

**POPULISM AND POLITICS OF WHITE IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY
OF AMERICA UNDER TRUMP**



By

Saher Ali

SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

QUAID I AZAM UNIVERSITY,

ISLAMABAD

2019

**POPULISM AND POLITICS OF WHITE IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY
OF AMERICA UNDER TRUMP**



Graduate Essay Submitted In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the

Degree Of

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE

IN

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By

Saher Ali

SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

QUAID I AZAM UNIVERSITY,

ISLAMABAD

2019

**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

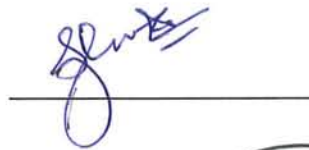
August 01, 2019

FINAL APPROVAL LETTER

This is to certify that we have read the graduate essay submitted by Saher Ali and in our judgment it is up to the standard of acceptance by the Quaid-I-Azam University for the grant of the degree of BS in International Relations.

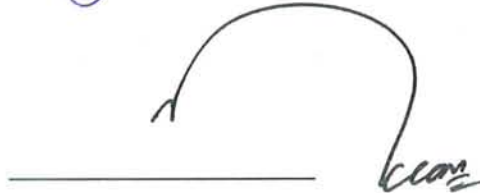
1. Supervisor

Mr. Summar Iqbal Babar



2. External Examiner

Dr. Muhammad Khan



3. Director

Prof. Dr. Nazir Hussain



Dedication

Dedicated to My Beloved Parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin with the name of Allah who is the most Merciful and the most Beneficent. I thank him for all his blessings and for giving me the courage to complete this work. This research work would not have been possible without sincere and dedicated guidance of my supervisor Sir Sammar Iqbal Babar who gave me valuable insights for carrying out my research work. . His able guidance and professional competence has opened new arena of research work for me.

The worthy faculty of School of Politics and International Relations who have helped me in developing an understanding of world politics will always be a part of my sweet memories and will always be my true source of guidance in my academic pursuits, in years to come. I am also thankful to the administrative staff of SPIR for being supportive during the course of my research work.

I would like to thank my parents for their sincerest prayers and for believing in my abilities to accomplish this arduous task. I would also like to thank my dear friends Laiba Khan Saleem and Sadia Riaz for giving me moral support throughout the process of research.

Saher Ali

ABSTRACT

The global rise of “illiberal populism” has emerged as a challenge for “cosmopolitan elite” of the world. These populists are against the policies of the elites who have put the common people into disadvantageous position both politically and economically. Populism is complemented by the rise in identity politics. The research explains the idea of white supremacy and the rise of identity politics in West and around the world. People have started defining themselves in terms of their “ethnic”, “religious”, “racial” and “cultural” identities. Populist politicians around the world have taken notice of this change and have manipulated the identity issues of people to garner votes and ascend to power. The role of populism is very pertinent in explaining “democratic backsliding” in American society. There are certain political, economic and cultural causes behind the rise of populism in America. The political causes for the rise of populism are “decline of trust in governments’ ability to deliver, political polarization along ideological lines, control of political and economic apparatus of the state by elite and changing power balance in international system”. The economic issues include “globalization, technological revolution, and neoliberalism” whereas the cultural issues include “racial segregation, increase in immigration” and its role in cultural change which is the main driver of “identity politics” as is evident by “Brexit”, “surge in right wing populism” across Europe and “Rise of Trump to power” in United States of America. In the end suggestions are made on how to counter populism through “strengthening democracy” and “effective policy making”.

Table of contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
Literature Review	3
Research Questions.....	6
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Significance of the Research.....	6
Research Methodology	7
Division of Study	7
CHAPTER ONE	9
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
1.1 Social Constructivism.....	9
1.2 Identity Politics and Trump	10
1.3 Identity and Culture	11
CHAPTER TWO	12
POPULISM.....	12
2.1 Types of Populism	13
2.2 History of Populism in America	13
2.3 Populism and White Nationalism	14
2.4 Ku Klux Klan.....	15
2.5 Charlottesville Massacre.....	16
CHAPTER THREE	17
DRIVERS OF POPULISM	17
3.1 Political Factors	17
3.2 Economic Factors	18
3.3 Cultural Factors	19
3.4 Populism and Immigration.....	20

3.5	9/11 and Islamphobia.....	21
3.6	Latin American Migration Crisis.....	22
CHAPTER FOUR.....		24
POPULISM AND CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM.....		24
4.1	Political Polarization.....	24
4.2	Social Stratification	24
4.3	Populism as a Threat to Democracy	25
CONCLUSION		27
BIBLIOGRAPHY		28

INTRODUCTION

With the rise of Trump to power the liberal international order created and perpetuated by US is under threat. “Illiberal populism” is on the rise in West as is evident from the rise of far-right parties across Europe. These populist regimes are against “immigration, globalization and free trade” and are a threat to liberal international order. Ethnic and religious discrimination is on the rise in developed countries. “Right-wing” populist parties opposed to “EU and immigration” gained greater electoral shares across Europe e.g. Austria, Hungary, Italy, Norway and Poland. U.S. President Donald Trump is against institutions that were developed in post-war international system. Trump’s stance on issues such as transnational trade, security alliances, rule of law, multiculturalism and human rights law is in contradiction with the stance of previous governments. If any sort of action is taken on these stances, it would end the role of United States’ as supporter of the liberal international order.¹ Trump does not respect political institutions and has repeatedly questioned the legitimacy of “federal judges, the press, and the rule of law”.

Trump has rejected the U.S commitment to open trade which has historically played a central role in foreign policy of America. Free trade has strengthened the U.S economy and has resulted in its ascendancy in post war international system. Transnational trade has resulted in strengthening economic and political interconnectedness between “Europe, Asia, and the rest of the world”. The World Trade Organization, established by the United States, is an economic tool in the hands of United States to make the international system fair and legitimate, and also to defend its interests in trade conflicts with other countries. It has monopoly over working of the organization because it is the largest financial contributor and in international system might is right. Every post-war American president has been the supporter of free trade as it has always been considered integral for prosperity of the United States, but Trump believes that free trade has deprived America of its economic superiority and has resulted in the loss of jobs for many Americans. Trump believes that China has taken undue advantage of free trade and has therefore started a trade war with China and imposed tariffs on imports from China. Trump is more mercantilist in his approach towards economic policy making.

