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The Relationship between the Far-Right and Systemic Racism in the United States

An investigation of the link between systemic racism and the Far-Right in the United States

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Abstract

The history of the United States is littered with numerous examples of historical manifestations of systemic racism and populism on the far-right. One can find these phenomena throughout the country's history. Extreme right-wing movements stand to gain a great deal from the pervasive racism in society. Gerrymandering, education, and voting are just a few of how the far-right can gain advantages from the fundamentally racist system. The adoption of policies that are racist on an institutional level can be seen as a contributing factor to the growth in popularity of far-right movements. This is not likely to change shortly, given the use of gerrymandering, laws that restrict voting, differences in educational systems et cetera. The extreme right-wing has successfully infiltrated every level of the Republican Party and utilized them to advance its agenda. While systemic racism is likely to be depended on the current political climate to be able to survive, it is also expected that the Far-Right will continue to exist regardless of the survival of systemic racism.

Keywords: *Systemic Racism, Far-Right, Populism, United States, Racism, Race, Slavery*

Abbreviations

ANP: American Nazi Party

HOLC: Home Owners Loan Corporation

KKK: Ku Klux Klan

NSM: National Socialist Movement

POC: People of Color

USCT: United States Colored Troops

Je dédie ce mémoire à toute ma famille,
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leur soutien.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Setting the Stage

Juneteenth, June 19, commemorates the day in 1865 when the last enslaved person in the United States of America was emancipated. This year, the holiday was marked across the United States with marches calling for the defunding of the police and an end to systemic racism, extending weeks of protests following the police shooting of George Floyd and others. These demands for radical change may appear unnecessary and extreme at first glance, after all, the United States had elected a black president, and slavery was abolished long ago but they reflect how government action throughout the twentieth century and into the present has created and sustained institutionalized racism. These patterns have become apparent as a result of COVID-19 and unemployment in the Black population. The protests are in response to the failure of decades of reform to end police killings of unarmed black people throughout the United States. This failure is founded in the isolation and control of Black and Latinx communities, as well as the defunding of services to these areas (Roht-Arriaza, 2020).

A large part of Americans is aware that the United States economy was built on slave labor, particularly in the cotton fields, and that the US fought a civil war in the mid-19th century that resulted in the abolition of slavery and the passage of constitutional amendments guaranteeing formerly enslaved individuals equal protection, citizenship, and voting rights (Slavery and Civil Rights / Boundless Political Science, n.d). Many recognize how Reconstruction post-war reform efforts at inclusion came to a halt due to a combination of forced segregation, white militias terrorizing POC communities, voter disenfranchisement, and the reintroduction of slave-like practices in prisons and rural areas via sharecropping and other practices. It was not until the 1960s that official segregation in the south, dubbed “Jim Crow” laws (HISTORY, 2018), was abolished, a process that involved a mix of Supreme Court decisions, federal legislation, and the use of federal troops to enforce the law.

Much less well-known is the impact of government policy and carelessness on the African American experience in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, ranging from housing and labor rights to impunity for lynching and massacres, and mass incarceration. This is not only a case of impersonal economic causes such as deindustrialization and the hollowing out of

northern “Rust Belt” areas (Chen,2021), but of deliberate government decisions that have resulted in intolerable economic, health, and educational repercussions and stoked modern rage.

1.1.1 January 6

The Capitol was the location of an event that took place not too long ago and was one that was reasonably astonishing. This tragedy sheds light on what the United States has become in a way that was somewhat unexpected and indeed revealed how far the far-right has moved in the United States. To better understand what is happening in the United States right now, it is vital to shine some light on a recent occurrence that has surprised many people in this country.

Throughout his presidential campaign, Donald Trump made several explicitly racist and other bigoted statements, including labelling Mexican immigrants as criminals and rapists, proposing a ban on all Muslims entering the United States, and suggesting that a judge should recuse himself from a case solely because his ancestors were of Mexican descent.

This pattern continued throughout his presidency, as evidenced by his stereotyping of an African American reporter, pandering to white supremacists in the wake of a violent demonstration in Charlottesville, Virginia, and making a joke about the Trail of Tears, which was a forced relocation of Native Americans in the United States (2021's "Opinion | January 6 Was Worse Than We Knew"). The backing of white supremacy by Donald Trump throughout his campaign was an essential factor, as it provided a voice to the large number of white Americans who harbor racial animus and led, at least in part, to the incident that took place on January 6, 2021.

On January 6, 2021, on the sixth day of the year 2021. Angry demonstrators led by supporters of then-President Donald Trump launched an attack on the United States Capitol building in Washington, D.C They attempted to reverse his defeat in the 2020 presidential election by disrupting a joint session of Congress that was due to count electoral votes and proclaim then-President-elect Joe Biden’s victory. Rioters clashed with law enforcement, officers vandalized property, and briefly took over the Capitol Complex, forcing politicians and staff to vacate the premises (Pallini, 2021). Five people died in the days prior, during, and after the event; one

was assassinated by Capitol Police, another died of a heroin overdose and three died naturally. Numerous individuals, including one hundred thirty-eight police officers, were hurt. Within seven months following the attack, four officers who responded to the attack committed suicide. (Wolfe, 2021) Thousands of Trump supporters marched in Washington D.C on January 5th and 6th to push his erroneous claim that the 2020 election was “stolen” by “strong radical-left Democrats” (Naylor, 2021), while urging then-Vice President Mike Pence and members of Congress to oppose Biden’s victory and urging the public to do the same (Rodd & Hooks, 2021).

Trump rehashed previously discredited charges of election fraud during a “Save America” gathering on the Ellipse on January 6th, commencing at noon (Rodd & Hooks, 2021). In addition the following in other words, “if you don’t fight like hell, you won’t have a nation anymore” (Melendez et al., 2021).

After he finished speaking, thousands of people marched to the Capitol building, and hundreds burst over the police barricades, creating mayhem and chaos. After Pence officially refuted Trump's and others' false claims that the Vice President might influence the election result, some rioters began chanting "Hang Mike Pence" in front of an array of gallows erected up west of the Capitol (Evon, 2021). The rioters made their home in the empty chamber of the Senate while members of the federal law enforcement force stood to watch on the floor of the empty House of Representatives (Macias & Mangan, 2021). Molotov cocktails and pipe bombs were found in a vehicle close to the nation's capital and at the offices of the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

1.2 The Purpose of the Thesis

This thesis investigates the connection between systemic racism in the United States and the rise of populist, extreme-right political groups in the same country. My interest in this issue was piqued by the rise of far-right populist leaders in Europe and the United States, which made for fascinating reading. I decided to write about it because it is intriguing, but also because it is pertinent to the political atmosphere of today.

1.3 Research Question

Despite a large body of existing research, much more work is needed to understand the relationship between contemporary far-right populist movements and systemic racism.

My research question:

The primary focus of my study is on determining whether or whether the existence of systemic racism and far-right populist movements in modern society depend on one another.

My main research question goes as follows;

"Does the continued existence of systemic racism in the United States of America rely on the ongoing growth of the far-right populist movement, or does the survival of the latter depend on the former, or are they equally dependent on each other?"

In order to find a possible answer to this question it is necessary to ask various follow-up questions. My first sub-question goes as follows *"What can we learn about racism from the history of the United States?"* Understanding why the United States is the way it is now required that one have this historical information at hand. The second important sub-question is *What is populism, and how has it appeared in both modern times, and throughout the annals of U.S. history?* The third sub-question focuses on the many ways one might comprehend the concept of "race" and goes as follows; *"What is the concept of race, how does it manifests itself and how did it develop?"*

1.4 Research Aim

The goal of this research is to provide information to the fields of political science and sociology about systematic racism, far-right populist movements, and their similarities and the relationship between the two. This thesis will hopefully be useful to future students who want to explore a similar phenomenon.

1.5 Disclaimer

Because of the nature of the subject matter, it is necessary for this piece of writing to include specific terminology that may be seen as unethical; nonetheless, I want to make the reader aware of this fact and understand why it is used.

2 Theoretical Framework

The framework will be laid out in a systematic order starting with a conceptualization of populism drawing on the ideas of Mudde and Kaltwasser, Mouffe, Lipset and Raab, Freedman, and Taggart to create a comprehensive understanding of the essential ideas of populism and how they apply to U.S. populism. Understanding how and why populism functions the way it does today and what historical events could have influenced it into what it is today will be made easier using the framework this thesis has laid forth. As one knows, right-wing populism is the complete opposite of left-wing populism. There will only be a brief conceptualization of left-wing populism as my thesis is focused on the right side and quite an apparent relationship between left-wing populist movements and different races. After populism, there will be a conceptualization of race and identity. The discussion will start with the concept of the othering basin on the theories of Bourdieu, Douglas, Said, Lacan, Hegel, and de Beauvoir to explain the concept of the othering. This is done to understand how some races view themselves as superior to others. There will be a presentation on the concept of people of color. Using the theory of Painter, Allen, Roediger and Tuman. Lastly, there will be an attempt to explain what systemic racism is. Systemic racism is roughly based on Critical Race Theory and social sciences about social systems.

2.1 Populism

Populism is an ambiguous term that defies unambiguous definitions because it "is not an ideology, or a political regime, and cannot be attributed to a specific programmatic content" (Mouffe, 2016). It works with several systems of government. It is a method of conducting politics that can take numerous shapes depending on the time and area. It emerges when one attempts to create a new subject of collective action – the people – capable of restructuring an unfair social system (Mouffe, 2016). However, while populism is a method of conducting

politics that can take many shapes depending on the times and places, it portrays itself as an effort to establish a collective subject via agreement and to challenge a social system in the name of the interests of the vast majority, hence it is incompatible with non-democratic forms of politics (Mouffe, 2016). Politics is the externality that populism's people oppose themselves to and without which populism cannot exist, even though populist interpretations of the people emphasize the involvement of the "common" masses. According to Mudde & Kaltwasser (2017), populism may support both right- and left-wing beliefs. They contend that populism is a malleable ideology with a fundamental core open to various alternative viewpoints (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017).

Populism is an ideology and political movement that opposes the establishment and the Elite. A discursive ideology called populism emphasizes the conflicts between the 'pure people and the 'corrupt elite' (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). The term the people may be discursively divided into three groups: nations, (economic) underdogs, and the average person. A typical description of populism is that it is a thin-centered ideology that 'borrows' ideas from other dense-centered ideologies (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). In other words, populism cannot exist without the support of another ideology, e.g., right-wing populism. During his investigation of ideologies, Michael Freeden coined the term thin-ideology to help explain the concepts of nationalism and feminism (Freeden, 2003). A thin ideology is an ideology that, similar to mainstream ideologies, possesses a precise shape; in contrast to mainstream ideologies, a thin ideology possesses just a restricted one (Freeden, 2003).

Politicians that support populism put their citizens first and frequently take on the establishment, particularly elites and the media. They highly value direct democracy and frequently rely on a charismatic leader (Akkerman et al., 2014). The battle between 'the people and 'the elite' has always been associated with populism and populist movements. Numerous populists are adept at framing the term 'the people in ways that resonate with a diverse spectrum of groups and articulating their desires. This is attainable by fostering a feeling of shared identity across disparate groups and organizing support for a common cause. The people have three basic meanings: the people as sovereign (the people are the ultimate source of political power), the ordinary people (the idea of a class system), and the people (a national community).

2.1.1 The Core Concepts of Populism

There is broad consensus that there are four key concepts to consider when discussing populism; the populist interpretation of democracy frequently places the people at the center and portrays them as sovereign, pure, morally upright, and homogeneous. They are consistently presented as the fabric of society and the silent majority laying the groundwork for a just society.

2.1.1.1 The People versus The Elite

The phrase The People is highly mutable and may signify many different things. Populism pits the people against a clear enemy, such as the establishment or the cultural Elite, to enrage and enervate the people. The anti-elitist sentiment is frequently accompanied by criticism of institutions such as large organizations, political parties, and bureaucracy, all of which are charged with corruption or distorting the interests of the people they are supposed to serve. According to the findings of an investigation carried out by Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, a significant connection exists between populist politicians and "the people" (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). The term The Elite is commonly used to describe the governing Elite. This class thinks that, concerning the rest of the population, it has a monopoly on power, wealth, politics, and culture. The Elite frequently thinks that in comparison to them, the general populace is dangerous, vulgar, and dishonest (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). The Elite is intrinsically tied to the populace, and populists utilize moral phrases to divide the Elite in addition to the political establishment.

The relationship between the People and the Elite is one of the essential aspects of populism. The Elites are selected based on various specific qualities and qualifications. One way that members of society's elite might be classified is according to the authority they wield in the society in which they live. According to Mudde and Kaltwasser's research, an increase in populism may result from a general view that politicians give more weight to the interests of wealthy people, immigrants, or refugees than they do to the interests of the majority of the population (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017).

2.1.1.2 The General Will

The second and most crucial populist idea is the General Will. This notion allows populist actors and constituencies to strive for a political system that reflects the people's desires. Populists' distinctions between the morally upright people and the corrupt Elite along theological and philosophical lines help to support the existence of a general will. In order to accomplish their objectives, many populists, therefore, typically urge for the implementation of direct democratic tactics like plebiscites and referendums. Additionally, populists are known to support institutional frameworks that enable the development of direct communication between populist leaders and their constituents. This theory is greatly influenced by Rousseau's concept of the general will, which is included in Article Six of the Déclaration des Droits de l'homme et du citoyen, composed in 1789, during the French Revolution. Rousseau meant that the law represents the collective will. Every citizen has the right to make a personal or collective contribution to its construction. Whether it protects or punishes, it must be the same for everyone. All citizens, considered equal in its eyes, are admissible to all public dignities, posts, and employments, following their capacity and without discrimination other than based on their virtues and skills (Jean Jacques Rousseau, 2017).

2.1.1.3 The Heartland

Political scientist Paul Taggart used the phrase The Heartland to better fully capture what populists frequently intend in their rhetoric. According to Taggart, the Heartland was a region "... in which, in the populist imagination, a virtuous and unified population resides".

According to Taggart, the 'heartland' was a region "in which, in the populist imagination, a virtuous and unified population resides" (Taggart, 2000). This Heartland may be defined differently by different populists. An illustration of this is how the far-right British National Party is associated with the 'original British people, while the center-right Conservative Party in the United Kingdom is affiliated with 'Middle England.' As Taggart tacitly implies with his definition of 'populism's empty heart,' the concept of the people refers to 'an idealized picture of the community (Taggart, 2000).

Up to this point, I have discussed the fundamental assumptions upon which populism is founded. On the other hand, populism is frequently considered a phenomenon that can only

arise in cultures that value diversity. While focusing on right-wing populism is necessary for my argument, I also think it is important to investigate the various other types of populism relevant to the United States.

2.1.2 Left-Wing Populism and Right-Wing Populism

The subject of Right-Wing populism will be discussed more in-depth later and is therefore only briefly mentioned here.

