-reaching actions if elected as a president. He vowed to stop US membership in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP) as to protect American workers from any foreign trading abuses. He also announced his determination to raise the production of some American energy reserves, including shale, oil, natural gas and clean coal. He furthermore promised to allow energy infrastructure projects to move forward. Moreover, he called for using the money directed to UN climate change programs towards environmental infrastructure projects. Consequently,

this will raise the chances for Americans to secure jobs (Trump, “Donald Trump’s Contract with...”).

In addition to cancelling the Paris Climate Agreement, Trump stated that the United States will no longer depend on foreign oil as soon as an America First Energy Plan will be implemented and that revenues from the Energy Plan and any other revenues would be used to invest in infrastructure projects:

Trump would make energy independence both a domestic and foreign policy goal, promising to completely free the United States of dependence on foreign oil while strengthening relationships with allies in the Gulf. He would lift moratoria on energy production on federal land, permit the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline, simplify energy regulations, ease restrictions on new drilling technologies, terminate the Waters of the United States rule, and cancel the Paris Climate Agreement as well as any funding to the United Nations that goes towards global warming initiatives. Trump has called for using any revenue generated from this plan to invest in infrastructure, including roads, schools, bridges, and drinking water infrastructure. Assuming that all of the revenue generated would be used for new spending, this plan would have no net fiscal impact”. (*Promises and Price Tags: A Fiscal Guide to the 2016 Election* 30)

To restore security, the Republican candidate listed a number of actions in his campaign agenda. Among which, is his stance about the climate change as an international and domestic matter. His position was clear even before he entered politics. In 2012, he claimed that “climate change was created by and for Chinese”. Three years later, as a presidential candidate, Trump promised to “cancel the Paris Climate Agreement ⁶ and stop all payments of US tax dollars to UN global warming programs”. Thus, climate scientists expected that

Trump's victory, would be a "turning point in the climate change history" and that Americans will lose their hope to decrease climate change to 2 degrees (Hudson).

Constantine Boussalis argued that president-elect Trump's policies on how he will fulfil his pledges on climate change seemed to be clear. It was obvious that Trump will stop all environmental institutions that oppose fossil fuel industry. Moreover, to increase the incomes Trump was ready to re-open oil, gas, and coal production at the expense of national and international environment (51).

As a way to improve the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA), Donald Trump set some reforms "including increasing funding for various mental health and job training programs, expanding and improving services for female veterans, reducing waste and fraud, improving technology and personnel, and – perhaps most significantly – allowing veterans to be treated by any doctor who accepts Medicare rather than only those at VA hospitals" (*Promises and Price Tags: A Fiscal Guide to the 2016 Election* 30). Trump, also, repeatedly used to mention the military in his speeches and that he would rebuild and improve it. However he talked about reducing wasteful military spending and that the allies will pay as much as they benefit from the American military operations (31).

As previously mentioned, Trump supported the middle class during the presidential campaign and according to him, Globalization is affecting them. He declared: "This wave of globalization has wiped out totally, totally, our middle class" (Ryan 209), then he promised "to restore manufacturing jobs and stop outsourcing. He has promised to punish US corporations that move jobs offshore (Wright 6).

2. 3.2 Donald Trump's Main Presidential Campaign Promises on Foreign Affairs

As all presidential candidates, Donald Trump prepared a heavy agenda for the 2016 presidential elections campaign. However, what made him exceptional in comparison with other candidates were the promises he claimed on US foreign affairs. The media did not miss

any word or statement that he said or even tweeted on social media throughout the 2016 presidential campaign. As a result, Trump became a newsmaker in the United States at that time and the public turned to look at his website and listen to the news.

During his campaign, Trump provided the public with misinformation about immigration. He kept on claiming that most of the crimes and problems that are happening in the country are committed by immigrants and not by Americans even though researches proved the opposite. Therefore, he prepared a number of promises to fight them. Donald Trump made a controversial pledge that is to build a wall along the US-Mexico borders to ban, according to him, “rapists and killers” (Crotty 23) from entering the United States.

Not only that, he also announced that Mexico will pay the costs of such project. “One of the boldest proposals put forward in the 2016 US presidential electoral campaign was Trump’s plan to erect a wall on the US-Mexico border to keep out illegal immigrants. Although at first sight the idea seemed nonsensical, Trump repeatedly claimed he indeed wanted to build the wall, insisting the Mexican government would pay for the construction of this border protection device” (Hooghe and Marien 44).

In addition to his promises of building a wall on the US-Mexico borders and mass deportations, Donald Trump proposed more anti-immigrant legislation. He intended to exclude undocumented immigrants and their US-born children from the American territory. With the exceptional appearance of Trump in the 2016 presidential elections, Americans in general, and Republicans in particular, became uncompromising again on undocumented immigrants. This position on Mexican immigrants became common among his supporters especially after portraying them in bad images (Winders 42). For Trump, to make America great again, there should be an extensive deportation of illegal immigrants from the US lands. Although Trump presented a detailed immigration reform in order to decrease the number of

unauthorized immigrants in the United States, there was no plan for that in his website (*Promises and Price Tags: A Fiscal Guide to the 2016 Election* 33).

Donald J. Trump did not exclude Muslims from his immigration proposal. In 2015, he stated that he would ban all Muslims from entering the United States whether as immigrants or even tourists through the creation of what he called a “deportation force” to throw out undocumented immigrants outside the country (ACLU, “The Trump Memos: The ACLU’s Constitutional ...” 3).

Donald Trump was looking for improving the status of the country’s trade at the international level. That is why he promised to reshape the trade relationship between the United States and China and Mexico as well. To do so,

He would impose countervailing duties on artificially cheap Chinese products, enforce laws against Chinese hackers and counterfeit goods, prohibit American companies from sharing protected intellectual property before gaining access to Chinese markets, and aggressively pursue a case before the World Trade Organization (WTO), which claims the Chinese government provides illegal export subsidies to its manufacturers in contravention of WTO rules”. (*Promises and Price Tags: A Fiscal Guide to the 2016 Election* 31).

Trump, however, did not mention such proposal in his website and gave no details about it. He only talked about it briefly in one of his campaign videos. Trump promised the American public that he will be a good negotiator with China, Russia and the National Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to have a better deal for the country. According to him, “international trade agreements, such as North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) that President Obama had negotiated and was trying to have adopted, hurt the working man” (Crotty 26).