¹G.John Ikenberry, “The Plot against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, 2017.

Great Depression has led to increased income inequality in US. The wages of working-class have been stagnant for more than a decade and this imbalance resulted in the emergence of right-wing populism especially among rural whites. The growing political differences over identity are the result of increased immigration from Asia and Latin America. The white voters that mostly belong to Republican party fear losing their cultural, and political predominance in American society.

Trump dislikes the political ideology of Multiculturalism which emphasizes that “cultural”, “religious”, “racial” and “ethnic” identities are private domains of an individual. They are also supporters of the idea of “civic nationalism”. Trump prefers a closed American society over an open one. The aspect of multiculturalism makes the American society truly exceptional. It is a nation of immigrants, who belong to different races, have different ethnicities and practice different religions. But Trump believes that immigration threatens national security and poses a cultural danger. This implies a shift from “civic nationalism” to “ethnic nationalism” in US polity.

Racial rhetoric has been used by Trump for ascending to power. USA is the chief propagator of white supremacy. Trump won White House by tapping into fears that US was being invaded by Mexicans and Muslims. Opposition to immigration is rooted in “prejudice, racism and ethnocentrism”. White supremacists in America fear that the demographic changes being witnessed in the country are a threat to white race and culture. The perpetrator of Christ Church attack named “Brenton Tarrant” was inspired by American white nationalism. In his manifesto he expressed support for President Donald Trump whom he sees as a white supremacist. Hatred against Muslim immigrants and people of colour has been increasing in US since 2014. In 2017 alone there were 954 white supremacist attacks in US.

Conservative nationalists like Xi Jinping, Putin, and Donald Trump used nationalism as a tool to appeal to the sensitivities of common people to get votes from them. All these “conservative nationalists” have exclusive notion of nation. The resurgence of far-right nationalism across the world is the reality of our times which is a threat to liberal international order. The irony is that the liberal order is under threat by its own creator i.e. “United States of America.”

Literature Review

In *Democracy for Realists*,² Achen and Bartels explain that deep-seated social identities are the drivers of political action rather than individual rationality. They argue that most people are not interested in politics and have no understanding of political issues and that's why they make irrational choices. They contend that for these "common folks" group affiliations take precedence over their values. Moreover, they argue that "Most people make their party choices based on who they are, not what they think," This theory helps in understanding contemporary U.S. politics. Over the past few decades, the United States has witnessed growing political polarization. There are certain social, economic and political circumstances under which social identities become politicized. Latinos today have a highly politically significant identity similarly Evangelical Christians and Muslims each have a politicized religious identity. The white working-class voters in Rust Belt region which covers the states of "Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania" proved crucial in victory of Trump. Trump has appealed to identities such as race, geography, and religion among the white working class.

The political scientist Eric Schickler has shown that White Southerners began to defect from the Democratic Party soon after the passage of the National Labour Relations Act of 1935. That law empowered the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a union federation, which promoted civil rights and prompted the GOP to embrace states' rights in defense of white interests. Richard Valelly, another political scientist, has highlighted how in the 1950s, Republican leaders appealed to White Southerners' social conservatism, particularly regarding gay rights. People now favour identity over economics as is evident from Modi's victory in India in 2019 elections despite his dismal economic performance in the last term.

The Great Depression of the 2008 accompanied with deindustrialization, automation, and globalization transformed the US economy. It has affected the working class because of the loss of many jobs, wage stagnation, unequal redistribution of wealth and decreased social mobility. As a result of increased immigration whites have become a minority in their own country and have become prone to racist appeals in order to protect their numerical and cultural privilege. Trump keeps on telling his supporters that the current

²Christopher H. Achen, Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press,2017)

political system of America only benefits the elites at the expense of working class. The findings of a widely cited 2014 study by the political scientists “Martin Gilens” and “Benjamin Page”³ reaffirms this stance of Trump as it was found that the ideas of the “wealthiest ten percent of Americans became law.” The dominant role of economic elite in political sphere at the expense of common people has produced the alienation of working class and resulted in populist backlash.

Nancy Isenberg’s book “White Trash”⁴ examines the importance of “Social Class” in the US and discusses the plight of “Lower Class” white Americans who have been mistreated and exploited by elites for their petty gains since the founding of the American republic.

Democrats and Republicans have always blamed one another for the predicament of underprivileged whites of working class but the reality is that both parties have failed to fulfill the requirements of these groups, as Barack Obama during his election campaign pointed out at a fundraiser in San Francisco that:

“When you go into the small towns in Pennsylvania, their jobs have been gone for past 25 years and there is no improvement in their condition as they remain unemployed. And their conditions kept on deteriorating throughout the Clinton and the Bush administration, and each successive administration believed that these communities will be better off soon, but their conditions have not improved. So, the fact that they have got bitter and cling to guns, religion, indifference towards people who are deemed outsiders such as immigrants, or are anti-trade is not surprising and to a large extent explains their grievances.”⁵

In an analysis, *Neil Irwin and Josh Katz of The New York Times* found that the level of support for Trump in any of his constituencies correlated strongly with the percentage of its white residents who were less educated and did not finish high school, who lived in mobile homes, and identified themselves as Evangelical Christian, and those who had

³ Benjamin I. Page and Martin Gilens, *Democracy in America? What Has Gone Wrong and What We Can Do About It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017)

⁴ Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400 year Untold History of Class in America* (Atlantic books, 2017)

⁵ Jefferson Cowie, “The Great White Nope: Poor, Working Class and Left Behind in America,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December issue, 2016.

supported the segregationist George Wallace in 1968. Trump's campaign has also featured elements of economic populism, centred on trade protectionism and a commitment to Social Security programs that will ensure prosperity and welfare of working-class whites.

Fareed Zakaria in his article "*Populism on the March*" published in journal of Foreign Affairs 2016 issue contends that Trump is the contemplator of the uprising of populism in western world. The wave of populism has swept countries from Sweden to Greece which vary widely in their political and economic circumstances. Populism is considered as the manifestation of an ordinary person's disgust towards the elites who have been exploiting them for decades.

