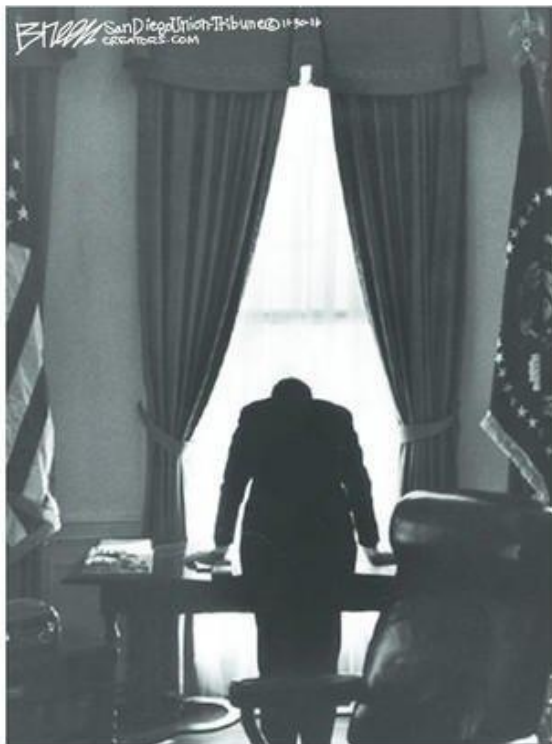


USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era

University of Bern
Spring Semester 2017



JFK



DJT

Lecturers:

Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer, Institute of Geography, University of Bern

Dr. Kellie Gonçalves, Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo, Norway

Overview:

This seminar took place in the Spring Semester 2017 at the University of Bern. BA and MA students were introduced to current discourses connected to the political and economic geography in the Trump era. The discussions involved a critical discourse and critical geography analyses in order to better understand contemporary underlying trends and reasons for this republican 'victory'. Leading experts from the U.S. took part via Skype during class. Students gained insight into different methodological approaches and useful hands-on experience with fieldwork. As part of the assessment, students created posters about selected topics in order to discuss these at a final student conference. This booklet documents the students' work and compiles the posters they prepared. In addition we document the schedule of the class and the students conference.

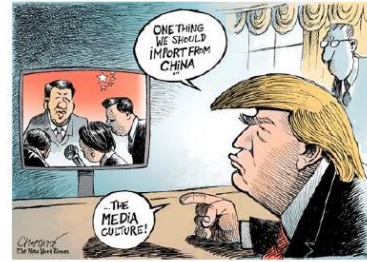
Posters:

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Michigan – Donald Trump's Success: A Surprise or logical consequence? | Julius Wiebecke |
| 2. American Populism: Five Moments | Terrence Classen |
| 3. Language is Power. | Laavanya Amirthalingam |
| 4. Donald Trump in the Bible Belt | Marlies Schneider |
| 5. Dakota Access Pipeline | Flavia Polli |
| 6. "Make America great (again)?" | Ramona Schürch |
| 7. Farmers Backed Trump, But now fear losing field workers | Linus Fässler |
| 8. Economics and Climate Change in the Trump Era | Kyana Lawrence |
| 9. Trump and Clinton tweeting about climate change | Caroline Brönnimann |
| 10. Political activism in a Trump era | Mirjam Bühler |
| 11. Trumps sexist statements – a transformation in habitus | Samuel Winkler |
| 12. "Not my president!" – Resistance to Trump | Lena Joos |
| 13. Campaigning in the 2008 and 2016 US presidential elections | Nuria Alva |
| 14. Is Trump anti-Semitic or supporter of the Jewish community? – | David Streiff |
| 15. Who's Responsibility? The public discussion of the addiction crisis in the United States | Sonja Bürgi |
| 16. Reactions of the American democracy against Trump's climate change policy | Adeline Chardonnens |
| 17. Donald Trump in the mirror of art | Nina Hänni |
| 18. What is Trump's approach on Syria? | Manuel Henzi |
| 19. "A major, major conflict with North Korea" | Silvan Steiger |
| 20. Street Art and Donald Trump | Samuel Wirth |

Schedule of Seminar

| Date | Topic | Experts from the U.S. |
|-----------------|---|--|
| April 24 | Introduction: What happened on November 8, 2016? Discussion of the presidential election results in the United States | Prof. Robert Lang, Executive Director, The Lincy Institute, University of Nevada, Las Vegas |
| May 1 | Race, class, language and gender in the United States <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latinos: How did they vote? • The middle class: The great unwinding? • Why did so many women vote for Trump? • How is race, class and gender being linguistically constructed and represented in the media? | Prof. Jessi Grieser, Department of English, University of Tennessee |
| May 8 | Geographic inequalities and economic realities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The rural-urban divide: San Francisco vs. Fargo • Economic realities in the Rustbelt and Sunbelt: Silicon Valley vs. Detroit | Dave Chen, Equilibrium, Portland, Oregon |
| May 15 | Changing political, societal, linguistic and cultural contexts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Republicans vs. Democrats: How have these parties changed over time? • What linguistic strategies are used by party members and prominent political figures • Underlying societal trends: Populism and post-truth politics | Jennifer Goncalves, Deputy Director of Logistics at Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Washington D.C. |
| May 19 & May 20 | Student conference Friday, May 19 and Saturday, 20: 9 am to 5 pm each day Detailed program to follow | Prof. Jesse Richardson, West Virginia University Prof. Shonna Trinch, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY |
| May 22 | Implications for sectoral policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International trade • Climate change • Migration | Dr. Christoph Schemioneck, German Chamber of Commerce, Washington D.C. & Adjunct Professor, George Washington University |
| May 29 | Going forward <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restistance and organizing in the U.S.: Michael Moore and beyond • Lessons learned (for Europe, Switzerland, etc.) | |

USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era



Student conference

Faculty and students engaged in this seminar invite the public to attend the open student conference. The seminar introduces BA and MA students to current discourse(s) connected to the political and economic geography of the US in the Trump era.

We utilize a critical discourse and critical geography analysis in order to understand contemporary underlying trends and reasons for Trump's election. Leading experts from the US partake via skype conversations during the conference.

Seminar held by

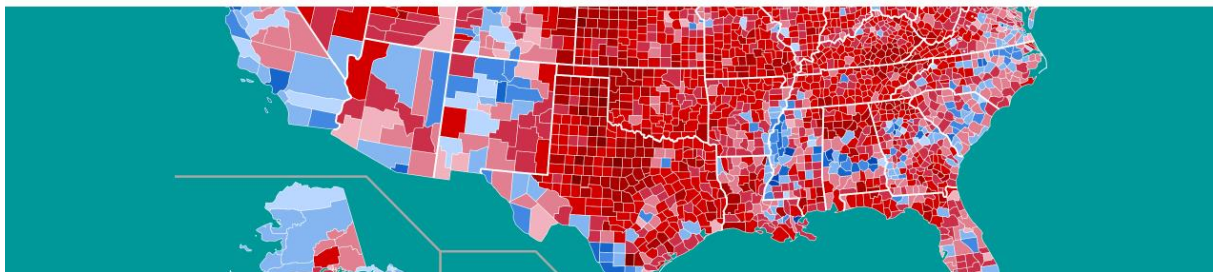
Heike Mayer, Unit Economic Geography, Institute of Geography, University of Bern

Kellie Gonçalves, Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan, University of Oslo

Where & when

Friday, May 19th Room F123, Uni Tobler, 9-5 pm

Saturday, May 20th Room A126, UniS, 9-4 pm

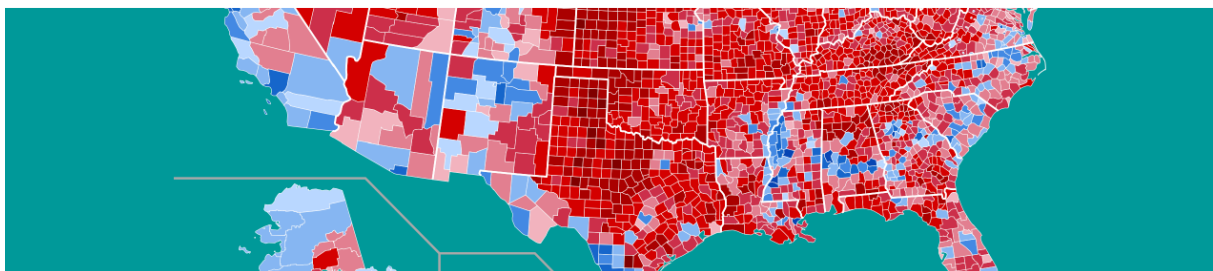


Friday May 19th Room F123, Uni Tobler

- 09:00 Welcome, coffee & poster session
- 09:45 "America First" - True?
Laavanya Amirhalingam, Ramona Schürch
- 10:15 Trump, Clinton & Globalization
Lena Joos, Adeline Chardonnens, Nuria Alva
- 10:45 Hillary Clinton - Did she make him president?
Manuel Henzi, Julius Wiebecke
- 11:30 Skype session with invited speaker & ensuing discussion:
Prof. Dr. Jessie Richardson (College of Law, West Virginia University)
- 12:15 LUNCH (on your own)
- 13:45 Populism
Flavia Polli, Terry Classen
- 14:15 Countermovements (artists, political groups, etc.)
Mirjam Bühler, Nina Hänni
- 14:45 Skype session with invited speaker: TBA
- 15:15 Skype session with invited speaker: TBA
- 15:45 Plenary discussion with class

Saturday May 20th Room A126, UniS

- 09:00 Coffee & poster session
- 10:00 Trump and the role of religion
Marlies Schneider, Sonja Bürgi
- 10:30 How Trump tackles climate change?
Marc Steinemann, Kyana Lawrence, Caroline Brönnimann
- 10:30 Trump and Putin/Russia
David Streiff, Samuel Winkler
- 11:00 Trump, ties and suits
Silvan Steiger, Samuel Wirth, Linus Fässler
- 11:30 Video or media interview (latest topic)
Dr. Kellie Gonçalves (Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo)
- 12:00 LUNCH (on your own)
- 13:30 Skype session with invited speaker & ensuing discussion
- 14:15 Skype session with invited speaker & ensuing discussion
- 14:30 Plenary discussion
- 15:00 Wrapping up & good-bye



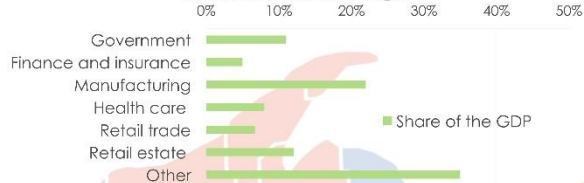
MICHIGAN – DONALD TRUMP'S SUCCESS: A SURPRISE OR LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE?

Introduction

The state of Michigan is one of the twelve so called swing states. In these states federal offices are regularly alternating between Republicans and Democrats. The presidential elections in Michigan however, have been won by the Democratic candidate since 1992 even if they didn't get elected by the entire nation. The prior president Barack Obama, won the state of Michigan in both his elections by at least 7% compared to his contenders. This poster will try to elaborate on Donald Trump's surprisingly or not win in a democratic safe haven.

Economy

Gross State Product Michigan



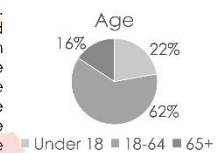
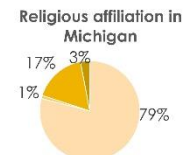
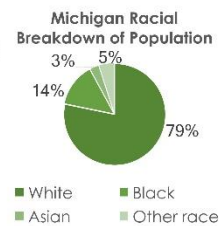
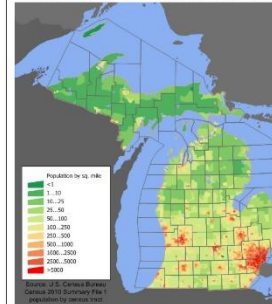
Michigan's economy is according to various analysis and statistics is still making up ground in terms of output and employment from the crisis in 2008. By splitting the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 487.2 Billion dollars (13th in the US) into different categories as shown above it is clear that Michigan is strongly relying on its durable manufacturing goods. This correlates to the fact that the automobile industry is located in Detroit. Michigan has the lead nation wide in producing transportation equipment, production of machinery and fabricated metal products. Retail estate comes in second followed by the government. The state is also a big agricultural supplier for the US. Michigan's total livestock production ranks second among all of the states. Furthermore, there can be found a wide range of crops. In the northern part of the state mining is the most important sector. These mine products include natural gas, iron ore and petroleum.

Education, science and health services are the biggest employment sector of Michigan. Followed by manufacturing which has comparing with other states a relatively high employment rate. The current unemployment rate for Michigan – once the nations worst – is at 5.1%. Since 2009 it has fallen -9.7%. It is still above the American average (4.7%) and ranked 43rd out of the 50 states. Largest employer in the state is the the University of Michigan.