Trump's pledge to "Make America Great Again" includes promises on trade and economy. Withdrawing the US from the TPP trade agreement and renegotiating some trade deals with Mexico and Canada, mainly the NAFTA, are some of them (Elms and Sriganesh 249). In addition to that, "Creating new jobs, preventing investors and manufactory from leaving the US, and holding China and Mexico accountable for taking advantage of the US had been some of the most important and popular points that Trump had made during his campaign" (Korhonen 12).

With regards to foreign defence, Donald Trump was against alliances many years before he entered politics. Later, as a Republican candidate, he strongly criticized US allies in Asia, Europe and the Middle East during the campaign. According to him, the United States does not need to have alliances and that it receives no benefits from its bases in East Asia. Trump "suggested that America's duty to defend NATO allies might be conditional" ("US Election Briefs 2016" 10).

Put differently, allies in Asia and Europe should pay the US for its military services or they had to depend on themselves for their defence. On this point, Trump opined: "We have spent trillions of dollars over time on planes, missiles, ships, equipment, building up our military to provide a strong defence for Europe and Asia. The countries we are defending must pay for the cost of this defence, and if not, the US must be prepared to let these countries defend themselves." (Wright 5). Trump also said in his campaign that he will negotiate the nuclear deal with Iran ("US Election Briefs 2016" 3-4)

Donald Trump gave high interest to maintaining peace and fighting terrorism in the world in general and in the Middle East in particular. Ryan argued that "Trump pledged to continue fighting ISIS in Iraq and Syria, but would avoid seeking to topple the Assad regime because ISIS was the greater problem". He also described the NATO as irrelevant and that it does not cope with the existing security threats since the conditions in which it was established are

different from nowadays (213). Moreover, Trump showed admiration to President Putin as well as his intention to make diplomatic relations with Russia.

In his inauguration speech as a president, Trump stated that the well being of Americans would be number one and that all of his future policies would be for that purpose. He said: “every decision on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families” (Korhonen 19).

By and large, Trump's foreign policy platform included promises over three main issues; building a wall along the US-Mexico border, opposition to the Iran deal, banning Muslim Immigrants from entering the US and the climate change. Other promises included his promise to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and to relocate the US Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Despite the fact that Trump recurrently mentioned these issues in his speeches, interviews and videos, he did not provide any record on them. Moreover, candidate Trump's ignorance of some foreign issues, mainly the nuclear triad⁷, Brexit and the disputes in South China Sea, made him change his views on them each time. Therefore, it is hard to predict what Trump's foreign policy would be and whether he will follow through his campaign pledges or not. The next chapter will be devoted to President Donald Trump's progress toward fulfilling his campaign promises, in particular those on immigration.

Endnotes

¹ Kansas- Nebraska Act: It was passed on May 30th, 1854. It was first introduced by Senator Stephen Douglas in January 1854 as a bill to divide the west of Missouri into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska with a popular sovereignty i.e. settlers of both territories can decide whether slavery will legally exist there or not. (*U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* Web. 26 May 2019).

² Missouri Compromise: it was created by Congress on March 6, 1820 which gave settlers of the authority to form a state government with a constitution, and to advocate it as part of the Union with the same footings as the original states. Most importantly, was to prohibit slavery in the territory (“The Missouri Compromise: What was it and how did it Contribute to the Civil War?” *Ancestral Findings*, 2001. Web. 25 Feb. 2019.).

³ Affordable Care Act: The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (PPACA), it was enacted on March 23, 2010 under the administration of President Barack Obama and later upheld by the Supreme Court. According to this Act, healthcare is a right not a privilege, and its aim was to insure much Americans as well as making healthcare available to everyone with an affordable price (Rak and Coffin 317).

⁴ Giles-Parscale: Parscale Media is a professional web marketing service provider located in San Antonio, Texas. It offers web design, web hosting, search engine marketing, search engine optimization, and social media marketing services. Giles Parscale uses 15 technology products and services including Google Analytics, G Suite and Vimeo. It is also actively using 38 technologies for its websites including Viewport Meta, I Phone/ Mobile Compatible, and SPF (Shaw, Adam. “Brad Parscale, Trump's Tech 'Genius,' Tapped to be Campaign Manager for President's 2020 Re-election Bid.” *Fox News*, 2018. Web. 21 Mar. 2019.).

⁵ Cambridge Analytica: is a company that offers services to businesses and political parties who want to influence the public behavior or point of view (“What is Cambridge Analytica? The Firm at the Centre of Facebook's Data Breach.” *The Guardian*, 2018. Web. 12 May 2019).

⁶ Paris Climate Agreement: on December 12, 2015, the 21st Conference of Parties (COP 21) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) adopted an agreement that is a landmark in global climate governance. The agreement that was held in Paris came after 23 years after the framework convention was adopted at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in 1992. The Paris Climate Change Agreement requires emissions cuts pledges and that developed nations will help developing countries (Jayaraman, T. "The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Background, Analysis, and Implications." *Journal, Review of Agrarian Studies*, Vol. 5(2), (2015): 42-59).

⁷ The nuclear triad refers to the American military doctrine of having land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-based ballistic missiles, and air-dropped bombs, all tipped with nuclear warheads. See Rogoway, Tyler. “Donald Trump Has No Idea What America's Nuclear Triad Is”. Web. 21 Jan. 2019.

Chapter Three

Donald Trump's Promised Immigration Policy Facing Implementation

From the early days following the announcement of the 2016 presidential elections' results, all Americans focused their attentions on the White House waiting for the first actions to be taken by the new president. The newcomer and the politically unknown Donald J. Trump finally won office to become the 45th President of the United States of America. It is not easy for any candidate to gain voters' support, but what is most difficult for the winner candidate is to go through on his campaign pledges and to satisfy all citizens. For President Trump, it is time to implement his agenda that was ambiguous, as a strategy, during the presidential campaign.

3. 1. A Review of Trump's Progress toward Fulfilling his Presidential Campaign

Promises

On the 9 of November 2016, the American nation as well people around the world were shocked as Donald Trump won the presidential election to be the 45th US president. Trump's victory, however, was not a hazard. Besides the factors that helped him and the strategies he used during the presidential campaign to get the office, there are other variables that paved the way for a figure like Trump to emerge. After the events of 11 September 2001 or as it is called the war on terror, as the right-wing movements flourished , many populist figures appeared around the world and Donald Trump is among them (Kowalski 1-2).

After those events, the United States witnessed a crisis of domination or the so called the "hegemony crisis". On the one hand, there was an ideological crisis within the Democratic and the Republican parties in which the traditional elites of both parties could not impose their neoliberal policies. Consequently, the party system turned to be weak and less credible. On the other hand, the civil society, the working class in particular, was suffering from inequality of wealth division (Kowalski 3-4).