Right-wing politics are considered the polar opposite of left-wing politics, and one of the most well-recognized political spectrums is the left-right political spectrum.

In American politics, "militant forms of insurgent revolutionary right ideology and ethnocentric separatist nationalism" (Person, 2021), are referred to as the Extreme Right, Far-Right and Ultra-Right. This group includes organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), National Socialist Movement (NSM), National Alliance, and Christian Identity (Person, 2021). The view that specific social structures and hierarchies are inevitable (often based on natural law) is a characteristic of right-wing politics (Carlisle, 2005).

Left-wing populism, often referred to as social populism, is a political theory that combines left-wing politics with populist terminology and concepts. Anti-elitism, opposition to the status quo, and support for the ordinary person are constant themes in its discourse. Left-wing populists frequently emphasize economic democracy, social justice, and skepticism toward globalization (Zaslove, 2008).

Criticism of capitalism and globalization is linked to the rise of antimilitarism among populist organizations in response to unpopular U.S. military operations, notably those in the Middle East (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2007). According to popular belief, the populist left is founded on egalitarian values and refrains from using horizontal exclusion (See Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2007). The phrase "inclusionary populism" has been used to refer to populist parties on the left that are supportive of the rights of minorities and other groups. Both inclusive populism and egalitarian populism have the characteristic of placing equal importance on all members of society. In this regard, there is a clear distinction between right-wing populists and other political ideologies, as the term "illegal immigrants" include

refugees and immigrants who are looking for employment. Right-wing populists are often antagonistic toward outsiders, unlike left-wing populists, who tend to be hospitable to newcomers. One prime example of this is former President Trump's language on refugees and the Muslim ban.

In contrast to the complacent mainstream view that new movements and parties must in some way be anti-system and part of the problem

rather than the solution, such initiatives have, at the very least, provided voters with new alternatives and have therefore lessened the current crisis of democratic representation. These parties and movements have been successful because they are on the left, rather than populist in any significant sense (Damiani, 2020).

2.2 The Concept of Race

Before one can adequately grasp the concept of racism, however, one must first have a firm grasp of the idea of race. It is of the utmost importance to explore the history of the so-called "White race," and the best place to begin is with the more comprehensive global narrative of whiteness in the society of North America. In this part of the theoretical framework, I am going to make an effort to go further into the concepts of the "White race," "people of color," and "race" in general. Specifically, I will be focusing on the historical context of these terms.

The necessity of presenting common sense phrases in an easily digestible form is a significant contributor to the intricacy of the discussion around this region and, more generally, the concepts of ethnic group, ethnicity, and identity. One also tends to overlook the possibility that realistic representations open to scientific criticism may contribute to the production of what they profess to describe or identify or that the objective reality that objectivist criticism refers to may reveal the flaws or incoherence in the representations themselves. Another opportunity that is routinely disregarded is this one. When compared to ethnicity, the concept of race as an identifier that is not exclusively connected with identity is disregarded.

2.2.1 The Notion of *The Othering*

Despite being introduced by Spivak as a systematic theoretical term for the first time in 1985 (Spivak, 1985), the idea of othering is influenced by several theoretical and philosophical schools of thought. Significantly, the idea is based on a conception of the self that generalizes Hegel's master-slave dialectic as explored in *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807).

The ideas of 'the other,' 'othering,' and 'otherness' have gained traction in fields of thinking and investigation ranging from nursing science (see Roberts & Schiavenato, 2017) to cultural geography (see Crang, 1998), since de Beauvoir (1949) first introduced them as a construction opposing and so creating 'the self.' In her book *The Second Sex* (1997), de Beauvoir writes about how women are seen as the other while males are seen as the norm. Hegel (1807) is used by de Beauvoir as he universalizes a theory of self and others regarding hierarchical social distinctions regarding gender and other categories. In addition, she contends that because women exist and are only cognizant of themselves in ways that men have molded, their otherness causes subjectivity. As a result, women are portrayed as the sexual opposite of males. This perception of otherness is a powerful instrument of patriarchal authority and a significant barrier to women's liberation (Hughes & Witz, 1997).

Another theoretical point of reference for the other is early postcolonial writings. In his studies, Said (1998) describes imaginary geography that pathologized, idolatized, and reduces the Orient to 'alien status.' The Orient is both fixed and exoticized since the purpose of Orientalism is to describe the Orient as alien and to assimilate it conceptually on a theatrical stage whose audience, management, and performers are for Europe and Europe only (Said, 1988). According to his work, colonialism was more than simply a governmental structure; it was also a set of beliefs that the West was superior to the East. Said looked into debates in academia on Muslim-dominated Eastern civilization in particular and continued by challenging widespread Western assumptions about former colonial powers. His work on Orientalism aimed to show how closely connected the academic community was to the political power structure. He also intended to show how academia has aided the West's hegemonic rule over the East.

Western thought has always lauded aspects of the exotic, sensuous, and primordial while categorizing the Other as separate, subhuman, and deserving of colonization. These ideas

have existed long and are still present in Western history, politics, literature, and current racial relations difficulties. This burden, carried down through many eras of Western imperialism and exploration, is essential in the cultural setting of modern genetics. One might use Said's theory of the other to understand why certain groups believe they are superior to others.

The theories of psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan can be utilized in order to gain an understanding of the othering. I am influenced by two of Lacan's most important theories. The first is that identity is substantially shaped through language. Second, Lacan stresses the importance of the forceful gaze as the primary means by which individuals acquire their identity (Ragland-Sullivan, 1982).

In her book published in 1966 titled "purity and danger," anthropologist Mary Douglas investigated how different civilizations' conceptions of dirt differed. She described dirt as a foreign material or stuff that was out of place. This has the potential to be understood as otherness. In the same way as the other, dirt is observed to be out of place. Racism in the United States must be understood as the outcome of anything being viewed as out of place in society. To put it another way, racism manifests itself when people of a lower-status race who are not expected to be in a given environment disrupt the social order.

Understanding the various races' ideas would help us better understand one another and how they connect to the current state of affairs. I use Neill Painter, Theodore Allen, and David Roediger's theories to comprehend the idea of "whiteness" and the ideas of Tuman, Wade, Sen, and Zack to explore the idea of "people of color."

The theory of habitus developed by Bourdieu enables us to understand how people's connection to their country is taught and habituated, as well as how it may be modified and rebuilt via self-reflexive action and educational methods (Pöllmann, 2021). Understanding that habit results from social conditioning and is constantly transformable is essential (Bourdieu, 1990). One of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's most popular concepts is a habit. Bourdieu wants to consider how socialization and behavior are related through the idea of habitus. The habitus comprises all the attitudes, behavior patterns, and modes of perception that the person develops via social interactions. Each person gradually adopts a set of ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that prove permanent via socialization and subsequent social

trajectory. According to Bourdieu, these tendencies motivate people to act in specific ways in the future.

The habitus is "powerfully generative": it is even at the origin of a practical sense. Bourdieu thus famously defines the habitus as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures." The habitus is a structured structure since it is produced by socialization, but it is also a structuring structure because it generates an infinity of new practices.

Even though Bourdieu did not write about colonial times, his theory about the habitus can be used to understand them. In the opinion of Bourdieu, the more resources a group has, the more power it possesses and the higher it is positioned in the hierarchical class structure. Colonial powers had more advanced resources in their possession and, as a result, more power at one point in history. Thus, the colonial powers had an entirely different social stratification than the indigenous people. Regarding the United States, the settler colonies were – according to this way of thinking – superior to the indigenous population. Moreover, they were considered superior to the African countries. They, therefore, were not in the wrong for acquiring enslaved people and governing over a "social class" that was below their own

2.2.2 The Notion of White People

Nell Irvin Painter mentions that only a tiny percentage of the people who are alive can trace their ancestry back to people who lived between 2,000 and 3,000 years ago in her book titled "The History of White People," published in 2011. It is impossible for anybody to honestly claim that they come from a pure racial background because of all of these factors; this proves that there is no such thing as biological "purity" in today's society (Painter, 2011). The American way of thinking about being white places a significant emphasis on the principle of liberty. As a direct result of this, the concept of slavery—at any moment in history and in any society—brings up the problem of racial disparity and establishes an impassable racial division between the free people and those who are enslaved. Painter challenges the widely held belief that ancient Greece was the cradle of the first "White race." He also asserts that the current "race" narrative ignores early European slavery and the racial mingling that resulted from it, which makes the concept of White servitude seem implausible to modern readers. Slavery has been used in Rome since the late ancient period. However, it persisted far into the

early middle ages due to the social turmoil caused by barbarian invasions of the Western Roman Empire. Slavery was made legal by the Romans, and the Romans' precedents influenced the formation of new laws and traditions across Europe. Despite this, most people who were enslaved people in antiquity were what we now refer to as White Europeans (Painter, 2011). For the first time in recorded history, the color of a person's skin was utilized to determine whether or not they would be turned into an enslaved person (Philips, 1979).

On the other hand, the word "slave" has a particular historical and global reality that is reflected in its origin. According to Painter, the length of the European slave coast has increased due to the recent rise in enslavement in the Balkans (Painter, 2011). Growth in the awareness of race worldwide has coincided with the development of racial consciousness in the United States. Historian David Roediger's observations support this idea. Between 1607 and 1800, he states that the lower sorts of White individuals appear to have been gloriously devoid of racial consciousness. White supremacists' beliefs may not have been fully integrated by these individuals (Roediger, 2017).

David said that compared to the enslaved Black people, the White hirelings had more excellent prospects for career advancement. In contrast to the ranks of an enslaved person or hireling who was not a political freeman, wage workers were consoled by the fact that they belonged to the ranks of "free White labor" (Roediger, 2007). The term "working man" suggests racial identity and an implicit association between whiteness and employment. Simply put, White employees were seen to be "naturally" White, whereas Black employees were considered to be "intruders" into the group of "working men" (Roediger, 2007). This might be thought of as one reason for the emergence of racial attitudes throughout this historical era. Although it took some time, most European-American groups are now generally considered "White," regardless of their affiliation with a particular social class. In North America, the Irish provide a good illustration of this phenomenon. The Irish may have also been thought of as ethnically diverse enough to be suppressed, 'ugly' enough to be likened to monkeys, and poor enough to be lumped with Black people because of their Celtic background, a population seen to be "inferior" to Europeans (Painter, 2011).

The murky history of racial development across the world and in the U.S. demonstrates the 'White' race's drive to maintain wealth and power. Darker-skinned people were exploited by

Europeans and those of European descent in the Americas, who utilized actual data to support their claims. Like Clifford, Leek claims that whiteness is not a state phenomenon. It is constantly created and reconstructed by involvement in other socially unequal relationships (Leek, 2014).

2.3 Systemic Racism

We frequently hear that racism is more complex than just a reflection of one person's opinions, convictions, and behavior. It is also called systemic if it pertains to or impacts an entire system.

Thomas Jefferson and the other white founders of the nascent United States firmly pushed an "all men are created equal" viewpoint in the late 1700s. However, their comprehensive definition of equality was hypocritical, as they purposefully and publicly excluded African Americans, indigenous peoples, and women from the purview of this ideal. Bonilla-Silva notes that, like the general populace, social scientists treat the concepts of "racism" and "race" as self-evident.

Social scientists employ these phrases as though they were self-evident, much like the general populace. They define racism as the idea that some people are better than others due to their race and view of 'race,' they alleged root of all racial problems in the world, as primarily a biological or cultural category easily interpreted through either people's physical characteristics (their phenotype) or their cultural practices. However, this conceptual mapping is ahistorical and self-serving, according to Bonilla-Silva (2003). The author further explains that white social scientists and the White population generally believe that they are "above race" since they reject crude beliefs about racial minority groups. The commonsense perspective attributes racism to bad people referred to as racists. According to the author, this restricts our ability to comprehend its collective character (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Racism entered society and eventually evolved into systemic racism after these racial initiatives first appeared in human history.

Systematic racism created (and still creates) "races" out of people who had never been "racialized." Whether one considers the numerous nationalities and peoples of Europe, who lost (somewhat) their regional, tribal, and local identities and gradually became "White," the

peoples of the Americas who became "Indian," or the various ethnic and tribal groups from the African continent who became "Black" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), this is the basis for the widely held belief that race is a socially created term.

Despite the widespread and fundamental racial reforms social scientists believe should have taken place, white-on-black persecutions have lasted for centuries. Although there have undoubtedly been some substantial improvements, systemic racism still possesses several fundamental elements that uphold the racial beliefs, relationships, deeds, and intents of many prior white generations, including white founders such as Thomas Jefferson. All other forms of racial oppression that white people later created inside this still white-controlled society have been significantly influenced by white-on-black oppression due to its strength and centrality in this still racially hierarchical society.

What sort of societal structure is a result of systematic racism? What societal structure creates the ethnic groups we refer to as "races"? Bonilla-Silva (2003) has suggested that systemic racism should be understood from a materialist perspective rather than an idealist one. Accordingly, racism is concerned with the actions and practices that result in a racial structure or a web of relationships between people that affects their social, political, economic, and ideological prospects in life. Systemic racial advantages for some (the dominant ethnicity) and disadvantages for others are produced and reproduced by this framework (the subordinated ethnicities). Racism, as a sort of social organization, thereby places individuals in traditional social settings.

In the past, the terms 'racism' and 'prejudice' were often used interchangeably, referring to creating an opinion about another person based on insufficient knowledge. Racial discrimination began to relate to systems rather than people through the end of the twentieth century. Author David Wellman defined racism as a reward system based on race in his book *Portraits of White Racism* (Wellman, 1993), giving numerous examples of white people supporting racist institutions while denying their prejudice (Wellman, 1993). This way of seeing racism has, however, changed. According to Wellman, racism was a pretty hard-edged, distinctive idea. It pertained to an ideology in the United States that clearly said Europeans - who classified themselves as "white" - were superior to Africans, Asians, "indigenous" North and South Americans, and sometimes eastern and southern Europeans. It also refers to customs that thought non-northern Europeans and people of color were biologically inferior

(Wellman, 1993). Wellman argues that white people may be objectively kind towards people of color while maintaining systemic racism that benefits themselves, such as lending practices, adequately financed schools, and employment opportunities (Wellman, 1993).

According to sociology expert Joe R. Feagin (2010), there are three characteristics that a more accurate theory of racial oppression should have:

1. It should clarify the critical characteristics of the studied social phenomenon, including its significant forces and structures.
2. It should illustrate the connections between these forces and structures.
3. It should help us understand the trends in social change and the absence of such change.

Today's mainstream analysts of this society's racial and ethnic history and current reality frequently use some variant of an "understanding race and ethnicity" approach that downplays or ignores the importance and injustice of white wealth, power, and privilege while highlighting the buzzing complexity of racial and ethnic groups in the United States and their socioeconomic demographics, geography, recent history, attitudes, and patterns of sociocultural adaptation and assimilation (Feagin, 2006).

