THE DEMAGOGUERY OF PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP
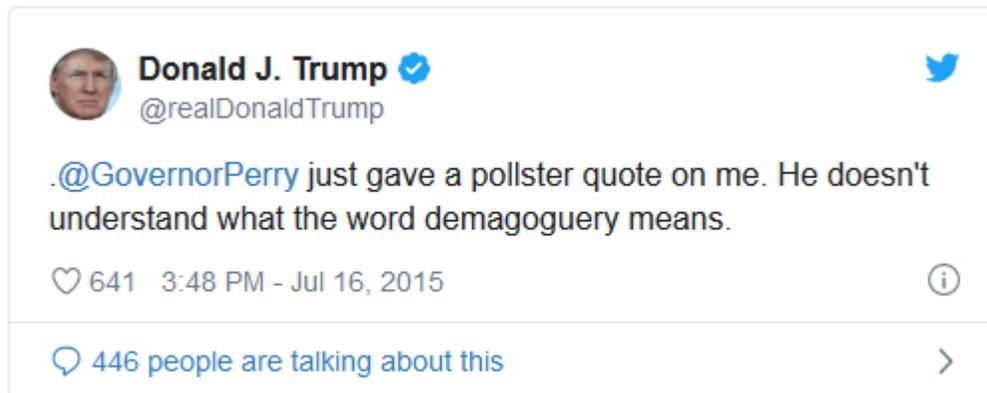
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Introduction

It would be easy to say President Donald Trump is a demagogue. There is an abundant amount of evidence supporting that statement. But, historically, lots of presidents have been accused of the same thing. But, do any of us really understand what exactly is a demagogue or demagoguery?

(2009)

Does Trump even understand the meaning of demagoguery? In this paper, I will prove that not only does he, but he has used it to his advantage in swaying many voters (and non-voters) in his corner with his polarizing rhetoric. As a result, he has created a loyal, if not, rabid following and fan-base that could carrying him to a second term as president.

Patricia Roberts-Miller is a Professor of Rhetoric and Writing and Director of the University Writing Center at the University of Texas at Austin. She is also the author of *Rhetoric and Demagoguery* (2019), *Demagoguery and Democracy* (2017). In her 2019 article *Demagoguery; Or, the Pleasures of Outrage*, Roberts-Miller compares Trump to some the history has treated favorably:

> "*Trump is commonly accused of being a demagogue. So were Obama, Reagan, FDR, Lincoln, and, well, pretty much every rhetorically effective President, and so are Keith Olbermann, Rush Limbaugh, Rachel Maddow, Bill O'Reilly, Ann Coulter, Michael*

Moore, Louis Farrakhan, Alex Jones. MLK was frequently condemned as a demagogue, which is interesting, since he's now presented as the civil and moderate choice...
In other words, the term "demagogue" is what scholars of rhetoric would call a "devil term"—it's a term meaning you don't like that person" (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

The issue is that many staunch conservatives would die on that hill, so to speak, saying that Trump is truly the savior of this nation and should be considered one of the greatest presidents in the modern era. Meanwhile, Trump's presidency has been mired in controversy and he is currently being challenged by the House of Representatives for charges of impeachment.

His latest job approval rating according to Gallup is currently 43 percent (Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019) with an average of 40 percent and a high of 46 percent (Gallup, 2019). The average for U.S. presidents (1938-2019) is 53 percent. But, his approval ratings with Republicans is currently 90 percent (Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019), his second highest rating (it has peak at 91 percent with Republicans four times during his term) (Gallup, 2019). Conversely, his current approval rating with Democrats is four percent (Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019), but has never been higher than 12 percent during his term (Gallup, 2019).

Stating that Trump is a demagogue to some is as easy as stating water is wet. He tweets awful things on Twitter on such a high frequency that many pundits public state (or question) are unpresidential. Here is a breakdown on the number of times Trump has said something containing negative buzz words via the Trump Twitter Achieve.

- 362 tweets about Fake News;
- 234 tweets with "loser;"
- 222 tweets with "dumb" or "dummy;"

- 156 tweets with "weak;"
- 117 tweets with "dope" or "dopey;"
- 115 tweets with "dishonest;"
- 101 tweets with "lightweight;"

- 92 tweets with "incompetent" or "incompetence;"
- 91 tweets with "boring;"
- 83 tweets with "fool;"
- 72 tweets with "pathetic;"
- 64 tweets with "haters and losers;"
- 52 tweets with "moron;"
- 50 tweets with "racist;"
- 45 tweets with "clown;"
- 39 tweets with "overrated" or "over-rated;"
- 37 tweets with "disgusting;"
- 28 tweets with "goofy;"
- 25 tweets with "low rating" or "bad rating;"
- 18 tweets with "no talent;"
- 15 tweets with "lowlife", "low-life", or "low life;"
- 106 tweets implying "global warming" is fake; and
- 84 tweets implying Obama is foreign (birtherism).
- That's a total of 2,208 tweets containing negative buzz words.