Demographics

Distribution of Michigan's population:



The population of Michigan is estimated at around 9.9 million people. This means it is the 10th biggest state by population. The state has stagnated at this number and additionally a lot of counties are affected by a decrease of inhabitants. The highest density of people is around the city of Detroit. The distribution indicates clearly that there is more people living in the south than north. The majority of the state population is made up of white and Christian people. These compositions are generally more attracted to Trump than other groups.

Political movement before the presidential election in Michigan

First signs of a republican shift were already seen during Obama's first administration 2011, when the Republicans won seats and the majority in Executive Offices, State Legislature and the House of Representatives.

In 2015 Trump had a solid win in the Republican primary in Michigan by over 10% to his contenders. At the same time Clinton was clearly defeated by Sanders in Michigan. She was favored in the bigger cities but had problems in the rural regions.

During the general election rallies (June – November 2016) Trump visited Michigan on six different occasions speaking to his supporters, putting a special focus on the state and making Michigan one of his most visited states. This was all part of the strategy of Trump's team: if he wanted to get elected he had to win the rustbelt states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. During the same period Clinton made only three visits to the state.

Conclusion

- The demographics show a typical population supporting Trump: 80% whites and Christians live in Michigan, making it a good breeding ground for Trump. Trump won almost all counties that are not densely populated and furthermore he had success in smaller cities spread across the state. Not winning the most populated county of Wayne (Detroit) did not matter since the many smaller counties he won compensated.
- Michigan's GDP depends strongly on manufacturing. If the manufacturing sector is not working well then the state is not performing well. This effect was best seen in the crisis of the car industry. Although Trump promised to bring back manufacturing work places especially the car industry which has outsourced many production processes, he did not get the support either of the big companies nor of the people living and working in the biggest automotive industry counties (e.g. Wayne county). Nevertheless, he did have the support of the rest of the manufacturing sector and many other sectors. He won all the counties having big mining sites and wide open spaces of aggregated land. Hillary Clinton did very poorly in the countryside also in comparison to Obama in 2012. Additionally, a lot of potential votes were not even casted for her due to her unpopularity and many people refused to vote for her. She did not manage to get her voice heard and she did not go outside of bigger cities for rallies during her campaign.
- First signs of a Republican shift in the Michigan state offices were already seen in the 2011 election. Due to the primaries, Clinton should have recognized at the latest after loosing the democratic primary against B. Sanders that she was not very popular amongst Democrats in this state and that it could become a close race between the two presidential candidates. On the other hand, Trump showed more presence in Michigan than Clinton during the general election rallies. Many citizens thought that he might care more about the people and the state. This also reduced the distance between the presidential candidate and the population which is so crucial to win the election. This is an argument which was often brought up against Clinton not only from her opponents.

Literature

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Dakota Access Pipeline

Flavia Polli, University of Bern



Introduction

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is an almost 2'000 km long underground oil pipeline project.¹ It is planned to transport 470'000 barrels of sweet crude oil per day from North Dakota to Illinois where it is contributed further.^{1,4} The project by the main company "Energy Transfer Partners" did already cost \$3.54 billion but it is still not finished at this date. The pipeline is scheduled to begin service on June 1st 2017.¹

This project gained major media attention due to protests of native American Sioux tribal nations and other activists. Overall it was the biggest gathering of Native Americans in more than 100 years with the goal to keep their water and ancestral lands safe.^{4,5} This was the reaction to an adjustment to the pipeline's route which should now cross Lake Oahe right next to the Standing Rock Reservation.¹

Economy

This project, which is close to conclusion created roughly 12'000 Jobs during construction. In the same timespan total taxes paid were about \$156 million in total.¹ Post-construction local economic benefits aren't that important: Different sources refer to 40 to 140 pipeline operations and maintenance jobs that will remain after the pipeline is completed.^{6,7} An Energy Transfer Partners study projected total tax payments of \$55 million per year, which amounts to 0,06% of total taxes of the four affected states.⁵ The costs potential accidents would create must also be considered. To determine this, average U.S. oil pipeline accidents from 2002 to 2016 and the linked costs per barrel of transported oil, were related to the quantity of oil the Dakota access pipeline is designed to transport. This led to a total yearly cost of \$15 million.⁶ The main benefits will be obtained by the oil companies that are engaged in the Bakken oil production (the oil extracted in North Dakota that is going to be transported by the DAPL). They will save \$7 per barrel oil moved by the pipeline instead of rail, which could add up to a big income increase.⁷ This hopefully benefits in the end also workers which depend on a functioning oil industry in times of low oil prices.

Environment

The pipeline will reduce the amount of oil transported today by trains and trucks.¹ Therefore the CO₂ emissions the trucks create will decline. It seems to be riskier to move oil by train instead of pipeline, but if there is an accident to a pipeline the outcome can in many cases be worse.³ And accidents aren't that rare as the spill of a pipeline in 2013 in North Dakota showed, where 865'000 Gallons leaked or in 2010 when 843'000 gallons of oil spilled into the Kalamazoo River in Michigan.⁴ However small oil spills are according to Brian Walsh, an environmental scientist at South Dakota's Department of Environment and Natural Resources, not uncommon at all. In April, the Dakota Access Pipeline has already had a minor oil spill located in South Dakota in which 84 gallons (ca. 320 Liter) leaked.⁹ With this said the concern of the Sioux tribes about their water safety isn't that far-fetched. It is also questionable if the building of this project makes sense overall from an environmental point of view, as the additional oil consumption shouldn't be encouraged.

The political process including Trump

In December 2016 after months of protest and expressed concerns from native Americans, activists, celebrities and politicians (like for instance Bernie Sanders¹¹) President Barack Obama blocked the DAPL and ordered to consider alternative routes.¹⁰

Back on the campaign trail Donald Trump let everyone know that he saw Mr. Obama's environmental policies as a threat to the economy. Furthermore, Trump argued that climate change is only "a hoax perpetrated by China".⁵ This mindset implies already in his first days in office. The Dakota Access Pipeline was a perfect tool to show visually that he is willing to eliminate Mr. Obama's climate change policies.⁹

Four days after his inauguration he signed Presidential Memorandums which set the construction of the DAPL back in motion again with the words "subject to terms and conditions to be negotiated by us".^{10,12} According to Sean Spicer, the White House press secretary, President Trump is focusing on creating jobs and expanding energy infrastructure.¹³ He added that President Trump would dispute with all parties involved in the DAPL and that he would "know how to negotiate a great deal".¹⁰ As mentioned in the introduction the pipeline is now soon finished and will begin its service.

Last but not least it should be mentioned that the Energy Transfer Partners chief executive donated more than \$100'000 to Donald Trump's campaign.¹³

All of a sudden people show up to fight it [the DAPL], not fair to our companies,¹⁴
- Donald Trump

Conclusion

Overall the local economic benefits of the DAPL aren't that high and the threats to the environment are comparable to the one of the preexisting 2,5 million miles¹⁵ of U.S. pipelines. Then why has the DAPL gotten such a focus in the new Trump Administration? It might be mainly due to major media attention. With this move, President Trump could be certain of the awareness of U.S. citizens. He could prove that he is a "man of action", that he will use his business skills in office and that he is going against Mr. Obama's climate change policies. Further, he reinforced his emphasis on creating jobs, even though that is not essential in this case. Overall it was a way to show his supporters that he – President Donald Trump – will keep his campaign promises.



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created for the Seminar
USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era
Student Conference
Friday May 19th 2017
Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer
Dr. Kellie Gonçalves
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Farmers Backed Trump, But now fear losing field workers



Introduction

During his campaign, Donald Trump had seven major issues, two of them involved migration. One migration issue was the wall he wanted to build at the Mexican border and the other, he wanted to deport the 11 million unauthorized foreigners in the US. He promised to the American people to "put American workers first". So the unauthorized foreigners will lose their job in favor to US workers. After the election, he changed his position on the unauthorized foreigners. Only two million unauthorized foreigners, which are involved with any crimes, even small crimes, in the US will be deported.

What do we want to know?

On this poster we take a closer look what consequences a change in the migration will have for the agriculture section. Trump wants to put the American workers first. Is this possible for the economy? Will the agriculture have enough us workers to produce the same output? Because the agriculture is depending on seasonal workers and unauthorized foreigners are more willed to seasonal works. What are the economy impacts of foreigner in agriculture?

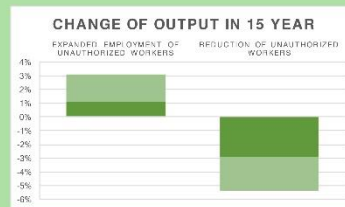
„WE KNOW THE MAJORITY OF OUR WORKFORCE, PARTICULARLY THE SEASONAL WORKFORCE, CONTINUES TO BE ILLEGAL OR WITHOUT PROPER DOCUMENTATION," SAID BEDWELL. „WE'RE NOT OPPOSED TO E-VERIFY, BUT IN ADVANCE OF A PROGRAM THAT GIVES US A LEGAL WORKFORCE, IT'S A DEATH SENTENCE FOR AGRICULTURE." (2015 IN POLITICO)

The Results of a Study about: The Potential Impact of Changes in Immigration Policy on U.S. Agriculture and the Market for Hired Farm Labor

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) made a simulation analysis on the potential impact of Changes in Immigration Policy on U.S. Agriculture. They found out that an expanded employment of temporary nonimmigrant agriculture workers would lead to an increase in agriculture output and exports. An increase in Output of 1.1% to 2.0% to the base forecast in labor-intensive sectors. On the other hand, the real wages of agricultural workers would decrease by 4.4%.

A large reduction of unauthorized workers would lead to a longrun declines form 2.9% to 5.4% in output and in exports from 2.5% to 9.3%. These are statistics for labor-intensive parts of agriculture. In case of a decrease of unauthorized foreigner, the American workers would take their jobs. But not sufficient to fully offset the decrease.

Decreasing the size of the unauthorized labor force would reduce the aggregate level of economic production.



The left bar shows the Output if a expanded employment of unauthorized workers. The Output will be between 1.1% to 2.0%. The right bar shows the Output if a reduction of unauthorized workers. The Output will decrease by 2.9% to 5.4%. (USDA, 2015). The Possible Impact of Changes in Immigration Policy on U.S. Agriculture and the Market for Hired Labor 2010.

Conclusion

Foreigners make a big percentage of workers on labor-intensive work on the field. Some of them are unauthorized and some are authorized immigrants. It's easier for the employers to hire foreigner and unauthorized foreigners, who are willing to do the job in the labor-intensive agriculture. If there are stronger immigration policy, as planned by Trump, the number of unauthorized workers in agriculture will decrease and a lot of fields will be unharvested. The economy of agriculture will struggle. So Trump shouldn't make any unconsidered changes in immigration policy in regard to the unauthorized foreigner. He needs to accept the unauthorized foreigner and needs to support the employers by hiring them than deporting. Otherwise he has to make the agriculture jobs more interesting for the US workers.



Figure 1: December 19th 2017

List of References:

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 Politico (2015). *Trump: 'We're not opposed to E-verify, but in advance of a program that gives us a legal workforce, it's a death sentence for agriculture'*.
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Prepared by Heike Mayer and Kellie Gonçalves
 Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Spring Semester 2017

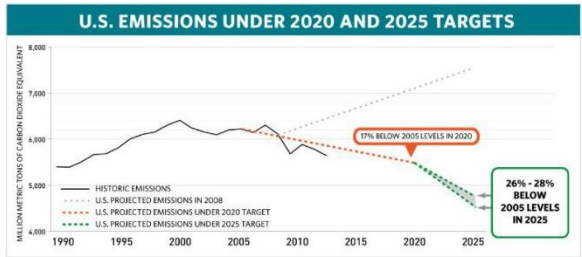
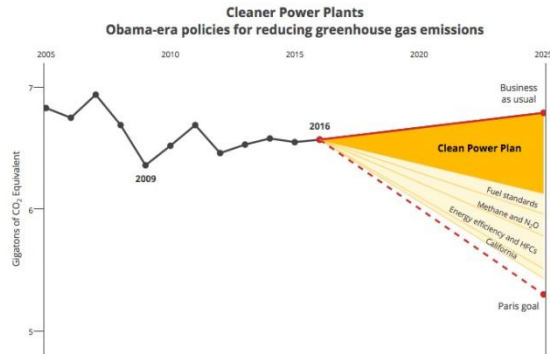
Economics and Climate Change in the Trump Era

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USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era

INTRODUCTION

- Key Obama-era greenhouse gas emission polices have been rolled back by the Trump administration.
- Without these rules enforced, the U.S is said to will fall short of the proposed agreements set out in the 2015 Paris Agreement Conference.
- Not only did Trump say he was pulling out of the agreement during the election, the EPA announced their reverse course on Obamas administrations biggest climate change policy, the Clean Power Plant Plan (CPP)
- Next to China, the United States is the 2nd largest greenhouse gas emitter.
- Trumps administration has the potential to disrupt the slowing of the increase in global temperatures and focus more on the economy.

