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Reflexion of Donald Trump in the American Media

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl jsem úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.

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Introduction

In November 2016, Donald J. Trump, a business man and a well-known public figure with almost no political history won the 58th US presidential election and legally became a president of the US. The win of the republican candidate divided not only United States, but the whole world into two halves. With one half celebrating the win of the unachievable, the other half thought that the result was a worldwide catastrophe. But most certainly, many people asked “How?” and “Why?”.

I certainly do not have an ambition to provide answers to these questions, but rather suggestions of possible answers. However, the aim of this master’s thesis is to cover aspects that are habitually linked to Donald Trump’s persona and provide his reflection in two American papers – the *New York Times* and the *New Yorker*. With both papers being located in a predominantly democrat region, the assumption is that the papers did depict Donald Trump in a negative manner, but I do believe, that the depiction did change towards the end of the election as the probability of Donald J. Trump becoming the President of the United States arose.

In its first part, this master’s thesis tracks the life of Donald Trump as well as deals with phenomena commonly connected to his persona – populism and political correctness. The aim of this part is to provide detailed descriptions of these terms and try to highlight the characteristic behavior of Donald Trump in the light of these phenomena.

The second part deals with newspaper articles of one of the most read newspapers in the US. The period I am focusing on starts on June 16, 2015, when Donald J. Trump officially announced his candidacy. The other milestone being the actual election that took place on November 8, 2016. The second part also includes a track of Donald Trump’s popularity, which is measured by the number of his followers on a social website Twitter as well as by the number of mentioning in the two papers.

1. Donald Trump's Biography

To bring Donald Trump closer to the reader, I find it necessary to refer to some aspects of his life. The next section is therefore not a chronological, comprehensive biography of Trump, but rather highlights of those events and experience that might have had an impact on shaping his personality or are universally linked to Donald Trump.

Donald J. Trump was born on June 14th 1946 in Queens, New York. His father Frederic C. Trump had a great impact on him, as he says: "The most important influence on me, growing up, was my father, Fred Trump. I learned a lot from him. I learned about toughness in a very tough business, I learned about motivating people and I learned about competence and efficiency: get in, get it done, get it done right and get out."¹ Donald's mother, Mary A. Macleod influenced Donald Trump as well: "Looking back, I realize now that I got some of sense of showmanship from my mother. She always had a flair for the dramatic and the grand."²

1.1 Frederic Christ Trump

Because Donald Trump in his memoirs, books and interviews mentions his father and the great influence he had on his own career and business, I find it almost necessary to include a small chapter dedicated to his life.

Frederick Christ Trump was born in New York on October 11, 1905. His father – Friedrich Trump – was a German immigrant, who came to America as Friedrich Drumpf in 1885. Upon arrival he changed his name to Trumpf and after seven years living in the US, he became an American citizen as Friedrich Trump.³ He started several businesses, made a fortune in the Klondike Gold Rush and finally, when a bridge connecting Queens and Manhattan was open in 1909, he realized that real estate is the new promising business for him. Based on his interest in real estate he started

¹ Donald J. Trump and Tony Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal* (New York: Random House, 1987), 45.

² Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 54-55.

³ Michael D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, trans. René Fejl (Praha: DOBROVSKÝ s.r.o., 2016), 41.

meeting people from the real estate business and sometimes took his son Fred with him.⁴

After his father's death, in 1918, the little Frederick became the man of the house. With mother Elizabeth working as a seamstress, financially supporting the household, Frederick started high school. By Donald Trump's own words, his father was always interested in construction and during his studies he began taking night classes in carpentry, plan reading and estimating.⁵ At the age of 21, an ambitious young Frederick C. Trump started a construction business along with his mother. It was a perfect time, because the population of New York was rapidly increasing. To build houses in Manhattan was extremely difficult, due to a tough competition. They started their business mostly in Brooklyn and Queens. The company E. Trump and Son was doing very well until the Great Depression, when the company bankrupted and Frederick was forced to leave the business and opened a grocery store.⁶ After 1934, when the Great Depression started to ease, Frederick Trump got back in the constructing business and this time he chose Flatbush area in Brooklyn. In 1936 he married Mary McLeod and together they brought up five children: Maryann, Fred, Donald, Elizabeth and Robert.

Fred Trump was not only a hard-working man, but he was very intelligent as well. In 1954 he was investigated for profiting from public contracts. According to Michael D'Antonio, he sat in front of the court on 12th July and impressively talked about how he legally profited from the program of FHA.⁷ In the end, no charges were pressed against him. There is no doubt that a good amount of the art of deal Donald Trump inherited from his father Frederick Trump.

1.2 Childhood

Donald Trump and his four siblings were growing up in Queens Jamaica Estate. They always had to work for their money and their father taught them discipline. However,

⁴ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 44.

⁵ Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 46.

⁶ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 44-45.

⁷ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 38.

they also benefited from the wealth their father managed to make – in the winter they would go on holiday to Florida, in the summer to Catskill. On the other hand, Fred Trump taught his children to respect the value of money. As Michael D’Antonio in his book mentions, they had to face an unusual combination of discipline, spoiling and superiority.⁸ Donald Trump was not an unresisting child. By his own words he was a very assertive and aggressive kid: “In the second grade I actually gave a teacher a black eye—I punched my music teacher because I didn’t think he knew anything about music and I almost got expelled. I’m not proud of that, but it’s clear evidence that early on I had a tendency to stand up and make my opinions known in a very forceful way. The difference now is that I like to use my brain instead of my fists.”⁹ Fred Christ Trump saw a particular similarity between him and his son. Donald Trump was the only child who followed the steps of his father. Frederick Trump would take him to construction site and little Donald would see how he acted around workers, how he negotiated and how he did the business. His sister Maryanne Barry later in an interview for a documentary admitted, that a lot of knowledge he acquired thanks to his father Frederick: “He learned at feet of a master and there was always business being discussed in terms of how you build a building, you know, how you get approvals, those types of things.”¹⁰ And even Donald himself stated, that he might have been unconsciously influenced by his father: “And I watched and it wasn’t that I even watched consciously. I’d be sitting on the floor playing with blocks as a three-year-old baby and he’d be on the floor talking to contractors about price and elevators and wood and you know, I mean, by the time I’m sixteen years old and I sort of knew everything about building buildings and I never studied, but I knew everything about it”.¹¹

⁸ D’Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 63.

⁹ Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 49.

¹⁰ “Donald Trump: Biography – Full Documentary,” YouTube video, 1:10.37, from a TV show televised on July 21, 1994, posted by “Luis Williams,” November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPggJnT1t2Y>.

¹¹ “Donald Trump: Biography – Full Documentary,” YouTube video, 1:10.37, from a TV show televised on July 21, 1994, posted by “Luis Williams,” November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPggJnT1t2Y>.

1.3. New York Military Academy - NYMA

When Donald Trump turned 13 years old, his father decided to send him to a military school. Donald went to the New York Military Academy in upstate New York. Although he was not excited about the idea at the very beginning, he admits, that he learned a lot about discipline and how to channel his aggression into achievements.¹² All the students of NYMA at that time were descendants of wealthy bankers of Wall Street, successful industrialists and oligarchs from South America. We can state that New York Military Academy educated elite's kids and as Michael D'Antonio mentions, the students were often reminded their position in society. NYMA was a place with rough regime and harsh laws of masculinity. Harry Falber—one of Trump's classmates—remembers the systematical bullying was even harsher than the disciplinary measures. At NYMA, Donald Trump met with a teacher Theodor Dobias, whom he later described as his second role model, after his father Fred Trump.¹³ According to Donald Trump's words, Theodor Tobias was: "very tough and very rough, the kind of guy who could slam into a goalpost wearing a football helmet and break the post rather than his head."¹⁴

At NYMA, Donald experienced his first "five seconds of fame". In his third year at NYMA, an article was published about him winning a trophy for NYMA. Michael D'Antonio states, that this little spark has probably lighted up a fire, that will light for the rest of Donald Trump's life.¹⁵

After graduation from the academy in 1964, Donald flirted with the idea of attending a film school at the University of Southern California, but then decided for real estate and started attending Fordham University.¹⁶ Later Donald applied to the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania, which he finished and graduated from in 1968.

¹² Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 50.

¹³ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 69.

¹⁴ Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 50.

¹⁵ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 71.

¹⁶ Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 53.

1.4. The Commodore Hotel and Trump Tower

After Donald Trump's graduation from Wharton School of Finance, he immediately joined his father's business. He took part in some projects in Queens and Brooklyn, which were the main focuses of his father. However, he was interested in a different location: "...Donald Trump was looking across the east river into the skies of Manhattan. At a skyline, he would one day change...".¹⁷ In 1971, Mr. Trump rented an apartment in Manhattan and moved there. Living in Manhattan allowed the young business man to get to know the properties and location better. One of the first things Donald Trump did was join Le Club, which was according to his own words "the hottest club in the city and perhaps the most exclusive—like Studio 54 at its height."¹⁸ However, according to Micheal D'Antonio, Le Club was just about status. It was just about being seen in public as somebody, who is powerful and attractive, being photographed next to a celebrity and therefore becoming one.¹⁹

The first famous deal Donald Trump was able to make in Manhattan was in 1974 the Commodore hotel on the 42nd Street. At that time, the city was in financial crisis and to buy a property in such a bad condition seemed as not a profitable move: "I mean, he has told me about what he had in mind for the Commodore, asked my opinion and I basically told him he was crazy."²⁰ The building was in atrocious condition. The once famous lobby was on some days used for flea markets. The rooms were dark. Because of the horrendous condition, the Trump Organization decided to rebuilt the whole building and the costs rose to \$100 million dollars. Donald Trump managed to persuade the Hyatt Cooperation and therefore transform the old Commodore hotel into glass-facade brand new hotel till this day known as the Grand Hyatt New York.

¹⁷ "Donald Trump: Biography – Full Documentary," YouTube video, 1:10.37, from a TV show televised on July 21, 1994, posted by "Luis Williams," November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPggJnT1t2Y>.

¹⁸ Trump and Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, 65.

¹⁹ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 105.

²⁰ "Donald Trump: Biography – Full Documentary," YouTube video, 1:10.37, from a TV show televised on July 21, 1994, posted by "Luis Williams," November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPggJnT1t2Y>.

Probably one of the most famous of Trump's many buildings is the Trump Tower, located at Fifth Avenue between 56th and 57th Streets. The property got Donald Trump's interest already in 1971. Back then, the address belonged to a eleven-story building housing Bonwit Teller. Bonwit Teller store was owned by a company called Genesco and in 1975 Trump managed a meeting with Franklin Jarman, the founder's son, to discuss his interests in the property. He was refused, but in few years the company got into financial crisis and that was an opportunity that Donald sensed. After signing several contracts and purchasing many air rights, which were necessary for the construction, as the building was located in a special zoning district, in 1979 Trump purchased the property. The fifty-eight-story building called Trump Tower was finished in 1983 and it represented Donald Trump trademark in all aspects. With its marble atrium and golden escalator, Trump Tower is a set of luxury and extravaganza. One of the main goals was to bring attention and sell the apartments in the Tower to celebrities and famous people and therefore to attract more attention. Donald Trump was successful in this as many celebrities, including Michael Jackson purchased a piece of the famous Trump Tower.

1.5. Celebrity Donald Trump

Donald Trump has always attracted media's attention. We can classify his persona as a celebrity already from the 1970s. Even then Trump appeared several times on covers of magazines like *GQ*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Business Week*, *Fortune*, *Manhattan Inc.* and *New York*. He is a product of American media: "... Donald Trump is a creation of the American media and entertainment industry. For decades, that industry publicized him, coddled him, mocked him, profit from him. It built him up. Allowed him to spread the myth of Trump, of the strong, successful, decisive, take-no-prisoners business tycoon."²¹ The phenomenon of Trump's "fake news" is not new as well. In the past, Donald Trump accused journalists of misinterpreting his statements and in few cases threatened to sue the journalist. Michael D'Antonio attaches the misinterpretation to

²¹ Matthew Continetti, "Donald Trump, Media Darling," *Commentary* 142, no. 4 (2016): 56, *Literature Resource Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 19, 2017).

the fact, that Trump often changes and updates his statements so even the best researcher can get lost in all his accounts.²²

In 1980s the public was exposed to a new format of TV entertainment. The format that is still alive today—reality show. The popularity of the new form was so colossal, that many TV reality shows were profitable even before a premier of their first episode. Donald Trump saw the potential and made a deal with Mark Burnett – a TV producer, who brought to American continent TV shows like *Survivor*, *Eco-Challenge* etc. Together, they filmed the first series of TV show called *The Apprentice*.²³ The regular appearance on TV screens provided Trump even more publicity and his famous phrase: "You're fired!" became a common knowledge of American society.

These aspects of him with connection to his success in his candidature for the highest office leads us to question, how did Trump manage to win with the record he had, because until then, voters did not fall for a celebrity in presidential elections. Yet, Donald Trump managed to demolish the line between celebrity and political achievement.²⁴ Many believes that it is the Trump's obsession with the media and the media's obsession with Trump, that helped him to win the highest political post. However, as E.J. Dionne reminds, back in 2008 the label "celebrity" was used to evoke a negative connotation in a presidential runner: "Consider John McCain's signature attack on Barrack Obama in 2008 in a commercial that began with the words: "He's the biggest celebrity in the world." The ad's next line captured the old war hero's disdain for his opponent and his fame: "But is he ready to lead?"²⁵ Clearly, the ad's purpose was to remind the viewer that electing someone purely for being a celebrity is in contradictory with a reasonable logic. On the other hand, the celebrity status may have as well contributed to the win of Trump. As Fuchsman in his paper "The Presidential Campaign That Astounded the World: A Psychohistory of Donald Trump and the 2016 American Election" suggests, there are several cultural aspects that may have led to the win of the celebrity Donald Trump. The first thing Fuchsman points out

²² D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 179.

²³ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 300-310.

²⁴ E.J. Dionne Jr., "The Irony of Celebrity Populism: How Trump Exposes the Weakness of our Political Culture," *Commonweal* 143, no. 9 (May 20, 2016): 6, *Literature Resource Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 13, 2017).

²⁵ Dionne Jr., "The Irony of Celebrity Populism," 6.

is the Electoral College, which allows the candidate to win the election even when the majority of citizens voted against him.

Secondly, Fuchsman mentions the length of the presidential campaigns: “No other industrial nation has as lengthy election seasons as we do, The British elections last four weeks, the official French campaign is either two or three weeks, and the Germans about a month (Library Congress). With these much shorter campaigns, the focus for the public and politicians is more on governing than running for office.”²⁶ And Donald Trump with his controversial statements, saying dreadful comments about his opponents managed to keep the audience interested for the whole time.