Therefore, citizens were dissatisfied on the existing circumstances and no longer trusted the ruling authorities. They wanted to change and the 2016 presidential election was the first step for that. As they lost faith in the traditional parties, US citizens were eager to support any new candidate even if he is an outsider. So, all the events were in favour of Donald Trump to enter the White House with a new age of “America Trumpism” (Kowalski 6).

The new administration of Donald Trump in the first fifty days started with a number of ‘easy campaign promises’. However, the inexperienced staff failed in making any decisions concerning the essential issues that were big titles in the president’s agenda. One of the most important promises that Trump first tried on was to replace Obama care. He also succeeded, to some extent, to get rid of Obama executive orders and to decrease the government’s size (Merelli et al.). When it comes to evaluate Trump’s achievement in the first months in office, they were disappointing results. “His first 100 days have been defined by chaos, incompetence and broken promises to the American people” (Hoyer).

Trump promised to repeal the Democratic Health Care legislation, Obama care, the first day he will enter the White House. However, more than two months after taking office, the new president together with his party legislative’s trials to stop the law have failed. Thus, Trump stepped back on the timeline that he set before. He said: “I never said repeal it and replace it within 64 days”. He restated his intention to implement his health care plans as soon as possible “I have a long time. But I want to have a great healthcare bill and plan, and we will. It will happen. And it won't be in the very distant future” (Zurcher).

Adopting a bilateral and transactional approach to international affairs and issuing domestic policies that will improve the economy as well as the American working class situation; these were the two keystones in the Republican candidate Donald Trump’s program. However, as he took office, he was faced with a number of constraints that hindered him from accomplishing those issues. The constitutional separation of powers, lack of experience for

the new administration and depending on some military and business elites were among those obstacles. In addition to that, the conflict with North Korea led President Trump carry over the issues because he needed to cooperate with China. Consequently, there should be a special deal when renegotiating on trade matters (Habib and Howard 115).

3. 1.1. Trade and Economy

Among Trump's campaign promises in relation to trade and economy was the identification of all foreign trading abuses that unfairly impact American workers. He also promised he would use every tool to stop those abuses. But later, he only imposed import tax on Canadian lumber as a trade measure. However, Trump worked on enacting other issues just like the claim that he would repeal all the restrictions on American energy reserves, including shale, oil, natural gas and clean coal. Indeed, in his first days as a president, he stopped a number of regulations that limit the polluting effect of energy production. Moreover, he underestimated Obama's climate action plan and he intended to withdraw from the Paris agreement (Merelli et al.).

The big challenge for new President was to implement his promises on trade. During his presidential campaign, Trump promised that he will direct the Treasury secretary to label China as currency manipulator and impose tariffs on its imports. However, as he took office, he did not only revert on his pledge, but also adopted an opposing foreign policy in which he called for the alliance with China because of the high tensions between the US and North Korea (Merelli et al.).

Even though, President Trump needs to follow through on, at least, some of trade issues that was an interesting theme in his agenda "Trump is determined to demonstrate some success in this area because it was such an important theme in the campaign. It will require negotiating skill, imagination and sensitivity to accomplish this goal" (Siegel 3).

Trump also previously threatened China that he would uphold the “One China” policy if China did not compromise on trade. But later, under Trump presidency, the US stance of recognizing Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan was the same just as the traditional one. Not only that, the new administration also showed its eagerness to build strong relations with China in which they both exchange benefits (Nguyen 137). But in mid 2018, President Trump imposed tariffs on China and the European Union using his national security prerogative (Morgan 77).

3. 1.2. Foreign Policy and Security

Security is one of the most important issues in each country, that is why presidential candidates tend to make interesting plans with regard to this field, and Donald Trump was not an exception. On January 20, 2017, he promised to maintain safety in the United States. Later, he proposed in a budget proposal to cut 29% to the State Department and the United States for International Development (USAID) as the first two security keepers in the nation. But such cuts were opposed by Republican members (Hoyer).

Americans felt themselves unsafe as Trump announced his crucial Muslim ban because such action may lead to terrorist acts of vengeance. That is the reason why it was rejected by the federal courts. Consequently, a new doctrine appeared with him known as Trumpism. According to Mohammed Cherkaoui: “Trumpism can be considered the product of the frustration, fear, and intolerance of most conservatives: It is also the nexus of white, extreme right wing, Nativist, and isolationist politics” (7).

In one of his campaign speeches, Trump said that he would submit a plan to defeat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). However, he made no plan about how to do so. Similarly, he proposed no strategy neither on Iraq, Syria, Somalia or on Yemen. He tried to mislead the Americans about the way he will deal with the tensions with North Korea. In

addition, Trump's administration promised to put an end to the Russian interference in the American affairs (Hoyer).

Putin, nonetheless, continued his interference in the US presidential election, his involvement in Ukraine as well as his support to Assad, and no action has been taken by the new administration against the moves of the Russian leader. The same thing happened with the cyber security that was proposed by Trump during his campaign. On this subject, he said assertively that he will appoint a team to give him a plan within 90 days of taking office. But he passed the 90 days and no plan has been presented (Hoyer).

At the external level, there are the global political developments and events while at the domestic one, both the Congress and the Supreme Court with the president contribute in formulating the US foreign policy. In addition to that, the bureaucracies, media, public opinion and interest groups also participate, to some extent, in shaping the US foreign policy. All these elements may stand as obstacles in Trump's way of achieving his promises (Nguyen 136).

Years before assuming the presidency, Donald Trump talked about the threat and danger that could come from the nuclear weapons. In April 12, 2013, he stated that "Our country should be worried about nuclear control far more than gun control—and that one's not even close!". But later, during the campaign and even as a president, most of Trump's statements, if not all, indicated that he is with the use of nuclear weapons. In December 22, 2016, candidate Trump argued that "The United States must greatly strengthen and expand its nuclear capability until such time as the world comes to its senses regarding nukes" (MacManus 186).

President Trump showed that he is ready to negotiate with North Korea. But later, on February 2017, as a *Pukkuksong-2* medium-range ballistic missile was launched over the Sea of Japan, Trump turned to think about the nuclear arsenal. He announced: "My first order as President was to renovate and modernize our nuclear arsenal. It is now far stronger and more

powerful than ever before”. He also said “I’d be the last one to use the nuclear weapons, because that’s sort of like the end of the ballgame” (MacManus 187). So, it is so hard to decide whether President Donald Trump is with or against the nuclear weapons.