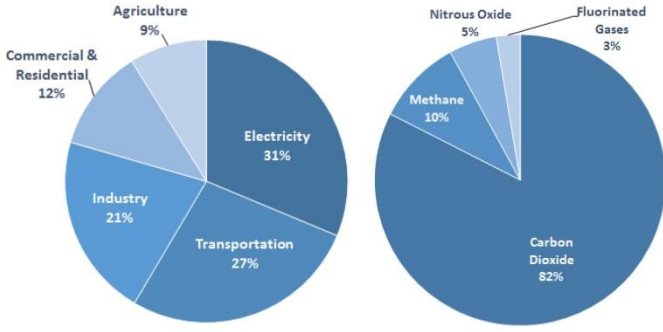
CLEANER POWER PLANTS PLAN



PROBLEM

- The U.S needs to cut its emissions juristically by 26-28 % below the 2005 levels by 2025.
- These projected emissions show what the levels need to become but with Trumps administration, no one really knows how it will turn out.
- The Cleaner Power Plant plan had laid out the right course of action to fix this problem by cutting greenhouse gas emissions and becoming more efficient with how they country uses its energy.
- Many Republican run states have been effected by this regulation because they are subject to legal challenges and rely on businesses that are ran by the burning of oil, coal and gas.
- Instead Trumps greater focus is on bringing back the industry and creating jobs for the people.

ECONOMICS



- U.S. greenhouse gas emissions by economic sector.
- U.S. greenhouse gas emissions by type.



CONCLUSIONS

- The presidency of Donald Trump will likely change the progress made decreasing climate change in the U.S.
- Not only has he began to cut back important regulations laid out by the Obama administration, he insists on creating thousands of jobs in the once liberated oil and gas industries.
- Trump has so far shown complete ignorance to the effect of climate change and continues to create challenges the U.S. was once trying to fix.

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3. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2017/05/04/trump-rolls-back-obamas-climate-change-agreement/?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main-trump-climate%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main-trump-climate%3Ahomepage%2Fstory



TRUMP AND CLINTON TWEETING ABOUT CLIMATE CHANGE

A Qualitative & Quantitative Twitter Analysis

Caroline Brännimann (09-211.673)
Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer
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INTRODUCTION:

Tweeting has become an important tool in presidential debates as we have seen in the US elections of 2016. In this study the aim was to investigate Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's tweeting activity and to analyze how they frame the problem "Climate Change" or "Global Warming". Frames "are interpretive storylines that set a specific train of thought in motion, communicating why an issue or decision matters, who or what might be responsible, and which political options or actions should be considered over others" (Newman & Nisbet 2015). Therefore a successful and strategic framing can be a very powerful tool for politicians.

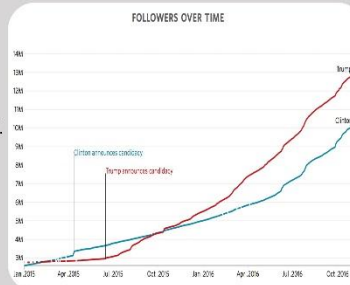


Fig. 1: Twitter Followers over time

METHODS & PROCEEDING:

- 1. Create the source body:** All the tweets containing the buzzwords "Climate Change" and/or "Global Warming".
- 2. Qualitative Analysis:** Content analysis of the 10 tweets which received the most "likes".
- 3. Quantitative Analysis:** Comparison of the tweeting dates over time.

RESULTS: Qualitative Analysis

Hillary's Framing of the Problem Climate Change

- Climate Change (CC) is real and scientifically proven.
- CC is something we have to act on and combat now.
- CC is a risk for the next generation and a matter of national security.
- CC is something Trump doesn't believe in and therefore he will not do anything about it, but if you vote for me we/I can tackle this challenge.

@HillaryClinton

FOLLOWERS
14,347,222
TWEETS JOINED
9,850 2013

@realDonaldTrump

FOLLOWERS
28,872,877
TWEETS JOINED
34,875 2009



Fig. 2: Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump

Donald's Framing of the Problem Global Warming

- The cold weather outside proves that Global Warming is not happening. → „Hoax“
- Other problems (e.g. "ISIS and Ebola", "nuclear weapons" in the wrong hands, "clean, beautiful and healthy air" or "other disasters") are much more important/urgent.
- GW is "invented" and doing something against it is too expensive and will only harm USA.
- Global Warming = Climate Change

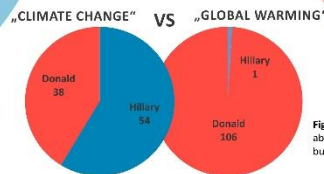


Fig. 3: Pie chart about the use of buzzwords in Tweets

NUMBER OF TWEETS OVER TIME

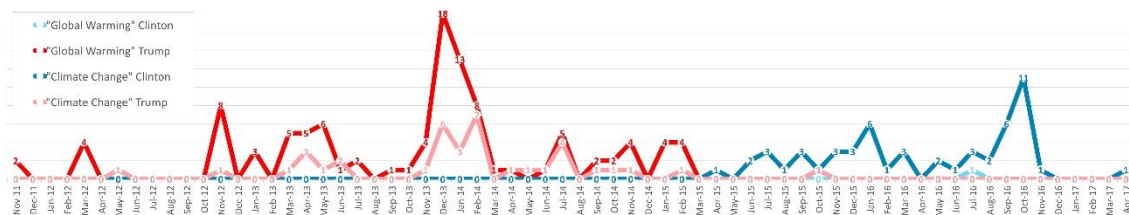


Fig. 4: Diagram showing amount of CC and GW Tweets over time.

RESULTS: Quantitative Analysis

Clinton and Trump mainly tweeted about "Climate Change"/"Global Warming" in different time periods. The diagram above (Fig. 4) shows how Hillary mainly started tweeting about it after having announced her candidacy in April 2015 (peak in October 2016). Trump on the other hand mainly tweeted about it before his candidacy announcement in June 2015 (peak in December 2013). When comparing the use of the buzzwords "Climate Change" and "Global Warming", one can see that Clinton tweets mainly about "Climate Change" whilst Trump on the other hand tweets mainly about „Global Warming“ (Fig. 3).

CONCLUSION

1. Clinton tweets mainly about "Climate Change" while Trump tweets mainly about "Global Warming".
2. Clinton and Trump Frame the Problem of "Climate Change"/"Global Warming" differently.
3. Clinton and Trump mainly tweeted about "Climate Change"/"Global Warming" during different time periods.

REFERENCES/LITERATURE:
Newman Todd P., Matthew C. Nisbet (2015): Framing, the Media, and Environmental Communication. In: Anders Hansen, Robert Cox: The Routledge Handbook of Environment and Communication, pp.325-338. DOI: 10.4324/9781315589786_ch28; Fig. 1: <http://graphics.wsj.com/clinton-trump-tweet/> (Accessed: 10.5.17); Fig. 2: <https://www.starsandstripesforeverpac.org/img/hillary-vs-trump> (Accessed: 10.5.17); Fig. 3 & 4 own illustration.

Trumps sexist statements - a transformation in habitus

Comparative view on two stages in one's life on the base of statements from Barbara Res



Barbara Res on a construction site in 1990 (1)

Introduction
Trump did something starting by hiring a woman as a chief of construction for his trump tower in a time, where probably no other developer had a woman in such a position (2). Today, Trump is known for several degrading or even sexist comments about women (12) and is enticed by his former employee Res as being a „bi-racial sexist“ (9). This has not been always the case as Res tells herself.
This study compares statements of longterm employee Barbara Res on Trumps attitude towards women back in the 80ies and early 90ies, with later statements from and about Trump found in online media. It shows the discrepancy of Trumps behavior regarding women as a change in habitus.

Background knowledge about Barbara Res in the 80ies/90ies:
•worked over a period of 18 years from 1978-1996 with and for trump
•vice president of construction (Trump Tower), senior vice president, executive vice president, consultant of trump
•at age of 31: became first woman to run a major project in NY (Trump Tower) (4)
nowadays:
•engineer in construction and real estate development business

Theoretical background: Habitus (Bourdieu)
Habitus in general is the appearance or manners of a person, the entity of bias and habits or the kind of social behavior. Bourdieu (19) suggested that the whole social acting is determined by habitus. In a social field, *modus operandi* refers to the way of acting, perceiving, feeling or thinking, while *opus operandi* refers to the life course and life circumstances, which is shaping the habitus. Subjects (individuals) are able to articulate themselves verbally in unarticulated ways (generative grammar) and can find new solutions to new situations. Habitus also refers to social class (p.e. symbolic capital such as prestige and social appreciation) or gender (p.e. division of labor). (10, Hysjoeng)

Statements from Barbara Res regarding the early time, when she worked for Trump (1)
•would not hire a man over an equally qualified woman
•trump had several extremely strong women working for him („killers“): very strong, quiet, food
•hired Res because he thought that she is a „killer“
•all the other women were treated exactly the same as the men. that went for pay scales as well.
•he would always hire the person he thought was best without regard to gender
•least sexist boss Res ever had

Interpretation
Conclusion of the two stages
According to Res, Trumps behavior in the 80ies is very progressive in terms to hiring and paying women, non-sexist, but respectful and not discriminating towards gender.
Comparing this to recent statements he made or to Res tellings about the 90ies, it can be found a very different picture, showing a disparaging speaking, an objectifying of women and sexist comments.
Explanation
It is suggested - assuming a flexible habitus - that habitus changed in terms of manners, speaking and thinking about women as a consequence of new life situations and experiences with women and financial problems (econt).
Prestige seems to be created in relation to women. On one hand by arising an image of being liked by beautiful women and on the other hand by maintaining the picture of a successful mogul regardless the debts.
Opus operante changed, leading to a change in *modus operandi*, like different ways of speaking, acting, probably perceiving and feeling or thinking.
It is assumed that Donald Trump has undergone a remarkable change in personality leading to a transformed habitus.



Barbara Res and Donald Trump 1989 (11)

Statements, positioning and reasons for behavioral change according Barbara Res
•behavior towards women worsened, as he became more famous (6)
•„sea change“ after becoming involved with Maria Maples (Maria Maples, 2nd wife, married 1991): before never talked about women, after he did talk in disparaging ways, objectified women, started talking a lot about all the women he was intimate with, bragging about being with top models, talking in terms of women's physical attributes, became very naive(3)
•changed, when he started going through financial problems, a billion USD debt, going out with women instead of paying attention to his business, tied it to his dalliances with women(3, 6)

Sexist statements of the president of the USA (from 1991-2017)
•"You know, it doesn't really matter what [the media] write as long as you've got a young and beautiful piece of ass." (5)
•"I do our Miss Universe. I do our Miss USA. I mean I own a lot of different things." (5)
•"says he has women with extraordinarily bad breast jobs" and "spunko tits" (5)
•"any woman who has a breast reduction is a lunatic" (5)
•"to early Florinas candidacy for president: „I mean, she's a woman, [...], but really, folks, come on. Are we serious?" (5)
•"my wife, Ivana, is a brilliant manager. I pay her 15 a year and all the dresses she can buy." (3)



Donald Trump 2015 (13)

What does this study provide and where are its limitations?
This study is giving a brief overview and insight to two controversial behavior of Donald Trump regarding women over time. It's not claiming for completeness, nor is the authorship going to take any responsibility for possible impacts or misinterpretations by the readership. Focusing on one persons opinion might not be representative. Nevertheless, research has been done in all consistence and the early employment of Res is a fact.
Due to a lack of information and limited given research time, it is difficult to find reasons for a change in habitus. On the other hand they may be highly speculative, such as assuming an influence of Trumps late-life traditional vice of gender (11). Res pointed out two reasons: the beginning of the relationship with maria maples and the financial problems, without giving deeper understanding or information. The disrespectful joke from Trump about the payment of his then wife Ivana for presidency of plaza hotel, shows a possible earlier beginning of the change or may indicate a future transition. The strength of this study is to identify and highlight a change in Trumps habitus.

WARNING !!! (Scholar Advisory Explicit Content):
Reading this Poster can be irritating or harmful to your mind.

