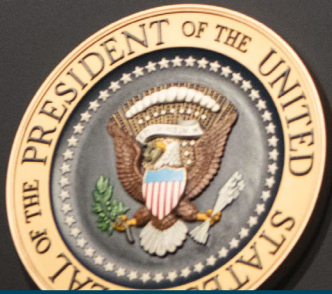




THE EVOLVING AMERICAN PRESIDENCY



The Legacy of the Trump Administration A Disruptive Presidency

Edited by

Michael Grossman · Francis Schortgen

Ronald Eric Matthews Jr.

David B. Cohen

palgrave
macmillan

The Evolving American Presidency

Series Editors

Michael A. Genovese, Political Science & International Relations, Loyola
Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Todd L. Belt, Graduate School of Political Management, George
Washington University, Washington, DC, USA

This series is stimulated by the clash between the presidency as invented and the presidency as it has developed. Over time, the presidency has evolved and grown in power, expectations, responsibilities, and authority. Adding to the power of the presidency have been wars, crises, depressions, industrialization. The importance and power of the modern presidency makes understanding it so vital. How presidents resolve challenges and paradoxes of high expectations with limited constitutional resources is the central issue in modern governance and the central theme of this book series.

Michael Grossman · Francis Schortgen ·
Ronald Eric Matthews Jr. · David B. Cohen
Editors

The Legacy of the Trump Administration

A Disruptive Presidency

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Michael Grossman
Department of Social Sciences
University of Mount Union
Alliance, OH, USA

Ronald Eric Matthews Jr.
Thiel College
Greenville, PA, USA

Francis Schortgen
The University of Utah, Asia Campus
Incheon, South Korea

David B. Cohen
Department of Political Science
University of Akron
Akron, OH, USA

ISSN 2945-6150

ISSN 2945-6169 (electronic)

The Evolving American Presidency

ISBN 978-3-031-65246-2

ISBN 978-3-031-65247-9 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-65247-9>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer
Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: DOD Photo/Alamy Stock Photo

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature
Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

PREFACE

The presidency of Donald J. Trump, arguably, represents one of the most turbulent periods in modern American history. With no prior political experience, the businessman and television personality defied all expectations to become the 45th President of the United States. Fueled by a populist wave that hit home with many voters who had become disenfranchised with the political establishment, Trump's unexpected victory in 2016, ushered in an era marked by significant policy shifts, international controversies, and domestic upheaval.

As Donald Trump, once again begins his run to return to the presidency, his tenure in the White House has been a subject of intense debate and scrutiny. In April 2023, two years after Trump had left office, more than 100 political scholars, students, and members of the press came together at the University of Mount Union to discuss the leadership and legacy of this controversial president.

This conference was the third such gathering, following similar conferences on George W. Bush and Barack Obama. The goal of the conference was to provide a balanced and nuanced account of Donald J. Trump's presidency. By examining the policies and the broader context of his administration, the gathering sought to offer insights into one of the most significant and polarizing eras in American history and to understand the complexities of Trump's impact and enduring legacy.

The chapters in this book represent only some of the papers presented at the conference. Providing a look at both the broader trends as well as

specific policies, the authors in this volume allow us further insights into one of the most controversial presidents in American history.

As we begin this assessment, we would like to acknowledge the participation of all those who attended and presented at the conference. While we were unable to include all their papers, their participation made this conference one of the most memorable. We also want to thank Major Garrett, Don Ganyea, Anna Huntsman, Christopher Banks, Lara M. Brown, Richard Conley, Karen Kessler, Mitchell McKinney, and Christopher J. (“C.J.”) Peters. These scholars and members of the press added to the richness of the conference.

Finally, we want to acknowledge the support of the University of Mount Union and the University of Akron’s Bliss Institute. The support our institutions provided has made these conferences possible. Most importantly, we want to acknowledge the work of our student volunteers who helped run the conference.