In the same line with US-North Korea dispute, political scientists argued that “Unless [Trump] can deter communist North Korea from continued development of its nuclear-missile programme, it could soon threaten America’s mainland. This might bring about the most dangerous war crisis that the United States has faced since the Able Archer 83 war¹ scare of late 1983” (Morgan 77).

In his first year in office, it seemed that President Trump started a war with North Korea. On January 2, 2017, Donald Trump stated that North Korea will not be able to reach any part of the United States with its nuclear weapon. Just two or four months later North Korea responded with a series of ballistic missile launches. To show strength, Trump dropped a massive non-nuclear device on Afghanistan as he ordered a strike group of ships to the Sea of Japan. However, by meeting both of the prime ministers of Japan and China Trump’s tones towards North Korea were changed. He used the first tone again as North Korea launched the country to prove that it can use the nuclear weapons. Such action led Trump to show his readiness to use “fire and fury” if North Korea continued its threat to the United States (Shanahan 29).

Trump's supporters expected that he will put an end to any ties with Japan as he used to criticize it for trade and security issues in his campaign. However, he went in a different way after elections. President “Trump began to change his tone in talking about the US–Japan alliance” (Nguyen 136). Moreover, he showed his intentions to build stronger and deep relationship with Japan than before. In addition to that, the new administration confirmed its defence to Japan from North Korean nuclear threat. In fact, what happened is that the new

president with his administration realized to what extent the alliance with Japan would be beneficial and significant to the US economy (137).

Before he entered the White House, Trump thought that politics is just like business in which he claimed that he would be a good negotiator on foreign affairs and that he can make America great again and that he will adapt an “America First” policy. Soon after assuming the role of President of the United States, he discovered that things are very different simply because he cannot do what he has promised at the expense of American traditional allies and partners (Nguyen 138).

According to Lee Marsden Trump’s foreign policy reforms were “rhetorical rather than practical”. That was clear when President Trump abandoned the European Union while the permanent members of the UN Security Council were negotiating the Iranian nuclear deal. In addition to that, although Donald Trump previously claimed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization does not serve the United States, it is still the most important element in the US security. May be the most significant changes that came with the new administration are the US withdrawal from TTP and the Paris Agreement as well as its relationship with Israel (105).

3. 1.3. Domestic Policy

With regards to promises made on domestic policies, one may assume that the new president has failed to go through on his promises in many issues. As a better example, he did not pass any executive orders to use the money that was directed to the UN climate change programs in order to solve America’s water and environmental infrastructure, as he previously declared in his rhetoric, mainly because it was not the appropriate time to tackle such an issue and because of the opposition that faced his proposal in his own party. Additionally, the new president did nothing for cancelling federal funding to ‘sanctuary cities’ as it was refused by

one of the judges since the administration itself could not set a clear definition to the term ‘sanctuary cities’ (Merelli et al.).

Donald Trump proposed very little pledges on environmental concerns. Based on that, the American public held the idea that he is not a pro-environment candidate. According to Verney:

This view is reinforced by initiatives during his first year in office. In early 2017, his administration approved the construction of ecologically controversial oil pipelines in Alaska and South Dakota. In June, he withdrew American support for the Paris Climate Change Agreement. In December, he authorized increased development in the federally protected Bears Ears and Grand Staircase national monument territory in Utah. (146)

President Donald Trump proposed a massive tax cut in which the corporate tax rate is supposed to drop from 35 percent to 15 percent and for the individual rate; it would drop from 39.6 percent to 35 percent (Miller). However, it was difficult if not impossible to pass since both of Democrats and Republicans were strongly against it even though Trump tried to make it as brief as possible (Merelli et al.).

Moreover, by enacting such proposal, many other promises made by Trump would be broken. As an example, instead of reducing taxes for the working and middle class income tax payers as he promised before, President Trump’s tax cut proposal would reduce taxes for the high-income taxpayers. Trump also said that he will reduce the deficit whereas the proposal is estimated to increase it over the next 10 years (Miller).

In addition to the previous disappointing results of the new administration, nothing was done for the significant budget that was supposed to be allocated to the investment in infrastructure over 10 years. The same thing can be said about education, in which none of the

reforms that were proposed by Trump as a candidate was achieved by him as a President (Merelli et al.).

In other domains, such as in their attempt to replace the Obamacare with a new American Health Care Act, Trump's party found it difficult to do that in a short period of time. Similarly, no official actions have been taken in relation to deducting childcare and eldercare from American taxes (Merelli, de Haldevang and Solbin). More than that, Trump also promised better and less expensive insurance for every American. But, as soon as he took office, "The President and House Republicans put forward Trump Care, a widely-opposed bill that would kick 24 million Americans off of their coverage, raise premiums, allow discrimination based on pre-existing conditions, and impose an age tax on older Americans" (Hoyer).

Among the promises that Trump has outlined in his campaign agenda was the "American Patients First" program. According to this program, the prices that are paid by American consumers for the prescription drugs will be reduced. He also promised to make governmental negotiations over drug prices for Medicare insurance program and to permit its importation from Canada. In addition to that, Trump showed his dissatisfaction about the high prices of drug in the US while they are low in other countries. He said that it is unfair and that it will not happen anymore. Unfortunately, as a president, Donald Trump did not follow through on any of those promises. Not only that, but also "Stock prices of drug and healthcare companies immediately rose after the new announcement". Some said that Trump could pass only some of his proposals through executive actions since he needed the Congress approval (Tanne 1).

Because environmental issues are very important for the American public, Trump took that into consideration and promised to clean both water and air. However, those were no more than shining words in his rhetorical speech since later, as a president, "Trump signed Executive Orders rolling back the Clean Power Plan and the Clean Water Rule and proposed a

31% budget cut to the Environmental Protection Agency, zeroing out key clean water programs for the Great Lakes and the Chesapeake Bay” (Hoyer).

Trump’s Infrastructure plans that he proposed when campaigning have not yet received any decisions to be implemented. The Federal government directed very small amounts of money for infrastructure reform. The reform is also supposed to be through privatization of the components of infrastructure. As a result, natural monopolies will combine with the profit motive and it will be difficult to regulate and control because of the monopolistic exploitation. In this way the only one who will benefit are the property owners instead of infrastructure improvement (Habib and Howard 188).

Statistics have showed that, until today, the most delivered promises for president Trump are those related to financial, environmental and health issues especially in rolling- back regulation and cutting taxes for some tax payers. Tax cuts policy suited only business community. Congress has approved the proposal through the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act which was the promise that Donald Trump succeeded to deliver. And according to him, such policy will be the Americans’ “big beautiful Christmas present” (Shanahan 27).