In a research paper, titled "*Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash*" published by "Harvard's Kennedy School of Government" in August 2016 "Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris calculate that in European countries the votes of Right wing populist parties have doubled whereas votes of the Left wing populist parties have increased more than fivefold. According to an estimate, in the second decade of this century the right-wing populist's average share of votes had risen to 13.7% and that of left-wing populist have risen to 11.5%. The striking factor was the economic decline during all this time."

Social issues such as same sex marriage, immigration, race and climate change have become more important for an American today than their economic preferences and it defines their voting choices. Inglehart and Norris figured out that the economic factor has become less important since 1980's. The fundamental difference among the left and the right in contemporary times is cultural. In reality Brexit, Trump, and surge of populism in Europe are because of cultural values and not economic ones. Working-class whites feel alienated at the hands of cosmopolitan Democrats. Trump's political aptness was to realize in time that the voters backing Republicans are more concerned about the issues of "Identity politics" and "Race" and he capitalized on these issues to get their sympathy and win votes.

The most important issue Trump exploited was immigration. All populists are united on the issue of immigration and opposed to elites for supporting immigration. The globalization of goods, services, and information has made the world a global village but the globalization of people in the form of immigration has resulted in stronger public reaction from the native societies. In 2015 Western societies witnessed a surge in

immigration from the world and mostly Middle East because of the Syrian crisis. Europe has received the largest share of immigrants which has resulted in the rise of illiberal populism in Europe and the West at large. The role of leadership is very important in this aspect. A surge in populism is witnessed in states where mainstream politicians have been unsuccessful in addressing the concerns of their citizens whereas there is no rise in Populism in those countries who have kept the balance of immigration as well as integration of people e.g. Canada. Other Western countries should also follow the example of Canada. Instead of curtailing immigration they should devote more resources for effective integration and assimilation of immigrants. The government, private sector and educational institutions must work in collaboration with each other to ensure effective integration and assimilation.

Research Questions

1. What is populism and what are its drivers?
2. How populism has resulted in the rise of white nationalism and facilitated the rise of Trump to power?
3. How populism is a threat to democracy?

Statement of the Problem

1. The resurgence of populism in American politics is due to political, economic and cultural reasons.
2. The idea of White Nationalism along with Populism has facilitated Trump's rise to power.
3. The current wave of Populism and Identity Politics must be countered to protect the democratic dispensation of American society.

Significance of the Research

This research would help in explaining the rise of identity politics in West which has resulted in white supremacy, populism, xenophobia and anti-immigrant attitudes gaining prominence among American public. Identity politics is an umbrella term which covers concepts such as feminism, racial, religious, cultural and social identity. The focus of

research would be on Populism and White Nationalism, the two most important factors that have facilitated the rise of Trump to power.

Research Methodology

The research is qualitative and descriptive. Mixed approach containing both qualitative and quantitative methods has been employed to carry out the research. For data collection and analysis descriptive and explanatory approaches and secondary sources have been used such as journals, articles, magazines and books. The study also used data from political surveys and documented speeches for clarity on the subject.

Division of Study

The study under investigation is divided into the following chapters.

Chapter 1 gives the theoretical framework to understand the theoretical premises of the topic. Theory of constructivism has been applied to explain the idea of white supremacy advocated by Trump in his campaign. This idea was an important factor in mobilizing white middle class who thought they were being exploited at the hands of African Americans and coloured immigrants. Trumps use of identity politics as a tool to win presidency has also been explained in detail with insights from history.

In Chapter 2 the concept of populism is discussed in detail. This chapter discusses the definition of populism, causes for the surge of right wing populism, types of populism i.e. “Left Wing” and “Right Wing” and history of populism in America. . Resurgence of white nationalism, its history and its part in the rise of “Right-Wing Populism” in US are discussed along with certain movements who advocated white supremacy such as KKK.

In Chapter 3 a detailed description of drivers of populism. The relationship between increased immigration and populism has also been discussed. The role of 9/11 in increasing Islamophobia in west has also been discussed by applying theoretical understanding of Samuel P. Huntington. Finally the migration crisis from Latin America has been discussed in detail as it was a major issue in Trumps campaign and is still important for trump administration as proved by Trump’s repeated assertion on building the wall for curtailing immigration from Latin America.

In Chapter 4 challenges to American political system from the rise of illiberal populism have been discussed. The liberal democratic tradition that was propagated by US is under threat because of the rise of authoritarian powers i.e. China and Russia. Domestic causes of democratic weakening in USA are political polarization, anxiety over immigration, growing cultural diversity and a leadership that is more authoritative in its outlook.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theory is a set of propositions, assumptions and generalizations that helps in explaining and understanding a certain phenomenon. The purpose of theory is to describe, explain and predict behaviour. The theory of social constructivism has been used to explain the idea of white supremacy and ethnic nationalism.

1.1 Social Constructivism

The idea of “White Nationalism” can be explained with the help of theory of “Social Constructivism”. Social constructivists view ethnicity to be manufactured and not innate. The constructivists explain this phenomenon through “group theory” which helps in explaining the mindset of these white supremacists who think of themselves as culturally and religiously superior leading to in group, out group categorization and ethnocentrism.

Constructivist approach to nationalism regard national identity as an ideological construct which serves the interests of powerful groups. Groups can also emerge because of competition over limited resources. Ethnicity is all about the politics of belonging. An individual selects an ethnic identity in two cases

Firstly, in case of a leader that support the cause of a group (e.g. Trump supporting the cause of white middle class in case of America)

Secondly, the presence of economic or political incentives (make America great again, anti-immigration laws, America belongs to white etc.)

What is being witnessed in the case of America is surge in conservative nationalism. Conservative nationalism results from a fear of losing national identity because of globalization, immigration and supranationalism. Conservative nationalists believe that cultural diversity which is a result of immigration leads to instability and conflict. They contend that immigration from societies with different religions and traditions should be curtailed. This surge in conservative nationalism would give rise to intolerance by insistence on the maintenance of cultural purity. By declaring foreigners as threat, they promote racial and xenophobic fears. Economic and political oppression is a critical factor

in the choice of identity. If a group of people feel targeted for ill treatment or oppression their identity will become politicized i.e. get changed from ethnic to national identity.