For some followers (and I'll discuss them later in this paper), tweets like this are attractive. It shows power. It shows that Trump had a forceful, winning will and nature. In the 2016 article "*No One Knows Why Trump Is Winning. Here's What Cognitive Science Says. The cognitive linguistic psychology behind Trump's success*" by George Lakoff, he states the following:

> *"As the legendary Green Bay Packers coach, Vince Lombardi, said, "Winning isn't everything. It's the only thing."*
>
> *In a world governed by personal responsibility and discipline, those who win deserve to win. Why does Donald Trump publicly insult other candidates and political leaders mercilessly? Quite simply, because he knows he can win an onstage TV insult game. In strict conservative eyes, that makes him a formidable winning candidate who deserves to be a winning*

candidate. Electoral competition is seen as a battle. Insults that stick are seen as victories —

deserved victories.

Consider Trump's statement that John McCain is not a war hero. The reasoning: McCain

got shot down. Heroes are winners. They defeat big bad guys. They don't get shot down.

People who get shot down, beaten up, and stuck in a cage are losers, not winners." (Lakoff,

2016).

This is one of Trump's many strategies to rally his followers. I could just end the paper here and

say, judging by the evidence I've already presented, Trump is a demagogue but there would be a

section of the public that would completely dismiss my assessment. Trump has too many

devoted followers, the backing of his political party, and the support of many conservative media

organizations and their news staffs. And, I would just be falling into the trappings of bad

rhetoric.

  The purpose of this writing is not to condemn the sitting president; my opinion in this

doesn't matter. It is also not the purpose in this writing to question or point out the failings of the

two-party system (that is an argument for another day). What is the task at hand is to support the

statement that Trump is truly a demagogue (according to the characteristics laid out by Robert-

Miller), despite the fact that his image has been protected by a section of the media he constantly

criticizes as "fake," his supporters, and his political party. In addition, if this writing were stuffed

in a time capsule to be opened in the next decade and the name Donald Trump was redacted, the

reader, no matter their political affiliation would be able to agree with the main argument.

The Twitter Presidency

      Donald Trump is the tweeting president. In fact, Trumps tweets so much, the White House has had a historic low of press briefings, 99 in 2017 and 60 in 2018 (Quinn, 2019). In comparison, Barack Obama averaged 129 per year and George W. Bush averaged 115 per year compared to Trump's average of 80 per year (Quinn, 2019). Twitter, created in 2006 while Bush was in office, has really only been a tool for the political machine for two presidencies, Trump's and Obama's. One of the main factors of Trump's campaign and eventual election was the confluence of traditional news coverage and social media individuality (Boczkowski & Papacharissi, 2018). In *Trump and the Media*, Pablo Boczkowski and Zizi Papacharissi attribute the perfect storm of public discontent with the agenda setting media, fake news on social media, and Trump's unconventional and constant use of Twitter to "promote alternative—and often unsupported by facts—narratives," was part of the evolutionary process of news and social media (Boczkowski & Papacharissi, 2018).

      After all, the mainstream media's coverage of Trump's presidential campaign, according to the *New York Times* Trump received almost $2 billion of free air time during the primary and almost $5 billion of free media time. CBS CEO Leslie Moonves said, "it might not be good for America but it's damn good for CBS." CNN worldwide president Jeff soccer added, "We have all benefited citing the astronomical revenues of cable news in 2016" (Boczkowski & Papacharissi, 2018). But, Trump's love affair with the media soon dissipated while he sought the presidential nomination. In the article, News Coverage of Donald Trump's First 100 Days By Thomas E. Patterson, Trump's disdain for the mainstream media developed prior to his election.

"Trump's dislike of the press was slow in coming. When he announced his presidential candidacy, journalists embraced him, and he returned the favor. Trump received far more coverage, and far more positive coverage, than did his Republican rivals. Only after he had secured the Republican nomination did the press sharpen its scrutiny and, as his news coverage turned negative, Trump turned on the press. Trump tweeted that the "election is being rigged by the media, in a coordinated effort with the Clinton campaign." It's been a running battle ever since" (Patterson, 2017).

