The First 100 Days and Beyond

• Given the election, what can we expect next?
• Benchmarking this historical moment: the First 100 Days
• Trump’s Stated Agenda and his Actual Appointments
• Stepping back from the drama, is this a realignment election?
• The “Good, the Bad and the Ugly”: Longing and Belonging in Trumpland
Donald J. Trump, Billionaire Populist

- Appealed to tribal politics
- Charismatic nationalist
- A real man’s man
- Keeps it real by saying what he thinks
- Openly expresses our angers and anxieties
- Understands the threats to America
- Outsider who will “drain the swamp”
- Business acumen who can deal with foreign powers
- Smart enough to understand what we do not
Demagoguery, Demography & Democracy: Tribal Politics in the era of the selfie

- It was a question of character, though not the answer many presumed.
- The narcissism of the authoritarian leader had popular appeal.
  - Tweets and rallies fired up his base.
  - Attacks confirmed he was the ‘real deal’.
  - His followers trusted him more than the media.
  - He simplified all the complex issues.
  - Elites and experts could not explain him away.
  - Their criticisms confirmed his outsider status.
The paranoid is a militant leader . . . [who] does not see social conflict as something to be mediated and compromised, in the manner of the working politician. Since what is at stake is always a conflict between absolute good and absolute evil, what is necessary is not compromise but the will to fight things out to a finish. Since the enemy is thought of as being totally evil and totally unappeasable, he must be totally eliminated.
“America has been largely taken away from them and their kind, though they are determined to try to repossess it and to prevent the final destructive act of subversion. The old American virtues have already been eaten away by cosmopolitans and intellectuals; the old competitive capitalism has been gradually undermined by socialistic and communistic schemers; the old national security and independence have been destroyed by treasonous plots, having as their most powerful agents not merely outsiders and foreigners as of old but major statesmen who are at the very centers of American power. Their predecessors had discovered conspiracies; the modern radical right finds conspiracy to be betrayal from on high.”
Clinton was the perfect target for populist rage

“Lock her up”

• A career politician
• Seen as dishonest
• Not personable, not real
• Did not speak to working-class concerns
• Seemed to write off rural areas
• Dismissed anxieties of “deplorables”
• And on top of all that, she is a woman.
We need to look at Bill and Hillary Clinton in terms of the cultural warfare in this country in our politics and our media of the last 35 years. They are the central actors to some extent in the culture wars. They are the Antichrist of the other side. . . [The Clintons faced] what Barack Obama has faced from the Republicans. Vicious opposition. Some of it racist, some of it not. But you look at the kind of opposition that he has faced and you also have to look at it as an extension to some extent of what the Clintons have faced.

Carl Bernstein CNN Interview
“Who Is Hillary Clinton?”
the Alt Right
Antigovernment, White nationalism attacks immigration, multiculturalism & feminism

- Uses social media to attack journalists, traditional conservatives, Jews & liberals
- Uses memes such as “feminism is cancer” & other racist and sexist stereotypes
- Promoted birther movement, Tea Party and figures such as Sarah Palin
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Is Donald Trump conservative?
Ben Shapiro, Breitbart (1/24/16)

• **Immigration.** After a career of flip-flopping on immigration (and hiring illegals at his golf courses), Trump has taken the most right-wing position in this race. . . .

• **Foreign Policy.** Trump’s been all over the place here. He’s said we should leave the Islamic State to Russia and expressed sympathy for Russian dictator Vladimir Putin, but also said that we should “bomb the s***” out of ISIS. He has both said that he would topple Bashar Assad and that he would not arm the Syrian rebels. . . .

• **Abortion.** Trump says he’s pro-life. [Cites previous states on his being “very pro-choice” and “pro-life, with the caveats. You have to have the caveats.”]

• **Entitlements.** Unlike virtually all the other Republican candidates, Trump has said he wouldn’t touch entitlements. . . .

• **Government Involvement In The Economy.** . . . He’s admitted over and over to paying elected officials to grease the skids on his deals. . . .

• **Education.** Trump opposes Common Core but has flip-flopped on whether he’d do away with the Department of Education. . . .

• **Healthcare.** Trump says he’d dump Obamacare but then praises the nationalized health care system of Canada and Great Britain.

• **Tax Plan.** Trump’s tax plan is certainly conservative. . . .