Another important aspect is the media, which according to Fuchsman tend to “focus on the contest rather than policy, and on personality rather than issues.”²⁷ Donald Trump got more attention during the primary season than any other of his opponents and “his rallies were televised live on cable news channel, which is a privilege rarely granted to his opponents.”²⁸ Out of 701 minutes covering the Republican candidates a year prior to the general elections, 327 minutes (more than a half) were dedicated to Donald Trump.²⁹

1.6. Political Activity – The Reform Party

One of the most resonating criticisms towards Donald Trump as a presidential candidate was his lack of political experience. Fuchsman compares the British system with America stating, that with no political experience, Trump would never become a Prime Minister nor he would become a President in Great Britain.³⁰ Even though, many people reproach Trump for not having enough political experience, this rebuke is not totally accurate. The truth is, on some occasions, Donald Trump played with the idea of

²⁶ Ken Fuchsman, “The Presidential Campaign That Astounded the World: A Psychohistory of Donald Trump and the 2016 American Election,” *Journal Of Psychohistory* 44, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 299, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 9, 2017).

²⁷ Fuchsman, “The Presidential Campaign That Astounded the World,” 301.

²⁸ Fuchsman, “The Presidential Campaign That Astounded the World,” 302.

²⁹ Alexandru-Vasile Sava, “Political Identity, Decision Making and Communication in the Age of Digital Media: A Case Study on the 2016 US Elections,” *Journal Of Media Research* 10, no. 2 (2017): 71, *Central & Eastern European Academic Source*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 9, 2017).

³⁰ Fuchsman, “The Presidential Campaign That Astounded the World,” 299.

entering the political scene. In 1999, he resigned his Republican Party registration and he joined the Reform Party of the United States of America. The Reform Party was preparing its own presidential candidate for the 2000 Presidential elections. Donald Trump even announced his deliberation over presidential candidacy. As Michael D'Antonio in his book reveals, even then Donald Trump was very generous with his politically incorrect comments towards other candidates even then. He described the other Reform Party candidate Pat Buchan as a person who loves Hitler, is anti-Semite and that most-likely he hates homosexuals as well.³¹ However, in February 2000, Donald Trump announced that he would not pursue the party's nomination, even though he believes, he would win if he attempted to. As the reason, Mr. Trump mentioned that he did not believe, that the Reform Party candidate (whoever it would be), would have no chance winning.

Interestingly, the opinion of other presidential candidates towards Donald Trump did not rapidly change since 2000. Pat Chloé, the head of the Reform Party then, described Donald Trump as a "hustler" and said that "he had never believed that Mr. Trump had any interest beyond promoting himself and a new book that happened to be published at exactly the time he started his light schedule of campaign travel." He then added, that the Reform Party officials had not seen any seriousness in Donald Trump's candidacy: "All this was, was a serious hustle of the media, and I think the media should send him a massive bill on it."³²

2. Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness

Many people believe that the success of Donald Trump's campaign is rooted in his lack of political correctness, more specifically in his political incorrectness (PIC). Roger L. Martin says, he created a new category of presidential candidate—the politically incorrect candidate: "..., this was such expected behavior by Donald Trump that during the primary the media largely covered him as a classic outsider candidate, even though he was doing something radically different. What he was doing was

³¹ D'Antonio, *Nespokojený*, 289.

³² Adam Nagourney, "Reform Bid Said To Be A No-Go For Trump," *New York Times*, February 14, 2000. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/02/14/us/reform-bid-said-to-be-a-no-go-for-trump.html>

creating with precise and relentless consistency an entirely new category in the minds of voters: the politically incorrect candidate. He has since monopolized that new category.”³³ This, however, is in contradiction to what Robert Folsom says in his article. He states that Donald Trump did not have a monopoly on political incorrectness in the 2016 campaign. He mentions Ted Cruz’s statement about the Iran nuclear deal, Chris Christies comment on Syrian refugees and some others.³⁴ Nevertheless, Donald Trump and his statements appear to be more noticeable and louder than those of the other candidates: “Trump’s candidacy has already left a durable mark, expanding the discourse of hate such that, in the midst of his feuds and provocations, we barely even registered that Senator Ted Cruz had called the sitting President “the world’s leading financier of radical Islamic terrorism,” or that Senator Marco Rubio had redoubled his opposition to abortion in cases of rape, incest, or a mortal threat to the mother.”³⁵ Regardless the possession of monopoly over the “PIC presidential candidate” category, we can agree that he became the most visible enemy to the PC society.

In his book Donald J. Trump mentions that the political incorrectness is something people want to hear: “I’m perhaps a controversial person. I say what’s on my mind. I don’t wait to hear what a pollster has to say because I don’t use pollsters. The media loves my candor. They know I’m not going to dodge or ignore their questions. I have no problem telling it like it is.”³⁶ Then Mr. Trump mentions the enormous number of viewers of the presidential debates broadcast and he also believes that he should be credited for it: “Why do you think people tuned in? To hear the nasty questions? To watch a bunch of politicians trying to pretend they are outsiders (like I truly am) so they can be more successful? The fact is I give people what they need and deserve to hear—and that is The Truth. Our country is a mess right now and we don’t have time to pretend otherwise. We don’t have time to waste on being

³³ Roger L. Martin, “How the Attacks on Trump Reinforce His Strategy,” *Harvard Business Review Digital Articles* (January 2017): 3, *Business Source Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 12, 2017).

³⁴ Robert Folsom, “Why Trump, Why Now? The Violent Death of Political Correctness,” *Socionomist*, (March 2016): 6, *Business Source Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 12, 2017).

³⁵ Evan Osnos, “The Fearful and the Frustrated,” *New Yorker*, August 31, 2015, 59, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-08-31#folio=58>.

³⁶ Donald Trump, *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again*, (New York: Threshold Editions, 2015), 7.

politically correct.”³⁷ Simon Western in his paper also believes, that the political incorrectness is one of the reasons of his successful presidential run: “Hearing Donald Trump speaking plainly about what he believes is attractive to many who are not signed up to PC culture, but feel coerced to conform to it. This probably explains why Trump has had a good run in his political campaign.”³⁸ Roger L. Martin presents another perspective when he sees Trump’s PIC rhetoric as a tool for attracting customers, like in business and adds the factor of consistency and familiarity of the “product” in Donald Trump’s success: “Customers create categorical boundaries in their minds – e.g., Chinese restaurants, sporty cars, blue jeans – and within those boundaries they are disproportionately inclined to choose the product that feels the most natural, familiar, and comfortable to them. Because the mind craves simplicity consistency, the product that feels most comfortable tends to be the one with which people have a long and dependable experience. For example, someone’s favorite Chinese restaurant is their favorite because they have gone there most often and know the people and the menu and the layout best.”³⁹ Roger L. Martin later suggests, that by being politically incorrect, Donald Trump positions himself into his own category. A category, which is different from other candidates and therefore, he is able to create a “product” that voters find familiar and comfortable. Therefore, he never apologizes for his politically incorrect comments.⁴⁰

2.1 Political Correctness

According to Simon Western, political correctness is centered around human rights and values such as being anti-racist and anti-sexist. However, this liberal ideology, or “illiberal liberalism” as the author labels it, strives for more authoritarian settlement, based on intolerance of others. It limits free speech, therefore free thinking.⁴¹ Simon

³⁷ Donald Trump, *Crippled America*, 8.

³⁸ Simon Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness: A Psychoanalytic Study of New Authoritarians,” *Organisational & Social Dynamics* 16, no.1 (2016): 73, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 25, 2017).

³⁹ Martin, “How the Attacks on Trump Reinforce His Strategy,” 3.

⁴⁰ Martin, “How the Attacks on Trump Reinforce His Strategy,” 3.

⁴¹ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 70.

Western thinks, that political correctness over the years turned into an “authoritarian movement that has two aims the first explicit and the second implicit:

1. To protect marginalized and oppressed groups against racism, homophobia, misogyny (at cost of free speech and free thought).
2. To protect everybody from being emotionally wounded and hurt”⁴²

To better understand the terms political correctness (PC) and political incorrectness (PIC) I believe it is necessary to describe the two in more detail.

Simon Western in his paper divides PC and PIC into two tribes, both dominating in different areas. He states that those tribes get pleasure in three different ways. PC culture is characterized by masochism, idealized selves and passive aggression.

Masochism is later described as the enjoyment of being a victim. As Simon Western mentions: “Their masochistic pleasure, the enjoyment they get from experiencing the pain of being emotionally hurt and from complaining about it, relies on the “bad other” dishing out pain (via political incorrectness).”⁴³

In case of “idealized selves”, Simon Western compare the PC culture to Christian missionaries, that believed they had god on their side and “the other” had fallen from grace and needed redemption whatever the barbaric cost.”⁴⁴ The idealized selves are characterized by enjoying their moral superiority and more righteous, enlightened, cultured, and educated status.⁴⁵

Another characteristic of the PC tribe is its passive aggression. The aggression is pointed at the less educated and less informed in PC culture. Those who may have, even accidentally make a mistake, are punish with social exclusion or humiliation. The aggression is also aimed at those who do not keep up with extension of their ideology into a new terrain.⁴⁶

⁴² Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 70.

⁴³ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 74.

⁴⁴ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 74.

⁴⁵ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 74.

⁴⁶ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 74.

To be more specific, I find it necessary to concentrate on American society and American culture. The principles of the PC culture behave differently in different locations. American society and its values are very specific and they differ from the European region. Also the phenomenon of the PC/PIC is more aggressive and more evolved in the US. Robert Folsom points out, that there is a built-in friction between two American ideals. The one being the ideal of the free speech and the second one being the ideal of inclusion—multiculturalism. Notwithstanding the fact that the location is very important in the context of political (in)correction, Robert Folsom also believes that a very important aspect of it is time: “The answer depends on when, because at any given time, social mood exerts the critical influence. A turn toward more positive mood shifts the emphasis to inclusion; whatever its flaws, political correctness is about making people “feel included” (and censure speech critical of gender, ethnicity, religion, etc.). Conversely, negative mood shifts the emphasis back toward anything-goes free speech.”⁴⁷

2.2 Political Incorrectness

According to Simon Western, prior to 1980s political incorrectness was fairly mainstream and people were rather unaware of the deeper implications. Especially in a male environment, the nowadays PIC manner would not be perceived as something reprehensible, but rather as a joke or a teasing that has been passed on by a previous generation. On the other hand, in PIC speech today has changed with relation to the rise of PC culture and social changes: “It is no-longer just banter or the norm among certain uneducated or unaware groups. To speak politically incorrectly is to take a risk, and to take an active stance against PC culture and a PC liberal establishment. Those who do speak out in PIC terms, such as Donald Trump and Ben Carson in the US are heroes to their followers: ...”.⁴⁸ By the followers the author means the people who are not signed to the politically correct authoritarian movement and feel coerced to

⁴⁷ Folsom, “Why Trump, Why Now? The Violent Death of Political Correctness,” 6.

⁴⁸ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 73.

conform to it. Simon Western also argues that this might be the reason of the success of the Donald Trump's campaign.⁴⁹

As in the previous chapter about political correctness, I will mention PIC tribe's three ways of getting pleasure. First of them being sadism. The author states that the PIC group enjoy the aggressive attacks and particularly picking on vulnerable groups. This can be illustrated by Donald Trump's statement about Hispanic people, Ted Cruz's attitude towards Syrian refugees and many others. PIC personality creates an opportunity for the audience and their followers. As Simon Western says: "... Trump can stimulate the pleasure of voyeurism as watching Trump can be exciting, not knowing what he will say next and watching him launch another PIC attack on an opponent. From the safety of the television screen or live audience the voyeur can enjoy the spectacle, ..."50

Paranoid nostalgia is another way of getting an enjoyment and pleasure for a PIC tribe. It means going back to a time before what they perceive as a current crisis. This can be demonstrated even in the slogan that Donald Trump used for his campaign: "Make America great again". The comments Mr. Trump made during the run for the office are full of nostalgic comments: "This is America today, the shining city on a hill, which other countries used to admire and try to be like. So what can be done about it? How do we start winning again?"51, "We can take a crippled country and make it great again. Our country has been allowed to languish and become a tarnished, second-class place in the eyes of the world."52 Paranoia functions as a rationalizing element for the aggression.⁵³

The last mean to get pleasure for politically incorrect tribe is called the "grandiose self". Similarly, to the idealized-self of PC tribe. The PIC tribe feels to be righteous, inferior, dominant and superior. While the PC tribe is identified as "self-

⁴⁹ Western, "Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness," 73.

⁵⁰ Western, "Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness," 75.

⁵¹ Donald Trump, *Crippled America*, 3.

⁵² Donald Trump, *Crippled America*, 161.

⁵³ Western, "Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness," 76.

wounded”, the PIC tribe can be characterized as “self-celebrated”, as a tribe that celebrates itself as having unlimited potential.⁵⁴

To sum up, we can clearly see the similarities between the two tribes. Both of them are aggressive towards the other and both idealize themselves. The PC tribe forage for situations to feel self-wounded, the PIC tribe seeks the opportunity to commence its form of aggression and feel self-celebrated.

3. Populism

Another resonating characteristic of Donald Trump as a political candidate is him being described as a populist. Some believe that Trump’s populist practices are the most alarming examples in the history of most of the North Atlantic World.⁵⁵ On September 2015, the *New Yorker* published an article “The Populist” in its issues, in which the author presents the reasons for labeling Trump a populist. The article compares Donald Trump with another Republican candidate – Bernie Sanders. Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump were compared several times for their resemblance. In the article populism is portrayed rhetoric, that “speaks of a battle of good against evil, demanding simple answers to difficult problems. (Trump: “Trade? We’re gonna fix it. Health care? We’re gonna fix it.”)⁵⁶ Before we even start to consider this label, I assume it is necessary to understand what populism is.

3.1. History of Populism

Trump is definitely not the first and most likely not the last political actor labelled as a populist. The etymology of the term goes back to Ancient Rome, where the politicians looking for a public support were called *populares*. David Marquand in

⁵⁴ Western, “Political Correctness and Political Incorrectness,” 76.

⁵⁵ David Marquand, “The People is Sublime: From Robespierre to Donald Trump, Populism Has a Long History.” *New Statesment* 5376, no.146, (2017), *Literature Resource Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 30, 2017): 32.

