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Donald Trump

A fascist president with Christian support?



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Abstract

Donald Trump – En fascist med kristet stöd?

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Donald Trump tog världen med storm när han deltog i det amerikanska presidentvalet och sedermera blev vald. Uppsatsen undersöker om Donald Trump kan placeras på en fascistisk skala baserat på hans uttalanden i sex tal; samt hur det kristna stödet, som Donald Trump erhöll i valet, kan förklaras. Sex tal analyseras med basen i kvalitativ textanalys och kategoriseras i fem kategorier för fascism.

Det kristna stödet kan förklaras genom gemensamma värderingar, Lakoffs *Strict Father morality*, i kombination med rädsla. Rädslan över vad som ska hända med AFS med Hillary Clinton som president är stor, är en tung faktor för konservativa kristna att rösta på Donald Trump. Studien kommer fram till att Donald Trump kan klassificeras som semi-fascist då han delvis uppfyller de kriterier som studien grundar sig på.

Nyckelord

Donald Trump; Amerikas Förenta Stater; islam; muslimer; hatpropaganda; fascism; kristendom; ledarskap; evangelister.

Key words

Donald Trump; United States of America; Islam; Muslims; hate speech; fascism; Christianity; leadership; evangelical Christians.

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1 Introduction

The American president election 2016 was a dirty election and standing in the centre of the storm was Donald Trump. Trump chose to run for the Republican party and was first looked at as a distraction instead of a serious alternative to the other more established candidates. By being “political incorrect” and speaking from his heart more than from a script (often condescending about different groups in society) he was not viewed as having any chance to become a presidential candidate, even less to become the president.

To be frank, mean and loud seems to have attracted a lot of people who was disappointed with the political elite and their stiffer attitude. By proposing a wall to Mexico, being pro-life, wanting to withdraw LGBT rights among other things, he took America by storm and was elected as the 45th president of the U.S. on the 8th of November by the people and on the 19th of December by the electors. In some parts of the text Donald Trump will be titled “president-elect” due to the fact that he is not yet president when this study is being undertaken.

During the presidential election campaign, Trump expressed a lot of opinions regarding Muslims, LGBT-people and women that have scared many individuals belonging to these groups. The greatest blame is put on Muslims and they are separated as a group, separated as human beings. In Europe, we are seeing a rise of alternative right wing (alt-right)/racist groups and parties that mainly argue against nations in Europe helping people who are fleeing the wars in Syria, Iraq and the neighbouring countries. Daesh has built its foundation on the Quran and Islam, and with most refugees from this area being Muslims, they have become targets for the alt-right/racist groups and parties. And this hatefulness against Muslims is spreading, not least in the media coverage.

Does Donald Trump place himself among these hateful groups with his comments, or is he just telling us a hard truth?

2 Theory and method

In this first chapter I will present my purpose with this essay, the theories this essay will be based upon and how I will put these theories to use. How I have gathered my material and criticism of my sources will also be presented.

2.1 Purpose

Donald Trump is an outspoken individual who expresses his beliefs very strongly, and he is a very interesting subject. My purpose with this essay is to examine speeches by the president-elect to study his expressed views through the lens of fascism and hate speech.

- To what extent does Donald Trump express fascist opinions in his rallies?
- What explains the historical support from some Christian fractions for fascism?
 - o And can we see a pattern that may explain Christian support for Trump?

These questions seek to understand whether Donald Trump is a fascist and why so many conservative Christians support a man who makes questionable statements in the media.

In the result, I will focus on my summed-up criteria for fascism and categorize Trump's statements accordingly to them. In the conclusion, I will discuss if Donald Trump tends to lean against fascism or hate speech (or a combination of the two).

2.2 Fascism

Fascists want to see themselves as a third way, between left and right. They want to unite the nation, so the struggle of the classes has no place in the fascist's view on society. During the twentieth-century, we can see that fascist and conservative groups have been found to cooperate in different degrees (Blinkhorn, 2001:1-5).

One key part of fascism is rebirth of the nation. Mussolini gathered inspiration from the old Roman Empire, but he wanted a new, modern Italy. And to do so the harmful parts of the nation must be purged (Griffin, 2007:8). Fascism is a masculine ideology;

endorsing strong, charismatic and driven men as the ideal leader of the people (Arnstad, 2013:10).

Roger Griffin (1991:xi), professor in modern history, defines the core of fascism as follows:

A revolutionary form of nationalism, one that sets out to be a political, social and ethical revolution, welding the 'people' into a dynamic national community under new elites infused with heroic values. The core myth that inspires this project is that only a populist, trans-class movement of purifying, cathartic national rebirth (palingenesis) can stem the tide of decadence.

Professor of History Kevin Passmore (2002), highlights the dualism of fascism and gives a short introduction to its rise and components; stating that fascism, along with liberalism, conservatism, communism, socialism and democracy, is one of the great political ideologies which made its mark on the 20th century.

[H]ow can we make sense of an ideology that appeals to skinheads and intellectuals; denounces the bourgeoisie while forming alliances with conservatives; adopts a macho style yet attracts women; calls for a return to tradition and is fascinated by technology; idealizes the people and is contemptuous of mass society; and preaches violence in the name of order?

Passmore, 2002:11

As shown in the quotation above, fascism is a contradictory ideology. Fascists claim to be nationalists, and it is a form of ultranationalist ideology and practice. They condemn most "isms" (such as socialism, feminism, capitalism etcetera) due to their conviction that other criteria (class, gender, economic interests and so on) are more important than the nation, though they do see capitalism as more compatible with the national interest than feminism and socialism. They often speak of the people and to the people, but who are the "people"? They are the ones matching the fascists criteria of the nation (for example race) and do not care about classes. But, they do believe in an unequal distribution of talents among the people, and therefore want an elite to rule, instead of having the mediocre masses electing a mediocre government. So, when they speak of the people who will lead, it is the (their) elite of whom they speak (Passmore, 2002:10-32).

Passmore's definition of fascism covers all these aspects. He points out that they are not his original ideas, but he has drawn inspiration from other theorists when creating this definition. Hence, the definition is comprehensive and I have summed it up as follows:

Fascism seeks to place the nation, defined by biological, cultural, and/or historical terms, as the ultimate loyalty to create a mobilized national community. Socialism and feminism are regarded as hostile to the community, prioritizing class or gender rather than nation, making fascism a movement of the *extreme* right. It is also a movement of *radical* right, depending upon a new elite acting in the name of the people by a charismatic leader and embodied in a mass, militarized party. The common hatred of socialism and feminism tends fascists and conservatives to be pushed towards another. But where conservatives embrace the family, property, religion, the universities and the civil service, fascists may ignore these factors where interests of the nation require it. They may assuage discontent among the labour and women's movement by accepting demands in line with national priority. To ensure social harmony, and national interests, fascists tend to mobilize workers and women within the party and/or a corporate system, in special sections. Fascists policy is suffused with ultranationalism (Passmore, 2002:31).