Trump has gone as far as now stating, ""The press is your enemy," said the president. "Enemies. Understand that? . . . Because they're trying to stick the knife right in our groin" (Patterson, 2017). Despite that statement, Fox News continued a pro-Trump narrative up until recently during the House impeachment hearings. Trump is now criticizing the right-leaning network publicly on his Twitter account. Here is a recent tweet from Trump criticizing the network:

Don't get why @FoxNews puts losers on like @RepSwalwell (who got ZERO as presidential candidate before quitting), Pramila Jayapal, David Cicilline and others who are Radical Left Haters? The Dems wouldn't let @FoxNews get near their bad ratings debates, yet Fox panders. Pathetic!

♡ 52.7K 2:42 PM - Dec 8, 2019

💬 24.6K people are talking about this

(2009)

Of course, Trump has had a long-standing feud with the "liberal media," in particular, CNN. And any opportunity he has, he takes a shot. For example:

Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump

Fake News @CNN is reporting that I am "still using personal cell phone for calls despite repeated security warnings." This is totally false information and reporting. I haven't had a personal cell phone for years. Only use government approved and issued phones. Retract!

♡ 130K   7:23 PM - Dec 6, 2019   ⓘ

💬 56.4K people are talking about this   >

(2009)

Trumps tweets have been so prevalent that they constantly make the headlines in Americas most read newspapers (Shafer, 2017) and various web sites are dedicated to aggregating them, notably The *New York Times'* The 598 People, Places and Things Donald Trump Has Insulted on Twitter: A Complete List, the *Los Angeles Times* Everything President Trump has tweeted (and what it was about) and the aforementioned Trump Twitter Achieve. Trump has 67.4 million followers on Twitter, which puts currently at 11th overall between Justin Timberlake (12th) and Ariana Grande (10th), but this does not include the additional 25 million followers of the @potus Twitter handle, which would give him a grand total of 92 million followers (Brandwatch, 2019).

In addition, according to the article, *Donald Trump's "Political Incorrectness": Neoliberalism as Frontstage Racism on Social Media* by Jessica Gantt Shafer, "96 percent of his tweets being retweeted over 16 million times and 96 percent of his tweets being favorited by other users between December 2015 and July 2016, the time span in which Trump went from a fringe candidate to the Republican Party nominee. Trump's included tweets have anywhere from 8,000 to 100,000 likes and retweets, which offer a glimpse into the enormous popularity of

Trump's personal account." This is an enormous amount of traction from a politician who plays

fast and loose with the facts and what he says about anyone who is a threat to him.

In comparison, Obama has 110.6 million followers (1st) (Brandwatch, 2019) but there are

stark differences in the way Trump tweets compared to Obama. Here are two recent examples:

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump

The Do Nothing Democrats are a disgrace!
twitter.com/realdonaldtrum...

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
Breaking News: The President of Ukraine has just again announced that President Trump has done nothing wrong with respect to Ukraine and our interactions or calls. If the Radical Left Democrats were sane, which they are not, it would be case over!