• **Trade.** Trump is for international tariffs, including an extraordinarily heavy tariff on Chinese goods, in the mistaken belief that this . . . helps the American economy. . . .
The First 100 Days?

• FDR first used the phrase and set the standard
• Other successful launches include LBJ and Reagan
• Carter and Clinton administrations stumbled into office
• Obama’s administration provides our latest case in point
• Trump’s “1st Day Project” promises to “erase Obama’s Presidency” with a few hours of repealing executive orders
• Other major policy initiatives such as the Paris Agreement on climate control can be renounced and later repealed
“The First Day Project” Trump plans to spend hours signing papers to “erase the Obama Presidency.”

Campaign Commitments:

• “Repeal and Replace Obamacare”
• Institute “biggest tax cut since Ronald Reagan” ($600B+ over 10 yrs.)
• Invest $1 trillion in infrastructure
• Build Mexican border wall
• End Executive Orders and begin mass deportations
• Pull out of Paris Accord on greenhouse gases
• Ban visas from “troubled” Muslim nations
• End NAFTA and other trade agreements
• Impose tariffs on China and others
• Appoint conservative pro-life Supreme Court Justice
Percentage Uninsured in the U.S., by Quarter

Do you have health insurance coverage? Among adults aged 18 and older

% Uninsured

Q1 2008 | Q1 2009 | Q1 2010 | Q1 2011 | Q1 2012 | Q1 2013 | Q1 2014 | Q1 2015 | Q1 2016

14.6% | 16.9% | 15.0% | 14.2% | 13.4% | 13.2% | 11.0% |

Source: Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index
FIGURE 12. Percent of adults in the U.S. who say their health insurance benefits, co-pays and deductibles, and premiums have increased, decreased, or stayed about the same over the past two years (Q63 a-b, 64).

- **Benefits**:
  - Decreased: 12%
  - Stayed about the Same: 70%
  - Increased: 16%

- **Co-pays and deductible**:
  - Decreased: 4%
  - Stayed about the Same: 56%
  - Increased: 35%

- **Premium**:
  - Decreased: 4%
  - Stayed about the Same: 46%
  - Increased: 45%
The red ink has led to the collapse of two-thirds of 23 new nonprofit health plans that were established with federal loan dollars to increase competition in the state exchanges where customers shop for policies. And UnitedHealth Group is largely getting out of the Obamacare business because of anticipated losses of $650 million this year.
The Black Swan President

• ‘The worst-case scenario no longer comes from ongoing gridlock but from unrestrained power.’
• ‘Worst case: President Trump encounters a foreign policy crisis.’
• ‘Building the wall ... is not part of a worst-case scenario.’
• ‘The worse scenario would be if the president-elect were to pursue trade protectionist measures.’
• ‘We need a movement that meets his bad ideas at every turn.’ ‘Perhaps the best check on President Trump will be an organized Left, one capable of enough unity to prevent what could not be stopped on Election Day.’
• ‘He could easily cause as many deaths and inflict as much hardship [as the Iraq War] ... by reversing the world’s progress to combat climate change.’
A political leader bends to the world, not the other way around.’

- ‘A best-case scenario for Trump would be for him to rationally pursue his policy objectives.’
- ‘A Trump presidency may give the legislature the chance to restore some of its long-lost luster.’
- Trump should focus on campaign policies ‘that can command significant Democratic support.’ [taxes & infrastructure]
- ‘The way for the best-case scenario to happen is for him to appoint largely non-ideological businesspeople to senior positions’
- ‘Top talent in the GOP (and maybe Democrats) [must] … ensure that Trump doesn’t become isolated or isolate himself.’
- ‘A best case scenario: He works with Republicans and moderate Democrats in Congress to reform healthcare after abolishing Obamacare.’
Is this a realignment election?

1. The disruption of the existing political order because of the emergence of one or more unusually powerful and divisive issues
2. An election contest in which the voters shift their support strongly in favor of one party
3. A major change in policy brought about through the action of the stronger party
4. An enduring change in party coalitions, which works to the lasting advantage of the dominant party

A central component of realignment is the change in behavior of voting groups. Realignment means the switching of voter preference from one party to another, in contrast to dealignment (where a voter group abandons a party to become independent or nonvoting).

In “Trump voters will not like what happens next,” Garrison Keillor, noted on the morning after that millions of “elitist liberals. . . exhausted from thinking about this election. . . will take up leaf-raking and garage cleaning with intense pleasure.”