Alliance, USA
Yeonsu-Gu, Korea (Republic of)
Greenville, USA
Akron, USA

Michael Grossman
Francis Schortgen
Ronald Eric Matthews Jr.
David B. Cohen

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: The Voice of the Deplorables	1
	Ronald Eric Matthews Jr., Michael Grossman, Francis Schortgen, and David B. Cohen	
	Part I Domestic Politics and the Legacy of the Trump Presidency	
2	The Carrot and the Stick: Trump’s Complicated Approach to the Domestic Auto Industry	17
	Steve A. Stuglin	
3	Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Under Trump: Hyper-Polarized Federalism	35
	Chad Kinsella	
4	Building the Record: President Trump, Executive Orders, and Capriciousness	51
	Douglas Mock	
5	Acting the Part: Trump’s Legacy on Executive Branch Appointments	69
	Anne Cizmar	

**Part II Foreign Policy and the Legacy of the Trump
Presidency**

- 6 The Trump Administration and NATO: How Trump
Took on the Transatlantic Alliance and Lost** 87
Chris J. Dolan
- 7 Trump’s National Security Legacy: A Mixed Record** 105
Leonard Cutler
- 8 U.S. Foreign Policy in the Trump Administration:
The Unmooring of America’s Global Leadership Role?** 121
Francis Schortgen

Part III Rhetorical Legacy of the Trump Presidency

- 9 The Audacity of Trump: The Rhetorical Strategy
of President Donald Trump** 149
Lance Svehla and William Lyons
- 10 A Big, Beautiful Award: Donald Trump
and the Presidential Medal of Freedom** 167
E. Fletcher McClellan, Kyle C. Kopko,
and Christopher J. Devine

Part IV Conclusion

- 11 Conclusion: Trump’s Enduring Legacy?** 189
Michael Grossman, Francis Schortgen,
Ronald Eric Matthews Jr., and David B. Cohen

- Index** 199

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Anne Cizmar is Professor in the Department of Government at Eastern Kentucky University. She teaches numerous courses in American politics and social science research. Her publications appear in *Political Research Quarterly*, *The Forum*, and *Public Administration Quarterly*, among other outlets.

David B. Cohen is Professor of political science, Director of the Applied Politics Program, and Fellow of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at The University of Akron. He earned a B.A. in political science and international relations at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an M.A. in political science at the University of Tennessee, and a Ph.D. in political science at the University of South Carolina. Professor Cohen teaches courses on the American presidency, Congress, and homeland security, and his research specialization is White House staffing and organization. In addition to his academic pursuits, Professor Cohen is a frequent media contributor and guest speaker on national and Ohio politics. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the Akron Press Club since 2007 and is the former Vice President for Programs.

Dr. Leonard Cutler, Ph.D. is Professor of Political Science and Public Law at Siena College in upstate New York. His research and scholarship have focused on National Security Policy and the Contemporary American Presidency. His study on President Barack Obama's Counterterrorism Strategy in the War on Terror was published by Palgrave Macmillan

in 2017. Additionally he has provided testimony to the United States Congress and the Obama Administration on human rights issues and unlimited detention.

Christopher J. Devine is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Dayton. He is the author of several books on American politics, including *Do Running Mates Matter? The Influence of Vice Presidential Candidates in Presidential Elections* (University Press of Kansas, 2020) and *I'm Here to Ask for Your Vote: How Presidential Campaign Visits Influence Voters* (Columbia University Press, 2024).

Dr. Chris J. Dolan is Professor of Cyber Defense and Homeland Security and Director of Intelligence and Security Studies at Lebanon Valley College in Pennsylvania USA. In 2024, Dolan is serving as Fulbright Specialist in cyber defense and critical infrastructure with the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS) in Prishtina, Kosovo and will be working with KCSS colleagues on developing cyber resilience measures in Kosovo's critical infrastructure. Dolan's research focuses on cyber and information warfare, critical infrastructure protection, terrorism and extremism, homeland security, advanced intelligence analysis, structured analytic techniques, as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), U.S. national security, irregular warfare, and Kosovo and the Western Balkans.

Michael Grossman is Professor of International Affairs and National Security at the University of Mount Union and Senior Scholar at Strategy International. He earned his M.A. in Political Science from Northeastern University and a Ph.D. in International Studies from the University of South Carolina. His work focuses on international relations theory, foreign policy analysis, Russian politics and foreign policy, and U.S. foreign policy. His most recent books were *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium* (co-edited with Francis Schortgen and Gordon M. Friedrichs) (Routledge, 2022) and *Achievements and Legacy of the Obama Presidency* (co-edited with Ronald Eric Matthews and Francis Schortgen) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

Chad Kinsella is Associate Professor of Political Science and co-director of the Voting Systems Technical Oversight (VSTOP) Program at Ball State University. His research focuses primarily on electoral geography but he also examines state and local government and federalism.