⁵⁶ George Packer, “The Populist,” *New Yorker*, September 7, 2015, 23, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-09-07#folio=22>.

his essay mentions the first populist movements – the Jacobines during the French Revolution and refers to one of the Robespierre’s quotes: “The people is sublime, but individuals are weak” as the “cry of populists through ages.”⁵⁷ The first populist political party in American history was the People’s Party of 1890s. Despite its short lifespan (as most of the third parties), it managed to take control of several states. As well as Mr. Trump, it dealt with racial-nationalist issues. Its aim was to bar Chinese and Japanese workers from immigrating into the U.S. Another interesting populist party in the American history was the Workingmen’s Party of California (WPC). Michael Kazin in his article mentions their slogan: “The Chinese Must Go!”, which is strikingly resembling Donald Trump’s slogan “Make America Great Again”, specifically its battle cry “Build A Wall!”. The slogan brings up another feature of populist rhetoric and that is mythologizing the past. David Marquand presents several examples of mythologizing the past apart from the Trump’s slogan: Mussolini’s talks of returning to the Roman Empire, the mantra of Brexiteers in the referendum: “Take back control!”, Vladimir Putin’s attempts to restore the glory of tsarist Russia and Margaret Thatcher’s seeking to “revive the “vigorous virtues” of her Grantham childhood and the “Victorian values” that underpinned them.”⁵⁸ So as we can see, populism is not a new phenomenon. If we look further into the topic, we could surely bring more examples. If we look deeper into all the examples introduced above, we can sort out few characteristics of populism, which I would like to present in the following chapters.

3.2. “The People” vs. “The Elite”

Populism is believed to be “a form of politics predicated on the juxtaposition of a corrupt elite with a morally virtuous people”.⁵⁹ The question that emerges from this definition is: who is “the elite” and who is “the people”? As Mr. Bonikowski claims in his paper, “the elite” usually includes political actors, business leaders, etc., while the

⁵⁷ Marquand, “The People is Sublime,” 31.

⁵⁸ Marquand, “The People Is Sublime,” 33.

⁵⁹ Bart Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 23, no.1 (Fall/Winter 2016): 10, *Business Source Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 30, 2017),

boundaries placed around “the people” are less specific, because of the effort of populists to maximize the scope of their claims.⁶⁰ For the People’s Party in 1890s, “the people” were the “producing class”. Ronald Reagan claimed that he was speaking for the “taxpayers”. In case of Donald Trump, it is very difficult to understand who “the people” are. In his rhetoric, he speaks to “working families”, “middle class” and “American people”, which is, according to Michael Kazin, “a stark contrast to the vividness of his attacks, whether on Mexicans and Muslims or his political rivals...”.⁶¹ This can bring us back to 1782, when Crèvecoeur asked the question “What is an American?” and the question can still be relevant. However, in his paper Michael Kazin also admits, that for U.S. politicians it is becoming increasingly difficult to define “the people”: “Since the 1960s the United States has become an ever more multicultural nation. No one who seriously hopes to become a president can afford to talk about “the people” in ways that clearly exclude anyone who isn’t white and Christian. Even Trump, in the later months of his campaign, has tried to reach out, in a limited and somewhat awkward fashion, to African American and Latino citizens”.⁶² The fact, that in the later months of his campaign, Trump tried to reach out to a broader audience does not have to be a consequence of his incompetence of defying “the people”. It can be a consequence of partially abandoning the populist discourse of the beginning of his campaign. Bart Bonikowski in his paper tries to portrait populism as a discursive frame and a speech-level phenomenon and according to his research candidates “tend to tone down their populist rhetoric over the course of their campaigns as their audience expands from ardent supporters to the general electorate, which is more ideologically moderate than the party base and therefore less receptive to incendiary rhetoric.”⁶³

So as far as it is difficult to defy “the people” in Donald Trump’s rhetoric, it is very easy to defy “the elite”. In the preface of his book “Crippled America” Trump makes a clear statement of who is “the elite” in his eyes: the politicians, the lobbyists, the members of the media, the illegal immigrants, Congress and American judges and

⁶⁰ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 10.

⁶¹ Michael Kazin, “Trump and American Populism: Old Whine, New Bottles,” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no.6 (November/ December 2016): 23, *HeinOnline*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 28, 2017).

⁶² Kazin, “Trump and American Populism: Old Whine, New Bottles,” 23.

⁶³ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 16.

lawyers, so called representatives of “wise men”, who “have been stepping all over the US Constitution, the bulwark of our democracy.”⁶⁴ To vilify politicians, Congress and other political institutions is another characteristic feature, according to Bonikowski. In his paper, he claims that populism undermines political institutions and populist actors often deny the legitimacy of political institution, incumbents and the legitimacy of elections.⁶⁵ This happened in case of Donald Trump several times. Not only did he question Barack Obama’s nationality, during the second presidential debate, he announced that his opponent Hillary Clinton should be in jail. He even started to question the legitimacy of the elections that he won. When it was reported, that he lost the popular vote, he claimed that “millions voted illegally”. Mentioning the popular vote, I have to point out another perspective to which Andrew C. McCarthy in his article “Populism versus Populism”. If Donald Trump lost the popular vote, which means by nearly 3 million voters, is it still relevant to label him a populist?⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the phenomenon is far more complex to be ground with a simple definition.

3.3. Is Populism an Ideology?

Some scholars believe, that populism should be treated as an ideology. We should not meet any difficulties trying to group populist actors and analyze their ideas, motives, political positions and therefore defy populism as an ideology equal to other political ideologies like conservatism and liberalism. However, this is not the case of populism: “...unlike most political ideologies, populism is based on a rudimentary moral logic that has few direct policy implications and does not provide a general understanding of society or politics. In other words, populism does not offer a worldview; at best, it offers a simplistic critique of existing configuration of power.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Donald Trump, *Crippled America*, X.

⁶⁵ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 22.

⁶⁶ Andrew C. McCarthy, “Populism versus populism.” *New Criterion* 35, no. 6 (February 2017): 5. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 6, 2017).

⁶⁷ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 12.

Some scholars support the thin-centered theory that says, that populism is: “a set of relatively coherent but narrow propositions that are used to express more robust ideological perspectives, such as nativism or economic protectionism.”⁶⁸ On the other hand, as Bonikowski later claims, this description might be problematic, as it supposes that populism is a stable property. That would mean, that by looking at parties’ manifestos, we would be able to describe a party as a populist or not. This in fact, is in contradiction to Bonikowski’s findings that political actors tend to incline to populism selectively: “Empirical analyses show that many politicians often rely on populist language selectively, presenting the same political claims in either populist or non - populist terms depending on the audience and broader social context.”⁶⁹ Therefore, the populism seems to be better described as a political strategy, discourse or as sociologist use the term “frame”.

3.4. Populist Discourse

To look at populism as a political strategy, rhetoric or discourse, we have to explain the means and features of it as so. Bart Bonikowski uses a term “discursive frame” stating, that framing is basically presenting an issue from a certain perspective and therefore the political actor uses a discursive frame, in other to approach his audience. In that way, he can pick a frame that would be the most effective and suitable for the setting.⁷⁰ However, the rhetoric is usually used to appeal to the emotions of the audience and is very often used cynically and opportunistically. Regarding this, we could assume, that populism is very close to demagoguery.⁷¹ “Populism, thus, becomes a strategic tool selected based on context, with the latter consisting of the characteristics of the audience, the speaker’s own political background and career aspirations, and the political, and the political position of the speaker and his or her party.”⁷² We can apply this thought on Donald Trump’s

⁶⁸ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 13.

⁶⁹ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 13.

⁷⁰ Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 14.

⁷¹ Rafal Riedel, “Populism and Its Democratic, Non-Democratic, and Anti-Democratic Potential,” 290.

⁷² Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” 14.

behavior. Trump entered the run with a disadvantage. He became the only candidate with no political background. Despite his successful career and celebrity status, he was forced to create a position for himself. Therefore, he became the enemy of political correctness and the voice of “the people”. As we already covered Trump’s background and his political position, we also have to consider the context and the “frame” that he used. Trump definitely positioned himself as a politically incorrect candidate and political correctness or political incorrectness can be used in populist rhetoric to attract “the people”. As I mentioned earlier (see chapter 2.1 Political Correctness), the social mood plays a big role in accepting the PIC rhetoric. Robert Folsom believes, that Trump did not win the election despite the political incorrectness, but rather because of it and he claims that the most offending and most politically incorrect comments got the loudest applauses and approvals from his audience.⁷³ We can demonstrate that on his candidacy announcement speech that took place on June 16th 2015. In the speech Trump commented on illegal immigration, claiming that criminals, killers and rapists are crossing the southern border of the U.S. and that he wanted to build a wall to keep the illegal immigrants from crossing that border. As politically incorrect as it sounded, the unofficial slogan of his campaign “Build a Wall!” was cheered by thousands.

To sum this up, I think it is necessary to realize that populism is not a new phenomenon and that we should think about populism as a discursive frame or a political strategy rather, than as an ideology. Even though an enormous number of approaches and theories already exist, it is necessary to study and research this phenomenon as the conditions are rapidly changing and so the dynamic environment of populism.

4. Media

As mentioned before, Donald Trump is a product of American media. The obsession is reciprocal. The media profit from Trump’s controversial statements and politically incorrect comments. Moreover, Trump is always in battle with journalist,

⁷³ Folsom, “Why Trump, Why Now? The Violent Death of Political Correctness,” 4.

who according to his words are spreading “fake news”. He even dedicated one chapter of his book *Crippled America* to the issue called “Teaching the Media Dollars and Sense”. In the chapter, he labels American media as incredibly dishonest with the only aim, which is to make profit. He further admits, that a lot of his press has been good and fair, but some has been incredibly dishonest and just terrible.⁷⁴ As Michael Wolf claims: “The media strategy is to show Trump to be an inept and craven sociopath. The Trump strategy is to show that media people are hopeless prigs out of touch with the nation...”⁷⁵ We have to admit, that it has become extremely difficult for media to be profitable. In his book, Tomáš Klvaňa mentions the social websites period we came into and notes that nowadays everybody can publish via social websites like Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat etc. Therefore, in such a highly competitive environment, it is understandable that the media would incline towards sensations rather than facts.⁷⁶ On the other hand, many believe, that the “fake news” contributed to the win of Donald Trump. According to Hunt Allcott and Matthew Gentzkow’s fake news database, 41 articles were recorded as pro-Clinton (or anti-Trump) and 115 pro-Trump (or anti-Clinton): “which were shared on Facebook a total of 7.6 million and 30.3 million times, respectively. Thus, there are about three times more fake pro-Trump articles than pro-Clinton articles, and the average pro-Trump article was shared more on Facebook than the average pro-Clinton article.”⁷⁷ , In majority, they are spread on social media predominantly as there is a very little/no cost and the users usually do not search the “fake news” directly so they lack the motivation for verifying the factual aspect of the news. Furthermore, the social media are becoming more and more popular, attracting people of almost every generation. As the society reached the digital age the usage of social media during the US presidential campaign was the largest in the history, with 78% American adults using social media (compared with 56% in 2012 and 24% in 2008 elections).⁷⁸ A very often medium used for

⁷⁴ Trump, *Crippled America*, 145.

⁷⁵ Michael Wolff, “Why The Media Keeps Losing to Donald Trump,” *Newsweek Global* 168, no.5, (October 2, 2017): 12, *Business Source Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 10, 2017).

⁷⁶ Tomáš Klvaňa, *Fenomén Trump poslední vzpoura bílých mužů* (Jaršov nad Nežárkou: Pejdlova Rosnička, s.r.o., 2016), 33-36.

⁷⁷ Alcott Hunt and Matthew Gentzkow, “Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election,” *The Journal Of Economic Perspectives*, no.2, (2017): 223, *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 10, 2017).

⁷⁸ Alexandru-Vasile Sava, “Political Identity, Decision-Making and Communication in the Age of Digital Media: A Case Study on the 2016 US Elections,” 69-70.

communication between voters and presidential candidates in 2016 Presidential Election became Twitter. In her paper, María Galán-García presents some reasons, why Twitter became a site of preference among presidential candidates, even rivaling Facebook:

- the promise of democratic, horizontal, and decentralized communication;
- the possibility of direct contact with voters, which allows the candidate to appear more personal; and
- the potential it offers for self-promotion and the viralization of messages, adjusting perfectly to the needs of the candidates in campaign⁷⁹

We should not underestimate the importance of the social media usage during the 2016 Presidential Elections. Consequently, I will provide several Donald Trump's tweets in the next part of my thesis that would support the topics discussed.

In the following part of my thesis I will describe the representation of Trump as a presidential candidate in two American newspapers – the *New York Times* and *The New Yorker*. As I will be analyzing the period of Donald Trump's candidacy, my main criterion is the period beginning on June 16, 2015 and ending with the actual election on November 8, 2016. However, since during my research I found excessive number articles and material in general, I decided to on three major periods in Donald Trump's candidacy. First of them being the announcement of candidacy, secondly the G.O.P. debates of 2015 and finally, the last three Presidential Debates. The articles were collected from the *New York Times* online archive and *The New Yorker* online archive. The issues discussed below are supported by Donald Trump's tweets for the reasons mentioned above.

⁷⁹ María Galán-García, "The 2016 Republican Primary Campaign on Twitter: Issues and Ideological Positioning for the Profiles of Ben Carson, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, and Donald Trump," *El Profesional De La Información* 25, no. 5 (September/October 2017): 851, *Business Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 10, 2017).

4.1. Announcing the Candidacy

On June 16th 2015, Donald Trump announced his candidacy at Trump Tower in New York as a Republican nominee. On his twitter account, Trump comments: “Big time in U.S. today – MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! Politicians are all talk and no action – they can never bring us back.”⁸⁰ The tweet got approximately 490 likes and was retweeted 312 times.⁸¹ In his speech, Trump compared economies in China, Japan and the United States. He also mentioned that Mexico is beating the U.S. economically and that Mexico is not a friend of United States. This brought Donald to probably the most controversial statement of Donald Trump: “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best, they’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems and they’re bringing their problems with us. They’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crimes, they’re rapists and some, I assume, are good people.”⁸² Then Trump added, that it was not only Mexico, but all South America and probably Middle East. This statement caused uproar among many. The *New Yorker* commented: “Three of the statements had no basis in fact—the crime rate among first-generation immigrants is lower than that for native-born Americans—but Trump takes an expansive view of reality.”⁸³ The *New Yorker* also reported, that even though the announcement was “mocked and condemned”, it just added to popularity of Donald Trump: “His favorability among Republicans leaped from sixteen per cent to fifty-seven per cent, a greater spike than that of any other candidate’s début.”⁸⁴ On June 19th, he posted a tweet as an explanation for his controversial comment: “I like Mexico and I love the spirit of Mexican people, but we must protect our borders from people, from all over, pouring into U.S.”⁸⁵ Later that day he added: “Druggies, drug dealers, rapists and killers are coming across the southern border. When will the U.S. get smart and stop this

⁸⁰ Donald J. Trump. Twiter Post. June 16, 2015, 5:20.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/610784050060632065>

⁸¹ the number of likes and tweets might have changed since

⁸² “Watch Donald Trump announce his candidacy for U.S. president.” Youtube video, 46:33, Posted by “PBS NewsHour”, June 16, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpMJx0-HyOM>.