Constructivists believe that individuals and ideas matter a great deal in shaping and influencing foreign policy and national interests are determined by these individuals e.g. nuclear “North Korea” is perceived as a threat by US policy makers but not nuclear “UK”.

1.2 Identity Politics and Trump

The significance of identity politics has increased over the years. Identity politics is a part and parcel of human psyche and manifests itself politically at both domestic and international level. As a result of its increased significance the politics of left and right in America now revolves around the issues of identity. The politics of left revolves around the issues of immigration, blacks, LGBTQ etc. while politics of right is centred on protection of national identity which is defined in terms of ethnicity, race and religion. Identity politics rose to prominence in response to injustice faced by racial and religious minorities in USA. Human beings are designed in such a way that their “inner-selves” seek recognition. This urge of recognition when not fulfilled leads to politicization of identity. Demand for recognition, respect and equality was the driving force behind the watershed historical events in the world ranging from French revolution to Arab spring. Human beings are social beings who crave social recognition and common identity to provide them with a sense of belonging to a certain group. This often leads to nationalism which falls under the gambit of collective identities e.g. the white Americans manifests their collective identity in the form white supremacy. Moreover in contemporary times group identities have become more important than individual identities.

The populism advocated by Trump is not new for America as it has been practised before by country’s first populist president, Andrew Jackson.⁶ He was the first national political figure to rally the political power of poor whites and was considered as crude and uncivilized by aristocratic elite of his times. He drew poor whites into the Democratic Party by promising to root out corruption and challenge entrenched elites. Jacksonian populism was infused with racism, as Jackson was a slave owner, strongly opposed to abolition and supporter of the policy of “Indian removal”.

⁶ Walter Russell Mead, “The Jacksonian Revolt, American Populism and the Liberal Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 2017.

The Jacksonian populists view the United States as a nation-state of the American people, whose sole purpose is serving American people. According to them the role of the U.S. administration is to ensure the safety, security and economic welfare of the people of America without interference in an individual's life.

1.3 Identity and Culture

The elections of 2016 was won by Trump on the basis of issues of "identity politics" and "culture" both of which have played a fundamental role in the history of American politics. American people felt that their cultural values are under threat because of increased immigration from around the world. Trump seemed the only candidate who was willing to put America and its people first in contradiction to the American establishment who were more concerned about their gains.

Many populists perceive immigration as a thoughtful attempt by cosmopolitan elite to side-line them "politically", "culturally" and "demographically" in their own country. In short many Americans voted Trump because of their lack of confidence in the ruling classes and their "cosmopolitan ideology".

According to a research conducted by the political scientist "Justin Gest", "65 % of Americans belonging to white working class are willing to vote for a party that advocates curtailing mass immigration, providing jobs to American workers and conserving America's Christian heritage, and preventing the threat of Islam."⁷

⁷ Justin Gest, "*Why Trumpism Will Outlast Donald Trump*", Politico Magazine, August 16, 2016.

CHAPTER TWO

POPULISM

According to Cas Mudde “Populism is a strategy and set of ideas that consists of three core features i.e. anti-establishment, authoritarianism, and nativism.”⁸

“Populism” is not an ideology but a strategy to obtain and retain power. Populism is divisive, thrives on conspiracy, criminalises all opposition to it, plays up external threats and are suspicious of critics which are deemed as foreign agents. Populism is a strategy employed by the left and right wing politicians to challenge the political status quo.⁹ Populists are nativists and suspicious of foreigners. They are suspicious of establishment, press and intellectuals. In US the candidates for presidency with little to no political experience mostly rely on populist language to garner votes as compared to their experienced contemporaries. The common causes for the rise in right wing populism in US are “rising immigration, growing social diversity, social and economic inequality, and ineffectual system of governance”.

A majority having a minority complex, is also considered to be an important factor in the upsurge of right-wing populism and white nationalist terrorism in the United States. Demographic change due to immigration, global interconnectedness as a result of globalization and the ascendancy of democracy in the world make majorities feel as if their numerical strength and political dominance is threatened, leading to fear of minorities. The politicians create this majority minority complex thus making instrumental use of identity to garner votes. Reasons for the rise in populism are economic hardships, issues of national identity and an electorate that feels dissatisfied with incumbent political class and state of the country. If we look at history the waves of populism that have swept Europe and US were largely because of economic crises e.g. the revolutions of 1848 in Europe, French revolution or the rise of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy during interwar period. In contemporary times we are witnessing continuous surge in populism accompanied by attacks on supranational institutions and more emphasis on nation state and nationalism as is the case in USA under the leadership of Donald Trump. Political,

⁸ Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*.(NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁹ Bart Bonikowski, “Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2016.

economic and social mainstreaming of the marginalized groups will help in preventing populist uprisings.

Much has been written about the domestic causes of the populist upsurge but less attention has been paid to international factors that contributed to the “upsurge of populism”. The national solidarity in USA was ended by the culmination of the Cold War because of the fall of the USSR which resulted in political polarization at home.

2.1 Types of Populism

Two different types of populism that have been practised in US are “left-wing” and “right-wing” populism.¹⁰ The left-wing populists are against corporate elites and hold a notion of “the people” on the basis of class and are not opposed to any “ethnic group” or “religious creed”. They are the supporters of liberalism and spread a version of “civic nationalism,” which is defined by “Gary Gerstle” as “Having faith in the equality of all human beings, and in an individual’s rights to “life”, “liberty”, “pursuit of happiness”, and to have a democratic government whose source of legitimacy is “the people”¹¹

Advocates of right-wing populism are also against elites who according to them take common people for granted and undermine their economic and political interests. Their definition of “the people” is based on ethnicity as they only refer to citizens of European heritage as being the “real Americans”.

2.2 History of Populism in America

Populism in America is as old as the country itself. In the US the “People’s Party” was an “agrarian” populist political party which played an important role in politics of America and was progressive in its outlook. It consisted of coalition of poor cotton farmers and troubled wheat farmers mostly in the South and West. These populists were hostile to elites, critical of “capitalism” and associated themselves with the labour movement. Since

¹⁰ Michael Kazin, “Trump and American populism: Old Whine, New Bottles,” *Foreign Affairs*, November 2016

¹¹ Gary Gerstle, “*The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective.*” In *Fear, Anxiety and National Identity*, (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 2015).

then the term “populism” has been used extensively and is essentially illiberal and anti-elite in its disposition.