1 <http://www.opolipress.com/press/first-american-president-donald-trump-is-a-bi-racial-sexist/>
2 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3554159/Donald-Trump-gets-into-trouble-over-women.html>
3 <http://www.willingtonpost.com/story.asp?storyID=10740>
4 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3554159/Donald-Trump-gets-into-trouble-over-women.html>
5 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
6 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
7 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
8 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
9 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
10 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
11 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
12 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>
13 <http://www.foxnews.com/2017/05/11/donald-trump-women-are-serious/>

„Not my president!“ - Resistance to Trump

Geographisches Institut, Universität Bern; Seminar „USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era“ by Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer, Dr. Kellie Gonçalves; Poster by Lena Joos, 14.12.17, FS 2017

Introduction

Donald J. Trump is one of the most contentious and provocative President in the history of the USA. He has a wide base of supporters, but his politics of hate, racism, bigotry, xenophobia, islamophobia & misogyny also leads to opposition. There has been protest and resistance since 16. June 2015, when Trump announced his candidacy as a president, and the protest continued during the primaries and his campaigning.¹ It's the aim of this poster to focus on the opposition and the resistance since the election.

- What kind of resistance has been formed to oppose the politics of Trump after his election?
- Who are the opponents and what are their approaches?
- How did Trump react?



Figure 1: Women March in Washington on 21.01.17; Rallies in Washington, at Trump Tower and Trump Hotel after the election

Who and against what?

In this exemplary list stakeholders are highlighted in bold and their approaches in red.

- Numerous **petitions** were started after the election to prevent Trump from taking office²
- **Scientists** protested against the denial of climate change and argue for fact-based politics³
- **Big business and high-tech companies** voiced their dissent against Trump's immigration executive order (#13769) and his plan to build a wall along the Mexican border⁴
- **Senate Democrats** **boycotted several hearings** after the immigration executive order⁵
- Several **federal judiciaries** **legally opposed** the immigration executive order & lead to its suspension⁶
- Several **Mayors** declared their cities as "**sanctuary cities**" to protect people from deportation⁷
- **Civil rights organizations** protest against the threat of compromising the civil rights of women, LGBTQB, immigrants and minorities and organize **sit-ins, teach-ins and rallies**⁸
- **Women organizations** protest against the defunding of the **planned parenthood program**⁹
- **Students** organize **campus rallies**
- **Thousands of Employees of the government** signed a **dissent memo**¹⁰
- **Republicans** like Mitt Romney protest against his relationship to Russia¹¹

Where?

- In large cities like Washington and San Francisco there have been daily demonstrations
- But also in smaller cities across the country, like Mason City (Iowa), where a majority voted for Trump, resistance emerged¹²



Figure 2: Location of protests on Inauguration day

Reaction

- Trump reacted contradictorily on social media: In one tweet he dismissed the protests while in another he praised protests as a "hallmark of our democracy"¹³
- In 18 states Republican lawmakers introduced repressive legislation to curb mass protests. These legislations are unconstitutional and a threat to the right of speech¹⁴



Figure 4: Protest signs

Conclusion & prospects

- This analysis shows that protests against Trump are not limited to traditional leftist groups
- Instead Trump faces a broad and multi-faceted uprising. Trump has become a common enemy for many different groups in the US and a diverse coalition spanning the entire US has been formed
- Such a broad resistance against a freshly inaugurated president is unprecedented¹⁵ and puts Trump under political pressure
- It remains open whether the resistance will become a long-term and successful movement after the initial phase of protest
- But the timeline shows a certain continuity, which suggests that the protests will be sustained
- The long-term effects of the ongoing resistance on Trump's policies and his political fate are given the short tenure hard to predict

The popularity of Trump

- Trump is one of the most unpopular President of the USA.¹⁴
- In the latest polls in the U.S. only 41% percent are in favor of Trump (Figure 3). This unpopularity is closely related to the protests and opposition which Trump faces.

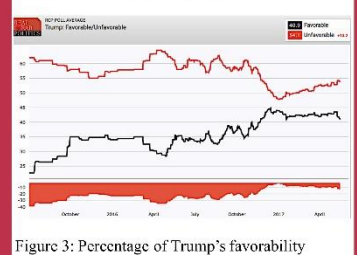


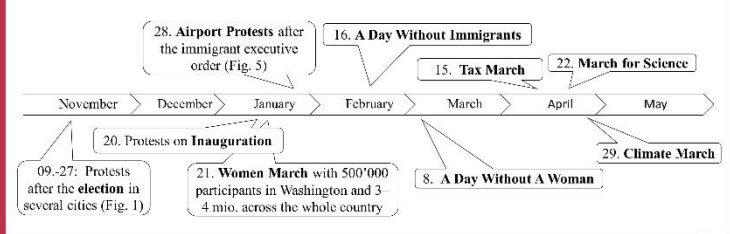
Figure 3: Percentage of Trump's favorability



Figure 5: Airport protest

When?

This timeline shows the most important protest actions. In total there were 83 days with one or several protest actions since the election.¹⁷



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4. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
5. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
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8. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
9. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
10. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
11. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
12. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
13. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
14. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
15. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
16. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/06/16/trump-announces-candidacy-for-president/>
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In between two discourses

Is Trump anti-Semitic or supporter of the Jewish community?

Streiff David – Geographical Faculty - University of Bern

How truth is created in politics through media in order to govern

The art of governing is to govern the subjects so that they perceive themselves as self-governing. Central to such a kind of governing is to have knowledge about who is to be governed and which techniques can be used or exist. Applied to the media, it can be understood as a technique to organize knowledge, to mediate, and to construct problem areas through the selection of topics. Depended on how one mediates this topic, new discourses and “universally accepted truths” can be created. According to Foucault (1987b), truth is “an ensemble of regulated procedures for the production, law, distribution, circulation, and mode of action of statements”. These rules determine what is or is unspeakable within a society. The truth is therefore not something given, but consists of truth discourses prevalent in society. Mass media (re)constructs these discourses of truth on the basis of rhetoric. Regarding the Jewish community, two different views are created by Trump and have an impact on those. The question is to be clarified whether Trump carries anti-Semitic thoughts or simply doesn’t care or is aware about what his rhetoric might cause?

Jewish community in numbers (as voters)

- Two percent of all American voters belong to the Jewish community
- High concentration of Jewish people in swing states.
- Some important donors are from the Jewish community, as well as a mass of modest donors.
- Their contribution reach from 50 percent of the fund of the democratic party to 25 percent of the fund of republican party.

How did the Jewish community vote?

- 71 percent of the American Jewish community voted for Clinton
- 24 percent gave their vote to Trump
- Voting for democrats is part of a Jewish “tradition”
- The more traditional, the less you favor this liberal “tradition”.
- Orthodox Jews mostly voted for Trump and therefore Pro Israel
- Liberal Jews mostly voted for Clinton, also Pro Israel, but more Pro Choice.



supporting →



Outcome of the election 2016



← supporting



One face of Trump: The “others”

After voting an African American as president of the US in 2008, a rethinking took place with regard to race and skin colour. Trump manages to create a regression. He talks about Muslims, Mexicans and building a wall to separate “them” from “us”. His political and rhetorically incorrect manner creates a new way of thinking and what was regarded as incorrect is suddenly correct. In addition to a perceived anti-Semitic tweet of Trump and the circumstance that Steve Bannon, an “alt right”, is his chief advisor, these rhetoric about “them” and “us” lead to an increase of attacks against Jews in the US. Since January 2017, 67 bomb threats against Jewish community centres have been made, a Jewish cemetery was desecrated and a large increase in online anti-Semitic threats as well hate speeches have been observed.



One face of Trump: The “us”

Jews are the only minority, about which Trump does not speak badly in his rhetoric. On contrary, he even mentions how great they are, especially his son in law Jared Kushner, who is a Jewish Orthodox. Even his daughter has converted to Judaism as well his grand children. And they are all great. This suggests, since a big part of his direct family is Jewish, that the Jewish community is a part of “us”. Furthermore Trump is also surrounded by prominent representatives of the Jewish community. For example Mnuchin served during the campaign as Treasury secretary, Miller wrote speeches for him and Friedman was nominated (and now official) for ambassador. He is also “a lifelong supporter and true friend of Israel” and the question is more where Trump doesn’t stand on Israel, compared to Obama where it wasn’t clear if he even stood to Israel.



Crooked Hillary tweets and Trumps defence, <http://www.alternet.org/election/2017/08/04/trump-critical-anti-semitic>



Jared Kushner, second from left, the son-in-law of Donald J. Trump, with his wife, Ivanka Trump, the day after Mr. Trump announced his presidential campaign last year at Trump Tower. Credit: Todd Prizker/The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/06/us/politics/jared-kushner-donald-trump.html>

Conclusion

Trump is definitely not anti-Semitic, perhaps not even against minorities, who are the targets of his rhetoric. Trump seems to respect people who are useful for him despite their race or religion. With regard to Foucault's Theories of governmentality and the creation of discourses, Trump is (mostly) aware about the impacts and influence of his speeches or tweets on the behaviour of US citizens. He knows the fears of the “common” American, his potential voters, and uses them to establish a discourse and therefore create a new kind of truth. The “truth” that Mexicans are responsible for unemployment and the high rate of drug overdoses. He knows how to create an effective politic of fear through a common concept, mostly implemented into the agenda of right-wing politic parties, called “othering”. Even though his daughter and son in law are Jewish, Trump knows that just two percent of American voters are Jewish. Why focus on this two percent instead on the 77 percent of white Americans, which he might reach with his words. The hate against the Jewish community does not seem to be intended and Trump tried to create a counter discourse, which seems to bear no fruit until now. This might change in the future since Trump knows how to create and handle a discourse.

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University of Bern, spring semester 2017
Seminar: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era
Lecturers: Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer, Dr. Kellie Gonçalves
Author: Sonja Bürgi, 12-917-688

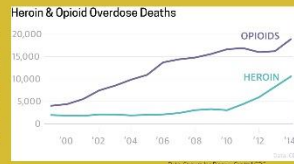
WHO'S RESPONSIBILITY?

THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE ADDICTION CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

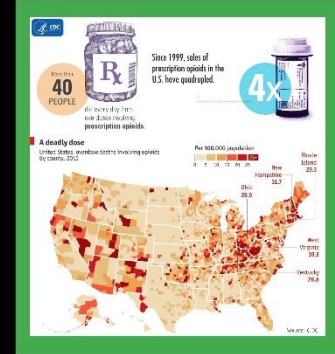


BACKGROUND

The United States are facing the probably worst addiction crisis in their history.¹ "Overprescribing of OPRs [opioid pain relievers] has led to a sharp increase in the prevalence of opioid addiction, which in turn has been associated with a rise in overdose deaths and heroin use."² As causes Manchikanti et al. mention the liberalization of laws, campaigns of various health organisations supporting the use of opioids and an aggressive marketing by the pharmaceutical industry in the past two decades.³ Here the presence of the topic and its public discussion shall be analyzed.



¹Dart et al. 2015, ²Kovachy et al. 2015, ³Manchikanti et al. 2012, ⁴Kovachy et al. (2015:558), ⁵Manchikanti et al. 2015



QUESTION & METHODS

This analysis was led by the following question:
How is the ongoing opioid crisis discussed in the US press and the internet?
For this study online research of the US media dealing with the topic was done. A selection of three newspaper articles and their comments on the internet were analyzed more in detail. The three examples cover a range from the nationwide important liberal "New York Times" over the more conservative "Chicago Tribune" to the regional "Portland Press Tribune".

SELECTED EXAMPLES

The New York Times
The Opinion Pages | EDITORIAL

Young Victims of the Opioid Epidemic

The New York Times, Jan 16, 2017

This article deals with the children suffering the consequences of the opioid crisis due to addicted parents. It reports an increase in number of children in foster care, for what according to experts opioid abuse is responsible to a great extent. The article accuses officials of not having addressed the problem appropriately so far and sees the Republican plans for repealing the Affordable Care Act as another threat to these children.

Comments: Total: 336

Dennis D. New York City • January 16, 2017
Strange how when Whites suffer from addiction it's taken far more seriously. Drug infestation in Black neighborhoods has been ignored for decades. No one cared then, especially in Southern Red states that suppressed the Black franchise. And yet Whites have the nerve to tell us that racism is now in the past because, get this? - we elected a Black President.

Jacqueline Colorado • January 18, 2017
I am a young person who got addicted to oxycotin and other prescription drugs I got from my doctor.

Ben Florida • January 18, 2017
Exactly. Instead of gleefully demonizing white addicts in the name of "fairness," perhaps true fairness would be better served by making sure that people of color who are addicted, and their children, have access to the same types of services and treatment as the white community.

Chicago Tribune

Trump proposal would gut 'drug czar' office in middle of opioid crisis

Chicago Tribune, May 5, 2017

The author of this article writes about an actual proposal of the Trump administration to cut the budget of the Office of National Drug Control Policy by 95%. It gives the acting director a voice, who wrote to his employees that these cuts are "at odds with the fact that the President has tasked us with supporting his Commission on Combating Drug Addiction and the Opioid Crisis".