For this essay, I will focus on Passmore's five categorizations of fascism:

- The focus on the nation defined by biological, cultural, and/or historical terms, as the ultimate loyalty to create a mobilized national community;
- Hostility against socialism and feminism;
- The charismatic leader and the mass, militarized party;
- The connection between fascism and conservatism;
- The courtship of labour and women's movements.

2.2.1 Christian fascism

All around inter-war Europe religious fascist groups flourished. Some examples are Catholic-based movements as Ustata in Croatia, the Arrow Cross in Hungary and the Hlinka Guard in Slovakia (Berlet, 2005). The dictator of Austria, Engelbert Dollfuss, attempted to create "the Christian corporative state recommended by [Pope] Pius XI in ... Quadragesimo anno [as] an appropriate means of overcoming class antagonisms"

(Wodka, 1967:958-9). I will introduce you to one important group, the Clerico-fascists in Mussolini's Italy. A few but important groups of conservative Catholics in Italy were attracted by Italian fascism and played a big part, despite their small numerical strength, being called 'Clerico-Fascists' (Pollard, 2001:31).

Many of the old Clerico-Moderates ("that is to say Catholic conservatives committed to the defence of the existing economic, social and political order" (Pollard, 2001:33)) became the new Clerico-Fascists. This defence is key to understanding why so many Catholic conservatives went over to fascism. These Clerico-Moderates saw the emerging working-class movement as a bigger threat than the anti-clericalism of the Liberals, hence they encouraged Catholic voters to support Liberal candidates. (Pollard, 2001:32).

The Catholic party Partito Popolare Italiano (PPI) managed to unify the Moderates and the Christian Democrats and got hold of a fifth of the total votes in the election 1918, when Socialists became the biggest party. This unification lasted only until 1920. The conservatives feared a Bolshevik revolution and sought to build connections with the Liberals, the right-wing Nationalists and the Fascists. And in 1922, three conservative, *popolare*, ministers entered Mussolini's government. This caused a conflict within PPI and its left and right wing which resulted in a party decision that only 'conditional' collaboration with fascism was approved. Mussolini then threw the three ministers out and declared war against the party (Pollard, 2001:33-34).

The leader of the left wing inside PPI, Don Luigi Sturzo (who named the old Moderates Clerico-Fascists), held power in the party by 1923 and was about to vote down the Acerbo Law, but was forced out of politics by the Vatican. Due to canonical obedience, he obeyed, and the Clerico-Fascist betrayed their colleagues and voted for the Acerbo Law instead. This law gave Mussolini an electoral reform resulting in a safe and solid majority and for Mussolini to consolidate his power during the election in 1924 (Pollard, 2001:35).

The PPI disintegrated and the Clerico-Fascists helped Mussolini to get strong support amongst the Catholics in Italy (Pollard, 2001:35-36). "[...] [T]he Clerico-Fascists accepted Mussolini's destruction of the institutions of parliamentary democracy in Italy,

and faithfully supported the legislation setting up the Fascist dictatorship” (Pollard, 2001:36).

2.2.2 Hate speech

In their report, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum defines hate speech as “inflammatory language, often insulting and derisive, that targets an individual or group, and that may or may not include a call to violence” (USHMM p.8) and differs from propaganda which is defined as “biased information designed to shape public opinion and behavior” (USHMM p.8). Hate speech is very dangerous and must be addressed since silence might indicate acceptance of the hate speech’s views and possible violence accompanying these views. To restore order, to make peace and reconciliation, we must, according to USHMM, abandon violence as a countermeasure and build our answers on trust and justice, how difficult it may be.

Robert Lanning, Ph.D. in Education, explains what goals an agitator of hate speech has:

The agitator gives priority to social relations relevant to an earlier or founding period: namely, conditions dominant social groups (of race, ethnicity, or class) established, the reasonableness of which the agitator projects forward to the present. The agitator also claims that the presence of and/or concessions to subordinate, inferiorized groups has already diminished or diluted those relations. The object of the agitator’s concentration is a call for adherence to an imagined, ideal arrangement of culture that once existed, that was a pre-condition for social and personal stability, and that acquired its validity and reasonableness from the separation of social groups. Thus, a national or racial myth is created.

Lanning 2012:56

By referring to a (alleged?) golden age of history and longing to re-create that era, enemies will be found/created and to make the nation great again. These enemies must be dealt with so that the golden age may rise again (Lanning, 2012:56).

The agitator creates scapegoats to explain why the situation in society is what it is. Matthew N. Lyons, historian, and Chip Berlet, journalist, provides us with a definition of scapegoating: the term describes social processes where hostility from an angry group is directed away from the actual problems onto a demonised group. This

scapegoat is to blame and the scapegoaters feel righteousness and their unity is strengthened. These problems may be real or imaginary, the targeted group may be innocent or partly culpable, but what matters is that the “scapegoats are wrongfully stereotyped as all sharing the same negative trait, or are singled out for blame while other major culprits are let off the hook (2000:8).

2.2.3 Summary

An understanding of the foundation of fascism and how Christians, in this case Mussolini’s Italy, may support fascism, and what defines hate speech are the foundations of this study.

Fascism is compressed in to five points that will be checkpoints for Donald Trump’s statements to see if he shows fascist tendencies. History has shown that conservative Christians may support a fascist leader if they see s/he as a defender of the current order and will protect their place in the social hierarchy. Lastly, the understanding of hate speech and what defines it will be a usable tool in analysing the president-elect’s statements.

2.3 Material and methodological considerations/delimitations

This study is based on a qualitative text analysis method. This method is usable to reach an understanding of the text; or in the case of this study, an understanding of six speeches. I have systematized the material in to categories (presented in chapter 2.2. *Fascism*), to answer my general question: is Donald Trump a fascist? The method highlights the essential contents of the texts (speeches) and makes it understandable. Esaiasson et al (2007:237-238) argue for reading the text several times, both fast and slow to find different aspects in the text that are interesting for the study. In my case, I have listened to six speeches, retrieved the relevant information and categorized it. Another important aspect is the pre-knowledge the researcher has when analysing a text, as the experiences the researcher has accumulated impact how a text is analysed.