The “Gilded Age” gave rise to inequality which led to emergence of populisms of different kinds one of them was “racial-nationalist” populism. The populists of this tradition used “racist” and “nationalist” appeals to persuade Congress to stop labourers from China and Japan from immigrating and settling in the USA. White Americans belonging to Working and middle class, made up the bulk of its adherents. Populists belonging to the “racial nationalist tradition” have always been against the policy of “international intervention” and are ardent supporters of “isolationism”.

2.3 Populism and White Nationalism

When populists say that they support the people that does not mean the whole people. They mean a certain kind of people defined in terms of race and ethnicity or in terms of cultural values or national identity which is often defined in exclusive terms for example Viktor Orban said that the national identity of Hungary is ethnic Hungarian which implies that non-ethnic Hungarians are not a part of Hungarian nation. The same goes for Trump who has garnered votes from white working class on the slogan of “white supremacy”.

Since the 1970s “American white supremacists” have been looking forward to export their philosophy of hate. The founders of “Ku Klux Klan” believed that the white race is threatened by a cultural assault of “immigrants” and “people of colour”. They contend that the country’s demographic change as a result of increased immigration would result in an extinction of “white race and culture.”

The “Alt-right” is an online white supremacist movement that propagates “chauvinistic” and “intolerant” worldview and render Muslim refugees and reformists as a threat to numerical and cultural supremacy of the whites. They are supported by a global audience of white supremacists who also use the internet to share their ideas of hate and encourage the use of violence to attain their objectives e.g. the Christchurch attack perpetrated by a white supremacist called “Brenton Tarrant” was aimed at targeting a minority community i.e. Muslims to advance their agenda of white supremacy.

Trump and his contemporary right-wing politicians have blamed immigration and people of colour for growing economic and social inequality. This narrative has led to increase in

intolerance in multi-cultural societies like USA. The years of “2015”, “2016” and “2018” were years of extremist violence in US. All of this violence has been perpetrated by members of white nationalist groups. “Nationalist terror” is a danger not only to the national security of USA but also to global democratic society.

Over the past two to three decades, America has become far more racially and ethnically diverse and part of that is because of increased immigration to the US, and partly that’s because of differences in birth rates across different racial and ethnic groups. Some whites are reacting to this with a great deal of hostility and their hostility is motivated by their dislike of people of colour. These whites are reacting negatively to these changes because they feel a sense of attachment or identification with their racial group and are worried about their group status and about its ability to maintain power, to hold onto privileges in a country that’s becoming rapidly diverse. They don’t want non-whites to become a greater share of the population or for them to achieve greater political, economic, social equality because that comes at the expense of their own group’s power. These disgruntled Americans found a messiah in Donald Trump and his campaign rhetoric, “Make America Great Again,” clearly appealed to whites. “Identity insecurity” is the cause of increase in right wing populism in America.

2.4 Ku Klux Klan

The “Ku Klux Klan” was formed in “1866” to revolt against the freed slaves as 13th, 14th and 15th amendments granted amnesty and rights to African Americans in both North and South America. It was started by 6 young confederate soldiers whose original purpose was to ensure the protection of the privileges of whites. The members of the group who were mostly white Protestants had “xenophobic” worldview and they hated “racial” and “religious” minorities. The members of Klan killed thousands of people of the South to suppress their political participation. In 1871 “The Klan Act” was passed which permitted the federal government to imprison the members of Klan. The Klan members tried to stop black men and women from practising their legal rights through the use of fear.

In 1963 “the Klan members” bombed the “16th street Baptist church” which resulted in the killing of four little girls. The “Mississippi faction” of the Klan bombed twenty black churches in 1964 and also assassinated civil right activists with the help of local police.

The group is still present but not as active as it used to be in the past though it's quite active on social media.

2.5 Charlottesville Massacre

Charlottesville massacre was the result of a month-long battle in Charlottesville over the status of the statue of "Robert E Lee" who was the general of the "Confederate Army" during Civil war. Some people felt that these statues reminds them of shady times of racism in US history and therefore should be removed. The "Charlottesville City Council" decided to get rid of the statue. This step by the government was not liked by a group of white nationalists who protested the decision in May by arranging a march the "Unite the Right" rally on August 12, 2017. This march consisted of white nationalists who trudged through the campus of university of Virginia, some of them chanting the slogan of "blood and soil" reminiscent of Nazism. This led to skirmishes between protestors and counter protestors and resulted in killing of some protestors.

CHAPTER THREE

DRIVERS OF POPULISM

There are certain political, economic and cultural factors that drive the current surge in populism not only in West but also across the world. These factors are discussed below.

3.1 Political Factors

In the case of U.S, the rise of “illiberal populism” has accompanied the weakening of faith in government and political institutions; and the rise of “ideological polarization”. These factors indicate the decline of America’s democracy.

The trust in the U.S. government is declining since the mid-1960s.¹² “Fifty years ago, a large share of the U.S. population trusted the central government but that number has dropped below 25 percent and this decline has continued even during the Trump administration.”¹³ This decline in trust reflects the perception that democratic politics are not working in the interest of people. There is desire on the part of ordinary people to have a strong leader who can make decisions and get things done. Political scientists “Benjamin Page” and “Martin Gilens” have found that average Americans have almost no influence over U.S. policy making and that “when large majorities consisting of 70 to 80 percent of common Americans favour policy change they get it less than half the time.”¹⁴

Surge in populism is also a manifestation of the sense of powerlessness among the masses as well as political leaders who don’t have an answer to the changes surrounding them such as flow of migrants from Middle East and Africa, border control, terrorism, tax evasion and unemployment. This sense of powerlessness among people translates into their support for populist leaders who promise to restore control to them. Changing balance of power in international order has made many people in the west and especially Americans uncertain about their future. This has made them to look up to politicians who say they will stand up for the West. The catchphrase of “Make America Great Again” was

¹² Pew Research Centre, “Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017” (2017),

¹³ Noah Barkin, “Trust in U.S. institutions plunges in Trump’s first year,” *Reuters*, January 21, 2018

¹⁴ Benjamin I. Page and Martin Gilens, *Democracy in America? What Has Gone Wrong and What We Can Do About It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017)

used excessively by Trump during his campaign and even after getting elected to the president office to stay relevant in the eyes of public.