♡ 23.1K   10:20 AM - Dec 9, 2019

💬 11.6K people are talking about this

(2009)
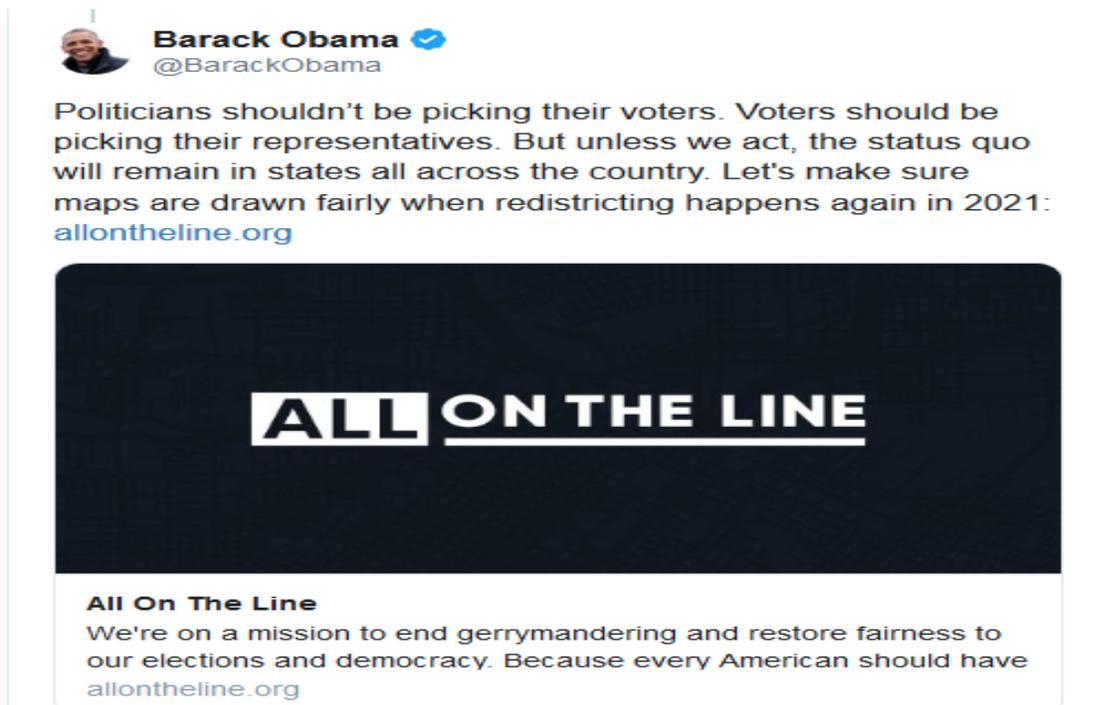
Barack Obama @BarackObama

Politicians shouldn't be picking their voters. Voters should be picking their representatives. But unless we act, the status quo will remain in states all across the country. Let's make sure maps are drawn fairly when redistricting happens again in 2021: allontheline.org

ALL ON THE LINE

All On The Line
We're on a mission to end gerrymandering and restore fairness to our elections and democracy. Because every American should have
allontheline.org

(2007)

What has been brilliant about Trump's strategy is that he took advantage of the fact that the American public is hungry for myths and slogans like "Make America Great Again," "We Will Drain the Swamp" and We Will Build a Wall" (Boczkowski & Papacharissi, 2018). He is preyed on many segments of white America's want for xenophobia and parlayed that into rhetoric that, while is polarizing, is popular with many conservatives. But most of all, his tweets have the propensity of dominating the 24-hour news cycle. No president has said less in speeches but capture the attention of the media more with his use of social media, in particular Twitter. But as stated previously this is the perfect storm of a politician taking advantage of a new technology such as social media to manipulate media coverage be it positive or negative.

Blind Support

For some, political allegiance is strictly along party lines. No matter what a politician may say or do. Former President Bill Clinton's character was always under scrutiny due to accusations of womanizing and he was eventual impeached for an improper relationship (that he initially denied) he had with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Despite that, his party remained loyal to him and his wife nearly won the Presidency in 2016.

Trump has built a fan base partially along the GOP party lines but also, as Bobby Azarian states in the article, *The Psychology Behind Donald Trump's Unwavering Support*, the Dunning-Kruger effect. The Dunning-Kruger states that voters and/or supporters of Trump are misinformed and completely oblivious to this fact. "This creates a double burden," Azarian writes. So, when Trump tweets something like this:

(2009)

…anyone who is a Trump supporter will take him for his word. The problem is too many voters and supporters are doing just that.

Another explanation for the blind support that Trump seems to be receiving is that he has appealed to what are termed as "Middle American Radicals," a term invented by sociologist

Donald Warren in the 1970s (Smith, 2016). Middle American Radicals are defined as "neither

conventionally liberal nor conventionally conservative, but instead revolved around an intense

conviction that the middle class was under siege from above and below." This included white

populists, nationalists, that "think they're getting screwed by both the rich and minorities"

(Smith, 2016). Others have surmised that his followers are known as "working class

authoritarianism." Regardless, Trump has been able to push the right buttons to get this portion

of Americans in his corner. Lakoff adds that there are three additional segments attracted to

Trump's values:

> *A major split is among (1) white Evangelical Christians, (2) laissez-fair free market*
>
> *conservatives, and (3) pragmatic conservatives who are not bound by evangelical beliefs*
>
> (Lakoff, 2016).

Trump used and lured this segment of the public through rhetoric about values many of these

voters embraced. Immigration and deporting "Mexicans," banning Muslims from entering the

U.S., toxic ethnonationalism, and the promise of "draining the swamp" or purifying the

corruptness of the government was the rhetoric he used to hook in these voters.