Dr. Kyle C. Kopko is the executive director of the Center for Rural Pennsylvania. He joined the Center in July 2020. Prior to joining the Center, Dr. Kopko served as Associate Dean of Institutional Effectiveness, Research, and Planning, and Associate Professor of Political Science at Elizabethtown College. Dr. Kopko holds a law degree from the University of New Hampshire Franklin Pierce School of Law, a Ph.D. and M.A. in political science from The Ohio State University, and a B.A. in political science from Elizabethtown College. Dr. Kopko has authored or co-authored more than 50 publications, including two university press books. His research has received national and international media attention in outlets such as The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, The New York Times, CNN, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Fox News Channel.

William T. Lyons is Associate Dean of Buchtel College of Arts & Sciences and Professor of Political Science at the University of Akron. Among Bill's publications, there are several book manuscripts: *The Politics of Community Policing: Rearranging the Power to Punish*, (University of Michigan Press, 1999), *Punishing Schools: Fear and Citizenship in American Public Education* (with Julie Drew, University of Michigan Press, 2006), *Sound-Bite Saboteurs: Public Discourse, Education, and the State of Democratic Deliberation*, (with Julie Drew and Lance Svehla, SUNY Press, 2010), and most recently, *The Akron Story Circle Project: Rethinking Race in Classroom and Community* (with Carolyn Behrman, Patricia Hill, James Slowiak, and Amy Shriver Dreussi).

Ronald Eric Matthews Jr. is a visiting assistant professor at Thiel College in Greenville, PA. A graduate of Kent State University, Matthews focuses on public policy issues related to religion and politics. His recent publications include *Achievements and Legacy of the Obama Presidency* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

E. Fletcher McClellan is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Elizabethtown College. His co-authored articles appear in the *Journal of Political Science Education*, *New England Journal of Political Science*, *Popular Culture Studies Journal*, and *PS: Political Science & Politics*. He is the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award and the Craig L. Brians Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Research and Mentorship, presented by the Political Science Education Section of the American Political Science Association.

Douglas Mock is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at Morehead State University. He got his Ph.D. at Boston University and M.A. at the University of West Florida. His publications include “No Soviet Domination: Presidential Debates, Public Opinion and the Media.” Vol 2, Chapter 8 in *The Presidential Election of 2012*. Bratteboro, Douglas, and Jack Corravabus, ed. University of Akron Press, 2016.

Francis Schortgen is Associate Dean of Faculty at The University of Utah (Asia Campus) in Incheon, South Korea and Senior Scholar at Strategy International. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Miami University, an MBA from the National University of Singapore, an M.A. in Asia-Pacific Studies from the University of San Francisco, and a B.A. in Political Science and History from Miami University. Between 2008 and 2022, he was at the University of Mount Union where he taught in the International Affairs & Diplomacy and National Security & Intelligence Analysis programs as well as the School of Business. Most recently, he co-edited *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World* (Routledge, 2022) and *Achievements and Legacy of the Obama Presidency: “Hope and Change?”* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022). Prior to moving into academia, he worked in the business consulting industry in South Korea.

Steve A. Stuglin is an award-winning teacher and Professor of Communication at Georgia Highlands College. He has written extensively on the relationship between the domestic auto industry and the presidency and presented this work in dozens of conference presentations. Recent published examples of this work include chapters in *Trump Tweets, The World Reacts; Understanding What is Relevant and Why* (Roman & Littlefield, 2018); and *Achievements and Legacy of the Obama Presidency: Hope and Change?* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2022).

Lance Svehla is Associate Professor of English at The University of Akron. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in rhetorical theory, composition pedagogy, film and media studies, pragmatism, post-modernism, and the politics of literacy. His research centers on trying to enact a pragmatic sense of self, ethics, and history in the writing classrooms of postmodernity. He has published essays in such journals as *Teaching English in the Two-Year College*, *College Literature*, *The Literary Encyclopedia*, and *Dialogues: A Journal for Writing Specialists*. He is the

co-author of the book *Sound-Bite Saboteurs: Public Discourse, Education, and the State of Democratic Deliberation* (with Julie Drew and Bill Lyons, SUNY Press, 2010).