⁸³ Osnos, “The Fearful and the Frustrated,” 50.

⁸⁴ Osnos, “The Fearful and the Frustrated,” 50.

⁸⁵ Donald J. Trump. Twitter Post. June 19, 2015, 18:15.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/612083064945180672>

travesty?”⁸⁶ Both of those tweets got more than 2000 likes and were retweeted more than 1000 times. If we compare the numbers to the numbers of likes and retweets of his announcement mentioned earlier, we certainly see, that the controversy brought a lot of attention to Donald Trump.

For a quite long time, the *New Yorker* in its issues did not react to the announcement. In the issue of July 27, Jeffrey Toobin, comments on illegal immigration in an article called: “American Limbo”. The article deals not only with illegal immigration, but also immigration reform, the steps that were taken by Barack Obama and it introduces the views on immigration by several presidential candidates, including Donald Trump: “Trump’s comments about immigrants from Mexico drew condemnation from many Republicans for his impolitic tone, but, in their substance, his views are widely shared within the Party.”⁸⁷

The *New York Times* reacted much earlier with an article called: “Donald Trump, Pushing Someone Rich, Offers Himself”. The article was published immediately after Trump’s announcement on June 17th 2015. In the piece, Alexander Burns, comments on the nomination as unexpected and as it might seem like a remote prospect, yet, he also mentions that qualification of Donald Trump is not totally out of reality: “Thanks to his enormous media profile, he stands a good chance of qualifying for nationally televised debates, where his appetite for combat and skill at playing to the gallery could make him a powerfully disruptive presence.”⁸⁸ On the other hand, the article then mentions that despite the celebrity status, Mr. Trump is widely disliked even among Republicans, stating that according to a Quinnipiac University poll, seven in ten voters nationally hold an unfavorable view of him, including 52% of Republicans. However, the provocative views should not have a negative impact on his campaign, as

⁸⁶ Donald J. Trump. Twitter Post. June 19, 2015, 19:22.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/612083064945180672>

⁸⁷ Jeffrey Toobin, “American Limbo,” *New Yorker*, July 27, 2015, 35,
<http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-07-27#folio=34>.

⁸⁸ Alexander Burns, “Donald Trump, Pushing Someone Rich, Offers Himself,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/17/us/politics/donald-trump-runs-for-president-this-time-for-real-he-says.html>.

Burns states: “He has consistently been a passionate believer in Donald Trump, and his own capacity to bully and badger his way into the best possible deal.”⁸⁹

4.2. G.O.P. Debates of 2015

On August 6th 2015, the first G.O.P. debate was held in Cleveland, Ohio. Even before the debate, on 3rd August, the *New Yorker* published a comment in its section “The Talk of the Town” called “Broken”. The article refers to Trump as a “loose-haired agent” of much of the chaos that happened in the recent days. The author mentions two Republican senators, both of whom published a video in which they destroyed stuff. Firstly, Rand Paul, destroying the Tax Code and then Lindsey Graham destroying his cellphone. The latter one was caused by Donald Trump, giving out Lindsey Graham’s private phone number at a televised event in South Carolina: “That inspired Graham, who had complained that Trump was turning the race “into a circus”, to make his video.”⁹⁰ Later in the article, Amy Davidson states that: “To mount a Presidential campaign these days, you need just two people: a candidate and a wealthy donor. Or, in Trump’s case, just one: he is his own billionaire. And he is the unadorned face of American politics.”⁹¹ However, Donald Trump entered the first GOP Presidential debate with a status of a leader, according to a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll, New Quinnipiac poll and others.

A day before the debate, the *New York Times* printed an article titled: “Donald Trump and the G.O.P. debate: “Policy Is Not His Point.” The article claims, that Donald Trump might be the first post-policy candidate as his website has no issues page, he has given no policy addresses and therefore at the First Republican presidential debate may prove “as elusive target to his rivals as a puff of smoke.”⁹² His uncertain political

⁸⁹ Burns, “Donald Trump, Pushing Someone Rich.”

⁹⁰ Amy Davidson, “Broken,” *New Yorker*, August 3, 2015, 17, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-08-03#folio=16>.

⁹¹ Davidson, “Broken,” 18.

⁹² Gabriel Trip, “Donald Trump and the G.O.P. Debate: Policy Is Not His Point,” *New York Times*, August 5, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/06/us/politics/in-drama-of-first-gop-debate-donald-trump-is-without-a-script.html>.

position led to questions, asked by the moderators during the debate and, according to Donald Trump's words, provoked him and annoyed him.

After the debate, Trump posted a tweet saying: "I really enjoyed the debate tonight even though the @FoxNews trio, especially @megynkelly, was not very good or professional."⁹³ Megyn Kelly—an American journalist and political commentator—asked Donald Trump about his inconsiderate descriptions of women. He was not happy with the question, claiming that Ms. Kelly did not treat him nicely. Later in an interview for CNN, Donald said: "You could see there was blood coming out of her eyes, blood coming out of her wherever. She was off base."⁹⁴ Many guessed, that Mr. Trump was indirectly saying, that the journalist was menstruating and that is why she seemed annoyed and tried to attack the candidate. Later, Donald Trump insisted, that by the "wherever", he meant nose and ears and that only a degenerate would think that he meant the other. The *New York Times* claimed that the politically incorrect behavior of Mr. Trump concerns the whole Republican Party: "...conversation turned to whether the party, and his rival presidential contenders, should continue to accommodate his candidacy, quietly hoping that this would be the moment he burned out—or whether they should try to run him out on a rail."⁹⁵ On the other hand, many supporters stood up for Trump. The previously mentioned tweet got more than 9000 likes. Of course, we must take into a consideration the number of followers that continuously rose since his announcement in June 2015 (2,959,315 followers) until the first G.O.P. debate (3,452,597 followers). Maureen Dowd, a journalist, published an article in *the New York Times*, describing Trump as a "gleefully offensive and immensely entertaining high-chair king in the Great American Food Fight."⁹⁶

⁹³ Donald J. Trump. Twitter post. August 7, 2015, 0:53.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/629561051982495744>.

⁹⁴ "Donald Trump on Megyn Kelly: "There Was Blood Coming Out of Her Wherever." Youtube video, posted by "Team Trump Comms", August 7, 2015, 1:12.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M28z9y4yT6Y>

⁹⁵ Jonathan Martin, Maggie Haberman, "Hand-Wringing in G.O.P. After Donald Trump's Remarks on Megyn Kelly," *New York Times*, August 8, 2015,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/09/us/politics/donald-trump-disinvited-from-conservative-event-over-remark-on-megyn-kelly.html>.

⁹⁶ Maureen Dowd, "Trump the Disrupter," *New York Times*, August 8, 2015,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/09/opinion/sunday/maureen-dowd-trump-the-disrupter.html>.

The Second, the Third and the Fourth Republican debates earned a significantly less attention than the first one. Mainly, because of the fact, that they lacked the controversy and the “show” of the first one. The second Republican debate was held on September 16, 2015, at the Ronald Raegan Presidential Library in California. The debate hosted by CNN attracted 23 million viewers, which was less than the first G.O.P. debate hosted by Fox News, but still it got an unusual rating. On his twitter account, Donald took a credit for the high rating, posting a tweet: “Just announced that in the history of @CNN last night’s debate was its highest rated ever. Will they send me flowers & a thank you note?”⁹⁷

On September 2015, the *New York Times* published an article called “Donald Trump, Our Reality TV Candidate”, in which the author, Seth Grossman—a reality TV professional—claims that Donald Trump is the typical reality TV celebrity and as its result, the Republican debates are now drawing record-breaking numbers. He says that Donald Trump’s character is exactly what producers of reality TV shows are looking for: “He’s uncomplicated and authentic: You can understand his entire personality form a 15-second sound bite. His brand is blunt self-promotion.”⁹⁸ The article then closes up claiming, that it might be fun to “watch our country implode under his leadership, but one of the great pleasures of reality television is being able to turn it off.”⁹⁹

Another *New York Times’s* article called “Crazy Talk at the Republican Debate” mocked not only Donald Trump, but basically every Republican candidate, claiming that at times, “it felt like speakers were no longer living in a fact-based world where actions have consequences, programs take money and money has to come from somewhere. Where basic laws — like physics and the Constitution — constrain wishes.”¹⁰⁰ The article closes by quoting Donald Trump: “I don’t want to say politicians,

⁹⁷ Donlad J. Trump, Twitter post. September 17, 2015, 10:17.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/644560712665329664>.

⁹⁸ Seth Grossman, “Donald Trump, Our Reality TV Candidate,” *New York Times*, September 26, 2015,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/27/opinion/donald-trump-our-reality-tv-candidate.html>

⁹⁹ Grossman, “Donald Trump, Our Reality TV Candidate.”

¹⁰⁰ The Editorial Board, “Crazy Talk at the Republican Debate,” *New York Times*, September 17, 2015,
https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/18/opinion/crazy-talk-at-the-republican-debate.html?&_r=0&module=ArrowsNav&contentCollection=Opinion&action=keypress®ion=FixedLeft&pgtype=article.

all talk, no action. But a lot of what we talked about is words and it will be forgotten very quickly.” The authors then state that these are the smartest words Donald Trump has said all year and an outcome, America should dearly hope for.¹⁰¹

Interestingly, not a single article was dedicated to Donald Trump in connection with the second Republican Presidential Primary debate in the *New Yorker*. On the other hand, some interesting mentions were published. On September 28, 2015, the *New Yorker* published an article called “Dinner Talk” about a scheduled state visit of Chinese president Xi Jinping. The author of the article mentions Donald Trump’s attitude toward China, more specifically towards Chinese economy and politics: “...Donald Trump, the Republican Presidential frontrunner, called on President Obama to cancel Xi’s gala and “get him a McDonald’s hamburger.” Trump also demanded “a big uncoupling” of the two economies, and tariffs on Chinese imports of up to twelve per cent. “They want our people to starve,” he told Fox News.”¹⁰² We can witness many mentions of Donald Trump’s opinions and statements in almost every politically focused article of the *New Yorker*, yet very little of them deal predominantly with Donald Trump. We notice a mentioning of him in an article about Carly Fiorina (another Republican candidate) and that she has been target of “some misogyny, particularly from Trump, ...”¹⁰³

The Third Republican Primary Debate, hosted by CNBC, took place on October 28, 2015. Before the actual debate, Trump posted: “After a great evening and packed auditorium in Iowa, I am now in Colorado looking forward to what I am sure will be a very unfair debate!”¹⁰⁴ The Third G.O.P. debate was more about Jeb Bush and Mario Rubio, as Frank Bruni claimed in his article: “What a curious, fascinating spectacle: The two men in the lead got lost in the pack.”¹⁰⁵ He was referring to Donald Trump and Ben

¹⁰¹ The Editorial Board, “Crazy Talk at the Republican Debate.”

¹⁰² Evan Osnos, “Dinner Talk,” *New Yorker*, September 28, 2015, 21, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-09-28#folio=20>.

¹⁰³ Amy Davidson, “The Heart of the Deal,” *New Yorker*, October 5, 2015, 21, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-10-05#folio=20>.

¹⁰⁴ Donald J. Trump, Twitter post, October 28, 2015, 7:53, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/659382468332511232>.

¹⁰⁵ Frank Bruni, “Ben Carson and Donald Trump Lack Electricity in a Charged Debate,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/29/opinion/ben-carson-and-donald-trump-lack-electricity-in-a-charged-debate.html>.

Carson, the two leading Republican candidates, according to the latest polls. He compared Donald Trump without attention to “a petunia without water and light”, saying that the other candidates demonstrated less interest in Donald Trump so he practically disappeared during the first hour.¹⁰⁶

The *New Yorker* again did not react directly to the Third G.O.P. debate, but published an article called “The Republican Class War”, in which it mentions the Donald Trump’s ambiguous political views and stated that his supporters are defined by class rather than by ideology: “non-college-educated whites favor him at twice the rate of those with college degrees. Trump is attracting the very blue-collar Americans...”¹⁰⁷

The Fourth Presidential Debate was held in Milwaukee on November 10, 2015. Based on the debate, the *New Yorker* grouped Donald Trump, Carly Fiorina and Ben Carson into a group of “three celebrity outsiders”, who “continued to wrap the thinnest evidence of their ability to do the job in the gaudiest self-assurance. Donald Trump’s is that of annoyed gambler bluffing through a string of weak hands...”¹⁰⁸

After the debate, Donald Trump reacted: “Loved doing the debate...won Drudge and all on-line polls! Amazing evening, moderators did an outstanding job.”¹⁰⁹

In its issue on November 16, 2015, the *New Yorker* published an article, in which the author describes the reliability and trustworthiness of polls. Since the announcement of his candidacy was an advocate of all kinds of polls, because they did speak for him. Jill Lepore in his article claimed, that Donald Trump, in reality, had no pollster: “Donald Trump doesn’t have a campaign pollster, but while he was leading them, his campaign loved polls. Polls admitted Trump into the first G.O.P. debate and polls handed him a victory ... Donald Trump is a creature of the polls. He is his

¹⁰⁶ Frank Bruni, “Ben Carson and Donald Trump Lack Electricity in a Charged Debate,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/29/opinion/ben-carson-and-donald-trump-lack-electricity-in-a-charged-debate.html>.

¹⁰⁷ George Packer, “The Republican Class War,” *New Yorker*, November 9, 2015, 28, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-11-09#folio=28>.

¹⁰⁸ George Packer, “Still Standing,” *New Yorker*, November 23, 2015, 35, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-11-23#folio=34>.

¹⁰⁹ Donald J. Trump, Twitter post, November 11, 2015, 2:50. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/664394692180733952>.

numbers. But he is only a sign of the times. Turning the press into pollsters has made American political culture Trumpian: frantic, volatile, shortsighted, sales-driven, and anti-democratic.”¹¹⁰ The obsession of Mr. Trump with polls of any kind is even evident from his Twitter account. Since the day of the announcement, until the end of 2015, Donald Trump posted 65 tweets on his Twitter account concerning polls.