In addition, Trump's approval numbers defend the party-line statement. His latest job

approval rating according to Gallup is currently 43 percent (Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019) with an

average of 40 percent and a high of 46 percent (Gallup, 2019). The average for U.S. presidents

(1938-2019) is 53 percent. But, his approval ratings with Republicans is currently 90 percent

(Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019), his second highest rating (it has peak at 91 percent with Republicans

four times during his term) (Gallup, 2019). Conversely, his current approval rating with

Democrats is four percent (Nov. 1-Nov. 14, 2019), but has never been higher than 12 percent

during his term (Gallup, 2019).

Blind Support Part 2: The Conservative Media

In 2019, the love affair and honeymoon between Trump and the conservative media machine (particularly Fox News) is nearly over. But the conservative media machine was nothing but good the him in flipping the negative into a positive in terms of framing Trump's election bid.

In the 2016 Harvard University study, *Partisanship, Propaganda, and Disinformation: Online Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election,* immigration became Trump's leading issue in the campaign and he used it to his advantage.

> *"Initially, the Trump campaign used a hardline anti-immigration stance to distinguish Trump from the field of GOP contenders. Later, immigration was a wedge issue between the left and the right. Pro-Trump media sources supported this with sensationalist, race-centric coverage of immigration focused on crime, terrorism, fear of Muslims, and disease. While coverage of his candidacy was largely critical, Trump dominated media coverage"* (Faris, et al., 2017).

Trump was able to parlay the negative coverage as 60 percent of the stories in main stream news (Faris, et al., 2017).
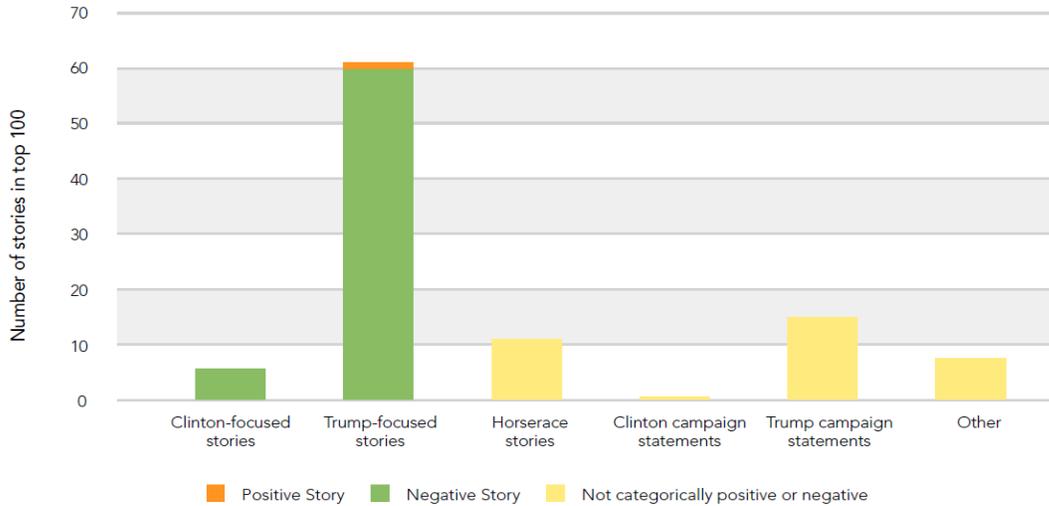
Figure 3: Valence and focus of the 100 most linked-to stories. Stories were hand-coded for topic and tone.

This was a coup for him. As mentioned previously, the amount of free press time Trump gained was staggering and better than any funded press. In addition, as this same study shows, the conservative news site Breitbart dominated social media coverage ranking at the top in terms of a news source via Facebook and Twitter as well as used inlinks (Faris, et al., 2017).

	Inlinks	Twitter	Facebook
1	Breitbart	Breitbart	Breitbart
2	Fox News	Fox News	Conservative Tribune
3	donaldjtrump.com	Washington Examiner	Gateway Pundit
4	NY Post	Daily Caller	Fox News
5	Washington Times	Gateway Pundit	Daily Caller
6	Daily Caller	Right Scoop	Truthfeed
7	Daily Mail	Daily Mail	Western Journalism
8	Washington Examiner	InfoWars	Political Insider
9	WikiLeaks	NY Post	EndingtheFed
10	Free Beacon	Washington Times	NY Post

Table 1: Most popular media on the right from May 1, 2015, to November 7, 2016

Trump may have a fractured relationship with the conservative media now, but he's

already gotten what he wanted from them: free coverage and loyalty to build a voting base. He

can know just be as dismissive about Fox News as he wants to be because his true loyalists aren't going anywhere and besides, he still has the support of Breitbart.