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Voter share by race/gender, 2016 presidential election (<i>Source</i> CNN 2016)	4
Fig. 1.2	White voter turnout, 2016 presidential election (<i>Source</i> CNN 2016)	4
Fig. 3.1	State legislative polarization during the Trump administration	37
Fig. 3.2	Multistate Lawsuits, 1981–2020 (<i>Source</i> State litigation and AG activity database)	41
Fig. 3.3	Examples of Multistate Lawsuits against the Trump administration (<i>Source</i> State litigation and AG activity database)	42
Fig. 3.4	Federal grants to state and local governments Chapter 8 (<i>Source</i> OMB, analytical perspectives, budget of the US government, fiscal year 2024,: Aid to state and local governments)	46

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1	Senate confirmation pace for cabinet level by President	75
Table 5.2	Senate confirmation in first 300 days for cabinet departments by President	76
Table 10.1	Summary of PMOFs by President, 1963–2021	173
Table 10.2	Primary Achievement Categories of PMOF Recipients	173
Table 10.3	Frequencies of Primary Achievement Categories	175
Table 10.4	Achievements Recognized by Democratic and Republican Presidents	176
Table 10.5	PMOF Recipients by Gender and Race	177



Introduction: The Voice of the Deplorables

*Ronald Eric Matthews Jr., Michael Grossman,
Francis Schortgen, and David B. Cohen*

In the spring of 1960, two young women living on the verge of poverty in a rural community in the Deep South drove to their local Board of Elections Office to register to vote in their first presidential election. Mesmerized by John F. Kennedy, a charismatic politician of inherited wealth and status, they envisioned an opportunity to step into the mainstream, to vote for an individual who was going to help them achieve a level of status never felt in their household before and to make a better

R. E. Matthews Jr.
Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania, USA

M. Grossman (✉)
University of Mount Union, Alliance, Ohio, USA
e-mail: grossmmo@mountunion.edu

F. Schortgen
The University of Utah, Asia Campus, Incheon, South Korea

D. B. Cohen
Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron, Akron,
Ohio, USA

© The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature
Switzerland AG 2024

M. Grossman et al. (eds.), *The Legacy of the Trump Administration*,
The Evolving American Presidency,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-65247-9_1

life for their young family. They were inspired by the idea that they, too, could own a piece of Camelot and that they could play a role in making America great.

They left the Board of Elections Office that day without a voter registration card. Their enthusiasm for government and politics was quickly dashed when they could not answer simple questions about their political party affiliation. Were they Republican or Democrat? When their extremely limited knowledge of the political process became evident by their response (“Baptist”), they were instructed to come back when they “knew what they were.”

As the mother of one of the authors recounts the story 63 years later, the message to them was clear: government, politics, and the American Dream are not in your future. Government is for the elite. While her enthusiasm for voting would return, her excitement for the process became more cyclic and transitional. She supported the conservative views of Dixiecrat-turned-Republican Senator Jesse Helms and voted for President Jimmy Carter with whom she felt she had a connection as it pertained to her simple views about patriotic America, working hard, and living a simple life.

Using her first experience at the Board of Elections as motivation, she became a regular patron of the voting booth and supported the working-class values approach of Ronald Reagan and the idea of ending welfare as we know it. She supported the idea of returning integrity to the Office of the President and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan during the George W. Bush era.

In 2016, she, like many others in the United States, became enthusiastic about another charismatic politician, like Kennedy, with inherited wealth and status. An individual who promised to “Make America Great Again.” To be the voice of those who have been ignored and sent to the margins. A voice for the voiceless. Industrious Americans who were seeing their tax dollars spent to support illegal immigration, liberal policy issues and attacks on their way of life. One who would “drain the swamp” and put an end to all the nonsense. And their feelings solidified and boiled over when the Democratic presidential nominee, Hillary Clinton, delivered a speech referring to them as a “basket of deplorables” (Reilly 2016). Donald Trump, the Republican presidential candidate, seized the moment and in so doing began to solidify and finalize a period of political realignment that had started decades before (Aistrup et al. 2023).