Comments: Total: 29

Danny Mac 44 • Herkese • 6 days ago
On not only 24 million to run a generic office, based only with "letting policy". Out 95% more!

harold • Herkese • 6 days ago
Having survived my youth in the northern suburbs of Chicago, I read complaining about President Trump. Now I can't sleep because President Trump wants to reduce it. How many of you went through addiction? You many of you turned your best friends at a age when they are just starting to know many of you walked into a good friends house and had their legs on the floor turning that from an question and that was over 40 years ago? Yes America has had a drug problem. But how many years do we have to do the same old things to try and eradicate it? Hope no one say that President Trumps idea will work, because every time I read about another drug death, my mother cries it breaks my heart.

Jim Shurtals • Herkese • 6 days ago
Gut it. Legible and effective carefully. Their addicts like the physically and mentally sick people they are, or not eventually become. Save lives.

Hardliner1 • Victor • 6 days ago
He's the dealer on this. Trump figured out that addressing the opioic issue would mean confronting and reducing the profits of big pharmaceutical companies. Not a good idea when he will have more money big pharma funnels to politicians. In addition if Trumpure gets passed through big pharma will get a huge fat cat and that money has to go somewhere so it may well go to Trump and his cronies. Its better to play nice in the money sandbag.

Portland Press Herald

A deadly epidemic: Addiction to opioids has put an entire generation at risk

Portland Press Herald, Mar 26, 2017

This article was published as one of a ten part series called 'Lost' by Portland Press Herald/Maine Sunday Telegram.

"A team of reporters sought to understand the causes and consequences of the rapidly rising death toll by listening to firsthand accounts of survivors - the loved ones left behind after an opioid-related death."

Comments: Total: 150

workingmansdem • 2 months ago
This is a powerful series that has already changed my perception of the issue. In a country obsessed with macroeconomics and identities, the white working class and poor have been tossed aside. All lives matter.

really?? • workingmansdem • 2 months ago
so your thinking hasn't really changed at all... Now that you think it is a white rural issue not a black urban one... you "care"??

Blaise Kuhnert • 2 months ago
The word prevention does not show up anywhere in the article or the discussions. We are not a society that funds preventative measures. There is money for treatment but not for preventive education.

gustafm • 2 months ago
Why is it my now-Adult kids that grew up in Maine are not drug addicts? Bad parenting is the number one cause of Maine's drug epidemic and related drug death rate. When you drink alcohol and/or smoke POT in front of your kids, you are breaking their will, you are making a bad impression that leads them down the road to heroin use and bad faces.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The online research revealed that the topic opioid crisis is widely present in US media, especially since late 2016 and early 2017. Google News finds more than 300'000 entries to the search term 'opioid crisis' and 94'000 for 'opioid crisis us'. The media are mainly all on the same page that the actual situation forms a severe public health crisis.

Main topics debated are the role of President Trumps administration in addressing the crisis, public awareness building and destigmatisation, as well as the responsibility of doctors, the pharmaceutical industry and official institutions. Among the online commentary boards the question of responsibility is the most heavily discussed. The contributions cover a wide range from pleadings for personal responsibility to compassion with addicted and calls for drastic policy changes. On many boards there can also be found race debates, as the here presented examples illustrate.

The here presented findings of this short study draw the picture, that there is a public debate about the ongoing opioid crisis in the US. According to the online research contributions in print media, television and radio stations are becoming more frequently in the last months. However the representativity of this study is restricted due to the limited time resources and the view from a distance.

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Map overdose deaths: <https://data.usa1.com/nat.com/sites/default/files/images/2017/03/blog-graphics-detail-20170311_woc097.png>
Prescriptions article headers and homepage: see article sources.

Donald Trump in the mirror of art

Nina Hänni, in line with the course USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era, University of Bern, by Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer and Dr. Kellie Gonçalves

Introduction

With the cultural turn in the second half of the 20th century, a new paradigm in the humanities and social sciences was introduced. Topics as popular culture, daily life practices and media gained the interest of scientific research. Actions, for example communication, were now considered as processes that construct cultural sense or identities.

Basically, the idea is that reality is socially constructed by several means.

Among others there were the performative turn, which concentrates for example on public presentations of the self through the body, and the pictorial turn, which concentrates on visual means. The construction of reality is always connected to the question of power.

With this background, there can be asked a lot of questions, for example: How are meanings constructed? By what means? Why, with what interest? By whom, who dominates the discourse?

In connection to Trump, a lot of (visual) material was produced and there was a huge reaction to his person in the world of art. Lots of paintings, songs, and other installations like „No Trump anytime“ traffic signs, a Trump Piñata, and even a parody with Johnny Depp were created.

A closer look at these means of presentation offers a new perspective.

Conclusions, further possible research questions

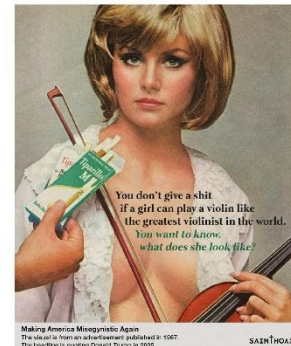
There is a lot of artistic material on Donald Trump. Different means are used to express opinions. The strategies of the artists could be investigated through picture analysis.

A thesis I would like to propose is that Trump as a person seems to have a high-inspiring, emotion-evoking potential. This could be due to the fact of his self-presentation, which could be investigated with the background of the performative turn.

However, there is an interesting article written by Diana Spechler, who is herself an artist. She states that many artists suffer from creative blockades since the election. This for example due to the fact that they are shocked, or that they fear oppression of freedom of opinion.

She stresses the importance of the reflection of the current political climate through entertainment and art. This is a very important task of the creative realm.

What are reactions to Donald Trump in the artistic realm?



These are works of the pseudonymous Syrian artist, satirist and sociopolitical activist Saint Hoax from 2017. He says about them: **“I removed the original headlines from these misogynistic advertisements and replaced them with quotes that Donald Trump said about women.** The headlines and visuals strongly complement each other, although there's almost a 30-year gap between them.“ So, through matching two elements from different times, a connection between the two is made which creates a new narrative. In combining politics with popular culture, he creates, for example by manipulating images and icons, visual lies that tell the truths he believes in. So, he uses **art as a platform to transport messages** in a creative way. This critical, reflective function of art is often described as a very important dimension in society.

Chump for Trump

A part of a poem by Ron English, an American artist, on the election of Trump. It was also set into music.

We sold our soul/ To a trust fund showman/ His wallet was fat/ And his ego was swollen
He was not profound/ He was just outspoken/ And our country/ Has been stolen

Chorus: Chump for Trump/ Chump for Trump/ Poor America/ Was a chump for Trump

He took America by eminent domain/ He was not profound/ Just profane
He was not compassionate/ He was not urbane/ He was not even slightly close to sane

America was a chump for Trump/ An egomaniacal/ fame junky
Who built a wall/ Like Humpty Dumpty/ He bankrupted businesses/ Then our country

Roll up the dream/ And the welcome mat/ America is no longer/ Where freedom's at
We couldn't see the future/ Or smell the rat/ And America elected/ An autocrat

For the next eight years/ We gotta take our lumps/ Because America was a chump for Trump

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Fun fact

Already two insects have been connected to Trump's hair because of the similar appearance. The first one is a moth called *Neopalpa donaldtrumpi*, recently named. The second one, called Donald Trump Caterpillar, was famous 4 years ago.

What is Trump's approach on Syria?

Seminar USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era
University of Bern, May 2017, Manuel Henzi, 12-100-590

How did Trump's view on Syria change after his election?
What is his position and which are the challenges in the Syrian conflict?

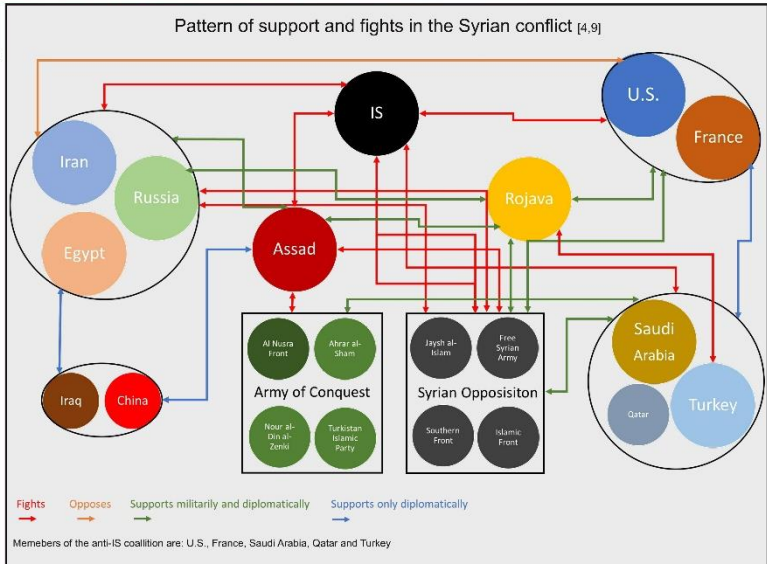
Chronology of the Syrian conflict

Increasing complexity of conflict

- 2011**
 - Emerging Protests
 - Emerging of small armed groups and political groups that merge to the Syrian National Council (SNC)
 - Al Qaeda begins activity in Syria
- 2012**
 - Insurgency and increasing violence of the conflict
 - Obama sets the "Red Line"
- 2013**
 - Evidence of chemical weapons (CW), no military reaction from the U.S.

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
Bashar Assad is stronger today than he was before Obama threatened military action. Obama really bungled this.

 - Assad agrees to destroy CW in order to avoid US military strike
 - Beginning of the Proxy War, Assad gets support from Iran, Hezbollah and Russia
- 2014**
 - Rise of the Islamic State (IS) and establishment of the caliphate in June
 - Beginning of U.S. air strikes in Iraq and extend to Kobane (Syria)
 - U.S. partnership with Kurdish YPG (U.S.'s "most effective partners in the anti IS campaign")
- 2015**
 - Increase of Russian military presence in Syria
 - U.S. starts training Syrian recruits in order to fight the IS
 - YPG and other groups merge to Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) receiving U.S. support
- 2016**
 - U.S. and Russia try to achieve a reduction of violence without success
 - Turkish opposition to U.S. supported SDF with following Turkish military intervention
- 2017**
 - April 4th: Syrian Air Force launches chemical attack on the town of Khan Sheikhoun
 - April 6th: US Strike on Syrian Airbase of Al Shayrat [4]



Current division of Syria (stand on 5th May 17)

Red: Assad, green: Syrian opposition, blue: Turkish army, yellow: YPG/SDF, black: IS [11]

Trump's view on Syria before election

"Our goal is stability not chaos... We will partner with any nation that is willing to join us in the effort to defeat ISIS and radical Islamic terrorism... [...]" Donald Trump in [3, p. 1]

- America First
- Questions U.S. position of primacy in Middle East (ME) since end of the cold war
- Rejects U.S. induced regime changes
- Skeptical about Saudi Arabia
- Opposed to U.S. Interventions in Iraq and Libya
- Rejects intervention in Syria
- According to his rhetoric, priority will be defeating IS, not bringing down Assad
- Favorable to increased air strikes against IS (but not from the beginning [9])

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
The idea of Syria being the "red line" is the "red line" on the ground. We will partner with any nation that is willing to join us in the effort to defeat ISIS and radical Islamic terrorism... [...]

Actions taken by Trump Administration and consequences

- Missile Strike on April 7th** (without Congress approval):
 - "There's no doubt that international law, the UN charter, prohibits the use of military force for retaliation or for reprisal, punishment, [...]. You can only use military force in self-defense, and he did not" Prof. O'Connell in [6]
 - Missile Strike on Syria shows increased willingness of the new Administration to use force and may help to restore credibility of U.S. foreign policy [7]
- Arming Kurdish forces:**
 - U.S. do not restrict arms supplies to Arab militias any longer. Trump approved the direct arming of Kurdish elements of the SDF.
 - Possible degradation of relations with Turkey and further Turkish military operations against Kurdish forces
 - Increased efficiency of Kurdish elements in the fight against IS, probable acceleration of the battle [8]

Conclusion

Donald Trump changed his position on Syria after his election.