The final Republican Presidential debate of the year 2015 took place in Las Vegas on December 2015 and was hosted by CNN. One of the highlights of the debate was indeed the Donald Trump’s proposition about banning non-American Muslims and refugees fleeing ISIS from entering the US. On December 15, 2015, *The New York Times* published two articles, which deal with Donald Trump’s potential win of the election. Compared to the previous reporting of G.O.P. Presidential Debates by the *New York Times*, this happened to be a different coverage of Mr. Trump’s persona as a presidential candidate.

An article titled “Trump’s Weimar America” compares the US to Weimar Republic—a republic that governed Germany from 1919 to 1933 and therefore Donald Trump indirectly to Adolf Hitler (its last chancellor). It comments on the rising popularity of nationalism in America and claims, that the readers should not underestimate Donald Trump’s candidacy, as his polls are rising, regardless the controversial statements: “Trump is a clown. No, he is not. He is in earnest. And he’s onto something. It is foolish not to take him seriously.”¹¹¹ The article refers to the displeasure of the American nation of the period and state of the US. It claims, that the time favors Donald Trump’s political incorrectness: “Along comes Trump, the high-energy guy. He promises an American revival, a reinvention, even a renaissance. He insults Muslims, Mexicans, the disabled, women. His words are hateful and scurrilous. They play on fears. They are subjected to horrified analysis. Yet they do not hurt him. He gets people’s blood up. He says what others whisper.”¹¹² The author mentions the Islamic State rising, refugees pouring to Europe, causing the migration crisis.

¹¹⁰ Jill Lepore, “Politics and The New Machine,” *New Yorker*, November 16, 2015, 44, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2015-11-16#folio=44>.

¹¹¹ Roger Cohen, “Trump’s Weimar America,” *New York Times*, December 15, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/opinion/weimar-america.html?_r=0.

¹¹² Roger Cohen, “Trump’s Weimar America,” *New York Times*, December 15, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/opinion/weimar-america.html?_r=0.

Moreover, few days before the debate, on December 2, 2015 in San Bernardino, California, 14 people were killed and 22 injured in a terrorist act, done by supporters of ISIS. I will once again stand for the fact Donald Trump's populist statements were excellently timed, because as I mentioned in the chapter on political correctness, the social mood is crucial: "A turn toward positive mood shifts the emphasis to inclusion; whatever its flaws, political correctness is about making people "feel included" (and censure speech critical of gender, ethnicity, religion, etc.). Conversely, negative mood shifts the emphasis back toward anything-goes free speech."¹¹³ The article concludes by saying, that it would be irresponsible not to take Donald Trump seriously, because it would be to "forget European history, from whose fascist example he borrows."¹¹⁴

The second article, titled: "How Donald Trump Could Win, and Why He Probably Won't" states that he might have good chances of winning the nomination of the Republican Party. However, it claims, that the prospect of winning is given more by weaknesses of Donald Trump's opponents, rather than by his own strengths: "The good news for Mr. Trump is that the opposition is flawed enough to entertain such an outcome."¹¹⁵ However, the article mentions several reasons, that may lead to Donald Trump not winning. It presents Trump as a factional candidate, whose high poll numbers are given by his coverage in media, so the voters were not exposed to any other name in the last four months. Another reason mentioned in the article is his heterogeneity with the party's beliefs and the unacceptance of his to the party's establishment: "The mainstream candidates might not stay this weak forever. Mr. Trump will not be accepted by the party's establishment, and he will remain unacceptable to a large number of its well-educated voters."¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the author of the article says, that if the party stays weak and fractured it is much easier to imagine Mr. Trump "thread the needle to the nomination".

¹¹³ Folsom, "Why Trump, Why Now? The Violent Death of Political Correctness," 2.

¹¹⁴ Roger Cohen, "Trump's Weimar America," *New York Times*, December 15, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/opinion/weimar-america.html?_r=0.

¹¹⁵ Nate Cohn, "How Donald Trump Could Win, and Why He Probably Won't," *New York Times*, December 15, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/upshot/how-trump-could-win-and-why-he-probably-wont.html>.

¹¹⁶ Nate Cohn, "How Donald Trump Could Win, and Why He Probably Won't," *New York Times*, December 15, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/upshot/how-trump-could-win-and-why-he-probably-wont.html>.

A slight change of the depiction and perception of Donald Trump in the two American papers can be traced from the period of the first five G.O.P. debates. Although Donald Trump was viewed as a “celebrity”, “a clown” and “a high-chaired king”, towards the end of the 2015, the journalists started perceived him as a possible nominee for Republican Party. Some of them assigned the success to his controversial comments and the events that supported his position (ISIS, European migrant crisis, terrorist attacks) or the enormous media coverage that basically prevented the audience from getting acquainted with other candidates.

4.3. First Presidential Debate

The first Presidential debate took place on September 26, 2016. One of the issues discussed during the debate was the release of tax returns. The issue of tax returns appeared several times before the actual debate. According to the *New York Times*, Donald Trump is the only major party nominee in 40 years not releasing his tax returns. During the debate, Donald Trump claimed, that he would release his tax returns, if Hillary Clinton released 33000 e-mails, that had been deleted. He was referring to the controversy, that became public on March 2015, about Secretary of State Hillary Clinton deleting e-mails, that were, aby her own words, not work-related. On September 21, the *New York Times* published an article titled: “Mr. Trump’s Stupid Excuses on Taxes”. The article points out the fact, that Donald Trump once demanded a proof on paper, that the President Barrack Obama was born in the US and says, that it is odd that Mr. Trump “would expect voters to take on faith his own about his commercial success, his dealings with business partners, what he gives to charity and other financial matters that could conflict with his duties if elected president.”¹¹⁷ The article then states, that by not releasing his tax returns, Donald Trump is disqualifying himself as a presidential candidate, as his own ambition is to get rid of the “rigged” political system, controlled by a powerful elite.¹¹⁸ Another topic, that appeared in print

¹¹⁷ The Editorial Board, “Mr. Trump’s Stupid Excuses on Taxes,” *New York Times*, September 21, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/opinion/mr-trumps-stupid-excuses-on-taxes.html>.

¹¹⁸ The Editorial Board, “Mr. Trump’s Stupid Excuses on Taxes,” *New York Times*, September 21, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/opinion/mr-trumps-stupid-excuses-on-taxes.html>.

right before the First Presidential Debate was the immigration reform. The first article “Immigration Reform: Disparate Ideas, Disparate Futures” presents an estimation by a demographer Joseph Chamie, who claims that under Donald Trump’s presidency, the population would shrink to 323 million by 2024. With Hillary Clinton as the next president, the population would increase to 360 million. The author, however, does not favor Hillary Clinton’s proposals over Donald Trump’s proposals. But it rejects Donald Trump’s idea of expelling 11 million illegal immigrants and labels it as not just inhumane, but also impossible.¹¹⁹ Another piece by the *New York Times*, published a day later, on September 22 supports Hillary Clinton’s proposals, saying that according to a report published by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, immigrants do not take American jobs, as claimed several times by Mr. Trump. It reports that immigrants help the economic growth and are bringing new ideas.¹²⁰

After the debate, several negative articles were published in the *New York Times* print and on its website. One of them titled “Trump? How Could We?” appeared in print on September 28, 2016. The article is subdivided into little sections, each starting with a phrase: “How do we put in the Oval Office a man who ...”. The author states, that he is not a supporter of Hillary Clinton as well, but by his own words, she is sane and responsible. On the other hand, electing Trump would be “insanity”.¹²¹ Another article that happened to be a part of the Opinion Today newsletter of *the New York Times* presents 26 instances of Donald Trump’s lies during the First Presidential Debate among which it mentions his company bankruptcies, Hillary Clinton’s tax plans, ISIS, NATO’s budget, etc. The article ironically closes by asking: “So ... who won the debate?”.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Eduardo Porter, “Immigration Reform: Disparate Ideas, Disparate Futures,” *New York Times*, September 21, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/business/immigration-reform-disparate-ideas-disparate-futures.html>.

¹²⁰ Julia Preston, “Immigrants Aren’t Taking Americans’ Jobs, New Study Finds,” *New York Times*, September 22, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/22/us/immigrants-arent-taking-americans-jobs-new-study-finds.html>.

¹²¹ Thomas L. Friedman, “Trump? How Could We?,” *New York Times*, September 28, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/opinion/trump-how-could-we.html>.

¹²² David Leonhardt, “The Lies Trump Told,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/27/opinion/campaign-stops/the-lies-trump-told.html>

On October 3rd, 2016, an article titled “The Fear Factor” appeared in the *New Yorker* magazine. The column reacts to recent terrorist attacks that took place in Paris, Brussel, Orlando, St. Cloud, ... It suggests that the omnipresent fear of terrorism is even encouraged by Donald Trump’s rhetoric. The author comments on Trump’s profit from society fears and that his supporters turned into trolls, spreading racist and anti-Semitic poison.¹²³ The author depicts Trump’s contempt of political correctness, stating that Mr. Trump is partially to be blamed for instigating intolerance towards certain social groups: “Trump’s mainstreaming of bigotry has already damaged the country lastingly by ripping at its social bonds and popularizing a phony war on “political correctness” as an alternative to the ideals of tolerance and pluralism.”¹²⁴

Another interesting and extensive article dedicated to Mr. Trump by the *New Yorker* magazine was published on the day of the First Presidential Debate, on September 26, 2016. The article was titled “President Trump” and subheading states: “What would he do?”. The article basically deals with hypothesis of Donald Trump’s first steps in the highest office. As the author says, it is important to visualize Donald Trump as a President of the United States, as his victory “is no longer the stuff of dark comedy or fan fiction.”¹²⁵ The piece then presents several opinions of different experts on Trump’s possible measures that he would adopt as a President of the United States. The author closing the article by mentioning that it would not be hard to imagine what would happen if Mr. Trump won the election. He states that Donald Trump has been explicitly expressing his believes, he has been showing his instincts under pressure and exhibiting his historical inspirations. According to the author, in the beginning of the century, Americans “tracked their greatest errors to a failure of imagination: the inability to picture a terrorist in a cave, who is able to strike; the hubris to ignore extensive State Department predictions of what would come of the invasion of Iraq.”¹²⁶ By author’s words, in case of Donald Trump’s victory, it would be the opposite

¹²³ Steve Coll, “The Fear Factor,” *New Yorker*, October 3, 2016, 23, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2016-10-03#folio=22>.

¹²⁴ Coll, “The Fear Factor,” 23.

¹²⁵ Evan Osnos, “President Trump,” *New Yorker*, September 26, 2016, 38, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2016-09-26#folio=38>.

¹²⁶ Osnos, “President Trump,” 47.

risk. It would be a retreat to imagination that can be alarming, because his Presidency would be nothing else but what his campaign created.

More straightforward about the debate was the article published in the *New Yorker* on October 10, 2016. In the article, the author claims, that: “One candidate displayed poise, intellect, and preparation, while the other rambled, made faces, and quibbled about whether he’s referred to Miss Universe as “Miss Piggy”.”¹²⁷

In the two papers, the first Presidential Debate was definitely depicted in favor of Hillary Clinton.

4.4. Second Presidential Debate

The Second Presidential Debate took place at Washington University, St. Louis, on October 9, 2016. During the debate, a big attention was turned to a tape, on which Donald Trump bragged in vulgar terms about kissing and trying to have sex with women. The tape was released just two days before the debate and was highly discussed in press. Donald Trump himself referred to the tape as a “locker room talk”. When he was asked to comment on the tape in the debate, Donald Trump apologized and pointed out, that there are bigger problems like ISIS. He also mentioned Bill Clinton, saying, that his were just words, but Bill Clinton’s were actions. He also accused Hillary Clinton of attacking the same women Bill Clinton sexually harassed.

In “The Sleaziness of Donald Trump” — an article published by the *New York Times* on October 8, 2016 — Donald is depicted as not suitable for President. The article discusses the tape, which was released and ends with saying: “We elect our presidents in the hope that they will do their best for us, including to try — whatever their flaws and ours — to represent the best in us. There is no such hope for Donald Trump.”¹²⁸ Another article concerning Donald Trump appeared in print the very same day and was titled: “Those Who Don’t Understand Trump Are Doomed to Repeat

¹²⁷ Jelani Cobb, “Millennialism,” *New Yorker*, October 10, 2016, 35, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2016-10-10#folio=34>.

¹²⁸ The Editorial Board, “The Sleaziness of Donald Trump,” *New York Times*, October 8, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/opinion/the-sleaziness-of-donald-trump.html>.

Him”. This piece, however dealt with Donald Trump as a populist, rather than discussing the recently arose issue. Arthur C. Brook – the author of the article – supports the theory I mentioned in a previous chapter (see chapter 3). The author believes that Donald Trump’s populist takeover of the Republican Party was not unforeseeable. He claims, as I already mentioned in chapter 3, that the populism seeks the gap that appears during a social/economic/financial crisis. On the other hand, Donald Trump had many supporters, who believed that it is necessary to rethought the positions on issues such as trade and immigration. The author, however, believes it to be wrong. He mentions the number of illegal immigrants continuously decreasing as well as the U.S. trade deficit.¹²⁹ The article does not support Donald Trump’s believes, but in a very less apparent manner.

4.5. Third Presidential Debate

The third presidential debate took place on October 19, 2016 in Las Vegas. Being the final debate, the candidates in this particular period of time were highly discussed in both papers. On October 22, 2016, an article titled “Donald Trump’s Warning on Election Result Sounds Familiar to Some Immigrants” was printed in the *New York Times*. The author of the piece presents a comparison between Donald Trump and Argentinian military junta, which overthrew Isabel Perón, after she democratically won the election. The reason for the comparison is Mr. Trump’s stating that he would not accept the results of the election if he lost. The article presents a story by an Argentinian immigrant, who never expected to see something similar in the United States. The author mocks Mr. Trump by saying, that he actually makes immigrants to feel like home: “But his most recent comments about the legitimacy of the election,

¹²⁹ Arthur C. Brooks, “Those Who Don’t Understand Trump Are Doomed to Repeat Him,” *New York Times*, October 8, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/opinion/those-who-dont-understand-trump-are-doomed-to-repeat-him.html>

with their whiff of third-world tumult, have perversely made some immigrants fell right at home.”¹³⁰

On October 31, the *New Yorker* published an article called “The Choice”, in which a comparison between Hilary Clinton and Donald J. Trump is drawn. The article favors Hilary Clinton as its first sentences say: “On November 8th, barring some astonishment, the people of the United States will, after two hundred and forty years, send a woman to the White House. ... It will be especially gratifying to have a woman as a commander-in-chief after such a sickeningly sexist and racist campaign, one that exposed so starkly how far our society has to go.”¹³¹ The article claims, that in case of electing the first female president, the election will represent a significant shift in the American history. In case of electing Donald J. Trump, the shift will be also significant, but rather a chilling one. Trump is depicted as a real-estate mogul, who favors conspiracy and is unqualified and unfit for the office. Moreover, it says that he does not respect and accept the authority of constitutional republicanism: “The prospect of such a President—erratic, empty, intolerant, and corrupt—represents a form of national emergency.”¹³²

A very interesting article was published just few days after the Third Presidential Debate in the *New York Times*. In a piece called “The Media’s Moment of Truth”, a journalist Frank Bruni, ponders over the benefit brought to Donald Trump by media: “Was he ridiculous? Beyond measures. Relevant? Beyond doubt. As long as the reporting about him was skeptical — and, after a certain point, the bulk of it was — there was more reason to train the spotlight on him than to pull away.”¹³³ The author partially blames the media for paying too much attention to Donald Trump and consequently contributing to his success. On the other hand, he believes, that the audience is also to be blamed for the excessive coverage. He hopes for Donald Trump

¹³⁰ Yamiche Alcindor, “Donald Trump’s Warning on Election Result Sounds Familiar to Some Immigrants,” *New York Times*, October 22, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/22/us/politics/donald-trump-immigrants.html>.