One may clarify the idea of systemic racism by dividing it into two questions:

- (1) What is a social system?
- (2) How is a social system capable of racism?

2.3.1 What is a Social System?

Social systems are means of organizing and structuring human interaction. Two types of social systems are typically distinguished: institutions and social structures.

Insofar as they are regulated by precise rules, regulations, bylaws, or policies, institutions are formal organizations. The ceremonial laws, et cetera., those government institutions are widely recognized in society, ranging from enthusiastic support to antagonistic acceptance (Searle,2010). The most important institutions for us are many roles individuals can take, such as a central bank or a sports team. These diverse positions restrain and enable the people who occupy them (Hardimon, 1994). Rights, duties, powers, privileges, prohibitions, punishments, et cetera should be interpreted liberally to cover anything that enables or

disallows human behavior in a broad sense. Each position in a social system has its own set of restrictions, liberties, and duties. It is crucial to remember that institutions do not just restrain and enable those within the institution but also individuals on the outside whom the institution touches.

Social structure theory has a lengthy history in the social sciences. Social structure is conceptualized in various ways, but this is one broad approach to the idea. Social structures, like institutions, shape and order how people interact in a community. They involve different social roles that link individuals to one another and resources (Haslanger, 2016). These roles also have many restrictions and stabilizers that control our actions and thinking. Positions within social systems are characterized by more informal limits and enablements than explicit norms and regulations. Examples include stereotypes, conventions, and ideals (Haslanger, 2016).

In contrast to institutions, social structures often do not require the universal acceptance institutions do to function. All they require for survival is the recurrence of specific social interactions. Elizabeth Barnes (2016) states that social structure resembles a rut created by a wagon wheel's motion. The repetitive patterns of travel are what cause the rut. However, once it is established, the rut guides the wheel's motion, which helps explain how they move. By comparison, social interaction patterns between people produce the social structure. However, the social structure's pressure on subsequent human contact explains why people behave as they do.

To answer the question asked above, social systems, including institutions and structures, are more or less formal means for people to organize themselves and include positions or functions that limit and empower them. It is important to remember that institutional structures never coexist in a "vacuum" All social systems are interconnected; they depend on one another, support one another, and undermine one another.

2.3.2 How is a Social System Capable of Racism?

To address the second query, I think defining what it implies is crucial. Whether systemic or individual factors are the leading cause of racism is not the topic of this inquiry. All types of racism entail a complex interaction between people and the systems they operate in. Given

that racism may be systemic, what it takes for racism to be systemic is the question I am seeking to explain.

Systemic racism is a trait of social systems, not those contributing to the system's construction. A social structure is considered racist if it contributes to, sustains, or intensifies the oppression of a particular racial group (Haslanger, 2012, p. 317).

The first type we will look at is that social systems are partially constructed by people and their ideas, practices, and behaviors. In other words, people play an essential role in creating social systems since they live inside them, and the systems would not exist without them. Given this, it makes sense to determine who inside a system is racist to understand the system's racism.

1. A system is racially biased if it supports racial injustice since it comprises racist individuals. Examples of this include individuals with racist opinions, traits, et cetera.

Suppose one adopts Garcia's (1996) perspective. In that case, one might claim that this study connects systemic racism to how we often view it as a "heart and mind" issue since the racism of the system originates from the individuals in the system.

2. If a system promotes racial oppression built on racist precepts and supports, it is racist. According to Shelby (2002), when they embody a racist worldview, constraints and enablements can become racist. An ideology that commits to the inferiority and subordination of race members is said to be encoded when expressed or implied through a system's norms, policies, laws, and regulations. Systems, however, do more than encode and communicate beliefs, ideologies, et cetera. They also perform specific tasks and noticeably influence the outside environment. A system contributes to racial oppression to the extent that it is shaped and enabled by racist restrictions. An example of this type of system would be the Jim Crow laws in the United States that were ratified after the Reconstruction.

These kinds of openly racist institutions included explicitly discriminatory regulations, laws, policies, and customs in addition to requiring racist views in their original creators. However, in a certain sense, the current inhabitants of these systems are not essential to their operation.

As long as its people adhere to its laws, the system will work to establish racial dominance. I will introduce three forms of how systemic racism manifests.

1. When a system supports racial oppression due to linkages to other racist systems, historically or currently, it is said to be racist.

This form does not identify the system's racism in its users or the barriers and facilitators that it imposes. Instead, it locates the system's racism in its interactions with other external systems.

Readers might find this to be an issue. Systems that promote racial oppression without encoding racist ideologies or containing racist individuals would appear to have these effects unintentionally. Labeling such systems as racist is improbable since any racial impacts would only be unexpected results from otherwise well-intentioned mechanisms (Garcia, 1996, p. 24). This is a reasonable concern in the abstract. However, in reality, there is a causal link between racism and the structures in place in the United States and other western nations. The anti-black racism that has characterized American history was intentional, and numerous organizations and structures were built on it. It is incorrect to assess systems in isolation since every system in America is interrelated. Focusing on whether a particular system discriminates against a racial group "accidentally" or "purposefully" misses the linkages across past and present systems. In order to understand the processes by which racial inequities are maintained, our assessment of these systems must go beyond what their users think and their stated goals.

To put it all together, one can say that the oppression of a particular racial group is a characteristic of social systems known as systemic racism (Haslanger, 2012). Having racist individuals, racist restrictions and enablements, and ties to other racist systems are all examples of how a system can be racist and contribute to oppression. According to the theory put out here, a social structure can contribute to racial oppression even if its members are not themselves racists and even if it does not promote a racist ideology or racial hate.

2.4 Critical Race Theory

Although republicans have harshly criticized it, critical race theory can be used to understand systemic racism. I will therefore present a brief introduction to it.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was first developed in the legal area and disagreed with the multidisciplinary legal studies' view of society's transformational capacity. Instead, it stresses how race is socially created and views court judgments as grounded in fundamentally racist societal presumptions (Savas, 2014). The critical racial theory (CRT) movement is a group of activists and academics interested in examining and changing the link between race, racism, and power. The movement addresses many of the same concerns that traditional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses address, but in a larger framework that encompasses economics, history, context, a group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious (Delgado et al., 2001, p. 1). In contrast to traditional civil rights, which supports incrementalism and step-by-step development, CRT calls into question the fundamental underpinnings of the liberal system, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationality, and neutral norms of constitutional law (Delgado et al., 2001, p.2). According to Yosso (2005), CRT places emphasis on first-hand knowledge of racial problems that ethnic minorities and the communities from which they have been directly or indirectly impacted. It explores racism as a group and individual phenomenon that operates on several levels and provides a method for identifying the functions of racism as an institutional and systemic phenomenon (Stovall, 2005). Since racism directly influenced the U.S. legal system, how individuals view the law, racial Harris (1993) informs that since racism directly influenced the U.S. legal system, how individuals view the law, racial categories, and privileges, one can say that CRT arose partly from critical legal studies. Critical Race Theory has also entered academic disciplines such as education in recent years. Delgado and Stefancic (1993) list the following main concepts of Critical Race Theory are the following;

1. Critique of Liberalism. The majority of CRT authors, if not all, disagree with liberalism as a strategy for solving the racial inequality problem in America, according to Delgado and Stefancic. Sometimes this dissatisfaction is merely hinted at in the organization or subject of an article. A pillar of liberal jurisprudence like affirmative action, neutrality, color blindness, role modeling, or the merit principle may be the author's target at other times.

2. Storytelling/Counterstorytelling and "naming one's reality." Many Critical Race theorists, such as Delgado and Stefancic, believe that the majoritarian mindset – the collection of assumptions, inherited pearls of wisdom, and shared cultural understanding that dominant groups bring to race debates – impedes racial transformation significantly. Some writers use counterstories, chronicles, and anecdotes to investigate and challenge these power-laden ideas, demonstrating their tenacity, harshness, and self-serving nature.
3. Revisionist Interpretations of American Civil Right law and progress. The authors maintain that one recurring worry for Critical scholars is why American antidiscrimination laws have been so ineffectual in redressing racial inequality – or why progress has been cyclical, with periods of retreat. Some critical academics investigate this subject, looking for explanations in the psychology of race, white self-interest, colonialism and anticolonialism politics, and other areas.
4. A greater understanding of the underpinnings of race and racism. Several important authors aim to apply legal issues with insights from social science writing on racial and racist issues, according to Delgado and Stefancic. For instance, knowing how different settings encourage or discourage discrimination helps us determine whether the movement toward Alternative Dispute Resolution is likely to help or hurt disempowered disputants. Understanding how majoritarian society views black sexuality helps explain how the law treats interracial sex, marriage, and adoption.
5. Structural determinism. Many CRT authors concentrate on how the framework or culture of legal thinking affects its substance, typically in a way that upholds the status quo. Once we are aware of these limitations, we may be able to fight for racial and other sorts of transformation more productively.
6. Race, sex, and class. At the same time, investigate whether race and class are distinct disadvantages or the degree to which Black women's interests are adequately or insufficiently represented in the modern women's movement.
7. Essentialism and anti-essentialism. The proper analytical unit concerns academics who write on various topics according to them.
8. Cultural nationalism/separatism. There is a new school of thought within CRT, they assert. It contends that separating from the majority culture in America will serve the interests of people of color. Some think that keeping things distinct and diverse would help everyone, not just people of color. This section includes articles that support Black nationalism, power, or revolt.

9. Legal institutions, Critical pedagogy, and minorities in the bar. Concerns regarding representation in law school and the bar have long existed among women and academics of color. Recently some authors have started to look for fresh perspectives on these issues and provide an alternative, Critical Education.

Parker and Lynn (2002) have similar ideas about Critical Race Theory, adding that it makes a case for the abolition of racial subjugation while acknowledging that race is a social construct.

Applying CRT in research entails confronting traditional research texts and worldviews and elevating race and racism in all aspects of the research process (Creswell et al., 2007). Derrick Bell (1993), a pioneering scholar in CRT, focused on the argument that racism is unavoidable and ingrained in the American legal system, as well as the continuous use of racial subordination and discrimination in the legal profession. CRT researchers generally have re-examined civil rights law and prevalent legal theories of equality, color blindness, and meritocracy. Bonilla-Silva (2003) coined the term "color-blind racism" to describe this emerging field and contends that despite the absence of racism, we continue to live in a racist environment (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Savas (2014) explains that in contrast to non-white people, the white population in U.S. society still holds significant social and political power and the majority of the country's financial and educational resources, according to CRT's main argument. White individuals also use these resources to support a social hierarchy based on the ideology of white supremacy. When combined with the uncontested belief in white supremacy, this social hierarchy produces the concept that white culture is U.S. culture, which gives any white Americans access to white privilege, an undeserved set of social and legal benefits (Savas, 2014). The fundamental tenet is that race is a social construct and that racism is not only the result of personal bias and prejudice but also ingrained in legal frameworks and governmental policies. This view is supported by the fact that the term "race" itself is a social construction. This interpretation of CRT is not always presented in the same manner in the many forms of modern media. The narrative tends to skew toward groups' "oppressed" and the "oppressor". As a result, it is often referred to as something that encourages intolerance between various groups. By saying this, I mean that the media has the propensity to portray the native American people, also known as white Americans, as the victims of oppression. In contrast, minorities are portrayed as the perpetrators of oppression. My case

study will make use of CRT in order to get an understanding of the power dynamics that exist between minority groups and groups that are dominant in the United States.

3 The Racist History of the United States

My thesis will be laid out as a form of a case study where the United States is my case. I chose the United States as it is well-documented and unique compared to the rest of the world despite the rise of far-right movements in the rest of the Western world. Generally, immigration or ethnicity is unrelated to racism toward black people in America. African-Americans are unable to feel a connection to their homeland. Instead, it maintains domestic alienation, criminalization, and terror status quo. Despite its shortcomings, European racism was nevertheless more tolerant than American racism. In order to completely comprehend the concepts presented in this thesis, I believe it is crucial to establish a theoretical framework.

Racism is a social phenomenon that refers to discrimination or prejudice against someone because of their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, et cetera. When researching the history of racism in the United States, it is critical first to understand how the transatlantic slave trade shaped the country's culture and how the phenomena developed throughout time.

3.1 The Transatlantic Slave Trade

From the 16th through the 19th centuries, the transatlantic slave trade was a component of the worldwide slave trade that carried a total of 12.5 million enslaved Africans from the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas. There were three stages to the so-called triangular trade, which consisted of the transportation of arms, textiles, and wine between European and African markets, the transportation of enslaved individuals between African and American markets, and the transportation of sugar and coffee from the Americas to European markets (Lewis, T, 2021).

3.1.1 Origins of the Transatlantic Slave Trade

By the 1480s, Portuguese ships were already bringing Africans for employment as enslaved laborers on the sugar plantations of the Cape Verde and Madeira islands in the eastern

Atlantic, which were then under the control of the Spanish. Following the year 1502, Spanish conquistadors transported enslaved Africans to the Caribbean; however, the transatlantic slave trade was dominated by Portuguese merchants for another century and a half, operating out of bases in the Congo-Angola region on Africa's west coast, where they had established themselves (Lewis, T, 2021). During the 1600s, the Dutch became enslaved people's leading 'traders.' By the early nineteenth century, French and English merchants controlled roughly half of the transatlantic slave trade, sourcing a large proportion of their 'human cargo' from the region of West Africa between the Niger and Senegal rivers (Lewis, T, 2021). In 1713, a treaty between Spain and the United Kingdom guaranteed the British a monopoly on the trading of enslaved individuals with the Spanish colonial territories. According to sources, British colonies were allowed to receive 4,800 enslaved Africans per year for 30 years under the terms of the Asiento de negros agreement (Lewis, T, 2021). In this case, a contract for supply was awarded to the South Sea Company, in which the British Queen Anne owned approximately 22.5 percent of the company's equity (Lewis, T, 2021). Before 1600, hardly more than a few hundred thousand Africans were kidnapped and transported to the 'New World.' However, the rise of sugar plantations in the Caribbean and tobacco plantations in the Chesapeake region of North America resulted in a significant increase in the need for enslaved labor during the 17th century. It was during the 18th century that the most significant number of enslaved persons were transported to the Americas, when, according to historians' estimations, about three-fifths of the overall volume of the transatlantic slave trade occurred (Lewis, T, 2021).

After practically depleting the area available for tobacco cultivation in the late 18th century, the Southern states faced a severe economic crisis, and the continuation of slavery in the United States appeared to be in jeopardy.

Around the same time, the textile industry in England began to embrace mechanization, and a significant increase in demand for cotton from the United States emerged. Cotton was one of the many different commodities in demand as a direct consequence of the rising industrialization in England. Cotton was primarily a southern crop in the United States, but its production was hampered by the difficulty of manually separating the seed from the raw cotton fibers. This rendered it hard to keep up with consumer demand ("Slavery in America," 2021).