3.2 Economic Factors

Mostly middle class has been affected by globalization and technological progress with dwindling employment rates and wages. These working-class men resultantly turn to populist politics to escape their anger and frustration. This is consistent with the voting patterns observed in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, as Donald Trump received a large share of votes from the working class and from areas where jobs were under threat from automation and illegal immigration .Economic insecurity leads to in-group solidarity among the working class whereas the elites are deemed as members of out-groups. These economic insecurities are complemented by the loss of faith in the mainstream political parties and their ability to deliver. These economically disadvantaged people then look up to authoritarian leaders who can get things done for them and respond to their concerns over certain issues.

Hyper globalization has resulted in increasing inequality as wealth became concentrated in the hands of few. This globalization has resulted in unemployment in America because of the rush of cheap imported goods mostly coming from China while immigration is adding to their economic woes by undercutting the price of their labour. “Montier” and “Philip Pilkington” believe that the rise in populism is because of a broken system of economic governance termed as neoliberalism which has been in practice since 1970s¹⁵.They believe that the new order has tilted the balance in favour of capital rather than labour. This system has also given rise to lower inflation, lower investment and growth rates, increasing wealth accompanied by income inequality.¹⁶ Neoliberal economics intensifies competition and increase cultural tensions. There is a backlash to all this in the form of populism. West has experienced the down side of free trade as millions of jobs have been lost because of new emerging economies such as India and China joining in the game.

¹⁵ James Montier and Philip Pilkington, ‘The deep causes of secular stagnation and the rise of populism’, *GMO White Paper*, March 2017.

¹⁶ Cox, Michael, “The Rise of Populism and the Crisis of Globalization: Brexit, Trump and Beyond,” *Irish studies in international affairs*, 28. pp.9-17, 2017.

Globalization reduces differences in thought through “media consolidation” and “homogenization” of elite. The populism in US is the result of this homogenization.¹⁷

In his book, “The Rise and Fall of Nations”, Ruchir Sharma contends that demographics is a cause of economic stagnation in West. Western countries from US to Poland and from Sweden to Greece which differ widely in their socioeconomic conditions have seen the impacts of economic decline and the reason behind this was the lower fertility rates that affected the labours working and it in turns effects the economic development of a country. Western world is undergoing information revolution due to which new technologies are strengthening the effects of globalization. For example it has been seen that the technological advancement has made the life really easy like Uber making driverless cars but on the same hand they are making millions of people unemployed within America which has resulted in the loss of “dignity” and contributed to the rise of identity politics.

3.3 Cultural Factors

More than 12 percent of the U.S. population is African American, who are descendants of enslaved people. Till the 1960s, African Americans faced legal discrimination in numerous states that was complemented by structural and systematic inequality. African Americans continue to record systematically worse economic, social,¹⁸ and health outcomes and are also victims of police brutality. Both Donald Trump and his contemporary right-wing authoritarian populists in Europe have capitalized on the anxieties related to “demographic change” to garner votes. “The electoral base of Trump as well as his Republican Party is overwhelming white”¹⁹. A “Public Religion Research Institute” survey for *The Atlantic* found:

“68 percent of white working-class voters said that the American way of life needed to be protected against foreign influence, and almost half of them believe that things have

¹⁷ Michael Anton, “The Trump Doctrine,” *Foreign Policy*, May 2019

¹⁸ Raj Chetty and others, “Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States: An Intergenerational Perspective” (*The Equality of Opportunity Project*, 2018)

¹⁹ Frank Newport, “Democrats Racially Diverse; Republicans Mostly White,” *Gallup*, February 8, 2013.

changed so much that they often feel like a stranger in their own country. 79% people of white working-class who had anxieties related to immigration, voted for Trump.”²⁰

The instrumental elements playing crucial roles in realigning Democratic and Republican parties along racial lines were the Acts of 1960’s; “Civil Rights Act” and the “Voting Rights Act”. Southern blacks were the supporters of Democratic Party while Southern whites were the supporter of Republican Party. The white southerners vote Republicans mainly for class reasons but many among them also choose the Republicans because they took stances on “rule of law” and “racial issues”.

The success of democracy in the South polarized Congress in terms of ideology as well as along party lines. As the political scientist “Michael Tesler” has argued that the “voters are manipulated by racially coded campaigns to assess government programs in terms of the social groups which are profiting from them. With time, the view of white voters about public policy, health care, taxes and social security have been shaped by their racial attitudes.”²¹ Now, a large number of black voters favours Democratic policies and contrary to that Republicans have been supported by a large proportion of white voters.

External actors are not the “gravest threat” to the social and political order of the United States. In fact, the source of greatest danger are white supremacists who choose “white purity” over a “diverse democracy”. When Americans “abandon pluralism”, the result is “populism”. To counter the present surge of populism policy makers should address the challenges of economic security, opportunity and fair representation in government. The politics of 21st century revolve around the issues of “immigration”, “race”, “religion”, “gender”, and other inter-related “cultural” and “identity” issues. The voting preference of today’s voter is on the basis of their social status or cultural logic rather than their economic self-interest.

3.4 Populism and Immigration

US has historically been averse to immigration e.g. in mid nineteenth century America there was opposition to the immigration of Roman Catholics because of fear that it would

²⁰ Dionne, Ornstein, and Mann, “One Nation after Trump,” *The Atlantic*, 2016.

²¹ Robert Mickey, Steven Levitsky, Lucan Ahmad Way, “Is America Still Safe for Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, 2017.

change the protestant culture of America. Election of Trump is a reaffirmation of this historical fact. Trump holds the “global elite” responsible for endorsing open borders which allow “immigrants” to take over jobs from “American workers”. Trump has accused Mexicans of being rapists and Muslim immigrants of being jihadist fundamentalists and terrorists. This anti-immigrant attitude would be harmful in the long term because it would give rise to intolerance and bigotry which is a great malaise for multiculturalist American society. Moreover, it is also not feasible from economic point of view as US is suffering with ageing population who are dependent on state health care and pension thus increasing the burden on taxpaying working class. The young immigrants are a source of revenues for the American nation. Effective integration and assimilation of these immigrants can help a great deal in resolving issues around immigration.