Esaiasson et al. (2007:248-249) write that there is no general answer to what the optimal amount of material is. What the researcher must take in to consideration is the amount of time available for the study. I have chosen the speeches randomly and did not know

their content before-hand. I searched “Donald Trump rallies” to find these speeches and picked three before the election and three after the election, trying to choose speeches with some distance between them, but not more than half a year from the election. All quotations from these speeches in this study have been transcribed by myself. These six speeches clock in at around six hours and even though more speeches would have been interesting, six hours plus categorization/analysis was more than enough for my purposes.

2.3.1 Material

The studied speeches are from rallies held in San José, California, 6/2/2016 (Youtube1); Bangor, Maine, 10/15/2016 (Youtube2); Tampa, Florida, 11/5/2016 (Youtube3); Hershey, Pennsylvania, 12/15/2016 (Youtube4); Orlando, Florida, 12/16/2016 (Youtube5) and Mobile, Alabama, 12/17/2016 (Youtube6). This results in a strong validity since Trump’s statements are recorded and not processed through another channel like newspapers.

I will not study media material like interviews, analysis or debates. There is just no time to cover a broad spectrum of media where Donald Trump has been present. The focus of this study is Donald Trump and his statements, and how Christian group *may* support him, not *why*. Hence religious groups are not studied to explain why they support him.

In this study, I have used books by experts (e.g. Arnhen, Steinfels, Pollard and more) to explain and clarify certain elements in this essay. In addition, I have also made use of articles, media homepages, homepages about Donald Trump, encyclopaedias and radio interviews to extract information vital for this essay.

2.3.2 Source criticism

My choice to pick the speeches randomly on Youtube prevents me from controlling the source material. The downside is that I might lose potentially better information from other speeches that I have not considered. What I could have done is do include the three presidential debates to get a third parameter to compare, but I choose to focus on the rallies where Trump was unmoderated.

It is hard to find objective sources about Donald Trump. Either it is his own information, or it is from a supporter or from an objector. Since he claims to despise media, you must consider that the media may depict Donald Trump in a more negative light. Established media sources, like CNN, are only used for some basic facts and information about Donald Trump has been extracted from both subjective and objective homepages to present a fair representation.

2.3.3 Disclaimer by the author

Being an atheist and a democratic socialist, I do not have a positive opinion of Donald Trump or the Republican Party and I am critical of religion. This does not stop me from being interested and fascinated by politics and religion overall. My curiosity is genuine and I am good at keeping an objective perspective. I do not reckon there is anything in this study that is compromised by my personal opinions, but this disclaimer is important for the readers to decide for themselves.

2.4 Disposition

By now you have read the first to segments of this essay, the introduction and my theory and method where I explain my purpose and a background on fascism my theory, fascism and hate speech. This beginning lets you to know my subject, what I want to achieve and how I will do it.

This is followed by the background where I will explain the electoral system in the U.S., give a short presentation of Donald Trump and present earlier research. In chapter 4, *Rallies*, I present my findings from the speeches I have studied; in chapter 5 you will find my conclusions and in chapter 6 I will discuss the conclusions and present ideas for future research.

3 Background

In this section I will give a short brief about the electoral system in the U.S. in order for you to understand how a president is elected, I will present the person of Donald Trump, explain differences between conservatives and liberals, give a short presentation of the evangelicals. In addition I will present earlier research.

3.1 Donald Trump

On donaldjtrump.com you can read about Americas 45th president. It starts off by stating that Donald Trump is the definition of the American success story, telling about his interest in real estate, sports and entertainment. It mentions that he is a graduate of the Wharton School of Finance (stating that it is the world's first collegiate business school and has a vision to be the world's most comprehensive source of business knowledge (Wharton)) and is an accomplished author. The site then describes his successes like his presence in (social) media, his support for veteran causes, the high standard of his estates and golf courses and his accomplishments as a reality TV star. The last two lines tells us that he was born in Queens, that he is married to Melanie Trump, naming his children and that he is a proud grandfather. On his other website, trump.com, we get to know that he started his business career with his father, Fred C. Trump, before we get a long proclamation of Donald Trump's real estate purchases and developments, as well as the information already mentioned above.

In order for us to know that he was born in 1946, we have to go to a more neutral website. Here we find more information than all the successes. In the early 1970's he got a \$1million loan from his father (who was worth \$200 million), but he also had connection to the family wealth and connections (CNN.com). Trump gained control of the family business in 1971 and renamed it *Trump Organization*. In 1973 the federal government filed a complaint against the organization "alleging that they had discriminated against tenants and potential tenants based on their race, a violation of the Fair Housing Act" (biography.com), which was settled in 1975 (biography.com).

There is no denying that Donald Trump has made good business deals throughout the years, but the times have not always been golden. In 1990 the real estate market declined, and so did Trump Organization which managed to avoid bankruptcy by taking

massive loans, managing to turn a \$900 million deficit around. During this time, he claimed to have \$1.5-\$2 billion in worth, an exaggeration according to independent sources who estimated his worth to around \$500 million (biography.com).

On October 7, 2016, The Washington Post released a recording from 2005 of Trump where he said that he was automatically attracted to beautiful women and that he has an urge kiss them. He also said that because of his celebrity status, he could do these things, like grabbing woman by their genitals (Fahrenthold, 2016). This of course started a storm and Trump lost a lot of Republican support. And this was not the only information about possible sexual harassment. Around the same time several women spoke out publicly about how they been harassed about their looks or sexually assaulted. The controversy has not settled yet (biography.com).

This did not stop Donald Trump from running for president however, and he managed to win the election, and he is now finalizing his cabinet and transition to become the 45th president of the United States of America.

3.2 Conservatism vs Liberalism

Conservatives and liberals views the world differently, and George Lakoff, *Distinguished Professor of Cognitive Science and Linguistics*, states that conservatives are right when they say liberals do not understand them (1996:24). In his book, *Moral Politics* (1996), he tries to explain why.

The conservative worldview centres around the model of a Strict Father. This model posits a traditional nuclear family with the father having the responsibility of protecting and supporting the family. Day-to-day responsibility is taking care of by the mother; caring for the house, raising the children and upholding the authority of the father. Love and nurturance are vital to the family, but parenting is based on respect and the children must obey their parents. Love can never outweigh parental authority, “which is itself an expression of love and nurturance – tough love” (Lakoff, 1996:33). For children to learn self-discipline, self-reliance and respect for legitimate authority are essential. When reaching mature age, the children are on their own (Lakoff, 1996:33).