“We liberal elitists are now completely in the clear. The government is in Republican hands. Let them deal with him. Democrats can spend four years raising heirloom tomatoes, meditating, reading Jane Austen, traveling around the country, tasting artisan beers, and let the Republicans build the wall and carry on the trade war with China and deport the undocumented and deal with opioids, and we Democrats can go for a long, brisk walk and smell the roses.”

Why we should embrace the Good, the Bad & the Ugly

Since democracy is a form of dependency on the will of others, we need to work a lot harder to overcome our narcissism and belief that we know best.

Many feel understandably uncomfortable or afraid because recent events have forced them to look into the eye of the tiger and they don’t like what they see—a landscape characterized by illiberal values like racism, sexism and anti-immigrant sentiment. One way to deal with this discomfort is to push it aside, assuming that opinions we disagree with are simply a temporary product of economic insecurity and Trump’s populist appeal.
Capitalism and technological progress have undermined our sense of belonging for large numbers of people who are no longer required in the labour market and are increasingly seen as disposable. While liberal modernity has undoubtedly brought us many positives... it has also pushed many people further into isolation and loneliness because they feel they are no longer needed, creating a void which must be filled.

Only when we act from the centre of our existence— with all the good, the bad and the ugly that this entails— can we truly empathise with another human being and their suffering, not looking down at them from above or patronising them... We should not accept racism or sexism or homophobia, but we can take an active interest in listening to and understanding the pain that lies at the root.
Each of the two parts of the scale contained questions related to each foundation:

1) harm/care,
2) fairness/reciprocity (including issues of rights),
3) ingroup/loyalty,
4) authority/respect, and
5) purity/sanctity.
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The idea behind the scale is that human morality is the result of biological and cultural evolutionary processes that made human beings very sensitive to many different (and often competing) issues. Some of these issues are about treating other individuals well (the first two foundations - harm and fairness). Other issues are about how to be a good member of a group or supporter of social order and tradition (the last three foundations). Political liberals generally place a higher value on the first two foundations. Political conservatives care about harm and fairness too, but conservatives score slightly higher on the ingroup/loyalty foundation, and much higher on the authority/respect and purity/sanctity foundations.
Part 1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please answer on a scale from Not At All Relevant to Extremely Relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong)

1. Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority.
2. Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country.
3. Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty.
4. Whether or not some people were treated differently than others.
5. Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable.
6. Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of.
7. Whether or not someone was cruel.
8. Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights.
9. Whether or not someone acted unfairly.
10. Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency.
11. Whether or not someone did something disgusting.
12. Whether or not someone was good at math.
1. If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.
2. People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.
3. I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.
4. It can never be right to kill a human being.
5. I am proud of my country's history.
6. Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.
7. When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.
8. Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.
9. One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.
10. Men and women each have different roles to play in society.
11. People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.
12. I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.
Think of this ladder, to the right, as representing where people stand in your country. At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off—those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off. Where would you place yourself on this ladder?
Do you live in a bubble?

- Have you ever lived for at least a year in an American neighborhood in which most of your neighbors did not have college degrees?
- Did you grow up in a family in which the chief breadwinner was not in a managerial position or a high-prestige profession?
- Have you ever lived for at least a year in a community with fewer than 50,000 that is not part of a metropolitan area?
- Have you ever walked on a factory floor?
- Have you held a job that caused you to hurt at the end of the day?
- Have you ever had a close friend who was an evangelical Christian?
- Do you now have a close friend with whom you politically disagree?
- Do you know what military ranks are denoted by these five insignia?
Donald Trump is going to be President. This is what we do next.

John Schwartz
• If you can, make politics one of the centers of your life. Twenty years ago U.S. elites had so successfully depoliticized America that simply caring about politics was like having a super-weird hobby.

• White liberals must step up right now in the right way. The role for older, richer white liberals will be . . . to support other people’s priorities, put up money for things they don’t control and use all of their social power to protect Muslims, immigrants, and other minorities.

• We need a story. The core belief of the technocrats who run the Democratic Party is that people rationally evaluate facts and then make decisions. In reality, humans all have an emotional, internally consistent story running inside them all the time about the world and their place in it – and if they encounter any “facts” that contradict this story, the facts just bounce right off.

• We don’t need a third party, we just need a party. When and where are the next Democratic and Republican Party meetings in your neighborhood?