During the presidential campaign days, Trump published on his Tweeter account that he will make an honest government again in his early 100 days in office. He added that in order to do that, he would start with Washington DC or as he stated “to Drain the Swamp in DC ”. But, later, President Donald Trump has proposed no strategy to do that (Hoyer).

Despite these shortcomings in terms of promise achievement, it does not mean that Trump failed to achieve all the domestic promises. For instance, Trump’s promise of revoking the Obama-Clinton roadblocks and passing energy infrastructure projects to move forward was kept as the new administration has approved the Dakota Access Pipeline². He could cancel all unconstitutional executive actions that were previously issued by President Obama. He also

started the process of selecting a replacement for Supreme Court Justice as he vowed before (Merelli et al.).

Scholars and political scientists have already drawn a conclusion about Trump's presidency. In 2017, Saku Korhonen listed the promises that Trump failed to achieve and the ones he fulfilled:

Trump officially became the 45th president of The United States on the 20th of January 2017. During the first one hundred days of his presidency, Trump has failed to achieve many of the legislative goals that he promised he would see to as the first thing in office. These include Trump's and the GOP's failure to repeal and replace Obamacare, bans on immigration from Muslim countries that were largely blocked by the judiciary branch, and his turnaround on deciding not to name China a currency manipulator. At the same time, Trump has succeeded in deregulating the energy markets and getting Neil Gorsuch chosen as the new member of the Supreme Court. (2)

According to Mark Shanahan, Trump's presidency is considered as the most honest presidency of modern times. He added that although it was so difficult for him to make drastic changes in the country, and in Washington DC in particular as he promised, that does not mean that he achieved nothing. He adopted two main strategies when delivering his campaign promises. He tried to follow through on the big titles in his campaign agenda and backtracked on his predecessor's policies without taking into account the benefit of the nation. As a best example, he promised to repeal Obamacare and to bring a great alternative plan. Indeed, in the early months of his presidency, Donald Trump, as mentioned previously focused on this policy. However, his proposal was rejected (26).

President Trump also has proposed a travel ban for predominantly Muslim countries, but it was refused by the judicial courts. Until now, it seems so hard for President Trump to get

the approval from Congress to fund the Southern border wall. However, it is worthy to mention that Trump has increased the deportation of illegal immigrants even though Mexico showed no desire to pay for the wall. In addition to that, “the president scored a major victory with conservatives with his nomination, and successful confirmation, of Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court” (Shanahan 27).

Donald Trump used a slogan “Make America Great Again” and “America First” and both referred to the prosperity and military strength that will be achieved through industrial, trade, taxes, immigration and foreign affairs policies (Morgan 62). The extent to which President Trump can make America Great again depends on the economic success. Until now, his first year record seems to be very good due to the continued employment as well as the global economy’s uptick (77).

To pass his executive actions, President Donald Trump needed Congressional approval. That is why; he would have to persuade Congress with his positions, especially on controversial issues. However, he was unable to overcome in Congress to achieve reforms. In the Senate, a Democratic support was required since Republicans were less unified (Herbert et al. 160- 161). Also Donald Trump claimed in his presidential campaign that he would be a “great deal maker”. However, his character, his ignorance in policy and politics as well as his disrespect for legislators limited his power to persuade Congress and weakened his reputation with Republican legislators (162).

3. 2. Has Trump Kept His Campaign Promises on Immigration?

As a presidential candidate campaigning for the Republican Party, Donald Trump made a variety of promises on immigration to the United States. He promised, for instance, to build a wall, and make Mexico for it; to deport criminal undocumented immigrants and even all undocumented immigrants. He also pledged to stop all funding of sanctuary cities. Other

promises related to immigration included the establishment of a ban on Muslims entering the American soil.

Among the most controversial issues that candidate Donald J. Trump promised to undertake were those related to immigration. To deport the unwelcomed immigrants, or as he described them as people that have lots of problems, Trump simply proposed to build a wall “I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great, wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall” (Verney 137). Building a border wall was not the only pledge that Trump promised to his supporters to fight illegal immigrants but rather there are others. Thus, this chapter is devoted to see to what extent President Donald Trump followed through on his campaign promises, on immigration policies in particular.

He suggested among other things to stop immigration from countries involved in terrorism and even to restrict legal immigration, and have binding minors sentences for criminals captured while trying to enter the United States illegally. He proposed to work for the removal of Syrian refugees living in the United States, end the right to the American citizenship by birth and increase visa fees. In addition, he vowed to employ American workers first, suspend visas to alien nations that will not accept deported immigrants and end Barack Obama’s executive orders related to immigration as soon as he assumes office.

Unlike the previous presidential candidates who usually propose attainable and realistic plans, Trump’s most promises were unique and unprecedented. For Hillary Clinton “Trump’s ideas aren’t just different - they are dangerously incoherent. They’re not even really ideas – just a series of bizarre rants, personal feuds, and outright lies” (qtd. in Cherkaoui 7).

Donald Trump has repeatedly mentioned terrorists in his campaign speeches and he often connected it with immigration legal or illegal. According to him immigration is among the factors that lead to terrorism; and as a way to fight it, there should be a regulating migration.

As he urged the necessity of new stricter migration controls policies, Trump stated: “The best way to keep foreign terrorists—or, as some people would say, in certain instances, radical Islamic terrorists—from attacking our country is to stop them from entering our country in the first place” (qtd. in Bartolucci 140). Thus, according to Trump, a strong and well equipped military is needed: “As Commander in Chief, I am committed to keeping the United States military the best trained, equipped, and most technological advanced fighting force on the planet” (142).

To stop illegal immigration that was increasing over the last years, Trump has exceptionally proposed to build a wall on the Mexican borders and Mexico will pay for it: “I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I build them very inexpensively. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall” (*Time*). It was clear that such a proposal needed precise studies before announcing it. Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto strongly rejected Trump’s plan and said that Mexico will never pay for the wall (Hoyer).

One of President Donald Trump's most contentious campaign pledges was to institute a ban on Muslims coming to the United States. Indeed, in December 2015, Trump proposed to ban Muslims from entering to the United States. The travel ban targeted travellers from Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Libya and Yemen. Even though the new administration stated that this order has nothing to do with Muslims, but it was clear that it was an extremist Islamist Ideology. However, other Arab and Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan are not concerned with this order since individuals from those countries have business interests with President Donald Trump (Kellner 160). He called for “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on” (Valverde, “Donald Trump Stalls on...”). Such a

statement led to undesirable outcomes; mainly threatening the US security through the rise of terrorism in the area.