The liberals on the other hand rely on the Nurturant Parent model. “Love, empathy and nurturance are primary” (Lakoff, 1996:33), and the obedience comes from “love and respect for their parents and their community” (Lakoff, 1996:34), fear of punishment is not present. The parents make the decisions, but the children are encouraged to question and the parent’s authority is legitimized by them explaining their decisions (Lakoff, 1996:34).

Each model has moral priorities, but they differ in what the priorities are (Lakoff, 1996:34). The morality of the Strict Father priorities moral strength (self-control and self-discipline), respect for and obedience to authority, strict guidelines, behavioural norms and so on. Freedom to pursue your self-interest will maximize the overall self-interest of all (Lakoff, 1996:35). Nurturant Parent morality priorities differently. Empathy and the helping of others in need of help are prioritised. To do so, you must take care of yourself and nurture social ties. If you are not happy and fulfilled, you will have difficulty feeling empathy for others (Lakoff, 1996:35).

The models both contain the same moral principles, but they differ in priority. Both models are linked to politics by seeing the government as a parent (Lakoff, 1996:35).

Thus it is natural for liberals to see it as the function of the government to help people in need and hence to support social programs, while it is equally natural for conservatives to see the function of the government as requiring citizens to be self-disciplined and self-reliant and, therefore, to help themselves.

Lakoff, 1996:35-36.

3.2.1 Conservatives

George Lakoff states in an interview that for conservatives, you take responsibility for yourself and your family. “Not caring about other citizens; that’s weak. You should care about yourself; that’s strong” (Rosenberg, 2017).

How do we know who is most moral? He continues: You look to the top. God is above man, man is above nature, man has conquered nature and is therefore our right to use, and so on. Rich are rich and powerful are powerful because they deserve it, they have managed to become rich/powerful. “You have men above women, whites above non-whites, Christians above non-Christians, and straights above gays“ and so on

(Rosenberg, 2017). This moral hierarchy is important for the Republicans, it has been there for a long time. With Donald Trump, you have the ultimate “strict-father” who more or less wants to be a dictator, perhaps over the whole world (Rosenberg, 2017).

According to Lakoff, there is within conservatism the idea of in-group nurturance, taking care of your own. This can be seen in evangelical churches, in big ones they have free babysitting and investment advice and the community will help you if you are out of luck. This nurturance shows in local communities and neighbourhoods, which a lot of conservatives sees as their in-group. If there is a flood, the neighbours help, same thing with a fire. We take care of our own, and Trump’s message was to take care of America, that is appealing to conservatives (Rosenberg, 2017).

3.2.2 Summary

The conservatives’ morality is based on the *Strict Father*. Obedience has a central part, as well as the family, with the father at the top. The hierarchy, with God at the top, defines many conservatives, and is important for the Republican party. This knowledge will be important how to explain how Trump managed to receive a big support from the Evangelical Christians.

3.3 Evangelicals

I will present a very short brief of the evangelical history and ideas presented by Gary Dorrien, Reinhold Niebuhr Professor of Social Ethics and Molly Worthen, assistant professor of history.

Evangelical comes from a word meaning “gospel” or “message of good news”. In the sense of the word, an evangelical is “anyone who accepts the good news of the gospel that Jesus is Savior and Lord” (Dorrien, 1998:4). But the word *evangelical* is mostly connected to conservative Christian groups (who claim ownership), but they have no more right to use it than the word *Christian* (Dorrien, 1998:4). It is troublesome to use the term *evangelicals* in today’s America, because the term includes a wide array of groups. Some of them see themselves as evangelicals, others do not. But the term has stuck and is widely used, even if it is not always clear what it means (Worthen, 2014:3-4).

The word *evangelical* dates to the Reformation. Following the Reformation came Puritan and Pietist revivals, and today's Evangelicalism is a creature of their revivals. Late during the seventeenth century, Pietist preachers criticized the newly formed state churches that followed the Reformation for being too formal and cerebral. Instead, they wanted believers to study the Bible (*Sola scriptura*) and strive for personal holiness (Worthen, 2014:6-7). Leaders like Philipp Jakob Spener and John Bunyan taught "that heartfelt piety was more important than a head full of theological knowledge" (Worthen, 2014:6).

John Wesley and George Whitefield developed these ideas, highlighting

the biblical themes of holiness, good news, and new life in the Spirit. [...] They objected that if God has predestined everything that happens in life, including the salvation and damnation of all people, it is difficult to see how Christianity could be spiritually or even morally inspiring. What is the point of biblical morality if everything is predestined? How can the moral and spiritual commands of scripture mean anything if human beings possess no power of moral or spiritual choice?

Dorrien, 1998:5

Wesley stated that he could not believe in a doctrine that said that God is a loving and merciful God, and still condemning most people to eternal torment. This "unconditional-predestining God of classical Protestantism" (Dorrien, 1998:5) was a result of speculative reasoning instead of faith in the Bible.

Petra Carlsson, D.Th., writes that European churches were initiated by well-educated theologians. That was not the case in the U.S. at the start of the twentieth-century evangelical movement. Education (critical thinking and too much reading) could be a hindrance to receive the Holy Spirit. The most important trait is how sincere the preacher was, if s/he spoke with force the Holy Spirit was present and the speech was true (Carlsson, 2016).

3.3.1 Religion and the presidential election

The staff writer for Harvard International Review, Cindy Jung, writes that religion still plays a big part in America when it comes to elect its president. To be an atheist

(presumably next to being a Muslim) is a great way to not get support from Americans. A religious candidate has more potential voters than a non-religious, but will of course alienate some other religious people. Republican candidates have more religious voters than Democratic candidates, and Democratic votes are more disparate in their faiths (Jung, 2016).

Jerry Falwell's movement, the Moral Majority, propelled in the 1970's and united formerly separatist fundamentalists into partisan politics. A potent form of politicized Christianity is today expanding thanks to the Moral Majority movement, by attracting conservative Pentecostals.

No Christian movement has ever been more politically mobilized, media savvy, or culturally engaged than the current Christian Coalition movement led by Pat Robertson, which contains a strong fundamentalist core while also embracing conservative evangelicals, Pentecostals, and Catholics.

Dorrien, 1998:8.

According to Robert P. Jones, Ph.D. in religion, Ted Cruz, Republican senator for Texas, should have been the evangelical Americans first choice. Jones tells us that Cruz is an evangelical, his father was a Baptist preacher and that should have been it. Donald Trump on the other hand, showed no or little religiosity, has re-married and owned casinos. But where Cruz wanted to create exceptions for the evangelicals in the new reality, Trump said he wanted them back in power. His best word in his slogan, *Make America Great Again*, is *again*. This shows that America was once great, and during that period evangelicals were a big power factor (50's-60's). That got him a lot of evangelical support (NPR1).