- Defined defeating IS as a priority
- No change in the approach to reach this goal, continues to act on proxies (but without regards to Turkey) air strikes and small counterinsurgency operations
- Still opposed to large ground operations, but shows more willingness to use force, which gives more credibility to threats he could do
- As long as there is no threat emanating from a caliphate, Syria only has a restrained strategic interest for the U.S.
- The U.S. will not be able to avoid looking at the reconstruction and recovery in Syria, in order to prevent the emergence of new jihadist groups [2]
- Simple plan for actions following the defeat of the IS. Chances of success of the plan are highly questionable due to its simplicity.
- Due to the deepness of the Syrian conflict's roots, U.S. "will not and should not 'solve' Syria" [7, p.5-6].
- U.S. should define goals to preserve their vital interests and prepare the next phase of the conflict following the fall of Raqqa
- The complexity of the conflict and the alliance pattern currently makes a whole Syrian solution of the problem difficult and unlikely
- In order to prevent a further expansion of the conflict zone, the U.S. should define conflict areas to stabilize and do so instead of trying to settle them all 'en bloc' [7]

Challenges in Syria

"... the grand strategic goal of warfighting is never just to produce a favorable military outcome or to defeat the enemy. It is to win as lasting a victory as possible in political, economic, and security terms." [2, p.4]

Challenges to be taken up:

- Planning of civilian and political steps following military action [7]
- Fighting symptoms, not only syndromes, by reducing factors leading to jihadist violence (e.g. repression, fail of the states to provide economic wellness, marginalization) [3]
- Syria is highly divided. Whether Syrian actors nor outsiders seems to currently be able of reunifying the country [7]
- U.S. freedom of action in Syria is highly constricted by Russian presence [7]
- Restore U.S. credibility through acting. "The personality in the White House matters much less for Assad and Putin than the gun on the table" [5, p.2]

Obama's strategy and policy

"We have been very clear to the Assad regime, but also to other players on the ground, that a red line for us is we start seeing a whole bunch of chemical weapons moving around or being utilized..." Barack Obama in [4, p.9]

Principles of Obama's strategy, according to Cafarella (2017):

- Most serious threat to U.S. security
- Retake of Raqqa and Mosul by U.S. Proxies will defeat IS
- Temporary alignment with Russia and Iran needed to defeat IS
- Priority on acting on proxies and air strikes
- Managing Al Qaeda in Syria by eliminating its leadership
- Solving the Iraqi problem by relying on others

Threats lacking credible will to use force (no reaction to the crossed red line), opened the doors for Russian intervention and weakened the political role and credibility of the U.S. [5]

Trump administration's vision and programm on Syria

- Remove one of the most disruptive Actors by defeating the IS
- Stabilize areas in southern Syria and Raqqa with a cease-fire
- Restore local governments in these areas
- In order to allow refugees to return, develop local security forces by using local forces, to provide a secure environment
- Resolve Syria's future governanc structure trough a political process (which will at the end lead to Assads's step back) [4]

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Street Art and Donald Trump



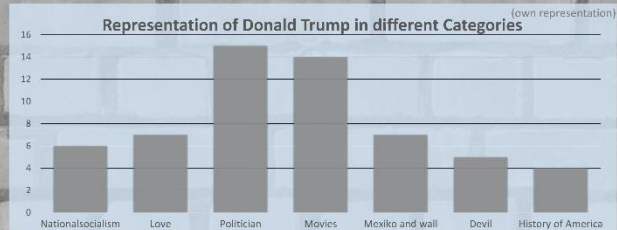
Distribution of Street Art representing Donald Trump:

A sample of street art that represents Trump and is reported in the internet shows that the murals are widely distributed in the USA and Europe. There are paintings in Melbourne and in Tokyo as well. On the map at the left side the world wide distribution of street art representing Trump is shown. The data were collected from several webpages. As a consequence we can only see reported murals, but we have to assume that there are many more.

As Donald Trump came up with running for office, the number of paintings increased. After the election, Donald Trump is even going to make art great again. (Sayej, 2017)

How is Donald Trump painted?

The look at 85 different murals shows some similarities between the topics that were represented. I classified them into different categories with regards to contents. In the graph on the right the quantity of pictures in each category is shown. For example, the third picture at the bottom is part of the class nationalsocialism. At the end of the research I found six pictures for this category. Mostly Trump is presented in connection with another politician (e.g. Putin, May, Mao, Le Pen etc.).



Lie Lie Land
Artist: Bambi
Location: Bristol

The graffiti shows Trump dancing with the British prime minister Theresa May. It is a parody of the movie La La Land and shows a happy couple dancing, not carrying about the rest of the world. (Standart Verlagsgesellschaft, 2017)



Trump as Adolf Hitler
Artist: Pegasus
Location: Bristol

The picture wants to send the message that history often repeats itself and that we are to ignorant about the facts or are affected by fearmongering. Every speech makes Donald Trump seem more and more like a dictator. (Henderson, 2016)



Meanwhile in America
Artist: Greg Auerbach
Location: California

At first the graffiti had shown Trump with his vice president Mike Pence. In January 2017 the artist switched out Pence for Putin. The mural shows two things, first that we spent too much time focusing on whether or not the election was manipulated and secondly it shows a lack of qualification and a sense of recklessness of the new administration and of Donald Trump. (Moran, 2017)



Make Everything Great Again
Artist: Mindaugas Bonanu
Location: Vilnius

The image lampoons the curiously flattering relationship that has emerged between Putin and Trump. It is inspired by the picture on the Berlin Wall (Erick Honegger kissing the soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev), which had been painted during the cold war. (Grovier, 2016)

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Institute of Geography, University of Bern
17. 05. 2017
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Donald Trump in the Bible Belt

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USA: Discourse and the political and economic geography in a Trump era
Prof. Dr. Heike Mayer
Dr. Kellie Gonçalves

Marlies Schneider, May 19-20, 2017

Research Question

The outcome of the 2016 presidential election of the United States of America seemed to be a big surprise. With focus on religion it is particularly interesting why Donald Trump has gotten the vote from so many Americans that live in the so called Bible Belt, the most religious part of the United States since Trump's life seems to represent everything evangelicals and social conservatives stood against: excess, indulgence, opulence and cynicism (Maxwell 2014).

- The research questions therefore are:
- Why did so many people that identify as Southern Christians vote for Donald Trump?
 - How important is Religion for the individual while voting for a President?

Background and Relevance



Fig. 1. US Election Results 2016 (New York Times)
The Southern States of the US is a sizeable voting bloc with great national power and influence (Maxwell 2014) and therefore, it is interesting to look why the majority has voted for Donald Trump.



Fig. 2. US Map by religiosity
The "Bible Belt" is a term used since the 1920s "to refer to a religiously conservative or fundamentalist region in the American South and sometimes the Midwest, though its exact geographic extent remains debatable" (Brunn et al. 2011). According to Gallup (Fig. 2) the most religious States are Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Oklahoma.

State of Research

The Bible Belt and Religion: Angie Maxwell (2011) argues that People who identify as "Southern" believe that to be American one should be Christian and they report higher rates of opposition to gay marriage, gay adoption and abortion. According to Maxwell (2011) "Red Southerners" have established an unyielding definition of America. They are significantly more likely to agree that to be "fully American," it is "very important" to have been born in the United States (66.4 percent) and "very important" to speak English well (74.2 percent). And 77.5 percent of "Red Southerners" themselves identify "very strongly" as American, as compared to 55.2 percent of those nationwide who do not consider themselves "Southern" (Maxwell 2011).

Donald Trump and Religion: A Time article by Elisabeth Dias (2016) argues that Donald Trump "wooed other conservative Christians by promising to nominate specifically "pro-life" Justices to the Supreme Court". For many social-conservative leaders, Trump looks like the better option than Hillary Clinton to advance their issues (Dias 2016).

Methodological Approach

To find out why many religious Americans choose to vote for Donald Trump during the US-elections of 2016 three interviews will be held with American citizens. To get further knowledge about how important religion is while voting, a social media video of a megachurch pastor will also be part of the analysis.

- I1: Middle-aged truck driver who has lived most of his life in Tennessee and moved to Texas a few years ago. He used to go church more than once a week but his work schedule does not always allow that.
- I2: Middle-aged self employed women who runs a catering business. She grew up in Ohio and has lived outside of the US. She has lived in Tennessee for more than 10 years and regularly attends a so called "megachurch".
- VI: Pastor of a megachurch in Tennessee and a regular figure in a weekly religious TV show. He has lived in Tennessee for over 25 years and grew up in Texas.

- Some of the questions that I1 and I2 were asked are:
- What is it about Hillary Clinton that made you not wanting to vote for her? How important is religion?
 - How important is your religion when it comes to voting for a new president?
 - How do you explain that most States that are considered to be in the "Bible Belt" with a high degree of Christians have voted for Donald Trump even though he does not seem to represent Christian values?

The Facebook video that VI posted was analyzed with focus on what arguments he states for voting for Donald Trump or against Hillary Clinton.

Results

After analyzing the video posted by VI and the answers that I1 and I2 submitted, the following main arguments for Donald Trump and against Hillary Clinton can be summarized:

Everyone but Hillary Clinton

The two interviewees as well as the Pastor in the video have stated that to them it was clear to vote for Donald Trump because they could not imagine voting for Hillary Clinton. I2 states, that "she is a lying, cheating, thief and murderer" Benghazi is enough for me to dislike her! ...
...She is the epitome of Disgust!"



Fig. 3. Hillary Clinton holding a speech

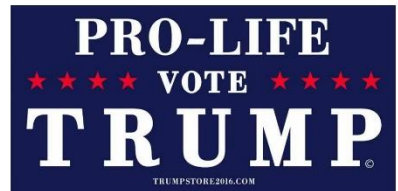


Fig. 4. Bumper Sticker available during the presidential campaign

Abortion
VI and I1 used phrases such as "I don't believe in abortion" and ...
... "a future president that supports abortion can't be God's will" ... to explain why they did not vote for Clinton who has positioned herself being "pro-choice" during the campaign.

Removing God from their Party and limiting Christians

VI said that Hillary Clinton and the democratic Party would want to remove God from their party's platform and she is supposed to have said that she wants to limit Christians. I2 is convinced, that Donald Trump...
... has done more for the Christians in this country I the first 100 days than Obama ever thought about".



Fig. 5. Religious Trump supporters

More Results

Gay Rights and Gay Marriage
Another argument that the I1 and the I2 mentioned was the issue of "Gay Rights and Gay Marriage" as the pastor called it. Like the other issues such as abortion and church involvement in the government he is sure this is against God's will and therefore he can not vote for somebody who supports the LGBT community as Hillary Clinton does.



Fig. 6. US Election colored in the rainbow colors

Conclusions

Hillary Clinton represents "Anti-Christian Beliefs"

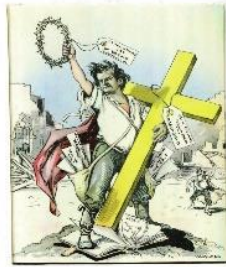
As Maxwell (2011) has stated the topics gay marriage, gay adoption and abortion are important for Southerners and the rejection of those topics are important when being a Christian. As Dias (2016) states, many pro-life supporters focus only on what the potential president has to say on that topic and will vote for someone who commits to pro-life legislation no matter what other issues the candidate considers to be important. The interviewees did not say the candidate's stand on abortion is all that matters but it is clearly very important to them and they name it as one of the reasons along with other religious related issues why they did not vote for Hillary Clinton.

Importance of Religion and the Religious Identity

This short study has shown that Christian Southerners focus on key issues such as abortion and gay rights when deciding who they are going to vote for in presidential elections. Hillary Clinton, who is said to be a lifelong Methodist seems to be closer to the Southern Christian identity than Donald Trump whose is less straight forward (Barbaro 2016). But despite this fact, Donald Trump has had by far the stronger support by the people from the Bible Belt than Hillary Clinton by focusing on religious key issues. The economic factor seems to be less important and was only referred to by I2.

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The Populist Party of the 1890's bridged together factions of disaffected farmers and factory workers against the "eastern elites." Rapid urbanization and unfettered income inequality led to the perception of an unfair concentration of political and economic power along the "northeast corridor." Support for the Free Silver Movement and opposition to railway and steel monopolies were central to the Populist platform. William Jennings Bryant became the Party's most articulate spokesman, famous for his "Cross of Gold" speech (depicted above).



Huey "The Kingfish" Long was governor, senator, and democratic presidential candidate throughout the 1920's and 30's. His "share the wealth" program was highly popular among the working class and poor during the Great Depression, and likely had a major effect on FDR's New Deal Program, which established the foundation of the US' social welfare state. Long was very outspoken against the Standard Oil Company, Wall St. Banks, and most of his colleagues in the Senate. He was assassinated one month after announcing his bid to challenge FDR for the democratic nomination.

All images are from Wiki Commons.
Biographical information from the Encyclopedia Britannica.
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American Populism: Five Movements

Terrence Classen

Populism is "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people." (Mudde 2004)

"The People" vs. "The Elite"



Alabama governor George Wallace became famous for his opposition to federally mandated desegregation. In Wallace's first bid for governor he was endorsed by the NAACP and lost to an opponent who had been backed by the KKK. After this defeat he combined a fiercely segregationist stance with his working class economic agenda, and quickly rose to celebrity status in the South, easily winning the next gubernatorial election. As Democrats slowly began to publicly back the civil rights movement, Wallace broke off from the party and formed the American Independent Party. He managed to win 5 southern states in the 1968 presidential election. The combination of white supremacy and economic populism has had a lasting impact on American politics.