Moreover, Trump's expression "Islam hates us" has broken the image of Democracy in the US and both Democrats and Republicans criticized him for that. Hilary Clinton argued that: "it's prejudiced, I think it's discriminatory. That has no place in our politics". The same thing has been said by Bernie Sanders: "We are a weak nation when we allow racism and xenophobia to divide us". Even his Republican colleague John Kasich said that: "This is just more of the outrageous divisiveness that characterizes his every breath and another reason why he is entirely unsuited to lead the United States" (Cherkaoui 7).

Almost all of Trumps' campaign promises were brief and mysterious except in immigration issues. He set clearly and confidently the ways to stop immigration through: "building a wall" between the United States and Mexico, ending the "catch and release" program, instituting zero tolerance for criminal aliens, hiring more border agents, ending funding for sanctuary cities, removing people who overstay their visas, instituting "extreme vetting" for refugees and making sure unauthorized immigrants don't get any government benefits" (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 1).

During the general election, a big number of voters supported Trump's plans for immigration. Thus, he had to go through on his promises as a president. To do so, Trump has to collaborate with a new cabinet department; the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) which was established as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks. The DHS includes two important agencies: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP). Such agencies with thousands of employees and a significant budget may help Donald Trump to realize his goals (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 2).

The first challenge for any presidential candidate is to gain as much voters support as possible during the electoral campaign. While the second and the biggest challenge comes

after taking office. It is in fulfilling the promises and turning them into implemented policies. Most of US presidents faced challenges when implementing their proposed policies; especially those in relation to ban entry and immigration issues in general. However, it seems clear that president Donald Trump will face very hard challenges.

In fact many questions have been raised over the way he will implement his promises. Those questions were over the possibility of building the wall on the US-Mexico border and whether it will be an actual or virtual wall. Political scientists also questioned the ability of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) of hiring more agents as well as finding effective systems to do the job. More importantly, they questioned the term “extreme vetting” itself and the difficulty of getting exact statistics on unauthorized immigration. Thus, there would be no means to measure success (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 3).

In fact, Trump is not the only president who pledged to protect and strengthen the borders with Mexico. Both of George W. Bush and Barack Obama previously worked on the same goal in favour of immigration reform. President George W. Bush, in his trail to secure the US borders, introduced a project called “the Southern Border Initiative Network (SBINet)” in which a “virtual fence” would be made on the US borders with Mexico and Canada. It required billions of dollars for cameras and towers along the borders. Theoretically, such a project would be efficient in reducing illegal immigration. In reality, however, it failed to achieve that goal. Thus, President Barak Obama repealed it but borders’ security remains an essential part in immigration reform (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 2-3).

Whether the wall would be physical or virtual, it is not an easy matter. That needs a significant budget to cover the long areas with cameras and towers in addition to the hard conditions. During the two presidencies of George W. Bush and Obama, “the government never planned to fence the entire border, only those areas where people needed to be slowed down and vehicles needed to be blocked”. Specialists argued that to stop unauthorized

immigrants from passing the borders, there is no efficient way to do so (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 4).

Even the virtual fence that was suggested by President George W. Bush did not work efficiently. The reason is that the cameras detected immigrants but after a short time the agents could not catch them. The other reason is that there are so many tunnels that were discovered under the US-Mexico border. And that is not the only way for unauthorized immigrants to cross to the US territory. Some immigrants enter the country legally but they overstay their visas or they use fraudulent documents (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 5).

Few days after being elected as the US president, Trump tried to send out policies in relation to immigration. He endorsed an executive order momentarily putting off immigration from seven Muslim-majority nations and the US refugee program. But he, unnoticeably, introduced an executive order to ban entry and signed it without taking into consideration the competent departments' review such as the State Department, the Office of Legal Counsel at the Justice Department and the Department of Homeland Security (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 6).

Though, he for an indefinite period suspended the entry of Syrian refugees, courts obstructed the order's implementation after states sued claiming it infringed constitutional religious liberties. Consequently, the order failed to become a policy (Valverde, "Trump's Travel Restrictions..."). Trump afterward signed two more executive orders, each a modification of the previous one, in response to numerous lawsuits challenging their legality.

Challengers of the orders said they stood for a Muslim ban. The Trump administration argued they were not banning immigration based on religion, and were rather motivated by national security matters. Eventually, in June 2018, the US Supreme Court maintained the third version of the travel ban in a 5-4 decision. That version restricted the entry of nationals

of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Yemen, North Korea and Venezuela (Valverde, “Trump’s Travel Restrictions...”).

Whether that was the purpose of these executive orders to establish a ban on Muslims entering the United States after he took office is broadly disputed. Nevertheless, it is clear that the orders hindered the entry of Muslims from some countries, though not from all parts of the world. Nonetheless, before it was refused by most of the federal courts, many troubles were noted at the United States’ airports “as lawful migrants who had been allowed onto flights inbound to the United States were detained on arrival” (Kocher 89).

Trump needs to give more details about the wall that he repeatedly mentioned during his campaign. The government and Democratic congressmen estimated the wall budget more than he did. For them, it is better to use the money in deterring the other sources of illegal immigration than to have a risk on a wall that lacks a clear strategy. “Without convincing data, it is difficult to argue that a massive amount of money on a wall couldn’t be better spent on other parts of the fight against unauthorized immigration” (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 4-5).

To build the wall, Trump will face the problem of lands’ private ownership. The only solution for the Federal government is to use “eminent domain” in which the federal government give money to the landowners in order to get properties on the borders. However, in case the government follows such strategy, “the process would be lengthy and likely to extend beyond the duration of Trump’s tenure of office, even if he was re-elected in 2020” (Verney 147). That will cost millions of dollars in one hand, and raise his fellow conservatives’ opposition on the other (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 5). Furthermore, hiring more agents in Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) will be an effective way to secure the borders; however, such action requires more funds that the Congress will strongly refuse (9).

Though President Donald Trump is still dedicated to building a border wall with Mexico, but he has not been able to obtain the money to build it. Mexico, too, does not seem prepared to put money into it. The result is that the US government is in a limited stalemate because Trump refuses to authorize any spending bill that does not include \$5.7 billion to build the wall. Democrats in Congress are reluctant to vote for a bill offering that money. Even though Trump is asking for billions for the wall from US taxpayers, he is also asserting that the wall will be paid for through a renegotiated trade deal that has not yet been approved by the US Congress. It also requires conclusive legislative endorsement from Mexico and Canada, the two other countries party to the accord (Valverde, "Donald Trump Stalls...").