> **Donald J. Trump** ✓
> @realDonaldTrump
>
> "This is yet again an example of Democrats projecting THEIR criminal acts on President Trump. President Trump is an innocent man. It is a lawless coup attempt against a duly elected President." @replouiegohmert @BreitbartNews
>
> ♡ 55.2K   3:44 PM - Oct 3, 2019   ⓘ
>
> ♡ 25.8K people are talking about this   ＞

(2009)

> **Donald J. Trump** ✓
> @realDonaldTrump
>
> Steve Bannon will be a tough and smart new voice at @BreitbartNews...maybe even better than ever before. Fake News needs the competition!
>
> ♡ 93.1K   12:47 PM - Aug 19, 2017   ⓘ
>
> ♡ 48.1K people are talking about this   ＞

(2009)

It looks like Trump hasn't burned all of his media bridges, but even when he does, he takes advantage of doing so.

What Makes Someone a Demagogue?

Roberts-Miller argues that demagoguery "depoliticizes political argument by making all issues into questions of identities" (Roberts-Miller, 2019). Basically, she is stating that it is an us versus them mentality. In other words, the more popular notion that "demagoguery simply means effective rhetoric on behalf of a political agenda I dislike" (Roberts-Miller, 2019) is just a definition of convenience for people and should be dismissed. The roots of demagoguery, as she explains in *Demagoguery and Democracy,* is the Greek term that meant a political leader who was not a populist, a leader of the non-elite, or someone who tried to appeal to ordinary citizens who feel disenfranchised (Roberts-Miller, 2017). Modern day demagoguery isn't quite that simple, she argues. If it was, slavery, the Holocaust, segregation, and pretty much anything Hitler did would not have happened.
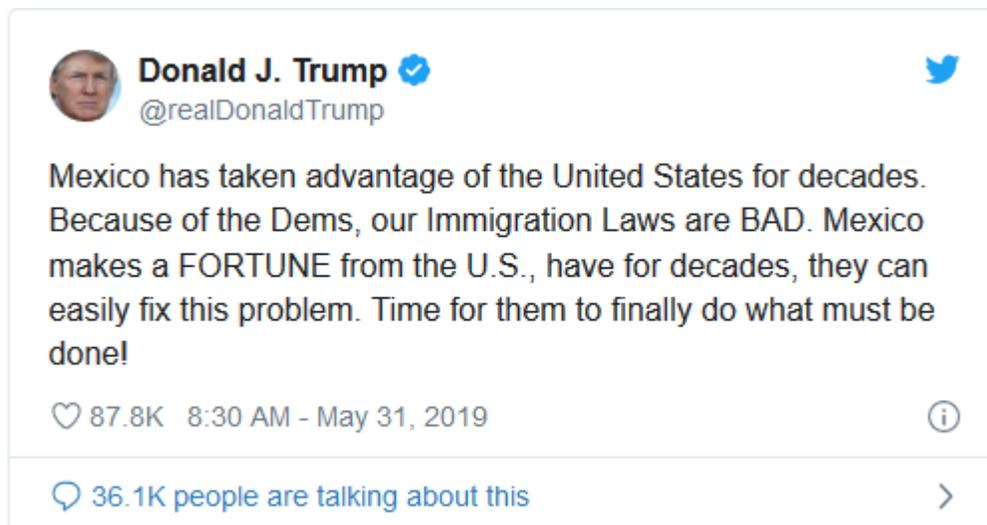
In fact, Roberts-Miller argues that demagoguery is often polarizing and relies on binaries.

Demagoguery is always polarizing, and always relies on binaries. It is not distinguished by emotionalism or populism, not only because lots of very good and helpful methods of deliberation are emotional and populist, but because it is often not emotional at all, and quite often elite discourse. Demagoguery can look "rational" in that it can provide a lot of data, numbers, assertions, and even analyses (as in Grant's Passing of the Great Race, or Laughlin's report for the 1924 Immigration Act) (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

Roberts-Miller uses the binary example of "punish = strong" vs. "reward = weak" as a common set of paired terms related to demagoguery (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

There is also an in-group/out-group (mob mentality) of thinking in society. I'm a student at Virginia Commonwealth University, so it is my in-group. Therefore, as a fan of the school and

its teams, anyone from the University of Richmond, Old Dominion University, or George Mason University is in my out-group. Does this mean I should be dismissive or combative of those in the out group? Well, we see it everyday on Twitter during basketball season. As Roberts-Miller explains, the in-group is not the group in power but the group you are in. It's part of your identity.