However, a young Yankee schoolteacher named Eli Whitney came up with the cotton gin in 1793, a simple motorized device that was highly effective at removing the seeds from the cotton. His invention was extensively replicated, and within a few years, the South would migrate from the large-scale cultivation of tobacco to the manufacture of cotton. This shift increased the region's reliance on enslaved labor while decreasing it ("Slavery in America," 2021).

Slavery was never widespread in the Northern United States, even though many of the region's industrialists made fortunes through the slave trade and investments in southern plantations. However, slavery continued to be an important institution in the southern states between 1774 and 1804, despite the abolishment of slavery in all northern states between 1774 and 1804 ("Slavery in America," 2021).

Even though the United States Congress abolished the African slave trade in 1808, the domestic slave trade thrived, and the enslaved population in the United States nearly tripled during the next fifty years. By 1860, it had grown to about four million people, with more than half of them residing in the cotton-producing states of the southern United States of America ("Slavery in America," 2021).

In the antebellum South, nearly one-third of the population was enslaved. The majority of owners owned fewer than 50 enslaved individuals and lived on rather large plantations or small farms. Through a set of restrictive rules, landowners attempted to enslave their 'peasants utterly.' They were frequently denied the opportunity to learn to read and write, and their behavior and movement were severely limited.

3.2 The Slave Rebellions

Throughout history, rebellions among enslaved people have occurred, most notably those led by Gabriel Prosser in Richmond in 1800 (Reed,2007) and by Denmark Vesey, a black carpenter, in Charleston in 1822. Vesey and 34 other enslaved people, including some in the household of the state's governor, were hanged for attempting to foment an uprising even

though the rebellion never took place, as another enslaved individual had informed the authorities before the rebellion was set to take place (Waxman, 2017).

The rebellion launched by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831 was the one rebellion that caused the most dread amongst enslavers. Turner's group, which consisted of roughly about 75 black men, was responsible for the murder of approximately 55 white persons in two days before being overcome by armed opposition from local white residents and the advent of state militia forces ("Nat Turner's Rebellion - Bill of Rights Institute," n.d.). Those who defended the use of slavery pointed to Turner's rebellion as proof that Black people were inherently inferior 'barbarians' who required an institution such as slavery to discipline them. Fear of similar insurrections prompted many southern states to tighten their slave codes even further to limit the education of enslaved people and their movement and assembly ("Nat Turner's Rebellion - Bill of Rights Institute," n.d.).

3.2.1 The Missouri Compromise

The Missouri Compromise is one of American history's most significant turning points. The agreement, which Congress approved on March 3, 1820, temporarily ended a bitter national argument over whether new states would allow or forbid slavery. The fact that this historic legislative agreement also paved the way for a new period in Senate history is maybe less well recognized but no less significant (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020; Forbes, 2009).

Early in the history of Congress, the House of Representatives controlled the legislative process, allowing the Senate to function in the background. The more boisterous House, which was presided over by the nation's most accomplished politicians, was considerably more intriguing to the public than the calmly deliberate Senate (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020). For instance, Henry Clay spent two brief terms in the Senate beginning in 1806, but he quickly realized that its chamber was too reserved for his lofty goals. He relocated to the House in 1811, and on his first day in office, he was chosen Speaker without delay (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020; Forbes, 2009).

Speaker Clay was present when Missouri submitted its application for statehood as the first territory west of the Mississippi River in 1818. A New York representative proposed an amendment to the statehood measure that would have outlawed slavery in the new state. The House narrowly passed the modified law in a vote indicative of the country's escalating racial problems. One legislator said, "You had kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out" Senators who supported slavery struck out the problematic amendment when the measure was introduced in the Senate. The House rejected the Senate's version of the bill, leading to a deadlock and the demise of the statehood proposal (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020).

In 1820, Missouri submitted a second bid for statehood. Over several topics, including industrial growth, trade, tariff policy, and—as always—slavery—a heated debate stoked resentment and hatred. Speaker Clay advocated a solution to permit slavery in Missouri while concurrently admitting Maine as a free state to resolve the conflict and avoid disunion. This Missouri Compromise divided the country into rival halves—half free, half enslaved person—by drawing a line from east to west along the 36th parallel. On March 2, 1820, the House approved the compromise legislation (see U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020 & Forbes, 2009).

The next day, supporters of slavery in the House tried to overturn the vote. Speaker Clay secretly signed the Missouri law, sent it to the Senate for confirmation, and then ruled the motion out of order until the routine business was finished in what Clay's biographer termed the "neatest and cleverest parliamentary trick ever sprung in the House." Later in the day, when his opponents brought up their motion once more, Clay confidently declared that the compromise legislation had already reached the Senate and been approved (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020).

Why did the Senate place such a high value on the Missouri Compromise? Between free and enslaved person states, a fine line was maintained. The U.S. Senate was evenly split on the topic dividing people the most at the time. If the issue of slavery could be resolved politically, it would need to take place in the Senate. The public's attention was drawn to a new stage and era of discussion due to this discovery, which led leaders like Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun to enter the Senate. Ironically, Speaker Henry Clay's shrewd

maneuvering helped usher in this new age of Senate discussion by establishing a legislative arena where Senator Henry Clay would soon create other Union-saving agreements (U.S. Senate: Missouri Compromise Ushers in New Era For The Senate, 2020; Forbes, 2009).

3.2.2 Kansas-Nebraska Act

Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois introduced a bill in 1854 that would become one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the history of the United States (Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 2022). Although it was ostensibly a law to establish the territory of Nebraska, an area that included what is now known as Kansas, Montana, the Dakotas, and Nebraska, it was referred to as the Nebraska Bill by its opponents. The Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 is what it is referred to as today (Kansas-Nebraska Act, n.d.; Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 2022).

Douglas proposed a bill on January 4, 1854, intended to strike the middle ground. He recommended arranging the large region with or without slavery according to the provisions of their respective constitutions. This idea, known as popular sovereignty, was in direct conflict with the Missouri Compromise and kept the issue of slavery open. However, this compromise was not enough to appease a group of influential southern senators led by Missouri's David Atchison, who had pushed for it. They desired to have the 1820 line formally repealed. Since Douglas considered the railroad as part of the future and a necessity for the U.S. civilization, he agreed to the different demands of the railroad companies (see The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 2022).

The bill abolished the Missouri Compromise, established two new territories, and granted popular sovereignty to the people of Kansas and Nebraska, respectively. There was also a violent revolt known as bleeding Kansas, where pro-slavery and anti-slavery groups surged into the territories to alter the election's outcome. After that, political upheaval erupted, dissolving the vestige of the old Whig alliance and paving the way for the newly formed Republican party in 1854. Although Stephen Douglas had promoted his plan as a peaceful resolution of national difficulties, the result is considered a forerunner to the American Civil War (see The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 2022).

3.2.3 John Brown's on Harper's Ferry

On July 3, 1859, Brown and his sons Oliver and Owen, as well as Jeremiah Anderson, arrived in Harpers Ferry. He had gathered money from fellow abolitionists in the prior months and placed orders for pikes and rifles to be used in his campaign against slavery. Brown rented the Kennedy Farm on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, five miles from Harpers Ferry, under the guise of Isaac Smith. Brown's Army gathered at the farmhouse during the summer. These soldiers, who numbered twenty-one at the time of the raid, spent the daytime in the attic, where they read, wrote letters, polished their guns, and played checkers while hiding (John Brown's Harpers Ferry Raid, n.d.).

They could only venture outside at night to avoid being spotted by nosy neighbors. Brown sent for his daughter Annie, 18 years old, and Oliver's wife Martha, 17, to maintain the image of a regular home. The girls did laundry, cooked meals, and kept nosy neighbors at bay. Brown consulted John Cook, his covert advance man at Harpers Ferry, regarding the town, the armory's activities, train timetables, and any other information he felt would be helpful to his plan while studying maps. Brown sent Martha and Annie back to New York on September 30. Time was drawing at night. Brown gathered the guys on Sunday, October 16 (John Brown's Raid (U.S. National Park Service), n.d.). He led them in a prayer before describing his strategy and telling them, "Men get on your arms; we will proceed to the Ferry." The insurgency showed a developing national schism over slavery; northern abolitionists lauded Brown as a martyred hero, while the South reviled him as a mass killer (John Brown's Harpers Ferry Raid, n.d.).

3.3 The Civil War (1861-1865)

Due to the constraints of this thesis, there will only be a brief discussion of the American Civil War, and I strongly encourage readers to pursue more reading if they are interested.

Slavery was one of the most divisive political topics in the United States during the nineteenth century. The climax of decades of political unrest over slavery was the American Civil War. The United States descended into chaos when Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860 on a campaign opposing the extension of slavery. The Confederacy was born when the first collection of seven southern slave states proclaimed their independence from the United

States. Forts belonging to the federal government were taken by Confederate forces inside the area they had annexed. The last-minute Crittenden Compromise failed to prevent a conflict, and both sides started preparing for an aggressive war (U.S. History, the Civil War, 1860–1865, the Union Triumphant, n.d.).

Less than a month after Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as President of the United States, fighting broke out in April 1861 when the Confederate Army launched the Battle of Fort Sumter in South Carolina. The Confederacy expanded to take over at least a majority of the territory in eleven states by February 1861. (out of 34 states that made up the United States then). After then, there were four years of intense fighting, particularly in the South (U.S. History, the Civil War, 1860–1865, the Union Triumphant, n.d.).

After a four-year conflict, the principal Confederate forces submitted to American forces in April 1865 at Appomattox Court House and Bennet Place. A whole generation of men who served in the blue and the grey during the Civil War was wiped out by the war, which rendered much of the South bankrupt and destroyed its factories, farms, and roadways. More men died in the war than in any other combat in recent American history, more than 620,000. Union soldiers conquered the southern states, rebuilt them, and eventually allowed them to reintegrate into the United States during the problematic twenty years known as the Reconstruction Era (U.S. History, the Civil War, 1860–1865, the Union Triumphant, n.d.).

During the conflict, abolitionist Abraham Lincoln emancipated some enslaved people and allowed freedmen to enlist in the Union Army as United States Colored Troops members (U.S.C.T.). Many people thought ending slavery in all its manifestations was only a matter of time. However, before the Southern states were readmitted to the United States, the northern states adopted the constitution's Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The amendments are referred to as the Civil War Amendments in certain places.

The Fourteenth Amendment ensured that everyone would receive equal protection under the laws of war, while the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in the United States. The Fifteenth Amendment gave Black American men who had previously been denied the right to vote the ability to participate in the democratic process. As various groups continue to demand that the federal government treat all citizens equally, the Fourteenth Amendment

plays a significant role in modern American culture (U.S. History, the Civil War, 1860–1865, the Union Triumphant, n.d.).

3.4 Abolitionist Movement versus Justification

In the southern regions of the states, where it was frequently explained as a necessary evil or a positive good, slavery was accepted and justified.

3.4.1 A Necessary Evil

Slavery advocates frequently justified the practice in the 19th century by calling it a "necessary evil." At the time, there was a concern that freeing enslaved Africans would have worse social and economic repercussions than keeping them in servitude. One of the Founding Fathers of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, observed in a letter to John Holmes on April 22, 1820, that with slavery, We have the wolf by the ear, but we are unable to restrain him or let him go securely. Self-preservation is on one scale, and justice is on the other (Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes - Thomas Jefferson | Exhibitions - Library of Congress, n.d.).

In his essential book *Democracy in America* (1835), the French traveler and writer Alexis de Tocqueville opposed slavery while describing its consequences on American culture as he believed that racism towards Black Americans developed as they were allowed greater privileges. He thought a multiracial society without slavery was unworkable (for example, in northern states). He thought that the South's attitudes toward black people and the concentration of black people were bringing about an equilibrium between the two races and posing a threat to both. He thought the enslaved person could not be liberated because of the racial disparities between the enslaver and enslaved person (Tocqueville et al., 2003).

In response to a communication from President Franklin Pierce, Robert E. Lee wrote a letter to his wife on December 27, 1856,

"There are few, I believe, in this enlightened age, who will not acknowledge that slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil. It is idle to expatiate on its disadvantages. It is a greater evil to the white than the colored race. While my feelings are strongly enlisted on

behalf of the latter, my sympathies are more deeply engaged for the former. The Black people are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, physically, and socially. The painful discipline they are undergoing is necessary for their further instruction as a race and will prepare them, I hope, for better things. How long their servitude may be necessary is known and ordered by a merciful Providence" (Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes - Thomas Jefferson | Exhibitions - Library of Congress, n.d).

However, as the abolitionist movement's agitation intensified and the region established for plantations extended, apologies for slavery became increasingly feeble in the South. Slavery was then touted as a desirable labor management strategy by leaders. In a famous Senate address in 1837, John C. Calhoun argued that slavery was 'instead of an evil, a good – a positive good' (Calhoun, 1837).

"will become more and more manifest, if left undisturbed by interference from without, as the country advances in wealth and numbers."

Regarding slavery in the United States, the South had a broad acceptance and rationale. As was already noted, many influential people believed that by keeping Africans in slavery, they were only assisting the enslaved people. They fashioned a "better" existence for themselves purely out of self-righteousness. The organized rebellion against slavery that emerged 30 years before the American Civil War is often referred to as the Abolitionist movement. The greater repression of southern Black people in the North only served to feed the flames of the expanding abolitionist movement in the South.

Between the 1830s and 1869s, the movement to abolish slavery in America gained momentum, led by free Black people like Frederick Douglass, an American civil rights activist that was born into slavery but later became a free man, and white supporters such as William Llyod Garrison, the founder of the radical newspaper named The Liberator.

While many abolitionists were motivated by the conviction that slavery was a sin, others embraced the non-religious 'free labor' argument; which maintained that slavery was backward, inefficient, and made no economic sense (History.com Editors, 2022).

As early as the 1780s, free Black people and other anti-slavery northerners began assisting enslaved individuals in their attempts to flee southern farms and seek refuge in the North through a loose network of safe homes. The Underground Railroad, as it was known at the time, was a technique that acquired significant traction in the 1830s. Escapees were directed northward by conductors such as Harriet Tubman. At the same time, 'stationmasters' included such notable personalities as Frederick Douglass, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and Pennsylvania congressman Thaddeus Stevens, among others. Even though figures vary significantly, it is believed to have assisted anywhere from 40,000 to 100,000 enslaved persons in their quest for liberty. Abolitionist sentiment in the North was boosted by the Underground Railroad's success, which raised sectional tensions by convincing pro-slavery southerners of their northern fellow citizens' commitment to overturning the system that kept them in slavery (History.com Editors, 2022).