Trade specialists have repulsed against Trump's untrue declarations that the renegotiated North American Free Trade Agreement (renamed by Trump as the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement) will pay for the wall. Trump asserts that the United States will benefit from added revenue from the potential deal. But even if US tax revenue raises in reaction to augmented revenues of US companies, Congress would still have to allot that money for the wall. Trump up to now has not been able to secure that wall money from Congress (Valverde, "Donald Trump Stalls...").

As the government is in a deadlock over Trump's request for money for the border wall, he has said that the wall does not have to be concrete. But he has also said that a concrete alternative is still valid. Several factors are not well understood: whether Trump and Congress will accept to pay for a border wall, how much that financial support would be, and what kind of wall would be erected. As issues persist, Mexico has not paid for a wall. Congress has not provided money for a wall, though fencing is being built or has been completed at the southwest border. Trump's promise to build a border wall and have Mexico pay for it has not been fulfilled, and the government is in a power failure as the fight continues (Valverde, "Donald Trump Stalls...").

It seems too costly for the new administration to build the border wall with its own money that is why Trump insisted on the idea that Mexico will pay for it. Therefore, fulfilling this promise is problematic for President Trump especially as the Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto publicly declared that there is no possibility for Mexico to pay for the wall. Consequently, US- Mexico relationships are getting worse than ever before (Verney 141).

In January 2017, Mexican President cancelled his visit to the White House to show his rejection to Trump proposal. In order to enforce Mexican cooperation, President Trump prepared some solutions, even though they are difficult to be implemented and may affect the USA negatively, such as cutting foreign aid to Mexico and using that money in the wall construction as well as imposing tariffs on Mexican imports (Verney 142).

Building a wall along the US-Mexico borders faced a strong opposition from both political parties. For the Congressional Democrats, such proposal contradicts with their principles, of protecting and welcoming refugees, while the Republicans opposed the wall proposal because of its financial outlay. That is why, “the president omitted expenditure on the wall from his spending plans submitted to Congress in April 2017” (Verney 145). The wall was also rejected because of its environmental consequences. If it is constructed, many parks will be harmed and a variety of animals and plants will be in danger of extinction. Moreover, the border residents and property owners resisted Trump’s border wall proposal because of its impact on their lives and properties (146).

In relation to his immigration plan, Trump pledged to deport illegal immigrants in the US. This would be a good solution if there were not a significant number of immigrants. In fact the government would not be able to afford a big budget to deporting unauthorized people. “In 2011, the Deputy Director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) estimated that from arrest to removal, deportation costs an average of \$12,500 per person. Thus, removing 11 million people would cost \$138 billion” (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 10).

Such a proposal has not yet found support among the American public and the Congressional Democrats.

In his presidential campaign, Donald Trump opposed the US policy of admitting refugees from all over the world. He announced that, if elected as a president, his administration will no longer accept refugees' arrivals especially those from the Middle East who are, according to Trump, unknown and suspicious. In this respect, he declared: "We have to stop the tremendous flow of Syrian refugees into the United States – we don't know who they are, they have no documentation, and we don't know what they're planning" (Cook)." Trump claimed that these groups may be linked to terrorism.

He, thus, repeatedly mentioned in his speeches the program of vetting individuals before entering the country and he called it as extreme vetting:

As soon as I enter office I am going to ask the Department of State...Homeland Security and the Department of Justice to begin a comprehensive review of these [terror] cases in order to develop a list of regions and countries from which immigration must be suspended until proven and effective vetting mechanisms can be put in place. I call it extreme vetting right? Extreme vetting. I want extreme. It's going to be so tough, and if somebody comes in that's fine but they're going to be good. It's extreme. (Hudak, Kamarck, and Stenglein 10)

Many studies, however, have been undertaken on the issue of refugees and on the extent to which they threaten the US security. They found that "an individual in the US has a one in over 3.6 billion chance of being killed by a refugee in a terror incident" (qtd. in Kocher 85).

It is worth mentioning that removal became a juridical practice in the United States in which immigration judges are responsible for making decisions on deporting immigrants or not. In this regard, the immigration courts play a significant role as they own the legal practice of deportation through a specific process (Kocher 86). However, just after his election as the

US president, Donald Trump passed a number of executive orders which affected the way immigration enforcement work as well as immigration courts.

On this issue Kocher noted: “Trump sought to further militarize the US-Mexico border by ordering the construction of a wall, the expanded use of immigrant detention facilities, the reallocation of judges to the border to complete cases, and encouraged local law enforcement to work with federal immigration officers” (Kocher 89). After restricting the entry of green card holders from major Muslim countries and detaining migrants to the United States on their arrivals, the Muslim ban has been revised. By December 2017, the Supreme Court passed a version of the ban while the Court decided its constitutionality (89).

For more arrests, detentions and deportations for immigrants across the country, Trump increased the number of ICE especially in sanctuary cities. Such actions helped the DHS a lot in catching immigrants. However the largest impact was on non-criminal immigrants 90. Even immigrants with no criminal convictions were aggressively arrested. “In order to understand how the Trump administration is putting campaign promises into practice, it is necessary to understand the entire process of deportation through the immigration court system, and to pay attention to how Attorney General Jeff Sessions is making strategic, systematic changes to how courts cases are handled by immigration judges” (Kocher 97).

While the previous Democratic administration agreed to accept refugees from all over the world each year, Trump with his administration signed executive orders to deport thousands of illegal immigrants out of the United States as he proposed a travel ban on Muslims visitors from six Muslim countries. By doing so, Trump emphasized, to some extent, the existence of these immigrants, or as he called them “others”, threatened the United States security. In the same time, he is proving to his supporters his commitment to building the border wall (Marsden 104).

In January 2018, Trump announced different positions on immigration issues in a White House meeting with legislators. The President's position statements contradict with the previous ones in which "he appeared to advocate a comprehensive solution taking in border security, an end to "chain migration" and abolition of the lottery program. During the meeting, he volunteered to sign whatever legislators could agree, then demanded funding for a wall as a condition for progress, accepted the need to lead with a "clean" bill to resolve the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) issue alone, but then asked for a combination of DACA and border security"(Herbert et al 163).

The almost three years of Trump's presidency are just ordinary in terms of achievements and outcomes. Just like any US president, he faced constitutional constraints when delivering policies as well as other difficulties whether at home or external ones. However "On almost every aspect imaginable, Donald Trump is an extraordinary President" (Herbert et al. 216). The 2016 presidential elections brought a candidate with an extraordinary personality character. The challenges encountered him to win the election and to govern are what make him an extraordinary president with an ordinary presidency. But being an extraordinary president does not mean that Trump is great since the methodology he followed is not of great presidents (221).