The argument is that we have a tendency to trust those who are in our in-group. But you may find out as you are scrolling on your Twitter feed that that fellow VCU fan you follow, someone who you consider in your in-group, has posted some racist tweets. Are you willing to continue to consider that person a member of your in-group with this new information? Common sense would say no (unless you share those similar view points). But, how often in daily life to people in an in-group like VCU see another person wearing a VCU hat and think, "That's a good person because they are a fan of my school." You might even give them a nod or a high five. Politically, people have selected their own in and out groups and engage in what is called bad policy argumentation that are inclusive of diverse points of view.

> **Donald J. Trump** ✔
> @realDonaldTrump
>
> Mexico has taken advantage of the United States for decades. Because of the Dems, our Immigration Laws are BAD. Mexico makes a FORTUNE from the U.S., have for decades, they can easily fix this problem. Time for them to finally do what must be done!
>
> ♡ 87.8K   8:30 AM - May 31, 2019   ⓘ
>
> 💬 36.1K people are talking about this   >

(2009)

Roberts-Miller would define this tweet as Trump being a negative participant in policy argumentation. If this was an affirmative policy argumentation, the first part would be to state

the issue and its seriousness publicly, who caused this issue and a reason why it won't be solved unless some action is taken. Let's unpack this tweet:

- Problem: Bad immigration laws;

- Severity: Mexico is taking advantage of the U.S.;

- Caused by: The Democrats; and

- Length: Decades.

The second part of Trump's tweet should create a plan that solves the issue, is feasible, and will not create additional issues or exacerbate the existing problem. Let's continue to unpack:

- Plan: N/A;

- Solvency: N/A;

- Feasibility: N/A;

- Additional issues avoided: N/A.

As you can see, all Trump's tweet was an instance of negative policy argumentation. And, by Robert-Miller's definition, this tweet is a textbook example of demagoguery:

> *"Demagoguery works by appealing purely to those kinds of non-conscious considerations, ratcheting them up with dog whistles, claims of existential threat to the in-group, reframing all policy issues into a war between the in- and out-group that is best won by pure loyalty to the in-group (and whatever leaders happen to best embody the in-group)"* (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

Let's examine another tweet:

(2009)

- Problem: Elijah Cummings;

- Severity: Incompetent leadership;

- Caused by: Elijah Cummings, a

  black Democrat;

- Length: Many years;

- Plan: Focus more energy (does not

  provide how);

- Solvency: N/A;

- Feasibility: N/A; and

- Additional issues avoided: N/A.

Let's try one more (2009):

(2009)

- Problem: Economy;

- Severity: Voter turnout;

- Caused by: Democrats;

- Length: N/A;

- Plan: N/A;
- Feasibility: N/A; and
- Solvency: N/A;
- Additional issues avoided: N/A

In addition, this tweet referenced impeachment and voter turnout, neither of which have anything to do with the economic legislation. Not to mention the fact that the Democrats just had a very successful election season recently. The selection process of these tweets was not difficult. If you pay attention to Trump's tweets, this is how the majority of the policy tweets are. Of course, he spends an inordinate amount of time tweeting about any of his political threats' character, his disdain for the media, and any other mundane thoughts that pop into his head.

Objectivity vs. Bias vs. Balance

For further study on this subject, I think it would be prudent to explore and discuss bias. Roberts-Miller addresses bias in *Demagoguery and Democracy* saying that we tend to loosely throw that term around due to how we see ourselves in our in-groups and out-groups. I would bring that discussion back to the VCU basketball analogy. I like using the sport analogies because on Twitter and in face-to-face discussions, I find people to be at their most unreasonably irrational when it comes to their political allegiances and their fandom of sports teams.