Finding the origins of racism in the U.S. is far more challenging than finding the origins of populism. Unfairness has a lengthy history, dating back to the transatlantic slave trade and continuing through institutional racism in modern society. If such a goal is ever attainable in the nation, it is realistic to expect that it will take a long time for the United States to be completely free of all forms of racism.

4 Populism throughout American Politics

With politicians like Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders running for office, U.S. populism has come to light in recent years. Nevertheless, it is inaccurate to assert that this is a recent occurrence. Bill Clinton, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush were all seen as taking on a relatively popular demeanor. In many respects following in the footsteps of Senator/Governor Huey Long in the 1930s and Alabama Governor and presidential candidate George Wallace in the 1960s, he was dubbed a populist demagogue. The advent of Jacksonian Democracy in the 1820s and 1830s is sometimes referred to as a populist wave. The capital "P" Populist movement of the late 19th century temporarily significantly affected American politics. Although James Madison and Thomas Jefferson are not typically considered populists, many of the people who backed them and helped the Jeffersonian Republicans win the right to govern were undoubted. Many academics believe that the Anti-Federalist movement, founded to oppose the Constitution as it emerged from the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in

1787, had a significant element of populism. American populism is, therefore, not a contemporary phenomenon but at least as ancient as the republic itself (History Editors, 2020).

According to Kazin (1995, p. 1), the essential description of American populism is a worldview that pits the ordinary, everyday person against the elites in political and social struggle. There is still plenty to admire in Kazin's description, and it offers a valuable starting point for the development of what populism means in the American context, even though such a classification suffers from the lack of clarity and depth noted above. Jansen (2011) stated that populist language frequently glorifies the so-called ordinary people, portraying them as straightforward but noble defenders of a fair and proper system that certain elites (whose composition may and does vary) are attempting to overthrow, frequently by underhanded methods (Hofstadter, 1996; Berlet & Lyons, 2000; Harries, 2010). Claims that these elites are attempting to steal something from the people that are theirs are frequently included in this terminology (see Kazin, 1995). Harris (2010) expressed that "All populist revolts in history... have seen themselves as engaged in justified rebellion against an arrogant ruling elite" (Harris, 2010, p.20). The U.S. has a long history of anti-elite feelings (see Cornell, 1999), which provides a solid and well-established foundation for the Elite versus the People theme that underpins American populism. This element was present in the most extreme Anti-Federalist opposition (Cornell, 1999; Siemers, 2003), to the ratification of the Constitution, in the campaign to elect Andrew Jackson president in 1828 (Hofstadter, 1962; Harris, 2010), in the agrarian Populist uprising of the late 19th century (Kazin, 1995), in the rise of Father Coughlin and Huey Long in the 1930s (Kazin, 1995), in the rise of George Wallace in the 1960s (Kazin, 1995), and in the current Tea Party movement (Skocpol & Williamson, 2013).

It is not unexpected that American populism tends to be critical of wealth since the elites are often situated in the 'have' rather than the 'have-not' tier of American society. Wealth is thought to have been acquired unfairly and frequently becomes the target of populist rage. American populist movements often draw a clear line between those who 'grow their food and those who 'depend on the labor of others for their livelihood (Kazin, 1995). In the U.S., populism is a real threat when workers suffer while those who are idle far too often profit. This can show itself as populist rage at people and powerful economic interests who benefit themselves from the toil of others by manipulating the financial system and markets

(Hofstadter, 1959; Kazin, 1995), and Huey Long's supporters in the 1930s, as well as Father Coughlin's supporters (Kazin, 1995). As it did with populist backers of George Wallace in the 1960s (Kazin, 1995) and the contemporary Tea Party movement, it may also manifest as populist animosity at socioeconomic groups seen to be getting social welfare benefits that they are not due (see Gilens, 1999; Skocpol & Williamson, 2013). American populism maintains to this day that unjust economic policies cause people who work hard to suffer while others do not benefit financially from the labor of others.

American populists frequently experience a great mistrust of centralized power as a result of their anti-elite character. The federal government is the most frequent object of this anxiety. The national government is just a weapon the elites use to disempower the people, in the eyes of American populists, if the elites are the adversary and these elites hold the levers of a federal government authority. Regularly, American populism advocates for local autonomy and maintaining the state's authority near the people as feasible (Cornell, 1999; Kazin, 1995). The masses are, after all, moral; this is not the case with the elites. Maintaining local control over the use of power and keeping it in the hands of the populace helps to prevent the corruption that always develops when distant elites seize control. Another prevalent belief of American populist movements is that as power moves away from the local level, politics and government would inevitably escape the grip of the people (Hofstadter, 1966).

This mistrust of centralized power frequently leads American populists to accept conspiracy theories (an example of this is the widely criticized Qanon conspiracy and Pizzagate) (see Kazin 1995). Kazin (1998) states that "Populist speakers have always had a particular weakness for stories about plots by the powerful." (Kazin, 1998, p. 285). Populism requires a foe; often, that foe works with others to damage the population, take away what is rightfully theirs, and subvert their way of life. The assertion made by Oliver and Wood (2014) that American populism often adopts a Manichean worldview is widely backed up by evidence. American populism rejects gray areas, seeing everything as either black or white.

Contrary to what the cunning elites would give the good people believe, everything is either right, or it is not good. Virtuous people can quickly tell which category anything belongs in. Because of this Manichean perspective and the existence of a conspiracy, American populists frequently perceive existential dangers to their way of life. It is frequently stated that the nation's core values are in danger (Hofstadter, 1966; Kazin, 1995). When these factors come

together, American populists tend to regard themselves as vital players at a crucial and precarious moment in history; they can recognize threats that others cannot or are deliberately attempting to conceal. They recurrently perceive answers from ordinary people's wisdom (Hofstadter, 1966).

There can be a significant anti-intellectual component in American populism due to this common belief in the wisdom of the ordinary people (Hofstadter, 1959). Intellectuals are perceived as being too detached from the lives of regular people. They do not work; instead, they read, research, and 'ponder' all day to become experts in a somewhat esoteric field far removed from the ordinary lives of the people. They are not creating anything of monetary worth. These unfavorable perceptions of academics fit with the tense relationships with elites, aversion to centralized power, and propensity to suspect conspiracies. Elites have the ability and chance to use specialties to achieve their cause, even if they are not experts themselves. Centralized governments frequently consult experts when creating regulations restricting and hurting the standard population according to this way of thinking. Experts are seen as intelligent, and intelligence is unquestionably advantageous when one wishes to engage in conspiracy. Due to these negative beliefs toward scholars, American populism tends to dismiss intellectuals and the knowledge they strive to impart (Hofstadter, 1966; Kazin, 1995).

This contempt for specialists draws attention to another characteristic of American populism; the support for the status quo. When the government or another group of elites engage intellectuals in a situation, they frequently urge them to apply their knowledge to address a perceived issue. The professionals are hired to drive change. In some instances, the issue occurs when populists cannot recognize the issue that the Elite has so clearly pointed out. In other instances, populists acknowledge the issue but believe that the best way to address it is to go back to how things were done in the past. They tend to believe that change is the root of the current issues rather than the solution.

Everything was in order before then. The problem began, though, when society was told to deviate from what had previously worked by the elites and experts. It asks that society show itself following well-defined religious principles and moral guidelines. This may be observed in the racial and nationalist elements of American populism that are frequently present (Hofstadter, 1959).

When considered collectively, all of the above factors can be regarded as symptomatic of American populism's propensity to reject modernity (Hofstadter, 1966), which is typically thought to have been developed and supported by intellectuals and elites. These factors suggest that people want order, particularly legal, appropriate, and supported, and are reluctant to change.

5 The Far-Right and the GOP

Republicans and far-right movements share a lot of the same language, so it stands to reason that when Republicans take advantage of the racist system, far-right movements will follow suit.

Although Donald Trump's election was the catalyst, this fundamental shift resulted from three decades of active engagement between white nationalists, far-right groups, and populists inside the Republican Party. Over these years, party rebels used the zeal and concepts of radicals operating outside the system to stoke and channel the rage and fury of White Christian voters inside it. Their success hinged on the activists' capacity to incite racial animosities while overtly endorsing white supremacy.

The originator of this phenomenon is Pat Buchanan, who worked as a copywriter for Richard M. Nixon's presidential campaign and as Ronald Reagan's director of communications, in addition to being a well-known syndicated columnist and frequent Sunday morning talk show guest. He was the quintessential Republican insider, but in 1992 and 1996, he ran against the party's establishment. In the 1992 presidential primaries, he gained an early advantage against George H.W. Bush by overtly invoking White resentment in populist terms. Because of the weak economy, high unemployment rate, and considerable job losses in the manufacturing industry, Buchanan was able to paint cultural liberalism, immigration, and Bush's support for free trade as an all-out assault on "Middle America."

Buchanan was one of the first to realize that the post-World War II period of an ideological agreement had ended with the conclusion of the Cold War. Constructing a nationalist right that could do away with democratic pluralism was now possible. Although that moment had

not yet arrived, his prophetic rhetoric resonated sufficiently to earn him a prime-time speaking spot at the Republican National Convention, where he gave his well-known "culture war" address (Pat Buchanan 1992 Republican Convention Address, n.d.).

When Buchanan decided to run for office again in 1996, it came to light that one of his co-chairmen, Larry Pratt, had attended a Christian Identity meeting alongside members of the Aryan Nation, and another co-chair had gone to a banquet honoring those who had been convicted of shooting abortion providers. David Duke, the former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan and Louisiana state lawmaker, was connected to two additional subnational campaign chairs through their respective organizations. He would not have a prime-time speaking slot at the convention this time. However, his campaign persuaded the platform committee to keep strongly anti-abortion language and to add an anti-immigrant plank that called for a constitutional amendment to the 14th Amendment to weaken birthright citizenship (Dougherty, 2016).

When Buchanan campaigned for office again in 1996, it came to light that one of his co-chairmen, Larry Pratt, had attended a Christian Identity conference with members of the Aryan Nation, and another co-chair had gone to a gala commemorating those convicted of killing abortion doctors. David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard and Louisiana state lawmaker, was connected to two additional subnational campaign chairs through their respective organizations. He would not have a prime-time speaking slot at the convention this time. However, his campaign persuaded the platform committee to keep strong antiabortion language and to add an anti-immigrant plank that called for a constitutional amendment to the 14th Amendment to undermine birthright citizenship (Stark, 2015).

Buchanan's unofficial political advisor Samuel Francis may have had an even more significant impact on the future growth of a far-right GOP. Francis, a distinguished columnist for the Washington Times, fervently supported racism and nationalism. He saw the potential for white supremacists and other authoritarians, who were then marginalized, to have a significant role in the mainstream right. Despite Duke's attempts to improve his image, Francis noted that during his 1990 U.S. Senate campaign, there was a "subtext, communicated by the continuous depiction of Mr. Duke in Nazi uniform and Klan hood by his enemies ... that the historic racial and cultural core of American civilization is under attack." Even if Duke's historical white supremacy could not be publicly supported, its symbols nonetheless

resonated with many White voters (“A Convocation of Bigots: The 1998 American Renaissance Conference,” 1998). Francis was aware that Buchanan would never be selected by the Republican Party to run for president, but he did not care about that. Francis stated that Buchanan had started a process that would strengthen new social forces on the right and provide them with a structured means of expression that would allow them to grow and increase their consciousness and power.

The Washington Times finally dismissed Francis when he stated at a eugenicist American Renaissance journal convention that White people's "genetic endowments" made them the "creative people" of Europe and America. However, the emotional conflict between evident in white dominance. However, while the national GOP committed itself to neoconservatism, free trade, military interventionism abroad, and soft multiculturalism at home; the dynamic tension between overt white supremacy, authoritarianism, and party-building that Francis identified in the Buchanan campaigns gradually developed on the periphery (“A Convocation of Bigots: The 1998 American Renaissance Conference,” 1998).

After more than ten years of escalating economic inequality, conflict, and simmering immigration tensions, the Great Recession and the election of the first Black president of the United States in 2008 created the ideal conditions for racial populism to reemerge in the form of the tea party movement. The majority of Tea Party members did not explicitly advocate white supremacy. However, they did amplify racist ideas ingrained in xenophobia since the Buchanan campaigns, Islamophobia since 9/11, and racism and anti-Blackness since Barack Obama's victory. They disrupted healthcare town halls, protested immigration, and thronged municipal councils with weapons to stop implementing what they perceived as "sharia law." When 138 tea party-backed Republicans campaigned for Congress in 2010, approximately one-third gained seats. This movement marched into party politics and political power (see Kennedy, 2017).

Undoubtedly, this approach was unequal. During the Trump administration, far-right forces' first significant public gathering was the now-famous Unite the Right protest in Charlottesville in August 2017. There is no doubt that Charlottesville would not have happened if President Trump had not been in office, as white supremacist leader Richard Spencer subsequently claimed. It was primarily due to his campaign and the fresh possibility of a nationalist candidate striking a deep chord with voters (Daugherty, 2019).

Over the following three years, in reaction to the Russia probe and eventual impeachment of Trump, Trump's followers adopted a beleaguered and belligerent position against the "deep state" and Democrats in the House. Social media algorithms assisted in hardening this identity, but an authoritarian nationalist vision that could cross party lines, connect with the presidency, and counter violent extremism has been in the works for a while. By the summer of 2020, other right-wing organizations started to prosper where the overtly racist alt-right had fallen short. Black Lives Matter, a large-scale social movement formed in reaction to the police deaths of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, also gave birth to vigilantes who rushed to the streets to protest what they perceived as the Black Lives Matter movement's gang violence and Marxist ideology.

Francis had anticipated that the "new social forces" he saw in the Buchanan campaigns would one day employ Caesarism and the mass sympathies that a charismatic leader inspires to overthrow established systems of authority. That time has come as the Republican Party has begun to embrace violent authoritarianism, from its national leadership to its constituents. Donald Trump's influence within the Republican Party is a solid example of this.

The examples mentioned above show that right-wing populist groups profit directly and indirectly from systemic racism in the states, including through republicans and their language and actions. However, how are they interdependent?

Racism is only significant to right-wingers when it is intentional and conscious; unconscious, implicit, or institutionalized racism is not considered in their worldview. Additionally, they believe that we are all masters of our destiny and that poverty is primarily the result of human failure. Systemic racism is thus impossible (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). Conservatives think there are not many real actual racists in the world and that any evidence of Black people's socioeconomic disadvantage demonstrates that they do not put in enough effort, don't save enough money, have too many children out of wedlock, or are too accustomed to receiving government assistance (Pope, 2016).

5.1 Increase of Far-Right Rhetoric

Due to the upcoming midterm elections and ongoing investigations into former President Donald Trump, experts on violence predict that there will be an increase in contentious political debates online in the following weeks, including violent right-wing hyperbole about a coming "civil war." Analysis has revealed a sharp rise in far-right violence in recent years. Many of Trump's supporters have suggested that using violence to defend him from an inquiry into his removal of official documents from the White House would be acceptable, which has been the focus of much of the right wing's violent rhetoric (Bensinger & Frenkel, 2022).