To conclude, it was expected that it would not be an easy task for the new president Donald Trump to implement most of his campaign pledges, especially those related to immigration and foreign policy issues. The reason is that in the United States the president does not have a total sovereignty on foreign matters. There are many other main forces, like Congress, lobbyists and interest groups, which either share power with him or affect his decisions.

Many of Trump's pledges have been hailed by the mass media: from banning all Muslims getting into the United States, to erecting a wall along the border with Mexico. With the

passage of time, however, Trump has changed his position on a variety of important issues such as the Paris climate deal, Obamacare, a border wall paid for by Mexico, trade deals, ban on Muslims, deporting illegal immigrants, China as currency manipulator, torture, persecuting Hillary Clinton, and rebuilding infrastructure.

By promising to ban Muslims entering the United States, Trump revived anti-Americanism sentiments in the Muslim world. When it comes to stopping immigration and even deporting illegal immigrants from Mexico, Donald J. Trump engaged himself and his country in a standing towards Mexico that is at the same time irresponsible and desperate. Irresponsible, because he is causing deep harm from one side to a bilateral relationship with a neighbouring country that is important to the United States. Desperate, because the tariffs he intended to impose on all Mexican imported products would certainly have negative effects on the US economy as well. Hence, it is imperative for Trump to be very careful in realizing his wishes.

Endnotes

¹ In early November 1983 NATO held its annual commend post exercise to practice nuclear procedures known as “Able Archer”. The recurring exercise included NATO forces from Turkey to England. The Soviets implemented military forces and intelligence activities that were unprecedented. In which Soviet air armies in East Germany and Poland were ready for any attack (See, the Soviet “War Scare” President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. February 15, 1990. 7).

² The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL): is a 1.172-mile pipeline for transporting crude oil from North Dakota refineries and terminals in Illinois. For more details see, “Energy Transfers, Just the Facts”, 2018. Web. 15 May 2019.

Conclusion

In any presidential campaign, whether in the United States or any other democratic country, candidates prepare a list of their position statements, reforms and plans for future known as promises. Campaign promises are interesting factors in the campaigning process since they decide whether the candidate will win the election or not. Some candidates are dishonest and they are determined to say and promise anything to get elected whether because of their ignorance of what comes after taking office or since they believe that the populations do not know about politics and Democracy. However not all candidates are alike. Others set a well structured agenda including promises which meet voters' main concerns.

The presidential campaign and the political process in general in the United States is no exception. Most voters consider politicians as promise breakers and that their promises are just speech talks while political scientists have an optimistic view about political candidates. According to them, presidential campaign promises are not just a show, but rather politicians set their pledges with the intention to realize them and when they take office, they will work on enacting their proposals.

However, sometimes, Congressional disagreement or other emergency events or opposition from the losing and even within the ruling party may hinder the president from going through on his pledges. And this is what happened with most of US presidents who failed to carry out some of their promises. Therefore, what candidates say in their presidential campaigns, most of the time, does not provide a clear picture about the way they will govern.

The 2016 US presidential campaign brought the Republican nominee Donald J. Trump to the stage. Trump as an outsider has no experience in politics and he was not really a well known figure for Americans, except for his TV show audience, however, few days after the presidential campaign took place, candidate Trump proved to the public at large that he was

an interesting candidate in the whole campaigning process. Moreover he turned to be the race frontrunner.

In fact Trump's biased statements, his character as well as his positions on some controversial issues attracted media attention. In that way, his presidential campaign received high media coverage. Trump did not depend on only media to get voters' support, but rather, he adopted other strategies; some were related to the nature of the promises he included in his agenda while others were on how to deliver those promises and to which audience he addressed.

As a Republican nominee, Trump has partially based his agenda on the conservative principles. However, some of his promises contradicted with the party's basics and that is why he faced an opposition from his party members in his early candidacy. Trump prepared a number of promises related domestic as well as foreign affairs. The promises that received much public attention were those in relation to tax reform, repealing Obamacare, deporting illegal immigrants from the US soil, banning Muslim, and building a US-Mexico border wall in addition to other interesting promises for education, security, trade and economy.

After a long and tiring presidential campaign, Donald Trump entered the White House as the 45th president for the United States. The American public turned their attention from raising questions of whether Donald Trump will win the election to whether he will follow through on his campaign promises as a president or not. Trump started his presidency with the same ambition that stimulated him during the presidential campaign. As soon as he took office, he tried to enact as much promises as possible as a way to preserve his public image. However, many challenges faced him as a new president and his policy proposals as well.

When comparing Donald Trump's policy performance as a president with his presidential campaign, there is a big difference. Trump adopted a very attractive slogan "America First"

and he promised to “Make America Great Again”. But what he has achieved until now does correspond with the public high expectations.

As a US President, Trump has turned back on some of his promises and fulfilled others while some of his pledges remained under study. He promised to repeal the Obamacare Act but he failed to bring an alternative program. He also promised to make some reforms in education but nothing was done. For economic issues, Trump claimed that he will label China as currency manipulation and impose tariffs on its imports. Later, he turned to cooperate with China to fight North Korea.

Trump main promises were on immigration. He promised to deport all illegal immigrants living in the US, to ban immigrants, particularly Muslims, from specific countries in order not to enter the country and as the most controversial pledge, Trump claimed that he will build a wall along the US-Mexico border and that Mexico will pay for that. Maybe it is the only issue that President showed commitment on to some extent, though without apparent realisation.

First, Even though it seemed too expensive, Trump passed executive actions to deport a significant number of immigrants to different countries. Then, he tried to pass a travel ban but it was rejected by the federal courts. For the border wall, it seems that there is no way to accomplish this pledge as Mexico refused to pay its costs and as Democrats and Republicans opposed the proposal. Consequently, Congress did not make any budget to fund the wall.

Now, Donald Trump is supposed to have an idea that business affairs are not the same as political ones and being a good negotiator in business does not necessary mean that he would be a great deal maker. Most importantly is that perhaps it is easy for a candidate to make important promises in order to win the election. However, it is much harder to implement those promises once in office since things in Washington are difficult.

To conclude, Trump prepared significant promises on immigration. Even though it seemed from the very beginning that it would be difficult to implement them, Trump kept on giving

pledges to the American public. From the first moment he entered the White House, and though he faced many challenges, he kept working seriously on achieving some of them. Therefore, it is difficult to predict what will happen in the remaining months of his first term in office. What is certain, however, is that Trump made many anti-American people in the Muslim world and in Mexico.

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