Julie Roys, religious blogger and trained reporter, explains that fear of liberal judges in the Supreme Court nominated by Clinton made a lot of evangelical Christians vote for Trump (NPR2), namely 81% per exit polls, and evangelical Christians make up 26% of the American electorate (Goodstein, 2016). But on the other hand, Roys continues, a lot of African- and Hispanic-Americans are appalled by the facts that their white brothers and sisters cast their vote for a man with clear racist views. Some does not even want to be unified under the same banner anymore (NPR2).

Trump is an exception, maybe marking a new era with more non-religious candidates. His success might be his lack of needing a “faith-test” that the other republican candidates needed to pass, or we are going for a future where the presidential candidates’ religious preference matters less to the voting population (Jung, 2016).

3.3.2 Summary

The word *Evangelicals* is ambiguous to use since the term today includes a wide spectrum of Christian groups. But it is important with a short background explanation of the evangelical movements, to understand what is important for evangelicals: the Bible and personal experiences of God. This may help us understand Christian support for Donald Trump.

3.4 Earlier research

I will present peer-reviewed articles that in some way connect to Donald Trump’s persona. Analysis about his persona will create a good ground for the conclusion of this essay. But I will also present three articles in this chapter of the essay to present subjects on this matter, where chapter 3.3.1 Reality-TV is based on peer-reviewed research articles and 3.3.2 Transformation is based on magazine articles.

3.4.1 Reality-TV

Associate professor (and Affiliated Associate Professor, Departments of Humanities & Cultural Studies and Women's & Gender Studies) Rachel Dubrofsky states that “[w]hile some news stories and social media memes align Trump with Hitler and Mussolini, Trump is a distinctly contemporary U.S. beast” (Dubrofsky, 2016:664). Before the election, Trump was known for being a mogul and a reality-TV celebrity (*The Apprentice*) (Dubrofsky, 2016:664).

Donald Trump owns the media is a statement from associate professor in Information & Media studies, Alison Hearn. Not literally, but during the election campaign he got more airtime than the other candidates combined (Hearn, 2016:658). As a reality-TV celebrity, he knows how to create a persona, and the persona of Donald Trump is about “winning”. His political policies however remain a mystery. “All hustle and bombast,

he fills up his speeches with selfreferential qualifiers and racist and sexist threats with impunity because what matters most is not substance but his attention-getting skills” (Hearn, 2016:657). Because there is no morality nor truth, only “winning”. “For Trump’s followers, his brand is his substantive skill set and all the qualification he needs to become president” (Hearn, 2016:658).

The Trump persona from *The Apprentice* has not changed due to his presidential candidacy. His off-the cuff and spontaneous appearances are much like a reality star, “authentic”, no matter how played it might be (Dubrofsky, 2016:665).

What many do not know, is that this persona is a product, a product built upon already-existing wealth and power, and on countless of workers throughout the years who have been denied union rights, no healthy safety precautions and are paid very little. His success is built upon other people’s hard work, and in some cases misery (Hearn, 2016:658).

3.4.2 Transformation

In the past, this grab-bag of venom was called “fascist”, or at the very least “racist”. It was the uncouth, embarrassing stuff of the British National Party and football hooligans in the UK, of the John Birchers and the White Citizens’ Councils in the US. Now, it goes by the slightly more soothing title of “white nationalism” or the “alt-right” and it has become polite dinner conversation.

Sasha, 2016:26.

Abramsky Sasha, journalist, writes that Donald Trump saw anger amongst the American people and saw a way to capitalize on that anger, exploiting it, coming from the right, promising to make the country “great again”. Not by policies (progressive or otherwise) but by embracing tribalism and authoritarianism. Anger creates energy and Trump is feeding it, feeding the people. One example are crime rates, which are higher than in Western Europe, but not higher in the U.S. compared to decades past. But Trump is exaggerating to make people scared and to convince them that he is the solution, being the one who stands for law and order (2016:26-27).

The president-elect does not support the use of “Happy Holidays”. In fact, he does not want his family to shop in stores with “Happy Holiday” signs. He states that it is “Merry

Christmas” and when he is president everyone will use it again (Youtube7). The journalist Sam Petulla (2016) investigated the use of “Merry Christmas” and “Happy Holidays” on Twitter and found that “Merry Christmas” was more commonly used in Christian and white areas. “Happy Holidays” were more common where minorities lived and in big urban areas. Comparing this with the election result, we see that Trump gained votes from white Christians and Clinton from minorities and big cities. By using “Merry Christmas”, Trump resonated well with conservative whites.

Since 9/11, anti-Muslim sentiments have been kept on a leash by political leaders (for example, George Bush explained that the U.S. was at war with an Islamic organization, not the entire Muslim world). But now this leash has been unhooked (Sasha, 2016:27). Now there are state legislators in Oklahoma, and elsewhere, who openly “denounce Islam as a ‘cancer’ destroying American society” (Sasha, 2016:27). The former speaker of the House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich, wants to subject all US-based Muslims to an ideology test, to find religious extremists, and Trump has mentioned the idea of creating a database to register Muslims in the country (Sasha, 2016:27).

Peter Steinfels, Ph.D. in History, and journalist, emphasizes that Trump is not a fascist but a semi-fascist. Discipline is missing and so are uniforms (except for the occasional baseball cap). He does encourage some violence, but not of the systematic sort of fascism (Steinfels, 2016:10). Further, fascism needs the (an) elite to support them, and for Trump that is the Republican Party, which is divided and not united behind Trump (Steinfels, 2016:12). His political movement is built upon a populist nationalism, scapegoating enemy groups. “He plays relentlessly on a sense of national humiliation, victimization, grievance, and decline” (Steinfels, 2016:11).

Still, why not just call Trump an authoritarian or a demagogue, which would be bad enough? Why not “Caesarist” or *caudillo*? Liar, bully, opportunist, vulgarian, purveyor of toxic politics—won't that language suffice? I don't think so.

Steinfels, 2016:12

Steinfels states that it is important to call Trump for what he is, a semi-fascist (Steinfels, 2016:12).

3.4.3 Summary

The earlier research presented shows Donald Trump as a rigid person, different environments hardly change his approach. His experiences from reality-TV are being maintained as a presidential candidate. And as such, he used the anger that existed (exists) in the U.S., stating that America will be great again. This is important in trying to understand his statements from the podium.