Following news that the FBI raided Trump's Mar-a-Lago residence to recover thousands of White House records, including some that were classified, the New York Times reported that Twitter messages suggesting "civil war" grew by about 3,000 percent. Social media users started discussing civil war more frequently after President Joe Biden publicly denounced "MAGA Republicans" who had been endangering democratic institutions and norms in a speech in September (Bensinger & Frenkel, 2022).

Leaders on the far-right have probably just fueled the fire. For instance, Trump erroneously claimed last month that Biden had threatened to use military force against his supporters. According to Trump, the vice president threatened America with the potential use of military force (Walker, 2022). Eric Coomer, an official at Dominion Voting Systems, was driven into hiding a week after the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Coomer's home address and phone number were made public, and a \$1 million reward was placed on his head by furious supporters of the then-presidential candidate Donald Trump who believed untrue claims that Dominion had swapped ballots in favor of Joe Biden. The list of targets included Coomer, among others. Unprecedented threats were made against election officials in 2020, to the point that, according to a survey conducted by the Brennan Center for Justice in April 2021, a third of poll workers reported feeling uncomfortable, and 79 percent indicated they desired government security. Specifically, to address threats against election officials, the Department of Justice established a special task force in July (Huseman, 2022).

According to a recent CPOST poll, one in 20 American adults, for instance, thinks it would be OK to use violence to reassert the former president into the White House halfway through

Biden's first term. This represents almost 13 million Americans. The poll found that an additional 15 million Americans would favor using force to prevent the Department of Justice from bringing charges against Trump (Pope, 2022).

The violent, anti-democratic behavior frequently displayed by the far-right has been accepted in the country. More and more people who previously had no affiliation with the far-right are beginning to resonate with and recreate its primary talking points.

6 Systemic Racism in the United States

A reckoning is coming for the US. Right-wing populist movements have exploded in the nation and are aggressively targeting ethnic minorities due to their success elsewhere. The country has experienced a rise in racist activity over the past year, resulting in violent confrontations between white supremacists and anti-fascists. For many years, the ascent of the far-right will be felt in American culture and the economy. To summarize, systemic racism is a characteristic of social systems that oppresses a certain racial group (Haslanger, 2012). A system can be racist and support oppression in several ways, including links to other racial systems, racial constraints and facilitation, and racist individuals. The theory outlined previously contends that a social structure can contribute to racial oppression even if none of its members are racist and even if it does not foster racism or racial hate. I will list some of the most noticeable ways systemic racism manifests itself in the United States.

6.1 Redlining and Housing Inequality

The United States is facing a reckoning. Because of their successes abroad, right-wing populist movements have surged in the country and are now actively targeting ethnic minorities. The past year has seen increased racist activity across the country, leading to violent clashes between white supremacists and anti-fascists. The rise of the far-right will have a noticeable impact on U.S. society and economy for years to come. In this part of the thesis, I will take a closer look at systemic racism, briefly introduced in chapter two, and the far-right populist movements in particular and how they are intertwined.

Since former President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society movement, there have been desegregation, initiatives, laws, and programs to alleviate poverty, reduce crime, eliminate inequality, and improve the environment (Locke et al., 2021). Residential segregation remains a feature of American society, even as many Black and other minorities have moved to the suburbs and middle-class neighborhoods. Many underprivileged populations live in highly segregated, impoverished, and remote areas often called ghettos. These residential areas remain the most racially segregated communities in the United States (Miller, J. & Garran; A.M., 2007).

The phenomenon of "white flight," also known as "white exodus," which is the movement of the white population from regions that are becoming more racially or ethnically diverse (Bates, 2019; Beachum, 2019), began at the end of World War II; as a result, the majority of white people now reside in predominantly white communities. Throughout most of the twentieth century, U.S. government lending policies have favored loans to predominantly white suburbs. Transportation policy has favored the construction of highways connecting predominantly white suburbs over urban public transit. Shapiro (2004) contends that segregation is justified by racial discrimination practiced by real estate agents and mortgage lenders who hold white supremacist beliefs aimed at keeping people of color out of white communities. Housing segregation is exacerbated by zoning laws that exclude public housing and rental housing in some communities while focusing on others. So-called redlining is perhaps the best-known component of racial bias in housing.

Redlining is a discriminatory practice in the United States that prevents potential consumers from accessing services (financial and otherwise). These communities are characterized by high concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities and low-income individuals. The best-known examples are the denial of credit and insurance; redlining is also occasionally associated with the denial of healthcare and the creation of food deserts in minority neighborhoods (Locke et al., 2021).

One of the most important government solutions to the foreclosure problem during the Great Depression was the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 (Wheelock, 2008). In just two years, the government-backed "bad bank" HOLC made new loans on 10% of the owner-occupied homes in the United States (Snowden, 2010).

Underlying the HOLC assessments was the assumption that urban communities would inevitably deteriorate. According to this notion, FHA Chief Economist Homer Hoyt propagated that wealthy people leave cities over time, leaving inner cities populated by racial and ethnic minorities, leading to a decline in housing prices (Hiller, 2003). The HOLC's housing security maps have codified this ecological paradigm of urban communities. The maps divide neighborhoods into four distinct groups: A (green), B (blue), C (yellow), and D (red) (Hillier, 2005). According to the HOLC ratings, green areas were the most attractive communities. These communities were characterized by "homogeneous" (i.e., upper-class, naïve-born, and white) populations and relatively new housing stock. In addition, "geographic, social, and economic boundary lines" were often used to subdivide these communities to maintain neighborhood unity and character (United States. Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, 1936). There are numerous similarities between the blue and green zones. Due to the advance of commerce or the intrusion of the "less acceptable class of people," these places were threatened with decline over time. After the HOLC regions, the yellow and red zones were the least preferred. Yellow-coded areas showed a trend in the type of population to a lower degree and were "definitely declining." "A good mortgage broker would probably not consider loans at all" in "dangerous" red areas (United States. Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, 1936). Areas with small to large percentages of Black Americans were generally designated red (Schill & Wachter, 1995).

6.2 Racial Profiling

Racial profiling can be defined as the practice of law enforcement officers using a person's race or ethnicity, or corresponding proxy, as a basis for assessing criminal suspicion (Glaser, 2014).

Researchers have long been interested in racial disparities in the justice system. They have found that ethnic and racial minorities are disproportionately represented at virtually every stage of the judicial process (Walker et al., 2012). Although racial profiling is a relatively recent phenomenon that has only recently sparked widespread public outrage, it is something that has long plagued the criminal justice system in the United States (Walker, 2001).

Criminal injustice against people of color, particularly Black Americans, dates back to the days of slavery when slave patrols were used as an arm of the state to track down rebellious and escaping enslaved people (Williams & Murphy, 1990). After the end of slavery in 1865,

some states enacted so-called Black Codes to legally restrict black Americans' rights and freedoms. Although the federal government banned the Black Codes in 1868, several southern states attempted to solidify white supremacy with Jim Crow legislation, which required separate facilities such as restrooms and schools for Black Americans (Williams & Murphy, 1990). It was not until 1964 that discrimination based on race, national origin, color, or national origin was prohibited (Legal Information Institute, 2002). Nevertheless, criminal injustices based on race still exist today.

Crime rates vary significantly among racial groups. According to scholarly research, the overrepresentation of certain racial minorities in the criminal justice system is partly due to socioeconomic factors such as poverty, impoverished neighborhoods, and limited access to public education (Sampson, 1987). As a result of racial profiling, excessive police presence in minority neighborhoods, and internalized bias against members of one's ethnic group, research shows that racial minorities make up a disproportionate share of criminal suspects (Intravia et al., 2014; Warren & Tomaskovic, 2009).

In a study published in 2019, researchers examined a dataset that included the racial composition of all sheriffs in the United States over 25 years. They discovered that the ratio of Black to White arrests was significantly higher among white sheriffs. The impact appeared to be due to prosecuting less serious crimes and targeting the crimes they designated Black crime types (Bulman, 2019). As reported in the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* in 2018, Texas police officers who could charge shoplifters for two different types of crimes, one significantly more serious than the other, under a vaguely worded law were significantly more likely to charge Black Americans and Hispanics for the more serious crime. However, they were not required to do so (Braun et al., 2018).

According to a 2019 National Institute of Standards and Technology study, facial recognition algorithms were far more likely to misidentify racial minorities based on their facial structure than white individuals. The results show that the misrecognition rate for other ethnic groups, such as Black Americans and Asian Americans, is one hundred times higher than for white males (Harwell, 2019).

According to a 2019 study published in the journal *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, tall, young black men are more likely than other individuals to be unjustifiably

stopped by police. In addition, researchers discovered a type of causal relationship between perceived body size. They perceived a threat to Black males, particularly those who have the preconception that Black people are more threatening than White people (Hester & Gray, 2018). These findings suggest that the U.S. justice system uses racial profiling of younger POCs.

6.3 Racial Biasing in the American Healthcare System

Since the Jim Crow era (1875-1968), racism has been a direct and indirect component of the U.S. government healthcare system, both structurally and financially (Yearby et al., 2022). For example, in 1946, the federal government enacted the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, often called the Hill-Burton Act, to authorize the construction of public hospitals and long-term care facilities (Yearby, 2020). While the act required that healthcare facilities be accessible to all people without regard to race, it allowed states to build facilities that were segregated and unequal by race (Yearby, 2020). In addition, federal programs such as Medical Assistance for the Aged, which provided health care to impoverished people, were significantly underfunded, and few states participated, especially those with large Black American populations.

During the Civil Rights era, the federal government established two major public safety net programs. These safety nets were called Medicare, a federal health care program aimed primarily at the elderly and disabled (SSA, ORDP & OPSS, n.d), and Medicaid, a joint federal and state health care program for certain groups of particularly poor citizens, such as pregnant women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children (SSA, ORDP & OPSS, n.d), and were established to assist those who were identified as needing assistance and did not have health insurance. These programs played an important role in addressing the limited access to health care for racial and ethnic minorities.

To show a more recent case that proves that racial biasing is still a thing in the United States, one can look at the Covid-19 cases. For residents of racially segregated residences, interlocking systems of systemic racism affecting, as previously mentioned, the housing market, access to food and insecurity, labor markets, healthcare access, and the criminal justice system all have an actual effect on COVID-19-related outcomes. Racial prejudice in these systems encourages racism across these domains, producing a complex system that perpetuates the processes contributing to POC, particularly Black Americans vulnerability to,

spread, and ultimately death from COVID-19. According to the City of Philadelphia's May 29th, 2020 report, 45 percent of those identified with positive COVID cases were Black people, while 15 percent of the cases were White; out of these statistics, Black people were 1.9 to 3-5 times more likely to have a confirmed positive case than white people. (Covid-19 in context: Racism, segregation, and racial inequities in Philadelphia, 2020). These kinds of statistics can be found all around the United States, where minorities, particularly Black Americans, account for a disproportionate share of positive cases, so how does systems of racism impact Covid-19?

For example, in the case of vital workers, racial bias in the labor market exposes Black Americans disproportionately to occupations in the service industry. Because of the low wages associated with these positions, essential employees have fewer options for cheap housing, are more likely to live in racially divided districts with low-quality housing due to the redlining mentioned above, and are more likely to live in congested housing circumstances. In areas with high concentrations of substandard housing, residents must drive further to work and often rely on a public transportation system that may require them to use several modes of transportation to reach their final destination. For the most part, occupations in the service industry rely on direct contact with clients, frequently in exploitative industries that offer little safety for workers and the workplace (for instance, sick leave and hazard pay). An increase in the danger of exposure and transmission for Black populations may be seen at each node of this system. Residential segregation accelerates the rate at which Black Americans are exposed to the COVID-19 virus by concentrating this cycle in small geographic areas (Gray et al., 2020).

6.4 Racial Biasing in the American Education System

The historian W.E.B DuBois was correct in his assessment of the challenge of the twenty-first century. The concept of color continues to separate the people. This has been most obvious in recent years in the public policy arena, with the ongoing fight against affirmative action in higher education and the workforce being the most conspicuous manifestation.

Affirmative action, in the opinion of many Americans who feel that the last traces of prejudice have been eradicated now (it is necessary to remember that high numbers of Americans, White Americans believe that there no long racism existing in the U.S.), gives minorities an unfair advantage over their white counterparts. From the perspective of those

who live with the repercussions of continuous prejudice daily, affirmative action is required to safeguard opportunities that would otherwise be lost if an affirmative responsibility to behave reasonably did not exist to protect them. Moreover, for Americans of all socioeconomic origins, the distribution of opportunity in a society that is growing increasingly reliant on information and education is a cause of considerable fear and concern (Darling-Hammond, 1998).

A study published through PMC PubMed Central shows that In the United States, the educational outcomes of black and white pupils differ significantly. Black kids are more likely to be viewed as troublesome and to get punishment for the same conduct than white students are, according to recent research on the disparities in the rates at which Black and white students receive discipline (See Riddle & Sinclair, 2019 for full study).

African Americans, American Indians, Latinos, and Southeast Asians consistently do worse academically than White Americans and other Asian Americans, according to a trend of widespread ethnic and racial gaps in schooling. These educational inequalities are reflected in test scores measuring academic achievements, such as reading and mathematics, percentages of students repeating one or more grades, drop-out, and graduation rates, proportions of students participating in gifted and talented programs, enrollment in high-achieving schools, and evident early in childhood and persist through K–12 education. Although these ethnic and racial minority groups have a basic pattern of educational disparities, there are numerous ways that gaps are magnified in particular areas for each group. Most immigrants and children of immigrants who are classed as English Learners (EL) or whose first language is not English make up the Latino population. On the other hand, there is a significant disciplinary gap for African Americans, with disproportionately more of them getting behavioral consequences in schools. Less research has been done on American Indian and Southeast Asian groups. However, the evidence that is currently available suggests that disparities associated with the smaller ethnic and racial minority groups may be influenced by factors that are similar to those that affect African Americans and Latinos. Before students enter K–12 education, racial and ethnic gaps in education are apparent (See Quintana et al., 2012 for full study).

6.4.1 The Nature of Education Inequality

Most Black-American, Native American and Latino students were in entirely segregated schools with funding several times lower than that provided to white students until the 1960s is often forgotten in the United States. People of color were also barred from many higher education institutions, such as colleges and universities, until the 1960s. Since 1970, legal segregation, followed by measures to equalize expenditure, has significantly impacted students' academic attainment. Between 1970 and 1990, minority and white children's test scores narrowed significantly on every significant national test, including the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Darling-Hammond, 1998).