3.5 9/11 and Islamphobia

The “anti-Islam” prejudice in West is revealed by “Samuel Huntington’s theory of Clash of Civilizations” which states:

“The main problem for West is Islamic civilization whose people are convinced of the pre-eminence of their culture and are preoccupied with their political and economic inferiority. The religion of Islam has no problem with the American intelligence agency i.e. “CIA” or the “US Department of Defense”, but with the Western civilization whose people are persuaded of the universality of their culture and believe that their preeminent, power obligates them to spread their culture throughout the world. These are the elements responsible for conflict and hostility between Islam and the West”.²²

Anti-immigrant attitude toward Muslims since 9/11 can be explained by reference to the theory of “Clash of Civilizations” given by “Samuel Huntington” in which he contended that culture would assume such importance that it would dominate and divide the world. He listed eight cultures “Western, Confucian, Islamic, Japanese, Hindu, Slav orthodox, Latin America and Africa”. He believed that different value systems embodied in these civilizations are the dominant force that “inspires and mobilise people”. He further said that West because of its different values system that emphasizes “individualism, political

²² Samuel p Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1996), pp.217-218.

and economic liberalism, human rights, equality, liberty and rule of law” is pitted against all other civilizations. Therefore, the West should be militarily equipped to deal with any threat from these contending civilizations. Moreover, he predicted “Islam and Confucianism to be the most treacherous of these and that their unity is a threat to Western civilization.” Osama bin Laden lent credence to his analysis by carrying out September 11 attacks.

After 9/11 US policy makers sought refuge in this theoretical premise for carrying out their counterattacks against Islam. They started seeing Islam as the biggest threat to western civilization and an attack was launched on Iraq on the pretext of humanitarian intervention. Since 9/11, the anti-immigrant attitudes have become a principal campaign platform for Republican presidential hopefuls and is one of the reasons to explain Trump’s rise to power.

In contemporary times a conjunction of “nationalism, populism, and the politics of insecurity” has been observed. These elements have always been a determining factor in the outcome of elections throughout the history of USA. The campaign of Republicans is mostly centred on “border control” and “national security” while Democrats put more emphasis on socio-economic issues like “health care”, but “collective insecurity” remains a dominant feature of the politics of both parties. They try to use them to their advantage and garner votes.

3.6 Latin American Migration Crisis

Curtailing Immigration from Latin America was a very important factor in Trump’s campaign for garnering votes in 2016 elections. Central Americans living in the Northern Triangle which consists of countries such as “Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras” are caught in a complex web of violence and corruption, poverty and inequality. Regional governments have failed to provide their citizens with basic human rights and other guarantees such as the rule of law and physical or economic security. For the past decade, the Northern Triangle has been the most dangerous region in the world, with largest homicide rates.

Among those fleeing violence, women and children have been migrating in greater numbers since 2012. Central American women and girls are routinely the victims of

violence as they are targeted by gangs and organized crime and face high rates of domestic violence. Their states have failed in providing them security, so they are fleeing to America in large numbers to ensure their security and survival.

“The persistent violence and corruption in these states is linked to economic issues. The lack of the rule of law has resulted in reduced investments and closing of businesses. Collusion between governments and organized crime deprives states of much-needed revenue to provide public services”.²³

Developing and maintaining the rule of law is vitally important to creating a secure, prosperous Central America. Central American governments need more technical assistance and more funding from America directed at improving and professionalizing the judiciary. In order to ensure economic development in the Northern Triangle measures such as “formalizing the workforce, investment in human capital and implementation of market reforms” should be taken. Militarizing the border, building the wall and restricting access to asylum won’t help but exacerbate the crisis. The structural inequalities persistent in Central American states should be addressed for a long-term solution to these problems.

²³ Christine Wade, “the US contributed to Central America’s Migrant Crisis. It Must Help Fix It.” *World Politics Review*, November 13, 2018.

CHAPTER FOUR

POPULISM AND CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

4.1 Political Polarization

When the mainstream political parties fail to address the concerns of common people the populists take advantage of the resulting grievances and in most of the cases they ascend to power by exploiting these grievances. Politics in America has become personalized and polarized along racial, cultural and geographic lines. People of America have become more concerned about identity issues than policy issues. In case of America identity politics has also resulted in increased polarization as the supporters of Democratic Party are mostly immigrants and people of colour whereas the Republican Party draws support mostly from white working class. This trend of increased political polarization is a threat to American democracy. In contemporary times inclusive “civic identity” should be more focused than exclusive “ethnic identity”. Developing a consensus among people on societal issues will also help a great deal in addressing the issues of polarization. The role of social media is very important in developing this consensus.

4.2 Social Stratification

People who are not integrated well socially and politically mostly feel alienated from mainstream political parties and are supporters of populists. These are the people with low levels of income and less education. Mostly unemployment and economic inequality are a result of “technological change” and “globalization”. People living in cities have better living standards and have better access to job opportunities as compared to people living in rural areas who are in an economically disadvantageous position. There is also a divide on social issues such as “LGBTQ rights, multiculturalism, immigration, gender equality” etc. Social stratification including “racial, ethnic and religious” stratification are an impediment in developing a consensus in “multi-ethnic” and “racial” democracies.

4.3 Populism as a Threat to Democracy

Populism is essentially illiberal in its disposition as it rejects the essence of “liberal political tradition” which includes “division of constitutional powers, effective checks and balances by institutions, and strong civil society”. Populist leaders favour administrative verdicts and disregard legislatures. They undermine institutional checks and balance on executive branch of government and cast themselves as being superior to government institutions. All these factors have divided American society on the basis of their socioeconomic position in the society which is based on their “occupation” and “income”.