His statements about “merry Christmas” appealed to conservative whites, and mark the differences between Christians and non-Christians; and attacks on Muslims has been more frequent and accepted. This helps us understand Steinfelds’ conclusion that Donald Trump is a semi-fascist, and will be compared with this study’s conclusion.

4 Rallies

As explained earlier, I have listened to a total of six rally speeches to see if Donald Trump's rhetoric may fit in to a fascist agenda. In this chapter I will present the president-elect's statements and categorize them per my five categories of fascism.

4.1 The national focus

A phrase that is one of his main slogans is "America first" (Youtube1, 2 & 3). Donald Trump states that it is now time to stop neglecting America, a Trump administration will never put another nation's interests before the interests of America (Youtube3), they will stop losing and start winning again. Donald Trump emphasizes winning, a lot of winning. In fact, he states that the U.S. will start to win so much that its citizens will be tired of winning.

The wealth is being drained, he continues, when the U.S. was strong and smart it was the other way around; now America is poor. The military is depleted; airplanes get repaired with old parts. There's no new equipment, but other countries have. The military is going to be rebuilt, bigger and better than ever before (Youtube1 & 2). "Four more years of this stuff and we're not going to have a country left. And if I win, believe me, make America great again and it is gonna be greater than ever before. We have a chance to be greater than ever before" (Youtube1:12.13.), an almost identical ending to the speech in Youtube3 as well. The president-elect states that America will have strong borders again, will have great trade deals and the American people will once again be proud of its country. NAFTA has let jobs flee the country, when China joined the World Trade Organization he tells his crowd that America lost 70.000 factories. "It is the greatest job theft in the history of the world" (Youtube5:4.02.00). No one has lost as much as America has lost (Youtube4).

These jobs are going to return according to the president-elect and they will build the a strong nation. America needs to be a wealthy nation (Youtube4, 5 & 6), whether it is by building cars, producing steel or curing deceases, it will happen *in* America. He will fix, what he calls, the failing infrastructure, putting people back on jobs in the process. Rebuilding the country with American hands, with American workers. The administration will have two simple rules: buy American and hire American (Youtube4,

5 & 6). The president-elect wants to bring the American dream back again and to start producing goods marked with the sign “Made in the USA” (Youtube2). He points out that if he wins, there will once again be a government of, by and for the people (Youtube2).

I am going to be a president for all our citizens. [...] I am going to fight to bring us together as Americans, we are a very very divided country right now. We are going to be brought together. Imagine what our country could accomplish if we started working together as one people, under one god, saluting the American flag. One American flag.

Youtube2:27.50

To be greater, Trump wants to replace a failed political class and end government corruption, stating that Hillary Clinton has been speaking with Goldman Sacks in secrecy (Youtube2). He also attacks Hillary for her open border policy. For Trump a safe U.S. is an U.S. with strong borders, and strong borders means a wall between the U.S. and Mexico (Youtube1, 2 & 3) that Mexico will pay (Youtube2). This, according to Trump, will not only keep illegal immigrants out, it will also stop drugs from pouring into America (Youtube2). Refugees are also a problem for Trump, “I will keep radical Islamic terrorism the hell out of this country” (Youtube2:12.40). To protect the people a Trump administration will cancel federal funding of sanctuary cities, deporting every illegal alien and dismantling every criminal gang and cartel (Youtube3).

America will be safe again, according to Trump, by breaking up the gangs, the cartels and the syndicates. He states that murder rates have experienced their largest increase in the U.S. in 45 years and that the press does not tell that. The men and women in the law enforcement will be getting his support to end this terrible crime wave. One of the biggest public safety threats for Trump is open borders. He wants the wall built, to only let legal immigrants through. To protect the country from terrorism and extremism, Trump will suspend immigration and refugee admissions from regions where they cannot be safely processed or vented. Instead, he wants safe zones to be built in Syria to help the people. The Gulf states have money and Donald Trump is going to make them give money to the U.S. so they can build these safety zones so people may have a chance (Youtube4, 5 & 6). “We face many challenges, the world is a mess, our country is in trouble. We face many many challenges. But we have tremendous hope, promise

and potential. We are going to be so successful as a country again, we are going to be amazing” (Youtube6:58.30).

The administration’s peace policy can be summoned up in three words: peace through strength. Donald Trump wants the American military to be a great and powerful military again, a military Trump hopes will never be used, but America needs it for its safety (Youtube5). America will be respected again according to Trump; national security interests will come first and that means ISIS must be crushed and radical Islamic terrorism defeated. (Youtube4).

Another part the administration sees as a crucial part are ethics reforms and Trump states that the Trump administration is going to drain the swamp of corruption in Washington D.C.. He tells the audience that the script is not yet written, but for the first time in a long time, the pages will be written by each of you as a movement. The American people, the forgotten people, will never be forgotten again and they will be in charge he says (Youtube4, 5 & 6).

He ends Youtube2 and 3 with variations on a theme: We will make America wealthy again, we will make America powerful again, we will make America strong again, we will make America great again. He emphasizes that no task is too great when America is united (this ending is the same with slight differences in all three speeches held during his “thank you” tour.):

My message tonight is for all Americans, all parties, all believers, all races, all walks of life. Whether you’re African-American, Hispanic-American, Asian-American, or whatever the hell you are. Remember that we are all Americans and we are all united by one shared destiny. So, I’m asking everyone to join this incredible movement. To believe in yourself again, to believe in America. If you do this, we will make America strong, we will make America wealthy, we will make America strong and we will make America great again.

Youtube4:1.46.00

4.2 Hostility against socialism and feminism

In the first speech, Donald Trump attacked Hillary Clinton for being pathetic, mocking her for being leashed by Barack Obama (saying that “she didn’t even like Obama” (Youtube1:15.40)) and that “crooked-Hillary” is so boring to listen to that it is hard to stay awake (Youtube1). In the third speech, he continues to mock her, saying that the media is protecting her and that she is dishonest (Youtube3).

Donald Trump is happy to point out that he was picked as “Person of the year” by Time Magazine. He tells the crowd that it used to be “Man of the year” and asked the crowd if they like “person” or “man” better (roar for “man”). He says that the magazine wants to be political correct, but instead they could call it “man” when it is a man and “person” or “woman” if it is a woman (Youtube5 & 6).

4.3 The charismatic leader and the militarized party

Donald Trump does not see the Republican convention as a decider of who will be their presidential candidate, he is determined to arrive at the convention as a victor (Youtube1). Trump explains that once he was on the other side, he was a donor. But with him as president, they will only get him, no lobbyists. He gave the campaign \$55 million, he does not want them back and he has turned down money from donors (Youtube1).