¹³¹ The Editors, “The Choice,” *New Yorker*, October 31, 2016, 29, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2016-10-31#folio=28>.

¹³² The Editors, “The Choice,” *New Yorker*, October 31, 2016, 29, <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=2016-10-31#folio=28>.

¹³³ Frank Bruni, “The Media’s Moment of Truth,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/23/opinion/sunday/the-medias-moment-of-truth.html>.

not to be elected, but he does not disapprove of such a consequence: “But we also can’t roll over for him, the way we’ve sometimes done over the last 16 months, chronicling even those speeches and rallies that amounted to sales pitches for his properties and products. His reckoning comes on Nov. 8. Ours comes shortly after that.”¹³⁴

Both candidates were highly covered during the period of the last three Presidential Debates. Hilary Clinton was, without a doubt, favored by the two papers, whereas Mr. Trump was depicted in a negative manner. If we compare the coverage of 2015 with the articles that appeared in the papers closer to the actual election, we may find out an interesting shift. The coverage of Donald J. Trump in 2015 and in September and October of 2016 were both negative. But the mockery and rejection of seriousness of the candidate turned into almost a hatred and dismay. As I found out, the papers started to perceive Donald Trump as a possible Republican nominee even in December 2015, but still without a perspective of getting into the highest office. In the period of the final three Presidential Debates, he was depicted more as a threat and his victory as “no longer a stuff of dark comedy of fun fiction.”

4.6. The New Yorker’s Cover Stories of Donald Trump

During his candidacy, Donald Trump appeared several times on the cover page of the *New Yorker* magazine. In the *New Yorker* magazine, the cover drawings are always supported by a story behind the drawing, usually supported by few words of the author. These stories are shared on the magazine’s official website. The drawings have just one author – Barry Blitt – cartoonist and illustrator. In this chapter I will describe all drawings of Donald Trump, that appeared on the cover page of the magazine. I include all the cover drawings in the appendix of the thesis.

On July 27, the cover of the magazine was dedicated to the Donald Trump’s announcement of his candidacy. On the cover, called “Belly Flop” (see appendix 1) Trump is belly-flopping into a swimming pool of other presidential candidates. I

¹³⁴ Frank Bruni, “The Media’s Moment of Truth,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/23/opinion/sunday/the-medias-moment-of-truth.html>.

assume, this was to portrait the upcoming splash the candidacy would evoke in “the presidential-runners’ pool” and also the unpleasant consequences for Donald himself. The author of the drawing said, that he would watch the first televised debate, because Trump “never fails to provide hours of slacked-jaws amazement.”

The next cover, that was dedicated to Donald Trump was on the issue, published on February 1, 2016. The drawing was called “Bad Reception” (see appendix 2). The drawing portraits former US presidents watching Donald Trump publicly speaking on TV. The author’s intention was to depict the attitudes of consternation.

On March 28, 2016, Barry Blitt’s drawing of Donald Trump appeared on the cover of the *New Yorker* again (appendix 3). This time, it shows just illustration of Trump’s palm with its lines described with labels as: “Successful (duh!)”, “Respected by the Hispanics”, “Respected by the blacks”, “All the best people have this”, “Very big heart (but not like enlarged heart or anything. Perfect size)”, ... The drawing was named “The Big Short”. Barry Blitt commented the drawing by mentioning the fact, that palmistry has never really established itself as anything more than a pseudo-science. One may guess, that he is comparing the Donald Trump’s proposals to palmistry. In the cover story, he says: ““In a reading, not only are the lines of the palm considered, but also the relative sizes of the hand and fingers,” he continues, before adding, “Speaking of which—I hope Donald Trump doesn’t become President.”¹³⁵ Barry Blitt in his comment mentions the relative size of the hand and fingers. We can deduce that he is indirectly pointing to Mr. Trump’s irrationality, impulsiveness and mistakes caused due to his lack of knowledgeableness and fact-checking as according to majority of palm-reading text books, the exceptionally short fingers are considered the signs of the qualities described above.

Another drawing of Donald Trump appeared on the cover of the *New Yorker* on May 23, 2016. The drawing was titled “Grand Illusion” and portraits Donald Trump as a magician cutting in half an elephant—an animal, which is connected to the Republican Party since 19th century and led to the birth of the famous phrase—the

¹³⁵ Françoise Mouly, Mina Kaneko, “Cover Story: Barry Blitt’s “The Big Short”,” *New Yorker*, March 20, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/cover-story-2016-03-28>.

Republican elephant. The author is pointing to the rift induced by Donald Trump in the G.O.P.

On August 22, 2016, the *New Yorker's* cover illustrates Donald Trump with his iconic hair ruined by the weather, covering Trump's face (see appendix 5). The author commented on the drawing: "Like a lot of anxious people, I've been obsessively watching all the forecasts, predictions, and computer models, hoping for a break in this feverish political season"¹³⁶ The author was referring to the dissent of some members of the Republican Party with Donald Trump's nomination. However, the author also mentions that he is naïve.

The next cover drawing appeared on October 10, 2016 and is reacting to the First Presidential Debate (see appendix 6). The cover was titled "Miss Congeniality" and it is a reaction to an issue that was brought up by Hillary Clinton during the first Presidential Debate. Hillary Clinton commented on Donald Trump's misogyny and she mentioned a former miss universe – Alicia Machado, who, according to Mrs. Clinton's words, was called "Miss Piggy" and "Miss Housekeeping" by Donald Trump. The first referring to Ms. Machado gaining weight after the competition and the latter to Ms. Machado's Latino race: "Of all Trump's dangerous beliefs, Blitt said, his misogyny "might just be his Achilles' heel."."¹³⁷

The last cover story, that appeared in the *New Yorker* before the actual election, was published on October 31, 2016 (see appendix 7). The cover followed the Third (and the last) Presidential Debate. The cover was named "Significant Others" and it portrays Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump taking oath of office. Hillary Clinton is portrayed with her husband – former president Bill Clinton, while Donald Trump is taking oath next to president of Russian Federation – Vladimir Putin. The drawing clearly mocks the positive attitude Donald Trump expressed several times to his Russian counterpart. Françoise Mouly commented on the cover story: "Both candidates seem to be in a loving relationship right now," Barry Blitt says, about his

¹³⁶ Françoise Mouly, "Cover Story: Barry Blitt's "Donald's Rainy Day"," *New Yorker*, August 12, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/cover-story-2016-08-22>.

¹³⁷ Françoise Mouly, "Cover Story: Donald Trump Is Barry Blitt's "Miss Congeniality"," *New Yorker*, September 29, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/cover-story-2016-10-10>.

cover for the Politics Issue. “But it is worth noting that, in the event of a Trump Presidency, Vladimir Putin would be the first foreign-born First Mate since Louisa Adams,” he adds.”¹³⁸

If we sum up all the cover stories published in the *New Yorker* over the Presidential Election, we certainly can conclude, that the magazine did not support Donald Trump as a presidential candidate. Every cover story does mock Donald Trump and his political proposals to some extent. Interestingly, if we can compare the only cover story dedicated exclusively to Hilary Clinton on June 20, 2016. Hillary is portrayed as a boxer in a ring and Barry Blitt – the author of the drawing – says, that with the recent passing of Muhammad Ali, he had boxing on his mind, mentioning: “You’ve got to respect or at least be impressed by someone who has been counted out many times but repeatedly gets up from the mat, ready for the next round.”¹³⁹ In my opinion, this comment is far more applicable to Donald Trump. Hence we see, that Donald Trump appeared more frequently, but the cover stories were rather negative.

4.7. The New York Times and Donald Trump

I discussed the representation of Donald Trump in two American papers – the *New Yorker* and the *New York Times*. During his candidacy, Mr. Trump on his twitter account several times manifested his indignation to the latter. The *New York Times* was mentioned 50 times during the presidential run by Mr. Trump, while the *New Yorker* was never mentioned by him. In this chapter, I will try to describe the Trump’s tweets and the articles that cause the resentment.

On November 25, 2015, Donald Trump posted 5 tweets dedicated to the *New York Times*. All tweets were posted within 30 minutes. In the first one, Trump complains about being constantly criticized by the paper: “The failing @nytimes should be focused on good reporting and the papers financial survival and not with constant

¹³⁸ Françoise Mouly, “Cover Story: Barry Blitt’s “Significant Others”,” *New Yorker*, October 21, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/cover-story-2016-10-31>.

¹³⁹ Françoise Mouly, “Cover Story: Hillary Clinton, “Ready for a Fight”,” *New Yorker*, June 10, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/cover-story-2016-06-20>.

hits on Donald Trump.”¹⁴⁰ The tweet was then followed by the other ones, in which Trump claims that the New York Times is poorly managed¹⁴¹ was once great institution and is not anymore¹⁴², the NYT journalists are incompetent¹⁴³ and that the “dopes at the @nytimes bought the Boston Globe for \$1.3 billion and sold it for \$1.00. Their great old headquarters-gave it away! So dumb”.¹⁴⁴ The reason for giving so much attention to the newspaper might be the articles published on the date. On November 26, 2015, Trump tweeted: “The failing @nytimes should focus on fair and balanced reporting rather than constant hit jobs on me. Yesterday 3 boring articles, today 2!”¹⁴⁵ The three published articles of the New York Times on November, 25, 2015 were the following: “In Renovation of Golf Club, Donald Trump Also Dressed Up History”, which deals with a plaque Mr. Trump installed on one of his golf courses on Lowes Island, Virginia. The plaque’s inscription says: “Many great American soldiers, both of the North and South, died at this spot, “The Rapids”, on the Potomac River. The casualties were so great that the water would turn red and thus became known as “The River of Blood””. However, the article claims, that like many Mr. Trump’s claims, the inscription was evidently not fact-checked, because several historians and locals disapproved it: “In its small way, the plaque bears out Mr. Trump’s reputation for being preoccupied with grandeur, superlatives and his own name, but less so with verifiable facts, even when his audience is relatively small.”¹⁴⁶ The next article questions Trump’s rhetoric, stating that “the verbal shortcuts and salesmanlike stretches” are “tripping him up as the tenor of the campaign has grown more serious.”¹⁴⁷ The third article published on

¹⁴⁰ Donlad J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 25, 2015, 17:21, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669687491100844032>.

¹⁴¹ Donlad J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 25, 2015, 17:29, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669689398112460800>.

¹⁴² Donlad J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 25, 2015, 17:51, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669694813005094912>.

¹⁴³ Donlad J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 25, 2015, 17:41, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669692360465514496>.

¹⁴⁴ Donlad J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 25, 2015, 17:35, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669690995857080320>.

¹⁴⁵ Donald J. Trump, Twitter Post, November 26, 2015, 13:46, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/669995673945808896>.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholas Fandos, “In Renovation of Golf Club, Donald Trump Also Dressed Up History,” *New York Times*, November 25, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/us/politics/in-renovation-of-golf-club-donald-trump-also-dressed-up-history.html?_r=0.

¹⁴⁷ Maggie Haberman, “Donald Trump’s Shortcuts and Salesmanlike Stretches,” *New York Times*, November 25, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/us/politics/donald-trumps-shortcuts-and-salesmanlike-stretches.html>

November 25, 2016 also deals with credibility and plausibility of Donald Trump's statements. The article titled "A Definite Debunking of Donald Trump's 9/11 Claims" comments on the bogus reports of Muslims dancing in the streets of Jersey City and Paterson, celebrating the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. This untruthful information was by the words of the author of the article "recycled as truth over the weekend by Donald Trump", citing his speech in Alabama: "Hey, I watched when the World Trade Center came tumbling down. And I watched in Jersey City, N.J., where thousands and thousands of people were cheering as that building was coming down. Thousands of people were cheering."¹⁴⁸ The article then suggests that Mr. Trump is indifferent to facts and that his "presidential run has erased any lines that would segregate rumors, facts, mistakes and outright falsehood."¹⁴⁹

A great stir on Donald Trump's Twitter account was caused by the New York Times article "Crossing the Line: How Donald Trump Behaved With Women in Private", published on May 15, 2016. The article comments on Donald Trump's treatment of women. The story is supposed to be based on interviews of dozens of women, who had worked with or for Mr. Trump over past four decades. The article contains Rowanne Brewer Lane, Carrie Prejean, Barbara A. Res, Louise Sunshine and others testimonies about Trump's unwelcoming and offending behavior towards women. Donald Trump posted 9 tweets on May 15, 2015 reacting to the article, followed by 5 tweets posted on May 16: "The failing @nytimes wrote yet another hit piece on me. All impressed with how nicely I have treated women, they found nothing. A joke!"¹⁵⁰, "Why doesn't the failing @nytimes write the real story on the Clintons and women? The media is TOTALLY dishonest!"¹⁵¹, "Wow, I have so many calls from high ranking people laughing at the stupidity of the failing @nytimes piece. Massive front page of

¹⁴⁸ Jim Dwyer, "A Definite Debunking of Donald Trump's 9/11 Claims," *New York Times*, November 25, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/nyregion/a-definitive-debunking-of-donald-trumps-9-11-claims.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Jim Dwyer, "A Definite Debunking of Donald Trump's 9/11 Claims," *New York Times*, November 25, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/nyregion/a-definitive-debunking-of-donald-trumps-9-11-claims.html>.