Despite this, minority students' educational experiences have remained significantly different and unequal from their peers. Two-thirds of minorities, with the majority situated in central cities, receive funding significantly lower than that received by their counterparts in suburban, predominantly white districts. Recent analyses of data prepared for school finance cases in New Jersey, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and New York discovered that schools serving increasing amounts of students of color had substantially fewer resources than schools serving primarily white students upon each measurable way of measuring, from curriculum options to qualified teachers.

6.4.2 How it begun

When the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* on May 17th, 1954, racial segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment (The Fourteenth Amendment tackles a wide range of issues related to citizenship and the rights of U.S. citizens) (Khomina, 2016). Its most litigated phrase is "equal protection of the laws," which has been used in several cases, including *Roe v. Wade*, *Bush v. Gore*, and *Reed v. Reed* (Constitutional Convention, n.d), elicited a range of national sentiments, from jubilation to wrath. While some Americans applauded this landmark decision and its influence on democracy, their initial faith in Brown's ability to remove all racial disparities in public education reflects hopeful naiveté and the start of decades-long efforts to achieve its promise. Whether one backed or opposed the Supreme Court decision, it would have a major effect on the future of the United States educational system that would extend beyond the ruling's initial aim. While this case sparked the contemporary Civil Rights movement and expanded educational opportunities for all children regardless of color, including those with

special needs, its complicated history also illustrates the United States struggle to overcome systemic racism and class inequality (Ramsey, n.d).

As Jim Crow segregation became the law of the land with the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, White southern elites questioned the necessity of continuing Black American education, and segregated school facilities continued to receive unequal funding compared to entirely white school facilities as a result (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). In an attempt to improve the circumstances of their schools, Black American educators and parents relied on what former Vice President Franklin referred to as cultural capital, or non-financial resources, to improve the conditions of their children's education. It was common for parents and instructors to work together to maintain the physical architecture of these sometimes one-room schools, all while encouraging cultural events and sporting programs.

In addition to this cultural capital, historian James Anderson believes that these families frequently paid a black or double tax as they were required to pay local taxes and utilize their funds to maintain their own underfunded black educational institutions (Synnott, 1990). Black teachers were also well aware that their responsibilities extended much beyond academic education; they were frequently obligated to utilize their funds and work outside the school grounds to assist their pupils both within and outside the classroom setting. Despite earning lesser wages than white instructors, these educators played vital roles in the lives of Black-American students (Darling-Hammond, 1998).

6.5 Police Brutality

In some cases, the phrase Police Brutality refers to a wide range of human rights breaches committed by police officers. This might involve severe beatings, racial abuse, unlawful executions, torture, or the indiscriminate deployment of riot control agents during demonstrations (Amnesty International, 2021). Recent high-profile police shootings of persons of color around the United States continue to provoke discussions and protests concerning the persistent prevalence of systemic racism in policing. Charges of systemic racism in policing are part of a larger conversation about the United States' continuing legacies of structural and institutional racism and how the major institutions in the country – including banks, hospitals, and the criminal justice system, among many others – have been

formed over time to ultimately benefit White communities at the expense of minority communities (Rotherstein, 2018).

These allegations are not unwarranted. It is already well-established that policing in the United States is stained by a fundamentally racist, anti-Black past. Aside from its racist foundation, the policing profession continues to suffer from diversity concerns, as police forces across the country are still today dominated by White men (Ba. et al., 2021). Consequently, a lack of diversity amongst police jurisdictions can maintain an insensitive us versus them attitude toward minority communities of color, in which individuals of color are more readily dehumanized than their White counterparts (Van Cleve, 2017). Moreover, prevailing police training practices might further alter officers' views of on-the-job dangers. For instance, police training narratives typically present ordinary traffic stops as deadly interactions that compel hyper-vigilance of officers, despite current estimates revealing that only 1 in 6.5 million traffic stops end in the killing of a police officer (Woods, 2019).

Due to the combination of all these variables, it is realistic to predict that police officers will be racially biased in using fatal force when necessary. Though it is well documented that people of color are overrepresented in police killings compared to White people (Sinyangwe et al., 2021), the underlying causes of these apparent racial differences remain obscured. One major source of uncertainty is how courts and police jurisdictions have defined reasonableness in using fatal force in the past. Law enforcement personnel have been granted permission to use lethal force if they had probable cause to suspect that a suspect constitutes a bodily threat (Sinyangwe et al., 2021). However, as there are no objective criteria for what reasonableness or probable cause has been established, courts have authorized police officers to rely on split-second reasoning that might become muddled by temporary pressures and personal prejudices, such as racial biasing.

In a study of police killings in the United States between 2014 and 2021, scientist Reed T. DeAngelis discovered that Black victims of police killings were overrepresented, while their White counterparts were underrepresented when compared to the overall population of the United States. His research also revealed that Black victims were less likely than their White counterparts to show indications of mental illness or to be armed at the time of their murders and were more likely to leave the crime site. Hispanics were less likely than white people to show indicators of mental illness, but they were neither more nor less likely to be armed than

their white counterparts. Even after controlling for heterogeneity by state, zip code, and neighborhood type in which fatal contacts occurred, the tendencies mentioned earlier continued to hold, according to the scientist (DeAngelis, 2021). According to bear in mind that black people are 12.4 percent of the whole U.S. population to the 2020 census projections (Jones et al., 2021).

According to new numbers released by a non-profit responsible for recording political violence throughout the world, the police in the United States are three times more likely to use force against left-wing protesters than they are against right-wing protesters, according to new numbers released. Newer data comes from the United States Crisis Monitor, a database built by Princeton University academics, and the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), a non-profit that has previously studied civil unrest in the Middle East, Latin America, and East Europe.

The researchers discovered that the great majority of the thousands of demonstrations that have taken place across the United States pre-Covid have been peaceful and that the vast majority of rallies by both sides of the political axis have not been greeted with a violent reaction by law enforcement (Beckett, 2021). According to the new statistics, police used rubber bullets, batons, and other forms of force against protesters in 511 left-wing marches while only using it in 33 right-wing marches.

The Guardian examined the proportion of all demonstrations organized by left-wing and right-wing movements that resulted in the use of force by law authorities. For left-wing protests, it was roughly 4.7 percent of demonstrations, whereas for right-wing protests, it was about 1.4 percent, suggesting that law enforcement was almost three times more likely to use force against left-wing than right-wing rallies (Beckett, 2021).

When peaceful left-wing versus right-wing protests were compared, the discrepancy in police response was even wider. When examining protests where demonstrators did not engage in any vandalism, looting, or violence, law enforcement officers were approximately 3.5 times, according to their data, more likely to use a form of force against left-wing protesters versus right-wing protesters, with approximately 1.8 percent of peaceful left-wing protests and less than 0.5 percent of peaceful right-wing protests being met with rubber bullets, teargas, and, or, other forms of law enforcement force (Beckett, 2021).

Additionally, ACLED's research indicates that U.S. law enforcement agencies were more likely to interfere in left-wing and right-wing protests. They were also more prone to use violence when they did (Beckett, 2021). Between April 1st, 2020, and January 8th, 2021, American law enforcement agencies arrested or intervened in 9 percent of the 10,863 Black Lives Matter and other left-wing demonstrations, compared to just 4 percent of the 2,295 right-wing demonstrations (Beckett, 2021).

ACLED discovered that about half of the time police intervened in left-wing protests, they used some form of physical force, compared to around a third of the time when they intervened in right-wing demonstrations (Beckett, 2021).

Abolish Ice, the NAACP, and the Democratic Socialists of America were the left-leaning organizations participating in the protests. Anti-fascist and left-leaning militant organizations and street movements also participated in the demonstrations, categorized as left-wing by the ACLED (Beckett, 2021).

Pro-Trump and pro-police demonstrations, including Blue, Lives Matter demonstrations, right-wing riots against the Coronavirus and public health restrictions, demonstrations involving supporters of the QAnon conspiracy theory and others associated with the Save Our Children movement, and Stop the Steal demonstrations promoting Trump's false claims about vote fraud after his 2020 election loss (Beckett, 2021).

Concerning racial prejudice in law enforcement, we can observe how alternative upper groups gain from systemic racism in this case. According to the statistics, they are greeted by fewer police officers and less police aggression, despite their protests not always being free of violent confrontations. This is only one instance of how far-right organizations benefit from systemic racism in the United States.

6.6 Conservatism and Gerrymandering

Every state redrafts its electoral districts every ten years to determine whose constituents each candidate will represent. This implies that politicians congregate in front of computers in many states to strategize how to rig the system to eliminate rivals and strengthen their party's

position. Although more states are using independent commissions to establish district borders, the vast majority still lack protections against party bias, popularly known as partisan gerrymandering. In permitting partisan politicians to create political districts in this manner, the United States is practically alone in the world. It is an unseen scalpel that significantly impacts US politics and the tone and nature of the public debate, and the most recent redistricting of electoral districts took place in 2021.

6.6.1 What is Gerrymandering?

Gerrymandering, which occurs in representative democracies, is the political manipulation of election district lines to give a party, organization, or socioeconomic class an unfair advantage inside the constituency. The manipulation may involve “cracking,” which dilutes the supporters of the opposing party throughout several districts, or “packing,” which concentrates the followers of the opposing party in several districts, or “packing,” which concentrates the followers of the opposing party in a single district to weaken their influence (What Is Gerrymandering? 2021). Additionally, incumbents can be safeguarded by gerrymandering. Politicians choose their voters rather than voters choosing their politicians, according to historian Wayne Dawkins (Dawkins, 2014).

6.6.2 Why Gerrymandering is Successful

Because of the wasted vote impact, gerrymandering is successful. Votes cast that did not help elect a candidate are considered to be wasted, either because they exceeded the votes required to win or because the candidate came in last. By shifting borders, the ruling party concentrates opposition voters in a small number of districts they know they will win, squandering the additional votes. Other districts are more carefully drawn, with the opposing party only being permitted to tally the votes of the minority, squandering every minority vote for the losing candidate. These districts made up the bulk of districts and were chosen in a way that would support the party in power (Honner, 2017). Gerrymandering’s main objectives are to increase the impact of supporters’ votes and decrease the impact of opponents’ votes. The fundamental goal of a partisan gerrymander is to sway all legislative actions that cross its path, including district law (Schuck, 1987).

6.6.3 The Effects of Gerrymandering on Electoral Competition

Contrary to widespread assumption, some political science research claims that gerrymandering can promote election competition. Some claim that for their party to win more races, party officials want to distribute their supporters throughout numerous districts rather than crowd them into uncompetitive areas (Masket et al., 2012). This can result in more competition. Some scholars conclude that party polarization and the incumbency advantage, rather than gerrymandering, are to blame for recent declines in electoral competitiveness (Forgette & Winkle, 2006). Similarly, a 2009 research uncovered that congressional polarization is predominantly driven by variations in how Democrats and Republicans represent the same districts rather than by the distribution of constituent preferences or the districts represented by each party (see McCarty et al., 2009 for a complete study).

6.6.4 Less Representative

The representation that voters in gerrymandered districts receive is also significantly impacted by gerrymandering. The relative representation of specific groups can be significantly different from their actual percentage of the voting population since gerrymandering can be used to increase the number of wasted votes among the electorate. As the victors of elections are increasingly controlled by who draws the districts rather than the voters' preferences, this impact can considerably hinder a gerrymandered system from obtaining proportional and descriptive representation. By condensing minority groups into a single district, gerrymandering may be recommended to increase minority representation in the legislature. This can be contentious since it may result in those groups being restricted to a single district and disadvantaged within the government. Candidates no longer have to come from that district to win an election.

Several instances from the 2012 election show how political gerrymandering may negatively impact the descriptive function of state congressional delegations. In Pennsylvania, for instance, Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives garnered 83,000 more votes than Republican candidates. However, due to redistricting, Republicans oversaw that in 2010, Democrats were defeated by the Republicans in 13 of Pennsylvania's 18 districts (Boehner and House Republicans Lack Mandate to Oppose Obama, 2012). Republican House candidates earned 16.7 million votes, while the Democratic House candidates received 16.4

million in the seven states where Republicans had total control over the redistricting process. In seven states, Republicans garnered 50.4% of the votes but won in more than 69% of the congressional districts, giving them a victory in 73 of the 107 impacted seats (Wang, 2013). Regardless of one's political orientation, this unbalanced representation of the public appears to be problematic for the legitimacy of democratic institutions. The example of Pennsylvania shows how gerrymandering is actively repressing the actual democratic vote. It is important to remember that not only Republicans conduct gerrymandering but Democrats as well.

6.6.5 Gerrymandering throughout the Prison System

The Census Bureau's methodology for counting incarcerated people poses severe challenges to the democracy of the United States. For research and planning reasons, the Bureau's decision to count jailed persons in prison rather than home results in a significant distortion of local and state representation. The bureau makes a mistake every ten years when it attempts to count every person living in the nation; they count prisoners as residents of the towns where they are jailed, even though they are not allowed to vote in 46 states as of 2006, and around of a dozen as of 2021, and almost always return to their home states after being released. In addition to distorting population estimates, the practice goes against state laws and constitutions that expressly specify that being imprisoned does not affect a person's residency. The Bureau's method for counting prisoners dates back to the first census when it was only crucial to record the population of each state to guarantee equal representation in Congress. The Congress's allocation of seats was based on the states' relative populations, not on how people were distributed within each state. The precise placement of populations is crucial now because redistricting at all levels of government uses Census data. The number of persons incarcerated has increased dramatically over the last few decades, undermining the Supreme Court's ruling that political power should be distributed based on population. When the underlying statistics are faulty, the process of creating fair and equitable districts fails (The Problem, n.d.).

According to the Census 2000, numerous rural counties in the West, Midwest, and Northeast saw a more than doubling of their Black populations between the 1990 and 2000. Does this represent a reversal of the massive migration that saw millions of Black people leave the rural South for the metropolis in the North? Most of the counties with the fastest growing Black populations already housed there. Even though inmates are not voluntarily jailed and

have no contact with the outside world, the Census Bureau counts them as if they live in the prison town. The ramifications of this system for how and where to count Black persons are startling. 2,5% of Black Americans were incarcerated on Census Day. 13% of Black males in their 20s or early 30s are behind bars. These numbers are seven to eight times greater than the same rates for White people. Black people are substantially overrepresented when the Census Bureau counts the inmates (US Census Bureau, 2021).

It is crucial to keep these details in mind when one looks into prison gerrymandering.

- Black Americans are imprisoned in state prisons at a rate over times higher than White Americans. In the United States, one in 81 Black adults (2021) is now incarcerated. One in every 36 Black Wisconsin residents is incarcerated, which is the highest rate of Black incarceration in the States (Nellis, 2021).
- The percentage of Black inmates in 12 states; Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia – is more than 50% (Nellis, 2021).
- California, Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Wisconsin are the only seven states with a Black/White ratio of more than 9 to 1 (Nellis, 2021).
- Latinx people are locked up in state jails at a rate that is 1.3 times higher than white people. The most significant ethnic discrepancies are in Massachusetts, where there is a 4.1:1 ethnic difference (Nellis, 2021).