Hillary Clinton was under investigation for potentially leaked emails, and Donald Trump has his views clear: “She is guilty as hell [...], it is a disgrace that she is allowed to be a presidential candidate” (Youtube1:16.40). He also states that the system is rigged, rigged to protect Hillary and the media is part of it (Youtube2), the newspaper and media are totally dishonest (Youtube1, 2 & 3). In his “thank you” speeches, he is again attacking the media, calling them “dishonest” and that they have written very dishonestly about the campaign, and yet they won. It is much better to win than to lose (Youtube5). He continues to state that they tended to believe the media, but they are liars (Youtube6). This was the “greatest victory in history” (Youtube6:23.20).

He states that the wall to Mexico will be built and with him as president, other countries won't refuse to accept deported criminals, in fact they will thank him: "Mr. President, we are so happy to have our criminals back" (Youtube3:33.00).

He continues to comment his own brilliance by stating that "we are living through the greatest job theft in the world [...] and I will stop it" (Youtube2: 17.50). Trumps states that he will re-negotiate NAFTA and that the U.S. will leave NAFTA if they don't get the deal they want (Youtube2).

Throughout Youtube2 & 3 Donald Trump is boosting about his election campaign and about himself and he do have the complete support of his audiences, obeying everything he says. Throughout Youtube4, 5 & 6 Donald Trump is once again boosting about his election campaign and about himself and he do have the complete support of his audiences, obeying everything he says. More than ones, Trump explains that the campaign did very well amongst African-American, the American-Hispanics, the Hindus, and the women. It set a record among evangelical Christians (Youtube4, 5 & 6).

4.4 Connection between fascism and conservatism

Trump states that his administration is going to defend religious liberty, which he says is under siege; rebuild the military and take care of the veterans (Youtube2 & 6). The rule of law will be re-established with a Trump administration, the second amendment (the right to carry guns) will be defended, and justices that will uphold and defend the constitution will be appointed for the Supreme Court (Youtube1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6). The military is a re-occurring theme in his "thank you" speeches as well, stating that the depleted military must be rebuilt (Youtube4). The rule of law will be re-established, the second amendment protected, religious liberty protected and Trump will appoint justices for the Supreme Court that will defend and uphold the constitution (Youtube4 & 5). Lastly, every one of the thank-you-speeches he begins with a strongly stated "merry Christmas" (Youtube4, 5 & 6).

4.5 The courtship of labour and women's movements

Companies will not easily be permitted to move jobs and factories out of the country, there will be consequences the president-elect states and he continues that no one is going to take American jobs anymore (Youtube1). Donald Trump emphasizes that jobs have been ripped from the USA and that foreign powers are bleeding the country dry. That is about to end, the era of economic surrender is over Trump declares (Youtube4). If a company leaves the USA and wants to export their goods back, Trump plans to appoint a 35% tax on their goods (Youtube3).

On the other side of the taxes, the biggest tax cuts from a Trump administration will be for the working and middle class and there will be 25 million jobs created in the coming decade according to the president-elect (Youtube2). The people of the U.S. will finally have a champion that fights for the people in the White House. One part of this is to create new jobs by bringing new companies and jobs, eliminating job killing regulations and lifting restriction on energy production on shale, oil, natural gas and clean coal. The miners will go back to work. A Trump administration will protect the American industry and the American workers (Youtube4, 5 & 6).

In the final speech, Youtube6, Donald Trump brings his campaign manager Kellyanne Conway on stage, telling the audience that she is the first female campaign leader to win an election and lets her address the crowd.

5 Analysis

Here I will present my conclusions about Donald Trump's statements per the division I've made in chapter 4.

5.1 The national focus

Donald Trump has one clear goal: America first. The U.S. has been neglected for too long and now it is time to re-instate the country at the top of the world. This view is clearly affected by Trump's experience in the business world, focusing on winning. America is going to win so much that they will get tired of winning (Youtube1). Without stating anything about *how* America is going to win, the president-elect is showing signs of irrationalism. By relying on the will, the will to *win*. America *was* great and will be again without telling anything of *when* it was great or *how* it was great. This we can connect with Lanning (2012:56) and the hate-speakers creating the national myth.

In his speech in Maine (Youtube2:27.50) he points out that there is nothing America can't accomplish "if we start working together as one people, under one God, saluting the American flag". In his post-election speech in Pennsylvania (Youtube4:1.24.30) he continues down that road, "We salute one flag and that is the American flag". The focus on a united America is key when he finishes his post-election speeches: "Remember that we are all Americans and we are all united by one shared destiny" (Youtube4:1.46.00). He knows that he must try to unite the country and he is acknowledging that fact in every thank-you-speech. Never minding that he is a part of that division lashing up hatred against Muslims making it OK for legislators to openly speak of Islam as cancer for example (Sasha, 2016:27).

The military is mentioned in every speech to some degree. It is depleted, it is going to be rebuilt and *peace through strength* is the military foundation for the Trump administration. Law and order are also mentioned a lot, with promises that the enforcers will get more support with Trump as president. Trump wants to hit hard on the criminals within the U.S., and he wants to keep potential criminals out with a wall to Mexico and suspended immigration and refugee admission from regions that are not safe. ISIS must be crushed and "radical Islamic terrorism" defeated (Youtube4).

America must be safe from threats within and without. Moral panic in the media depicts Muslims as the big threat (Bangstad, 2011:3-4). Since Trump does not trust the media (meaning established media) we must assume that he has been getting his information from other media sources, sources with less source criticism and less objectivity. If he would spread the established media's picture it would be bad (Cohen, 2012), but if he's turning to alternate media, he could be spreading a moral panic that is way too exaggerated and that contributes to hate crimes.

He wants to unite the country, to let differences to be put aside. He says that no matter your background, we are all Americans (if you're legal). Focusing on the uniting factors instead of differences, creating a mythical America where all share a destiny with history as his foundation (we were great). With his will to strengthen the military (wanting modern equipment), defending the second amendment (so everyone can carry arms if they want) and strong convictions of a strong border with control; it is easy to argue that he fulfils this first criteria for fascism: the focus on the nation defined by biological, cultural, and/or historical terms, as the ultimate loyalty to create a mobilized community.

5.2 Hostility against socialism and feminism

I will admit that I stretch the examples in chapter 4.1.2. He does attack Hillary, though it is debatable if that has anything to do with her being a she, instead of his political rival.