The presidency of Donald Trump seems to be the product of an irreconcilable contradiction; a billionaire populist. While the election of an extremely wealthy white man with strong ties to Wall St. hardly seems an unusual political event, Trump successfully framed himself as an outsider. Like previous populist movements in the US, Trump's campaign was fueled by the palpable anger and unrest that spanned the entire political spectrum. Unlike historical precedents, Trump eventually had the tepid support of powerful establishment forces. How Americans respond to his unfulfilled promise to "drain the swamp" will have major implications for the future of US politics.

We are the 99%

When Occupy Wall Street broke out in September of 2011, it signified the reemergence of mass popular action that had not been observed in the US since the Vietnam War. Unlike other populist movements, Occupy did not coalesce around a singular charismatic spokesperson. Instead it expressed itself as a movement "of the people" against the global financial elites. The terminology of the 99% vs. the 1% gave a specific framework for defining the two antagonistic groups. Occupy normalized left-wing economic vocabulary, and was likely a factor in Bernie Sanders' meteoric rise in popularity.



Political activism in a Trump era

What are the different popular revolt groups against Trump?
What are their political demands and protests?
What is their impact on politics?

Popular post-electoral revolt groups

Introduction

Trump openly expressed disdain for people of color, immigrants, refugees, women, ethnic and religious minorities, as well as his political agenda reinvigorates old and generates new popular revolt groups against him (Milligan 2017).

While some protests take the form of boycotts and petitions, **demonstrations, rallies or marches** are the most common forms of the post-electoral anti-Trump movement (Murphy 2016). According to Judith Butler (2017), they are a corporal claim to public space and public demand to political powers.

"There can be no democracy without freedom of assembly, and there can be no assembly without the freedom to move and gather." Judith Butler

The question is whether this political activism can last as an ongoing pressure group and broad-based mobilization in order to have real impacts on politics.

Anti xenophobia

- Demand for freedom of movement, critical whiteness and immigrant's rights
- Protest white supremacy, institutional racism and xenophobic nationalism



Protesters at San Francisco Airport after Trump's travel ban on 7 predominately muslim nations (Inquirer 2017)



"Black Lives Matter" protest in Toronto against Trump's immigration policy (Insidetoronto 2017)



Women's march on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington D.C. (Theguardian 2017)

Social justice

- Demand for worker's rights, minimum wage and redistribution
- Protest neoliberalism, social exclusion, poverty



The trotskist political party "Socialist Alternative" organized massive, sometimes violent anti-Trump protests (Drrichswire 2016)

Environmental protection

- Demand for environmental justice and renewable energies
- Protest fossil-fuel expansion and denial of climate change



People's climate march in Los Angeles (Usa-eventer 2017)

Feminism

- Demand for women's rights as human rights
- Protest patriarchy, sexual discrimination and harassment

"We're all under attack. Each of us might be impacted very differently, but we now share a very similar political fate, and so it's incumbent on all of us to really be in full coordination and solidarity with other movements."
Barry Dante, director of New York City-based Million Hoodies for Justice

Conclusions

Popular revolt groups against Trump build a broad and multifaceted movement, fighting for different forms of justice and structural change of a political system which, according to them, seems to be outmoded. There's a general increase of political activism and the different political groups on the left team up by sharing a common enemy who is threatening their fundamental values.

Although it is difficult to measure the impacts of those groups, the constant number of protests and rallies since Trump's election give evidence for a significant part of the population who wants to get or stay involved in politics. And even though most of the mobilization occurs through social medias, corporal claim to public space is still playing an important role for the movement as it enables people to gather and being immediately heard and seen.

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Timetable of post-electoral anti-Trump protests

| 20.1.17 | 21.1.17 | 28.1.17 | 12.2.17 | 20.2.17 | 15.4.17 | 22.4.17 | 29.4.17 | 1.5.17 |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|---|---|--|
| Inauguration protest Several thousand protesters and 28'000 security personnel in Washington D.C. | Women's March Largest single day protest with 3.3 to 4.6 million people demonstrating across the whole country | Airport protests More than 2'000 protesters at J.F. Kennedy Airport and other international airports against Trump's travel ban | Mexico City 20'000 people protesting against Trump and his border wall | Not my presidents day 13'000 protesters outside Trump International Hotel and Tower in New York and rallies in dozens of cities in the US | Tax March Protests in over 150 cities in the US to pressure Trump to release his tax returns | March for science In over 600 cities across the world scientists call for evidence-based policy | People's climate march At the end of the first 100 days of the presidency, 200'000 people are protesting in D.C. against Trump's environmental policy | May Day In several cities in the U.S. protests, sit-ins and civil disobedience are used to fight for immigrant's rights, several people get arrested |

Poster by Mirjam Buehler: mirjam.buehler@students.unibe.ch

Campaigning in the 2008 and 2016 US presidential elections

Nuria Alva, Institute of Geography, University of Berne, Switzerland



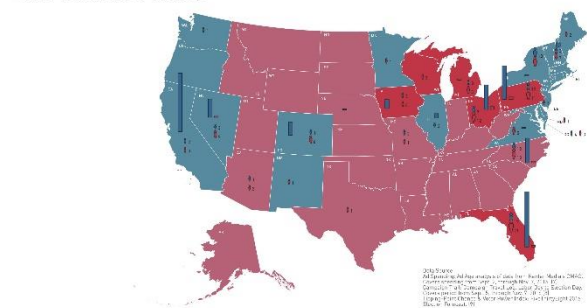
Introduction

Traditionally, the majority of the States of the United States of America vote for the same party over a long time; a few, however, flip from democratic to republican (or vice versa) quite regularly. These so called Swing States are targeted heavily with the party campaigning. This is done in order to address the most volatile voters and use campaign resources effectively. The objective is to show how much effort a candidate puts into each state and to follow the question if there is a connection between the candidate's effort and the result of the state elections.

Map

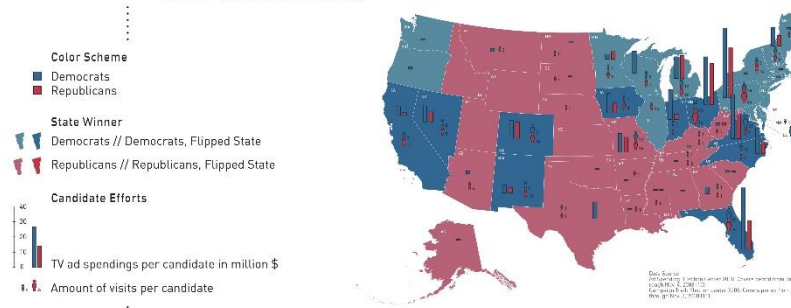
The election years of 2008 and 2016 are to be examined. These years were the flipping years of the last four presidential elections. To represent the candidate's effort, we look at the amount of visits during the campaign and the television ad spendings by each candidate per state. The collected data is the same for the category and the year but not among the years 2008 and 2016. Therefore, the results of the two elections can't be compared directly. Also, there is no certainty that the data are complete, so the comparison, in general, isn't always precise. Nevertheless, it will give an idea of the candidate's campaign strategy.

2016: Clinton vs. Trump



2016 SWING
All States: All data from the 2016 US Election. Source: National Center for Election Systems, 2016. Data from the 2016 US Election. Source: National Center for Election Systems, 2016. Data from the 2016 US Election. Source: National Center for Election Systems, 2016.

2008: Obama vs. McCain



2008 SWING
All States: All data from the 2008 US Election. Source: National Center for Election Systems, 2008. Data from the 2008 US Election. Source: National Center for Election Systems, 2008.

| Swing States | Tip in % of States | Water Power Index** | Votes | Visits | Ad Spendings in Millions \$ | Ad Spendings in Millions \$ |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Minnesota | 3.7% | 4.5 | 3 | 1 | 11.0 | 0.2 |
| Swing States | 5.4% | 6.0 | 3 | 8 | 7.5 | 0 |
| Ohio | 1.2% | 1.1 | 2 | 7 | 5.5 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 2.8% | 2.1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Michigan | 11.2% | 3.2 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0.5 |
| Ohio | 5.2% | 1.2 | 5 | 17 | 14.4 | 1.8 |
| Florida | 17.4% | 7.5 | 7 | 21 | 37.9 | 1.3 |
| Illinois | 12.2% | 2.9 | 6 | 11 | 19.6 | 1.1 |
| Virginia | 5.4% | 2.0 | 0 | 5 | 0.5 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 11.4% | 3.2 | 5 | 2 | 10.5 | 1.3 |
| West Virginia | 2.2% | 4.3 | 2 | 7 | 3.8 | 0 |

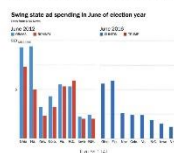
* Tipping-point chance: probability that the state will provide the decisive vote in the Electoral College. For further information about the calculation of this value, see Silver, N. (2009) [1]
** Water power index: relatively likelihood that an individual voter will determine the Electoral College winner. The number shows how much more powerful a voter is than the national average. [It tends to favor less populated states because they have more electoral votes relative to their population.] [1]

Trump won over several states which had voted democratic for decades. For that, he needed to flip numerous counties that had voted democratic in the last election in 2012. In total he flipped 217 counties. Clinton only flipped 30. [2]

Clinton has overspent Trump heavily in all categories of campaign expenses. She and her supporters bought TV advertising early and often, especially in battleground states. Trump, in contrast, spent money for advertising on TV only late in the election cycle, between August and the election day.

Clinton spent millions of Dollars into advertising, while Trump had a completely different strategy. The only states Trump spent money on TV ads were must-win states. [3] It is common that republicans spend less than the democrats on TV ads. But Trump spent less than any republican presidency candidate before. [4]

The media, shaped by the news agenda, is an influential force in the campaigning process and results and the debate about a candidate. Trump relied more on owned media such as Facebook or

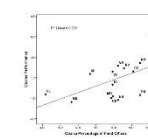
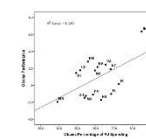


Twitter than on paid media. The entertaining effect of Trump and the agenda-setting of the media can be seen as a big part of his campaigning strategy. [1] »I just don't think I need nearly as much money as other people need because I get so much publicity. I get so many invitations to be on television. I get so many interviews, if I want them.« (Donald Trump) [5].

Not least due to the uncommon campaign strategy of Trump, there is no clear correlation to be seen between the evaluated variables and the outcome of the state elections.

| State | All Candidates Visits | Field Offices |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Alabama | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Alaska | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Arizona | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Arkansas | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| California | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Colorado | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Connecticut | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Delaware | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| District of Columbia | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Florida | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Georgia | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Hawaii | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Idaho | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Illinois | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Indiana | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Iowa | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Kansas | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Kentucky | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Louisiana | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Maine | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Maryland | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Massachusetts | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Michigan | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Minnesota | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Mississippi | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Missouri | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Montana | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Nebraska | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Nevada | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| New Hampshire | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| New Jersey | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| New Mexico | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| New York | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| North Carolina | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| North Dakota | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Ohio | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Oklahoma | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Oregon | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Pennsylvania | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Rhode Island | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| South Carolina | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| South Dakota | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Tennessee | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Texas | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Utah | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Vermont | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Virginia | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Washington | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| West Virginia | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Wisconsin | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Wyoming | 10.0 | 1.0 |

| State | Obama Vote | Expected Obama Performance |
|----------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| Alabama | 34.0 | 33.0 |
| Alaska | 51.4 | 51.4 |
| Arizona | 32.0 | 32.0 |
| Arkansas | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| California | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Colorado | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Connecticut | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Delaware | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| District of Columbia | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Florida | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Georgia | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Hawaii | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Idaho | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Illinois | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Indiana | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Iowa | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Kansas | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Kentucky | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Louisiana | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Maine | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Maryland | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Massachusetts | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Michigan | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Minnesota | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Mississippi | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Missouri | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Montana | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Nebraska | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Nevada | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| New Hampshire | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| New Jersey | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| New Mexico | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| New York | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| North Carolina | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| North Dakota | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Ohio | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Oklahoma | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Oregon | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Pennsylvania | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Rhode Island | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| South Carolina | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| South Dakota | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Tennessee | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Texas | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Utah | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Vermont | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Virginia | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Washington | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| West Virginia | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Wisconsin | 34.0 | 34.0 |
| Wyoming | 34.0 | 34.0 |



We can see in the map above that candidates put much less effort into safe states. For example, Minnesota voted democratic since 1976; therefore, Obama spent the least amount of money there compared to all the other swing states. On the other hand, also safe states can flip - in the 2008 elections, the democrats won over Indiana, which was a republican safe state since 1968.