¹⁵⁰ Donald J. Trump, Twitter Post, May 15, 2015, 3:55. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/731800205188796419>

¹⁵¹ Donald J. Trump, Twitter Post, May 15, 2015, 4:32. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/731809410578808832>

that!”¹⁵² The article builds on public awareness of Trump’s unscrupulous attitudes to women: “Donald Trump and women: The words evoke a familiar cascade of casual insults, hurled from the safe distance of a Twitter account, a radio show or a campaign podium. This is the public treatment of some women by Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee for president: degrading, impersonal, performed.”¹⁵³ However, a former model Rowanne Brewer Lane, whose testimony was also part of the article appeared on Fox News the very next day, claiming that she was misquoted by the New York Times. “The @nytimes is so dishonest. Their hit piece cover story on me yesterday was just blown up by Rowanne Brewer, who said it was a lie.”¹⁵⁴ She complained about the *New York Times* taking her quotes and adding a negative connotation to them.

To conclude, the relationship between Donald J. Trump and the *New York Times* is not positive. Mr. Trump attacked the paper publicly several times, addressing it as “failing” most of the times and “dishonest”. As I found out during my analysis, the *New York Times* depicted Trump in a negative shade during the election so I find the attitude reciprocal. On the other hand, Donald Trump never addressed directly the New Yorker magazine on his twitter account. I assume, that the very small number of articles directly and fully dedicated to Donald Trump by the *New Yorker* magazine has led to this consequence.

4.7.1. “The Arrangements” – A Short Story by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

On June 28, 2016, the *New York Times Book Review* published a short story about American election, written by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The short story was named “The Arrangements”, and even though a reader might think, that the story would be predominantly about Donald J. Trump, the piece, interestingly, portrays one day through eyes of Melania Trump. The choice to depict the story from Melania’s

¹⁵² Donald J. Trump, Twitter Post, May 15, 2015, 12:06.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/731923681522397184>

¹⁵³ Michael Barbaro, Megan Twohey, “Crossing the Line: How Donald Trump Behaved With Women in Private,” *New York Times*, May 15, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/15/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html>.

¹⁵⁴ Donald J. Trump, Twitter Post, May 16, 2015, 6:09,

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/732196260636151808>.

point of view is definitely very clever and also left the author a lot of space in terms of the character as Mrs. Trump is probably the only member of the Trump family that enjoys staying out of the spotlight. This was also the reason, why in many rallies Donald J. Trump was accompanied by his daughter Ivanka and not Melania Trump. It is maintained, that the story was inspired by Virginia Woolf's famous novel *Mrs. Dalloway*.

The short story is set in Trump's household, just few days before the 2016 Republican National Convention, which took place in Cleveland, in July 2016.

As I already mentioned before, the main protagonist, Mrs. Melania Trump is the medium of the developments in the household. She is also the only one, who provides us with a mental portrait. We are looking at the happenings in the house through her eyes. In the story, Melania appears to be very insecure, yet determined to please her vivacious husband Donald at any cost: "Yesterday she had taken Tiffany to lunch, so that she could tell Donald that she had taken Tiffany to lunch."¹⁵⁵ Although, there is very little description of appearance of Mr. Trump and other characters, from the story, we can learn that Melania does take care of herself. She does a skin routine every morning and exercises. From the story, it seems that she does this to please her Donald: "She undressed and examined herself in the mirror. There was a new dimple in her thigh. Donald would say something if he noticed it. "You need to get these fixed soon," he had said a few months back, cupping her breasts, and when he got up from bed, she looked at his pale, slack belly, and the sprinkle of bristly hair on his back."¹⁵⁶ However, even if the short story is to be a fictional one, the author probably rests on the familiarity with the appearance of the characters.

Donald Trump's character is more flat, than the character of Melania. The only characteristics we can learn about him of the story is his dominancy in his relationship with Melania.

¹⁵⁵ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The Arrangements," *New York Times*, June 28, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/03/books/review/melania-trump-in-chimamanda-ngozi-adichie-short-story.html>.

¹⁵⁶ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

One of the conflicts of the story is based on the opposition of Ivanka Trump and Melania. The two women fight for the Donald's attention and admiration: "Donald admired in his daughter qualities he would not abide in a wife."¹⁵⁷ While Ivanka, being an independent and dominant woman, Melania is very submissive and conforms to her family (either her husband or her mother). Mrs. Trump accepts the role with pleasure. Again, maybe just to please her husband: "The last time, he kissed her, eager and dramatic and sweaty as he often was — he hated her initiating things, "aggressive women make me think I'm with a transsexual," he'd told her years ago — and then fumbled and shifted and suddenly got up and said he had a phone call to make."¹⁵⁸ Melania's character definitely stands out from the others. Donald's attention is targeted only to the election, while Melania's main task of the day is to order flowers for the evening's family gathering. As much as the two may seem as very distant preferences, in Melania's eyes the reader might get the feeling of their equality. Melania also sees the election and Donald's possible win as a threat and is constantly living under a terror: "She sagged suddenly with terror, imaging what would happen if Donald actually won. Everything would change. Her contentment would crack into pieces. The relentless intrusions into their lives; those horrible media people who never gave Donald any credit would get even worse."¹⁵⁹

Another conflict, that arouses from the story is the internal conflict of Melania. She often suppresses her honest feelings and opinions, in order not to cause a stir. However, in the end of the story, the protagonist finally speaks her mind and opposes Donald: "He was still speaking, but she could no longer understand. A tightness had gripped her temples, her hands shook. "Donald, I want this," she said. "We have not hosted my parents. It is 50 years of marriage for them. Their friends are coming. I have planned for one week. I want this today." Donald looked up astonished from his phone. She dug her nails in her palm and stared back at him. "O.K., O.K.," Donald said sighing. "Just give me some time to talk to Ivanka."¹⁶⁰ Therefore we can assign the step to her development and dynamics of her character.

¹⁵⁷ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

¹⁵⁸ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

¹⁵⁹ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

¹⁶⁰ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

The story contains humorous passages, which give the characters (especially Melania) more humanity and sympathy. The most resonant passage of this kind is the visit of Melania's Pilates instructor Janelle. Melania seems to be attracted by Janelle. Moreover, Janelle is a colored woman, which would not be a source of any humor, if the reader was not familiar with Donald Trump's racist statements of 2016 election. These indications help to create more realistic image of the story and therefore a reader might feel that the story is not a fiction at all.

An interesting turn of the story that can also be assigned to the humorousness of the piece is when Mrs. Trump finds out about Ivanka – Donald's favorite daughter – secretly supporting the other presidential candidate – Hillary Clinton. However, the insecure character decides to tell Donald after the dinner in private, to not upset him.

The author achieved to humanize the Trump family and even have the reader to almost sympathize with all the characters. As impossibly as it sounds, with Donald Trump too: "He would never be a truly content person, she knew this, because of that primal restlessness that thrummed in him, the compulsion to prove something to himself that he feared he never would. It moved her, made her feel protective."¹⁶¹ On the other hand a reader cannot help, but feel sorry for Melania as her character and her feelings are suppressed by the overwhelming election and the events that are connected to it.

4.8. Quantity of mentioning

So far, I dealt with the content of articles and I believe, that it is necessary to take into a consideration the quantitative aspect. Naturally, there would be no use to compare the number of mentioning of Donald Trump of the daily paper the *New York Times* and the weekly magazine the *New Yorker*. Therefore, in the following section I would like to describe the number of mentioning in the individual papers during the presidential run. However, I suggest, that the curve of growing number of mentioning will be comparable. I assume, that the quantity of mentioning Donald Trump is directly

¹⁶¹ Adichie, "The Arrangements."

proportional to the level of advancement of the presidential elections. As Donald Trump is very active on his Twitter account I also include the number of his followers, which gradually rose and I will try to describe, in which months of his presidential candidacy he gained the most followers and try to explain why. At the end of the analysis I will transform the results into graphs.

The method I am using for the analysis is following: I will consider the number of mentioning of Donald Trump in the *New York Times* and the *New Yorker* using their online archives. I will type the phrase "Donald Trump" directly into browser. Therefore, not only articles dedicated to Donald Trump, but also articles mentioning his persona will be taken under consideration and therefore included in my results. One may argue that to be absolutely precise, the finding phrase should only consist of the word "Trump" as in some articles he can be called "Mr. Trump" or just "Trump". On the other hand, in the latter case we would also include mentioning of the word "trump" in its fundamental meaning. Graphs depicting the number of mentioning of Mr. Trump every month of the election will be attached in the appendix section (graph 1 and graph 2). For the Twitter followers, I will be using www.trackalytics.com, which is a website, collecting, monitoring and analyzing data from social websites like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc.

We clearly see, that the number of mentioning of Mr. Trump in both papers grew gradually. However, it is more apparent in the *New York Times*. In June 2015, Donald Trump was mentioned 26 times and in the *New Yorker* no mentioning was found, which is given by the fact that he announced his candidacy only on June 16 and hence was not in the viewfinder of media up until then. The month of the most references was found to be October 2016 in both papers. Again, the causation is quite obvious. The three final Presidential Debates took place on September 26, October 4 and October 9, 2016. Therefore, the main attention to both candidates was turned in that period.

In order to determine the extent of the coverage, it is necessary to compare the coverage of Donald J. Trump with the coverage of Hillary Clinton. As I previously mentioned, the most references to Mr. Trump were found to be October 2016. According to the *New York Times* online archive, Hillary Clinton was mentioned 1,127

times in October 2016. In September 2016 - 1,431 times; in August 2016 – 1,019 times. From the numbers collected, we can conclude, that both candidates were widely discussed, yet the democratic candidate Mrs. Clinton was mentioned approximately 20% less than Donald J. Trump during the last three months of the 2016 election.

When Donald Trump announced his candidacy, his Twitter account was followed by 2,959,315 people. On November 8, 2016 – the day Trump won the general election, 13,018,832 people were following his Twitter account. The number of followers of Hillary Clinton's Twitter account on November 8, 2016 was 10,264,346. The difference of almost 2,800,000 followers might be as perceived as an indicator of the candidate's popularity. Moreover, the number of the followers might help us to understand, what events, caused the most increases in the number of followers, hence the popularity of Donald Trump in general. One may argue, that the number of followers does not necessarily correspond to the popularity in a potential votes growth, but I will consider it a benchmark of popularity, regardless of its positivity/negativity. The biggest increase in case of the first five G.O.P. debates, we witness between the first Republican debate and the second. The growth between the debates was +698,300 followers, which means +18 376,32 followers/day, compared to others: between the second and third – 12 563,83 followers/day, between the third and the fourth – 8 523,23 followers/day, between the fourth and fifth – 13 711,47 followers/day.

We may assume that the increase between the first two Republican debates was caused by many factors: first appearance among other candidates, the highest-ranking number of viewers, but also the most controversial comments/ their first mentioning.

Conclusion

Donald Trump entered the election as a celebrity and a well-known billionaire. His controversial statements and lack of political experience forced to perceive him by the media and the audience as not a serious presidential candidate. However, the familiarity and the enormous coverage of the media helped Donald Trump to win the election and become the President of the United States. The success can be assigned to several factors, some of them already mentioned.

Firstly, the controversy, his lack of political correctness and his populist behavior were supposed to be weaknesses of his political aspirations. Nevertheless, it is maintained that it only helped Mr. Trump in his campaign. In the first part of the thesis, I describe the terms “populism” and “political correctness” in greater detail as they were one of the key factors in the election. If we consider the circumstances, political and social mood of the period of the 2016 election, we can perceive those, at first sight disadvantages, as beneficial. Those circumstances being the European migrant crisis, ISIS and others.

Secondly, the excessive coverage of Donald Trump, to some extent caused by the controversy and his celebrity status, definitely contributed to his success. During the analysis, it was confirmed that the most controversial statements evoked the most coverage and therefore contributed to Donald Trump’s popularity. In those terms, not only the journalists should be taken into consideration, but also the audience. The digital age of social media presses media into reporting sensations rather than facts. Hence, the persona of Donald Trump was depicted much more than any other candidate and the audience was sometimes not familiar with other candidates, because of the absence of the equal coverage.

The goal of the thesis was to provide an image of a depiction of Donald Trump in the two American papers – the *New York Times* and the *New Yorker* and its possible development proportional to the development of the 2016 election. The two papers being predominantly democratic and situated in the democratic state of New York, the depiction was assumed to be negative, however a shift towards more positive depiction towards the end of the election was expected. Nevertheless, as my analysis

reveals, no shift towards more positive depiction of Donald Trump was noticed. The only shift discovered during the analysis was that Mr. Trump as a presidential candidate was perceived and therefore illustrated by the two papers in more serious tone during the final three presidential debates. He was observed as a threat rather than an entertaining element of the election as in the beginning of it. As my analysis reveals, Donald Trump several times expressed his displeasure with the *New York Times* reporting and its journalist. This wasn't the case of the *New Yorker*. We may assume that this fact can be to some extent assigned to the number of articles published by (daily newspaper) the *New York Times* compared to the number of articles published by (weekly magazine) the *New Yorker*.

To conclude, I suppose that Donald Trump is definitely not fitting for the highest office, but his strategy fit in the circumstances and the environment of the 2016 election. Moreover, his strategy was reinforced by media, which helped his success. In the period of nowadays time, the audience faces many impulses and seeks for sensations rather than serious information. Therefore, Donald Trump's becoming a President of the United States became a sensation that people chose. The thesis leaves a space for a further analysis of to what extent social media and media in general influence the society even on serious issues as the Presidential Election. The analysis of the digital age with connection to Presidential Election and the change of their perception is also crucial.

Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá postavou Donalda Trumpa, jakožto amerického kandidáta na post prezidenta Spojených Států a dále jeho vyobrazením ve dvou vybraných amerických médiích – *The New York Times* a *The New Yorker*.

První část práce je věnována životu Donalda Trumpa a snaží se jej takto přiblížit čtenáři. První část slouží také k vysvětlení dvou stěžejních pojmů, které jsou s osobou Donalda Trumpa spojovány, a které jej zásadně odlišili od většiny ostatních kandidátů – populismus a politická korektnost. Protože jsou tyto termíny neodmyslitelně spjaty s postavou kandidáta a dle mnohých přispěly k jeho vítězství, je jim udělena značná pozornost. Při seznamování se s termíny populismu a politické korektnosti je kladen důraz právě na postavu Donalda Trumpa. Donald Trump se svými politicky nekorektními, mnohdy až nenávistnými, výroky velmi často dostával do hledáčku médií po celém světě. Bezsporně se jednalo o nejdiskutovanějšího kandidáta 58. amerických voleb. Tato, leč negativní, popularita, vystřelila Donalda Trumpa do čela republikánských kandidátů hned po prvních republikánských debatách na podzim roku 2015. Jeho politicky, eticky i humánně nekorektní výroky (především ty o ilegálních přistěhovalcích) lze zároveň označit za populistické, vzhledem k době a sociální náladě, ve které byly publikovány. Sociální nálada, politicky nekorektní vyjadřování a nadměrná snaha médií profitovat z postavy Donalda Trumpa, nepochybně přispěli k jeho vítězství.