An unreasonable fanatic fan could say something like "We are better than ODU because we beat them." But, let's say ODU goes further in the NCAA tournament than VCU and knocks off Duke. That same fan could say, "We beat ODU, therefore we would have beaten Duke. #LetsGoVCU." It is that fan's blind bias that would drive that type of circular logic.
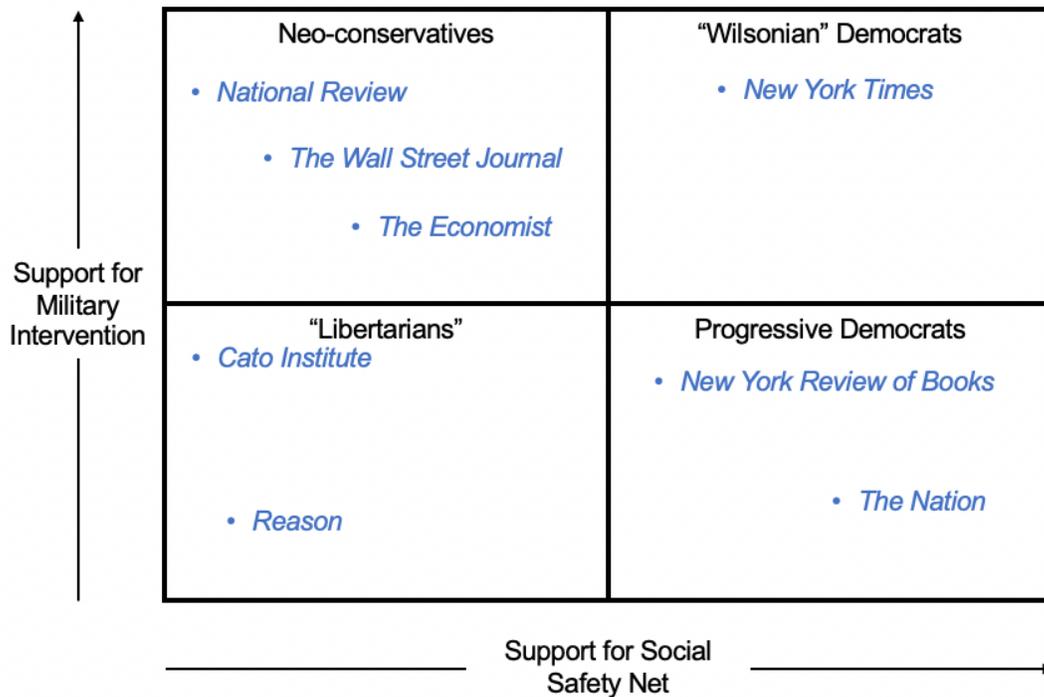
But, looking into bias is a more complex issue. In my studies and experience as a journalist, bias can be misused. We are all naturally biased. For journalists, it's a matter of objectivity. And, bringing objectivity into the conversation complicates matters because the nature of the media industry is in flux when it comes to objectivity. What many don't realize is that majority of media corporations are owned by rich (mostly white) men who tend to be conservative by nature (Hanson, 2017). Journalists tend to have a liberal lean (Hanson, 2017). This complicates how much the public trusts the media.

In addition, Fox News, CNN, and Breitbart were all mentioned in this article, but there are a number of news organization, traditional and fringe that people follow that have some sort of perception of media bias. News consumers who want to try to find a balance of opinion, according to Roberts-Miller, can't just flip the channels between CNN and Fox News. She says

that the mistake news consumers make is thinking left versus right. Instead she proposes that we split our media consumption between neo-conservatives, "Wilsonian" Democrats, Libertarians, and Progressive Democrats (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

Read widely
Counteract demagoguery by getting out of your informational enclave

	Neo-conservatives	"Wilsonian" Democrats
	• *National Review*	• *New York Times*
	• *The Wall Street Journal*	
	• *The Economist*	
	"Libertarians"	Progressive Democrats
	• *Cato Institute*	• *New York Review of Books*
	• *Reason*	• *The Nation*

Support for Military Intervention (vertical axis)

Support for Social Safety Net (horizontal axis)

Conclusion

      Chances are, if you are a staunch Trump supporter, or, as Roberts-Miller puts it, in his in-group, the arguments in this paper probably haven't changed your mind unless you are open to what her definition of a demagogue. And, if you are a staunch liberal, the same might go for you—I had you at hello, Trump is a demagogue. But, if we keep in mind Roberts-Miller's theory, one could easily see that by holding Trump to a higher standard of the meaning, he truly is a demagogue. Earlier, I used this quote:

> *In other words, the term "demagogue" is what scholars of rhetoric would call a "devil term"—it's a term meaning you don't like that person"* (Roberts-Miller, 2019).

Like I said, it's not up to me how you look at Trump and his rhetoric, but if you look at the evidence I presented by higher stands, I can confidently state that Trump is a demagogue and until the 24-hour news cycle and standards of media agenda setting are addressed, with the use of social media tools like Twitter, Trump may have just given the next demagogue a roadmap and how-to guide on creating public discourse, alienation, and xenophobia.

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