Continuing to the map we look at an analysis of Alan Abramowitz. To answer if the campaigning matters, he analyses the ads spending, field organization and the states partisan predispositions in the battleground states. The figures show the relationship between the democratic percentage of total advertising and total numbers of field offices and his performance [measures on the difference between the actual and the predicted vote].

Abramowitz results implicate a connection between the two campaign variables and the election result. The greater the ad spending and the greater the percentage of field offices, the stronger the performance. Based on the results it can be concluded that the campaigning affected the election results in the 15 swing states and that it may provoked the flipping of two states, Indiana and

North Carolina. Still, it is probable that 12 of the 15 swing states would have voted for Obama without any advantages in advertising and field offices because of partisan voting tendencies and the national trend towards Obama. Nevertheless, it suggests that under some conditions the campaign can affect the electoral outcome in swing states. [6]

Sources

- [1] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.
- [2] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.
- [3] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.
- [4] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.
- [5] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.
- [6] Silver, N. (2009). The Tipping Point. New York: Random House.



«Make America great (again)?»

Are the bubbles going to burst and leave the country in chaos?

Introduction

Make America great again, is a quite openly formulized phrase that one could associate easily to everything concerning America that has worked great in the past but does not now. President Trump wrote about it in one of his books, where he states that "America can restore herself to greatness" (Trump 2011). This shows that he had the aim to help making America great (again) already years before he decided to run for President of the United States. The phrase became his campaign slogan. Since then, he never let an opportunity passing by, where he would not refer to it. He emphasized it especially in his first speech as President where he said that "together we will make America strong again, we will make America wealthy again, we will make America proud again, we will make America safe again and, yes, together we will make America great again."

How will the actions, he has taken so far, affect the country and his aim to restore it to greatness in terms of economic, social and ecological issues?



Conclusion

Donald Trump has already been taken a lot of drastic decisions for a greater America in this short period as President. As a salesman he knows a lot about economics and how to be successful in business. That's why it seems that the economic bubble will probably not burst in the near future. If making America great again was just about economic growth, he could probably succeed in his mission. Comparing it to the climate change, it can be seen already now that global warming and ecological sustainability in general are not his major concern. So this bubble will probably burst and create a lot of tension amongst the climate change community. The last issue is about the security and safety in the country. His aim to get rid of all illegal immigrants and to eradicate terrorism, will certainly prompt many headlines. The question remains, if the bubbles will burst and leave nothing but chaos or if they will sustain and he will be saying:

«We made America great again!»

«Climate change is a hoax»

Trump is not a believer in man-made global warming and as a science skeptic he is convinced that the climate will be getting cooler at some point. Therefore, he normally avoids talking about environmental challenges and even claims that "the concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S. manufacturing non-competitive" (Trump 2012). Therefore, he is expected to undo everything Obama has done in terms of environmental protection and leaves the challenge of dealing with global warming to the rest of the world. As an economically-oriented person, he instead supports the ongoing extraction of oil and gas through fracking and the reopening of coal mines, which will create more jobs again.

«We will make America wealthy again»

One of his main goals to make America's economy grow again are the lowering of taxes, which, will lead to an increase in economic competitiveness and create more jobs. He does not only want to determine that singles who earn less than \$25'000, or even married couples who earn less than \$50'000, do not have to pay any taxes. Apart from that, businesses of any size will pay a max. of 15% of their business income, which will make it unnecessary for them to move overseas to safe taxes. Therefore, corporate inversions would belong to the past.

«We will make America safe again»

America faces more and more safety threats. Trump, not much of a cooperater, wants to build a wall at the U.S./Mexican border to stop illegal immigration. For him, Mexicans are bringing drugs, crime into the country and most of them are rapists. He tries to secure the country by not letting the Mexicans in. Another issue is terrorism. He "would bomb the shit out of" radical Islamic groups, who tried to attack the U.S. One of his first official acts as President was to sign an Executive Order restricting the possibilities for visa-holders and refugees of seven Muslim countries to enter the United States.



"A major, major conflict with North Korea" (Trump 2017)

The Trump Administration and the North Korea Conflict – An Overview

What happened so far...

- Korea War ended on July 27 in 1953
- For Pyongyang the conflict never ended → Enhanced armament
- Increasing hostility between Pyongyang and Washington until 1985 (Seh 2010: 117-130)
- North Korea accepts the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) → stops spreading of nuclear weapons
- Suspicion of enriched plutonium → "Missile Sanctions" imposed by the U.S. against North Korea in 1992
- Kim Il Sung died 1994 → Kim Jong Il came to power (Davignon 2017)
- U.S. report reveals an uranium enrichment plant in North Korea in 2001
- Geary W. Bush declared Kim Jong Il's North Korea as a part of the "axis of evil"
- Annulment of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by North Korea in 2003
- North Korea enhanced its nuclear program and tested an atom bomb in 2009
- Kim Jong Il died in 2011 → Kim Jong Un came to power
- Pyongyang proclaimed the development of a hydrogen bomb in 2015
- In 2017, the testing of ballistic missiles increased and a missile hit just 300km in front of the Japanese coast (Seh 2010: 213-239)

China

- North Korea's most important ally
- Collapse of North Korea is no option → Instability and more American influence on the Korean Peninsula

Trumps view:

- China speculated on a pull-out of the American troops to avoid a nuclear attack on ROK
- China uses North Korea for the dirty jobs
- Bad implementation of the sanctions against North Korea (Lukin 2017)

South Korea (ROK)

- Major U.S. ally in Asia since 1950 → 28'000 US-troops are deployed in South Korea
- Close cooperation

Trumps view:

- Deploy nuclear weapons to ROK (Manshin et al. 2016: 6)
- Relation U.S.-ROK is „ironclad“ (Song-Hyun 2017)
- ROK is essential to ramp up pressure on North Korea (e.g. THAAD-rocket defense system) (Berlinger 2017)

North Korea

- Main Goal of Kim Jong Un → Maintenance of Power
- Bluffing and the incalculable acting → Nuclear weapons are part of the survival strategy (Thorsoor 2017)
- Calculated „irrational“ acting (Friedman 2016)

Russia

- Important partner for North Korea
- THAAD as an indirect threat for Russia → Cooperation with North Korea
- ROK is an important trading partner (Rena 2017)

Trumps view:

- Several phone calls between Putin and Trump → No agreements (Pearson 2017)

Japan

- Threatened by the North Korean missile tests
- Alliance with the U.S.
- Concerned about intensified U.S.-China Relations (Harding 2017)

United States under President Trump

- Tillerson: „Strategic patience“ with North Korea has failed
- Swift from strategic patience → Strategic impatience
- New strategy → Military deterrence and sanctions
- China as the answer to the problem (Lukin 2017)
- More pressure on China → Sanctions against Chinese firms and banks who deal with North Korea
- Unpredictability as a virtue (Thorsoor 2017)
- Extreme aggressive and belligerent behaviour alternates between diplomatic efforts (Graham 2017)

Conclusion

- U.S. North Korea policy is highly untransparent → No coherent strategy
- Conflicting opinions within the White House (Tillerson vs. Trump)
- U.S. Policy of „strategic impatience“ consolidates the government in Pyongyang (Luegi 2017)

?

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Reactions of the American democracy against Trump's climate change policy

Adeline Chardonnes – University of Berne – May 2017

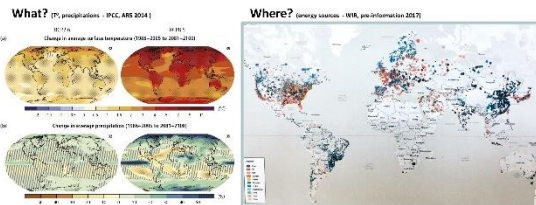


Introduction

The recent election of Donald Trump to the US presidency has a number of implications for the US and for the global community, particularly in the area of sustainability and climate change. During his controversial campaign Trump called climate change a hoax. After being elected he appointed a famous climate-sceptic personality, Scott Pruitt, at the head of the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and began to dismantle the agency by cutting strongly the budget. Another big issue is to eliminate the recently adopted Clean Power Plan (an initiative to reduce carbon pollution from power plants, the largest source in the US, while maintaining energy reliability and affordability) and to lower restrictions on drilling and mining on federal lands. These actions will push the US sustainability agenda backward.

Purpose of the poster is to stress out different reactions combating the objectives of the climate policy of the new US-President and its administration. Sources are scientific articles, press releases and comments published in different media.

Dimensions of global warming

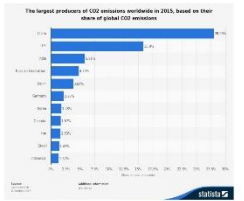


Rising temperatures all around the world will intensify the Earth's water cycle, increasing evaporation. Increased evaporation will result in more storms, but also contribute to drying over some land areas. As a result, storm-affected areas are likely to experience increases in precipitation and increased risk of flooding, while areas located far away from storm tracks are likely to experience less precipitation and increased risk of drought.

Global warming is primarily a problem of too much carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the atmosphere, which acts as a blanket, trapping heat and warming the planet. As we burn fossil fuels like coal, oil and natural gas for energy or cut down and burn forests to create pastures and plantations, carbon accumulates and overloads our atmosphere. The main emission sources are concentrated in industrial regions (USA, Europe) or strongly developing countries (China, India, Brazil).

Who?

- China is the most important producer of CO₂ and emits more carbon dioxide than US (2nd place) and India (3rd place) combined.
- US has reduced its CO₂ release for two years in a row despite bipartisan political conflicts.
- India has become the world's third biggest emitter of carbon dioxide, pushing Russia down to the fourth position.



Reaction of the Justice

New York politicians blasted President Donald Trump's latest executive order that aims to roll back the Environmental Protection Agency's limits on power plants burning coal, and vowed to fight it in court.



"We regret the fact that the president is trying to dial back history, but it's not going to happen" (Eric T. Schneidermann, New York Attorney general).

"Faced with presidential orders that reject sound science and common sense, I am proud to join mayors across the country in offering bold solutions capable of leaving our children a healthy planet" (Bill de Blasio, Mayor of New York).

Reaction of States

17 US States are against Trump's most controversial intention to roll back the Clean Power Plan and climate change regulations. These are:

California, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawai, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New-Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Colombia District



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Reaction of the Population

March for climate, job and justice

On April 29th 2017, students, workers, faith communities, indigenous Nations, community organizations, and environmental groups joined together to make it clear that this resistance will defend society and human rights, now and forever.

According to the participants the march was a beautiful, hopeful moment, that will chart another path for America: away from Trump's agenda for a cruel, polluted and divided country, and towards a clean energy economy that works for everyone.



The march was a huge success: 200,000 people participating in Washington, D.C., and tens of thousands more taking part at over 370 sister marches across the country



Native Americans

Over the past months, hundreds of indigenous persons and their allies have gathered near the Cannon Ball rivers in the ancestral territories of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe.

Crossing of the Missouri and using nonviolent means, their goal is to stop the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) that would connect production fields in North Dakota to refineries in Illinois. The protest against the pipeline has become an international rallying cry for indigenous rights and climate change activism.

Reaction of the Scientists

Some scientists also reacted sharply to expected Trump's administration moves. It is "a nightmare" that has « put a climate denier in charge of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency until they can kill it and derail potentially the Paris climate negotiations. » said David Archer, professor of geophysical sciences at the University of Chicago

The role of climate scientists during the Trump administration will be "staying out of jail, keeping research going, advocacy," he added.



Reaction of US - Army

A coalition of 25 military and national security experts, including former advisers to Ronald Reagan and George W Bush, has warned that climate change poses a "significant risk to US national security and international security" that requires more attention from the US federal government.



Tests of the Orion spacecraft were made at Naval Station Norfolk in August 2013. The low-lying base is at risk from rising seas.

«Climate change is a challenge that requires a broader, whole-of government response. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department of Defense plays its appropriate role within such a response by addressing national security aspects.»

James Mattis, Secretary of Defense (2017)

Conclusions

On November 6, 2012, Donald Trump tweeted about climate change and the Chinese responsibility. On the campaign trail 2016, Trump called climate change a "hoax". After his election, he sarcastically said on Fox-News "It'll get cooler, it'll get warmer, it's called weather". He named Oklahoma Attorney General Scott Pruitt as his choice for head of the Environmental Protection Agency, though Pruitt is a climate change doubter. In early 2017 he signed an executive order to overhaul Obama's Clean Power Plan, which regulates carbon emissions from fossil-fuel burning electricity plants. The Paris agreement has been clearly questioned.

The reaction of the US democratic system is impressive and highlights its ability to balance the autocratic views of one of the most powerful man on this planet. Justice, US States and Cities, scientists, press, US-Army, powerful democratic movements all over the country are at work to combat the dismantling of the US climate change regulations and to commit themselves for a responsible and ambitious US climate policy. Favorable statements to Trump's ideas about climate change are particularly difficult to find.