In recent times Washington’s focus has shifted from pro people policies to pro elite policies. Inequality has grown worldwide which has resulted in a nationalist backlash across the world. Middle class is mostly affected by globalization because it only benefits the elite. Mostly multinational corporations are the beneficiaries of globalization. The power of multinational corporations must be curtailed along with crackdown on tax havens so that the working class could reap benefits of globalization. US support of authoritarian governments in Middle East is also against its agenda of democratization in the world. Political polarization is also responsible for “democratic backsliding” in America. Politicians and supporters starts considering their opponents illegitimate due to this political polarization, which is against democratic rules. Democratic norms weaken when politicians don’t respect the opposition, become willing to cooperate with antidemocratic forces, and use politically incorrect language for their opponents e.g. Trump referred to Hillary as “crooked Hillary” and Ted Cruz as “lyin’ Ted” throughout his election campaign to demonize them.

The wave of “illiberal populism” that has been sweeping developed and developing countries is often in response to anxiety over immigration and growing cultural diversity. The retreat of USA from global leadership is creating vacuum in international arena which would eventually be filled by authoritarian powers such as China and Russia who are increasing their influence worldwide through “information warfare” and “political penetration”. According to a poll by the pew research centre in September 2001 “29% of the Americans surveyed agreed that democracy promotion should be a top foreign policy

priority. That number fell to 18% in 2013 and 17% in 2018.”²⁴ Trump has embraced dictators such as Putin, Kim Jong Un and Mohammad Bin Salman while treating European and other democratic allies with contempt. For American political system to work affectively “racial injustice”, “political polarization” and “economic inequality” should be removed and International economic policies that benefit all Americans should be made. “Authoritarianism” is a threat to democracy which needs to be countered affectively to establish supremacy of democratic political system.

Throughout the history of America reason behind their democratic stability was sustaining the tradition of restraint and cooperation and insufficient use of power by the ruling elite. For example, “President Franklin Roosevelt made efforts to pack the Supreme Court but the Democrats disagree with this. Moreover, the Republicans were in favour of the investigation of President Richard Nixon,”²⁵ but the whole scenario might change with the election of Trump. Trump’s disregard for facts, his repudiation of the role of the mainstream media, his criticism of judges, and his disregard for political opposition all degrade democratic norms. He prefers “competition over cooperation”, “protectionism over free trade” and “authoritarianism over democracy.”

The institution of liberalism must be protected against the onslaught of “illiberal populism”. The role of civil society in this domain is very important as it curtails the power of state, ensures accommodation of “pluralism” and “diversity”, and also gives a platform to the common people for raising their concerns. Democratic civic education should be imparted to children to inculcate the values of “tolerance”, “compromise” and “respect” for opponents. The role of ruling elites in managing dissent through political means is important in “mitigating instability” and “developing consensus.”

²⁴ Larry Diamond, “Democracy Demotion: How the Freedom Agenda Fell Apart,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/ August, 2019.

²⁵ Robert Mickey, Steven Levitsky, Lucan Ahmad Way, “Is America Still Safe for Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, 2017.

CONCLUSION

Trump's rise to power was a shock for American establishment as well as for nations around the world. All the nations of the world see America as the harbinger and promoter of democracy, but democracy and liberal international order seems to be failing in case of America. Nevertheless, this trend of surge in populism can be curtailed by addressing the issues of economic inequality and by tackling a flawed political system that benefits the elite. The populist surge is a response to decades of undemocratic policies. It is the responsibility of voters, civic movements, and politicians to defend and strengthen the institutions that make democracy work. Institutional empowerment and equilibrium between the three branches of government i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary is imperative to preserve American democracy. If governments do not do their bit to address the social and economic problems faced by people of the United States, and if they continue their ignorance towards rising extremism, then the West would move from bad to worse. Bottom up approach is needed to take American people into confidence that democracy is the only way for a stable and prosperous America. An active, engaged pro-people leadership with good insight is needed to "Make America great again".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Journal Articles

Mead Russell Walter, "The Jacksonian Revolt: American populism and the liberal order." *Foreign Affairs*, April, 2017.

Bonikowski Bart, "Three lessons of contemporary populism in Europe and the United States." *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2016.

Noah Barkin, "Trust in U.S. institutions plunges in Trump's first year." *Reuters*. January 21, 2018.

Cox, Michael. "The rise of populism and the crisis of globalization: Brexit, Trump and beyond." *Irish studies in International Affairs*, 28. Pp.9-17, 2017.

Anton, Michael. "The Trump Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*, May 2019.

Zakaria, Fareed. "Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble." *Foreign Affairs*, November, 2016.

Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, NY: Touchstone, 1996.

Wade, Christine. "The US contributed to Central America's Migrant Crisis. It Must Help Fix It." *World Politics Review*, November 13, 2018.

Kazin, Michael. "Trump and American populism: Old Whine, New Bottles." *Foreign Affairs*, November 2016.

Cowie, Jefferson. "The Great White Nope: Poor, Working Class and Left Behind in America," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December issue, 2016.

Diamond, Larry. "Democracy Demotion: How the Freedom Agenda Fell Apart," *Foreign Affairs*, July/ August, 2019.

Mickey, Robert, Steven Levitsky and Lucan Ahmad Way. "Is America Still Safe for Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, 2017.

Cox, Michael. "The Rise of Populism and the Crisis of Globalization: Brexit, Trump and Beyond," *Irish studies in International Affairs*, 28. pp.9-17, 2017.

Ikenberry, John G, "The Plot against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, 2017.

Books

Achen, Christopher H and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

Benjamin I. Page and Martin Gilens, *Democracy in America? What Has Gone Wrong and What We Can Do About It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017

Isenberg, Nancy. *White Trash: The 400 year Untold History of Class in America* .Atlantic books, 2017.

Gest, Justin "Why Trumpism Will Outlast Donald Trump", Politico Magazine, August 16, 2016.

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Gerstle, Gary. "The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective." In *Fear, Anxiety and National Identity*, New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 2015.

Magazine Articles

Dionne, Ornstein, and Mann, "One Nation after Trump," *The Atlantic*, 2016.

Gest, Justin "Why Trumpism Will Outlast Donald Trump", Politico Magazine, August 16, 2016.

Reports

Newport, Frank. "Democrats Racially Diverse; Republicans Mostly White," *Gallup*, February 8, 2013.

Montier, James and Philip Pilkington. "The Deep causes of secular stagnation and the rise of Populism', *GMO White Paper*, March 2017.