Appearing at a press conference days after Clinton's speech was publicized, Trump hit the proverbial cord with Americans who had been searching for a leader:

Hillary Clinton is an insider supported by powerful insiders attacking Americans who have absolutely no political power. Hillary Clinton spoke with hatred and derision for the people who make this country run. She spoke with contempt for the people who thanklessly follow the rules, pay their taxes, and scratch out a living for their family, a hard-earned living, too. While Hillary Clinton lives a sequestered life behind gates, walls, and guards, she mocks and demeans hardworking Americans who only want their own families to enjoy a fraction of the security enjoyed by our politicians. After months of hiding from the press, Hillary Clinton has revealed her true thoughts -- that was her true thoughts. She revealed herself to be a person who looks down on the proud citizens of our country as subjects for her rule. She views it as her rule. (Trump 2016)

Trump supporters rallied around his populist message and made their voices heard in a way that left political observers scratching their heads in disbelief.

As analysts began to decipher the voter turnout, several important observations became clearer. Notably, among white voters, Clinton was unable to capitalize on the coalition Barack Obama had constructed eight years earlier to capture the White House. Figure 1.1 shows that among the white electorate, that collectively accounted for 71% of all voters, Trump carried white women by 9% (52%–43%); among white men, Trump annihilated Clinton two to one (CNN Exit Polls 2016).

While it is true that Clinton won the popular vote by nearly three million votes, the Electoral College cocktail Trump constructed consisted of stalwart conservative states plus the battleground states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin—four states with large populations of white non-college graduates. Many of these voters associated themselves with Clinton's "basket of deplorables." Figure 1.2 shows that Trump's strongest base of support was among men without a college degree who supported him 71% to Clinton's 23% and white women without a college degree, 61% to 34%.

PBS Politics (2016) postulates that Trump's surprising victory was no surprise at all but rather a calculated approach based on populist rhetoric that effectively completed a political realignment that had begun decades

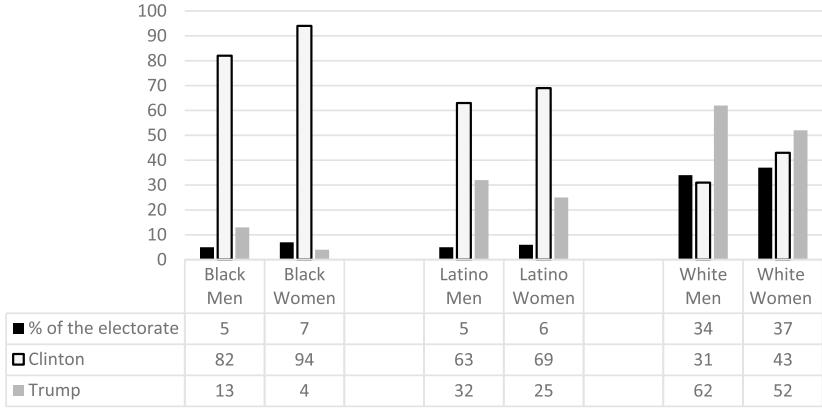


Fig. 1.1 Voter share by race/gender, 2016 presidential election (*Source* CNN 2016)

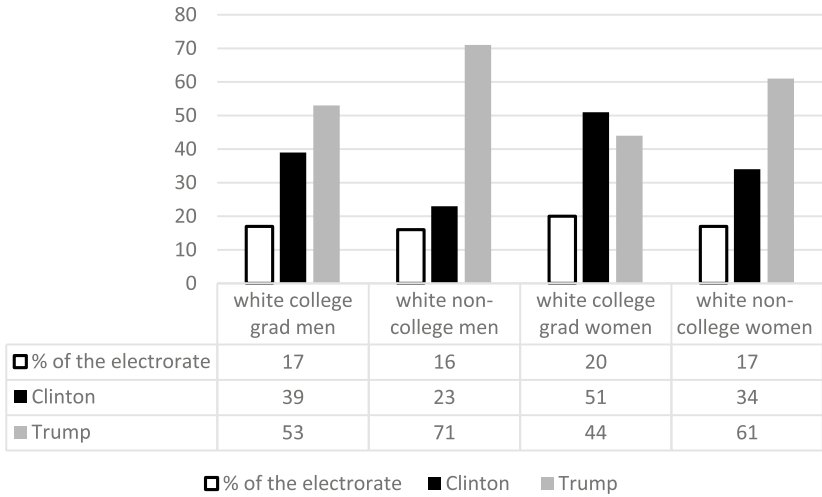


Fig. 1.2 White voter turnout, 2016 presidential election (*Source* CNN 2016)