V druhé části jsem se zabýval analýzou vybraných článků zmíněných listů. Protože oba zpravodaje jsou situovány v New Yorku, tedy spíše v pro-demokratickém státě Spojených Států, hlavní část zkoumání směřovala k zjištění, zda se nějakým způsobem změnil obraz Trumpa po dobu voleb. Předpokládal jsem, že s blížícím se koncem voleb a zvyšujícími se šancemi Donalda Trumpa na získání postu prezidenta, budou média více neutrální ve svých publikacích o tomto kandidátovi. K tomuto zjištění jsem nedošel. Média změnila svůj postoj k republikánskému kandidátovi pouze nepatrně, a to tak, že jej začala vnímat více jako hrozbu a začala si uvědomovat zvyšující se pravděpodobnost jeho vítězství.

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Appendix Content

Appendix 1 – “Belly Flop”

Appendix 2 – “Bad Reception”

Appendix 3 – “The Big Short”

Appendix 4 – “Grand Illusion”

Appendix 5 – “Donald’s Rainy Day”

Appendix 6 – “Miss Congeniality”

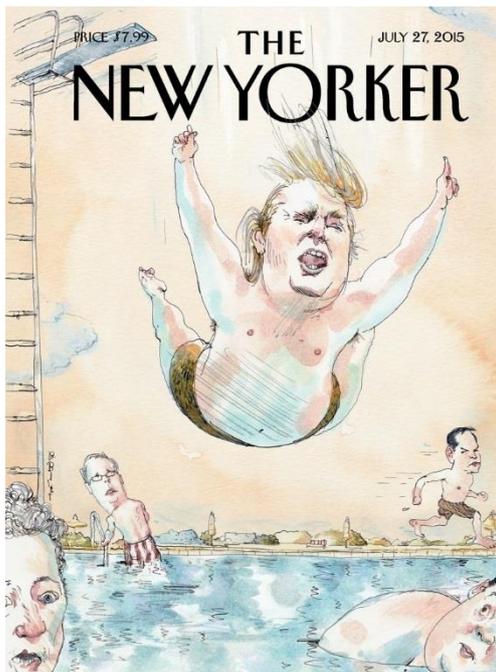
Appendix 7 – “Significant Others”

Appendix 8 – Graph 1

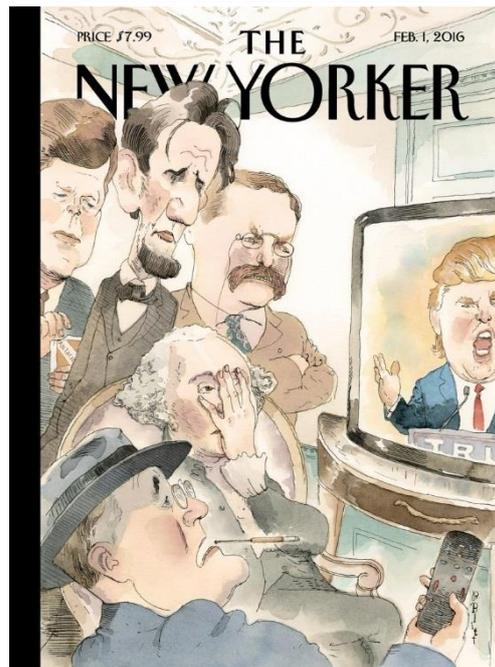
Appendix 9 – Graph 2

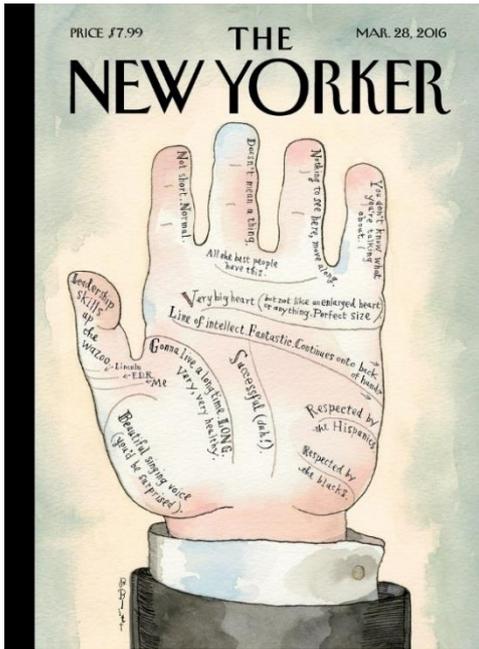
Appendix

Appendix 1 – “Belly Flop”

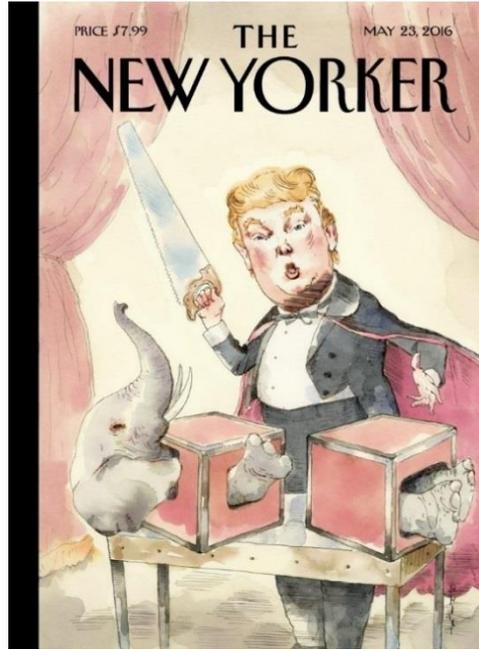


Appendix 2 – “Bad Reception”





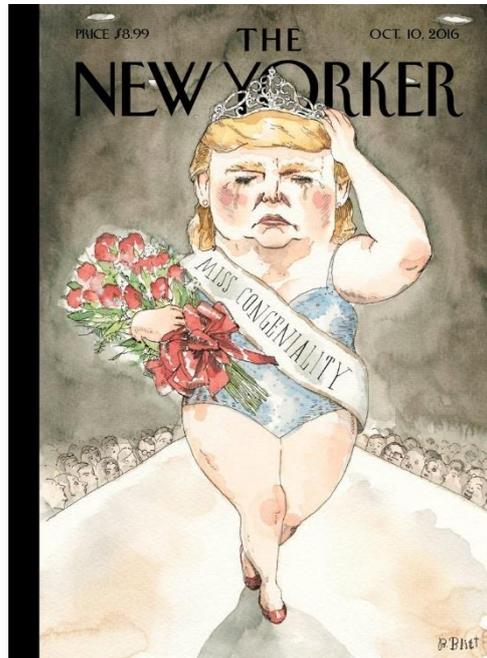
Appendix 3 – “The Big Short”



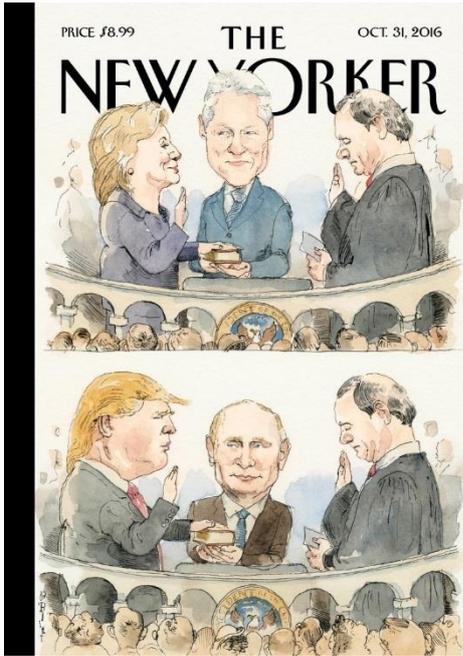
Appendix 4 – “Grand Illusion”



Appendix 5 – “Donald’s Rainy Day”

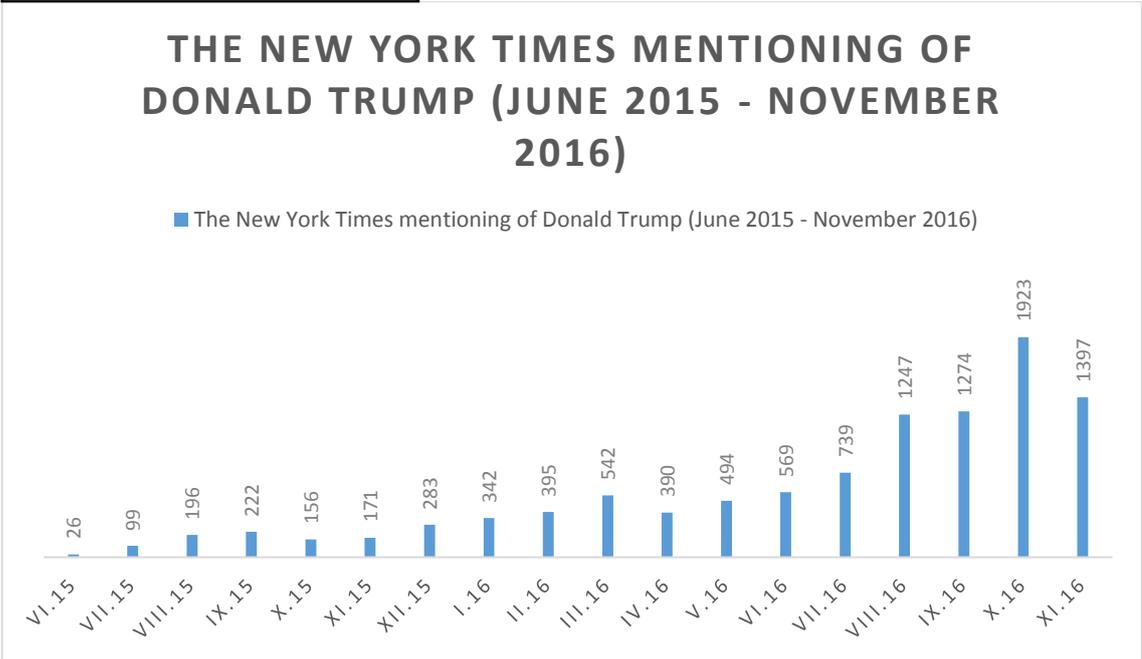


Appendix 6 – “Miss Congeniality”

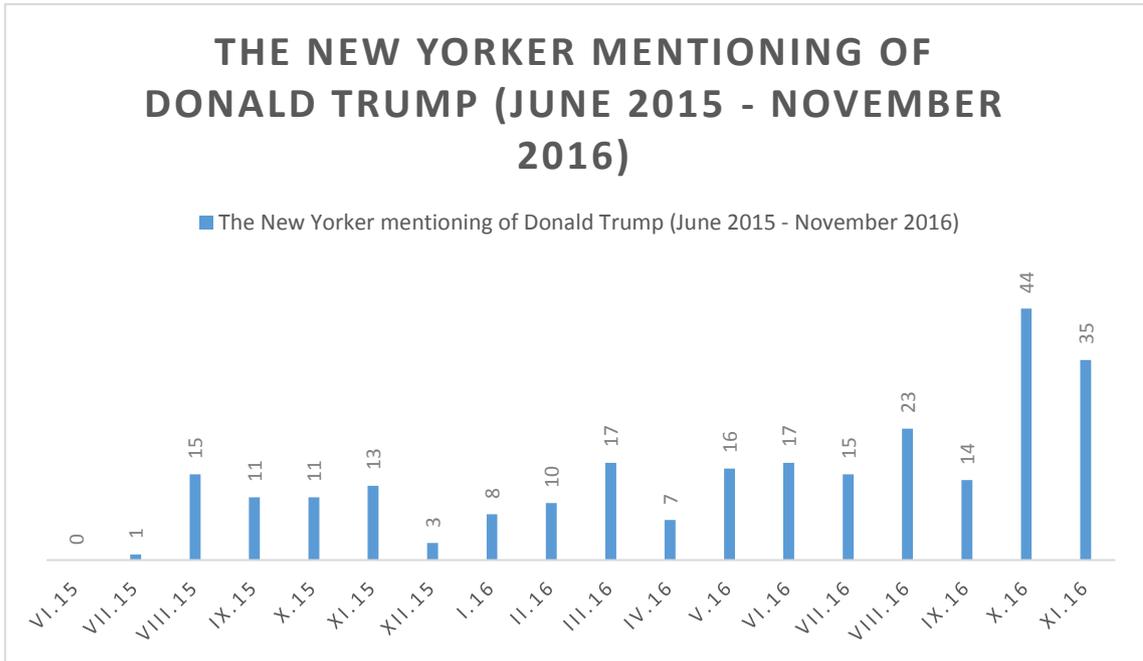


Appendix 7 – “Significant Othes”

Appendix 8 – Graph 1



Appendix 9 – Graph 2



Anotace

Příjmení a jméno: Ondruch Lukáš

Katedra: Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Studijní obor: Anglická filologie – Ruská filologie

Název: Obraz Donalda Trumpa v amerických médiích

Vedoucí práce: PhDr. Matthew Sweney, Ph.D.

Počet stran: 71 (140 528 znaků)

Tato diplomová práce si klade za cíl seznámit čtenáře s postavou Donalda Trumpa, jako kandidáta na prezidenta Spojených Států a předložit jeho prezentaci v amerických médiích po dobu voleb, konkrétněji v listech *The New York Times* a *The New Yorker*. Ve své první části práce seznamuje čtenáře s životem Donalda Trumpa a také s termíny, které byly často spojovány s jeho osobností po dobu voleb – populismus a politická korektnost. Druhá část analyzuje vývoj postoje deníků k danému kandidátovi.

Klíčová slova: Donald Trump, média, populismus, politická korektnost, volby, politika

Abstract

This diploma thesis aims to introduce Donald Trump as a presidential candidate and provide his representation in the American media during the 2016 election. More specifically in the *New York Times* and the *New Yorker*. In its first part, the thesis describes Donald Trump's biography and also phenomena, which were often assigned to his character – populism and political correctness. The second part analyses the development of depiction and attitudes of the two papers towards the candidate.

Keywords: Donald Trump, media, populism, political correctness, election, politics