In chapter 4.2.2 he instead turns his gaze upon Time Magazine for his *Person of the year* award, commenting that it now says "person" instead of "man". This do show an appreciation for masculinity, but it is not enough to conclude that he sees feminism per se as something bad based on these comments.

So, no. Donald Trump does not fulfil this criterion based on these six speeches.

5.3 The charismatic leader and the militarized party

Donald Trump is charismatic and he thinks highly of himself. He is eager to explain how exceptionally well he did in the election and does that in great length in his thank-you-speeches. During the primaries, Hillary was under investigation for deleted emails, and Trump had no problem with foreshadowing the investigation: “she is guilty as hell” (Youtube1:16.40). The system is rigged in her favour and the, dishonest, media is helping her. And he is the one to clean this up, to drain the swamp of corruption in Washington DC.

But still he won, “the greatest victory in history” (Youtube6:23.20) with great support from African-American, Hispanic-American, women and the biggest support in history from evangelical Christians (Youtube4, 5 &6). He himself will get other countries to thank him for returning their criminals and he will re-negotiate NAFTA into a deal they want, otherwise they will leave.

He does have blind support among his followers, but they aren’t militarized and they do not belong to the party. They support the Republican Party, but they do not belong to it, and the Republican Party is not militarized. In conclusion, he does fulfil half of this criterion, he is a charismatic leader, but his devoted followers aren’t organized in an organization at all.

5.4 Connection between fascism and conservatism

Key statements from Donald Trump and his administration is the defence of religious liberty, rebuilding the military, defence of the second amendment, the rule of law and justices for the Supreme Court that will uphold and defend the constitution. His remarks about Merry Christmas in his thank-you-speeches emphasizes that Christianity is the foundation of this country and we should not say *Happy Holidays* or something else.

The Republican Party is a conservative party and these views are to be expected. Maybe they aren’t Trump’s personal opinions but he knows he must gain the support of these voters, or maybe these are his personal opinions and he is a conservative at heart. Hence the Republican Party is his platform. We do not know and based on his speeches we

have too little information for this criterion, information we likely must gather from other sources.

5.5 The courtship of labour and women's movements

Donald Trump never mentions any political policies regarding the rich, only regarding the working and middle class. The rich are his friends and he needs to convince the working families. Hence his focus on penalty tax if companies move abroad, hence tax cuts for these classes and hence the focus on job making. Protecting the American industry and the American workers.

He is courting the labour movements more than women's in these speeches. But in his last (Youtube6) he brings up his campaign manager hailing her as the first female campaign manager to win an election. This is of course a move to endorse the women supporting him.

These views aren't shocking. The working and middle class have the largest number of voters, voters he needs. He must appeal to their interests to secure their votes, and here we see his biggest baits. This is practical politics and hardly points to any fascist views. For that, he would have to offer special organization within the state and/or the Republican Party in order to secure control of these groups, and with groups I mean already existing groups like a labour union. This criterion is hardly fulfilled.

6 Discussion

Is Donald Trump expressing fascist views in his rallies that are studied? Certainly. Enough to call him a fascist? Not entirely.

I have reached the same conclusion as Steinfels, that Donald Trump, based on these six rally speeches, are a semi-fascist. Even though he only fully fulfils the first criteria, *the focus on the nation defined by biological, cultural, and/or historical terms, as the ultimate loyalty to create a mobilized community*, he is nudging the other areas. By studying other speeches or other aspects of Trump, this conclusion might change. But with the material examined in this study, he certainly shows signs of fascism. And, as Steinfels writes, we certainly can call Donald Trump plenty of epithets, it is important to showcase the importance with an American president showing fascist tendencies. That this self-proclaimed free, democratic nation has elected a man showing attributes shared with the likes as Benito Mussolini. That is warning signal.

Donald Trump is an agitator for hate speech, you can use Lanning's quote (page 6) as a checklist: he is longing for an earlier period where America was great; American's are the best; he blames Mexicans and Muslims for being criminals (scapegoating) and he wants to return to the "great" America. He is the perfect advocate for a hate speaker.

Historically we have seen conservative groups joining forces with fascism. They, and the fascists, saw the clash of classes as negative for the nation and wanted a united nation. They were afraid of the communist threat (as they saw it) and choose to join the fascists in the struggle against the communist elements in Italy. Fear can be a blinding factor. We see the same tendencies today.

The conservative Christians saw Hillary Clinton and her liberal views as a threat. They may not have agreed with the president-elect on a lot of topics, but they shared a fear for Clinton and Trump expressed values that attracted the conservative groups. The Strict-Father morality expressed by Trump (repeal Obama-care, focus on Americans, defence of the second amendment and so on) appealed to the conservatives. Both this morality and the evangelical view that you get what you deserve, favour Trump. He is a billionaire and he is powerful, which is a sign of his success. He portrays himself as the

hero for the American worker, a group he has nothing in common with (he has never been a worker) and he succeeded.

Donald Trump is a semi-fascist with the support of Conservative Christian groups, which can be explained by earlier fascist support: fear and some shared values (the Strict Father). With shared common values, some of the fascist agenda might be agreeable to the alternative.

6.1 Future research

It would be interesting to broaden my perspective. Either by going through more speeches and the debates and/or collecting data from more sources (for example the media) to investigate if my conclusions still are valid, if they are strengthened or if they fall short.

Other sources could be used in a comparison, does Donald Trump express himself differently in different mediums? Does he change focus depending on the medium? Is he emphasizing something more in one medium and something else in another?

A deepened analysis about the evangelical Christian support would also be an interesting continuation. What made them vote for Trump? Was it fear or did they believe Trump is filled with the Holy Spirit? Which values do they value most in a president? Since evangelical Christians are a very large group in the U.S. they are a very interesting subject for future research.

Donald Trump will be the president of the United States of America for the coming four years, which means there will be plenty of occasions to study and to get a more detailed data. For those who want to study Donald Trump from a leadership perspective, either to study his fascist tendencies or something else, the future holds the key.

7 Summary

Donald Trump shocked the world when he decided to run for president of the United States of America, and won. This study examines if Donald Trump may be placed on a fascist scale based on his statements in six speeches; and how the Christian support, that he received, may be explained. The speeches have been analysed based on a qualitative text analysis and been categorized in to five categories of fascism.

The Christian support may be explained by common values; Lakoff's *Strict Father morality*, in combination with fear. The fear for what may happen to the U.S. with Hillary Clinton as president has a big impact on why conservative Christians voted for Donald Trump. The conclusion of this study is that Donald Trump can be classified as a semi-fascist as he partly fulfils the fascist criteria this study presents.

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