Gerrymandering, according to some, is undemocratic because one's vote does not necessarily count in the end. Prison gerrymandering is an obvious example of racial gerrymandering as it benefits far-right movements and republicans because POCs are incarcerated at higher rates than White people.

6.7 Voting Suppression

Enslaved Americans were set free thanks to a horrible and deadly Civil War. Black Americans received citizenship rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1868). The capacity to vote was not always a result of this, in any case. State polling stations consistently turned away black voters. Congress enacted the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 to address this issue. The amendment states that any state in the United States are prohibited from denying or restricting citizen's voting ability because of their race, color, or former servitude (Right to Vote Not Denied by Race, n.d.).

States nonetheless discovered methods to violate the Constitution and exclude Black Americans from voting. Black Americans avoided voting due to intimidation, fraud, literacy, exams, poll fees, and other factors. Many states utilized the “grandfather clause” to bar slave descendants from voting until the Supreme Court overturned it in 1915. The provision stated that to vote, your grandfather had to have done so, which was impossible for the majority of individuals whose forebears were enslaved (African American Registry, 2022). The press, Congress, and the public all discussed this unequal treatment. Black Americans still had trouble voting even fifty years after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, particularly in the South. In support of equal voting rights, many courageous Americans protested, marched, and were detained, and some even lost their lives. Hundreds of Black Americans were registered at the Selma, Alabama, courtroom in 1963 and 1964 thanks to Martin Luther King Jr. When they were turned away, Dr. King organized and led rallies that eventually caused a change in public opinion in the States. Poll taxes were outlawed in 1964 by the Twenty-fourth Amendment. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 gave the Attorney General the responsibility of upholding African Americans’ right to vote (Voting Rights Act (1965), 2022). Black Americans’ standing in the South saw a substantial transformation due to the Voting Rights Act. The Act forbade the states from preventing Black Americans from voting by employing literacy tests and other means. Only around 23% of Black Americans of voting age were registered nationally before 1969, which increased to 61% (Payne et al., 1995).

Despite this, the Black vote and the voting rights of people of color, in general, continue to be limited. I have described prison gerrymandering as a type of voting limitation. Although it impacts everyone, persons of color are disproportionately represented in prison populations because they are more frequently imprisoned for less heinous offenses, resulting in a loss of voting power.

6.7.1 Poll Tax

For years, there had been calls for the federal government to prohibit the poll tax; nevertheless, these calls were almost always for legislative action. However, there was a belief in certain circles that such action may be deemed unlawful and that a constitutional amendment would be a preferable solution. Action in this direction started on the Senate floor on March 14, 1962 (The Twenty-fourth Amendment | US House of Representatives: History,

Art & Archives, n.d.). After nearly two weeks of discussion during what the southern Senators referred to as the "friendly filibuster," the proposed constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax in all federal elections was approved by a vote of 77-16, which was fifteen votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority. Many non-white people could no longer vote because they could not afford to do so due to the levy on the right to vote. This is related to the housing system, which contributed to the long-term poverty of Black Americans and other minorities.

6.7.2 Voter ID Restrictions

Researchers have looked at factors such as stringent voter ID requirements, long lines on election day, and other aspects of our electoral process that make voting in some states disproportionately tricky for people of color. The most notable study results on the detrimental effects of voting restrictions on voters of color are compiled in this analysis. Currently, 35 states have legislation requesting or mandating that voters present some form of identification when voting (Voter ID Laws, 2022).

These laws have attracted much interest because they concentrate on a fundamental aspect of democracy - deciding who may and cannot vote. These laws have been denounced as being anti-democratic and anti-minority by critics (Weiser, 2014). According to this viewpoint, draconian voter ID laws have no function other than to prevent lawful voting by members of racial and ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups and to skew results in favor of the Republican lawmakers who enact them. If these critics are right, voter ID laws significantly impact our democracy's representativeness and fairness, as well as who wins and loses in elections. However, proponents of the other position have been equally outspoken. Voter identification laws, they contend, are essential to lessen voter fraud and increase the credibility of the democratic process (Kobach, 2011). Supporters point out that the public favors these regulations, with 80% (4 out of 5) of Americans favoring them, according to a Gallup poll (McCarthy, 2016).

Millions of Americans are impacted by voter ID legislation despite this overwhelming support. An alarming amount of Americans lack government-issued identification. More than 16 million Americans, or 7% of all Americans, cannot attest to having a government-issued picture ID (see Perez, 2015 for the full study). It costs money to get an ID. Even if provided

without charge, many voters must pay various fees (such as purchasing birth documents) to apply for a government-issued ID. For Americans with lower incomes, obtaining the underlying documentation needed to acquire an ID costs money. Between \$75 to \$175,3 is expected to be the total cost of document fees, travel expenditures, and waiting time (Sobel, 2014). People with disabilities, the elderly, or those living in remote regions without access to a car or public transit sometimes find the needed journey to be a significant strain. Some folks in Texas's remote communities must drive almost 170 miles to the closest ID office (Sobel, 2014). Additionally, a year after Alabama's draconian voter ID legislation was enacted, state authorities attempted to close 31 licensing offices in counties with a majority of Black people. If successful, this would have required rural and minority voters to travel further to obtain licenses (Mock, 2015; Lopez, 2017). Strict picture ID requirements cut voting by 2-3 percentage points, according to a 2014 GAO report, which can be translated into thousands of votes being lost in a single state (Issues Related to State Voter Identification Laws, 2015).

The highest rates of identification possession are seen among White Americans, whereas the required photo ID is disproportionately absent from other ethnic groups. Only 5% of White Americans, 13% of Black Americans, and 10% of Hispanic identification (Perez, 2015). Voting restrictions affect minorities much more than White Americans, yet this does not negate the reality that a sizable portion of White Americans is also adversely affected.

7 The Far-Right and Their Relationship with Race

The history of systemic racism in the United States is examined in this section, along with the role that race has played in far-right groups. Knowing the past will aid us in understanding this intricate link. In the United States, race is essential in various rightist movements that are still active today. This is most visible in far-right movements that push blatantly racist objectives. However, race is equally prominent in conservatives' mobilizations that repudiate racial causes or repercussions of their actions. By looking at how movements communicate their goals and agendas to their supporters and audiences, we can see that the role of race is not entirely conveyed in each case.

Some far-right movements openly embrace the racist ideology and, in some cases, the objective of deadly racial terrorism. Their racial targets vary, but they frequently target Black Americans, Jewish people, Muslims, Hispanics, and immigrants from South Asia, Africa, and

Latin America. In recent decades, such groups have frequently represented the political heritage of either Nazi Germany during World War II or American traditions of systemic racism and xenophobia (Durham, 2007).

The 1950s were a milestone year for the American far-right. The Brown decision of 1954 was reviving the Ku Klux Klan, and following groups such as the Liberty Lobby, The National States Rights Party, and the American Nazi Party appeared as key organizations. However, at the same time, the decade was pivotal for the far-right and two other right-wing factions. In part, the growth of these other strands would supply actual chances for the extreme far-right. However, it would also provide significant hurdles (Durham, 2007).

While conservatism existed long before the 1950s, the establishment of a new publication National Review in 1955 marked its contemporary revival (Sarias Rodriguez, 2021). The publication argued that the right's emphasis should be focused on the threat posed by communism. For others, the erosion of traditional authority threatened America (Durham, 2007). Others feared the loss of liberty would jeopardize it. Communism may be viewed as adverse to tradition and liberty, and focusing on its destruction drew multiple far-right strains together (Durham, 2007). Conservatives were vehemently opposed to liberalism, which they considered mild on communism and accountable for the 'bloating' of the government. This latter point would become crucial in several future conflicts fought by conservatives. It was also crucial to developing the modern radical right (Durham, 2007). In its most widespread usage, the latter term referred to various violent anti-communist organizations that gained prominence in the early 1960s (See Bell & Plotke, 2017). However, it is best kept for individuals driven by the sense that America has been under attack by such a conspiracy for an exceptionally long period of time and fear that the Conspiracy has been prevailing. John Birch Society is a critical foundation (Durham, 2007).

The Society was founded in 1958 and was named after an American intelligence operator assassinated by Chinese communists following the war's conclusion. Despite this, it was quickly revealed that a book written by the organization's founder, Robert Welch, carried anti-communism further than many on the right politically were ready to go. Senator McCarthy alleged that communists had corrupted the American administration over the decade (Durham, 2007). However, the politician conjectured that President Eisenhower could have

been a communist plot agent. The Society was different from its McCarthyist predecessors in other ways as well. At first, it continued to believe communism was the threat.

Nevertheless, by the middle of the 1960s, it had embraced the idea that would eventually be essential to the radical right. The primary adversary, it came to feel, was not the communists. Instead, communism resulted from a more sophisticated plot (see Diamond, 1995; Mintz, 1985). Right-wing radicals and conservatives have a lot in common. However, they had different perspectives on what posed a threat to America, making efforts to build an alliance between them complicated. Together, they made an ultimately futile effort to elect Republican senator Barry Goldwater as president in 1964. However, The Society's assertions that communist conspiracy controlled the American government prompted the National Review to proclaim the following year that The Society was not a vital component of the American right but rather a hindrance to its advancement (Hart, 2006).

Conservatives were not only members of the right to condemn the Society. Just as conservatives were first receptive to the Society, the Society was initially ready to welcome far-rightists among its ranks. On the other hand, Welch released *The Neutralizers* in 1963, alleging anti-Semites diverting attention away from the true character of America's adversaries and how to combat them (Durham, 2007). This was not by chance, he added. He theorized that Lenin may have produced *Protocols* as part of a long-term plot to neutralize communist opponents (Durham, 2007). The matter got even more heated in 1965 following a well-publicized statement by an eminent Society member, Revilo Oliver. Oliver was cited as having conducted an extensive study that concluded in his discovery of Welch as the cunning agent of a sinister and alien entity. Another defector alleged that not only were Society members not informed of the 'full truth' about the Conspiracy but that the Society was assisting the conspirators by misdirecting its members' efforts (Durham, 2007). A letter to Welch from earlier Society member Ben Klassen was prominently presented in the piece 'You know as well as anybody, that a communist conspiracy does not threaten us but in the clutches of a Jewish conspiracy' (Durham, 2007). The *Thunderbolt* magazine assaulted Gary Allen's *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* during its appearance. The Jewish people, it asserted, had solid mental control over Americans, but they recognized the possibility that this might. They attempted to deflect responsibility for their scheming in advance of this inevitability, and Allen's work exemplified this strategy. Allen established that Jewish interests controlled

the banks and the media. However, he contended that some conspirators were gentiles and categorically denied that the plot itself was Jewish (Durham, 2007).

The far-right has kept its assault on the Society. An example of this is William Pierce recalled in 1996 that he had been a member of the Society briefly thirty years earlier. He had advised emphasizing the connection between 'the Jewish founders of Communism and today's Jewish media moguls' and had been handed a brochure to read (Durham, 2007). The brochure was Robert Welch's *The Neutralizers* and addressed the author in response, claiming that the true adversary of the people was the Jewish (Durham, 2007).

As was previously observed, conflicts between the extreme and radical right have persisted inside the Patriot movement. However, their connection with conservatism becomes more complex if those who believe that race is the enemy continue to see the radical right as a foe. When we examine the far-right's doctrinal pronouncements, the divide between the two belief systems becomes apparent. For instance, one essay published in an ANP publication is titled "National Socialists Are Not "Conservatives." National socialists, it said, favored free enterprise while opposing capitalism. It underpaid workers for Zionism's advantage, and while conservatives were regressive, only national socialism was capable of destroying communism in America (Durham, 2007). A later active published in the *Nation Youth Alliance (NYA)* scholarly journal, 'Why Conservatives Can't Win,' made the argument that those opposed to the groundbreaking left could not be satisfied with such goals as appointing a conservative to the Supreme Court or trying to elect a Republican to the White House in the face of a revolutionary left threat (Durham, 2007). Conservatives backed eugenics and anti-miscegenation legislation fifty years earlier, and they had now lost sight of the principles they had championed previously. An 'excellent anti-communist leader' (known as Adolf Hitler, although the paper did not mention him by name) previously urged for 'fanatical conviction' in winning a revolutionary new system (Durham, 2007). This was needed, and disillusioned young Americans would flock to the demand for Western men to exterminate their race's foes. However, these statements were made by members of the far-right, who are notoriously implacable.

Additionally, they were targeted at convincing those who were already rightists to join a far-right movement. On the other hand, Liberty Lobby advocated for a fundamentally different relationship between the far-right and conservatism (Durham, 2007). Additionally,

conservatism's early years supplied particular chances to those who valued race and the "right race." Considering how conservatives responded to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling and the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement, it was evident that race was starting to matter more.

According to a contemporary history of the magazine by its long-time senior editor, at the beginning of the 1960s, the *National Review* reasoned that "in the Deep South, the Negroes are, by comparison with the Whites, retarded" and that it was irresponsible to "hand over" the raw political power by which Black Americans could change the political and social sphere of the South (Durham, 2007). The journal had argued three years prior that the White population in the South was in the right to use whatever means necessary to succeed and that it was the advanced race and civilized claims trumped universal suffrage claims. Most significantly, regardless of their views on the likelihood of the emergence of racial consciousness, radical rightists were forced to respond to conservatism's growth throughout the time. The *National Review* was, at this time, establishing a strong presence in America (Hijiya, 2003).

Republicans chose Senator Barry Goldwater as their presidential candidate in 1964. He was a notable anti-communist who opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act. There may be an early shift in far-right movements and their relationship to race. The conservatives chose Barry Goldwater even though he was half-Jewish Goldwater, a target of the American Nazi Party's (ANP) hostility. The senator, it said, was a steadfast proponent of integration, and in the 1950s, he condemned him rather than unflinchingly supporting Senator McCarthy (Durham, 2007). Now that the public was becoming more aware of the necessity for action, the Jewish population was maneuvering to prevent it. Communism was headed by the Jewish, whose opponents needed to avoid looking to a Jew to lead the battle against it (Durham, 2007).

The *Thunderbolt*, meanwhile, raised questions about Goldwater's racial views. It said that in the 1950s, the senator addressed an NAACP conference that Eisenhower sought to eradicate 'all trace of segregation and prejudice in American life.' However, it challenged his assertion that he had never met a Jew who was not a patriot. Rather than that, it claimed, "WE KNOW OF NO JEW WHO WAS A PATRIOT!" (Durham, 2007). However, Goldwater was backed by the United Klan. Liberty Lobby made a similar argument in defense of him. It said that Goldwater's candidacy elicited 'one of the most significant eruptions of enthusiasm ever seen in the American people (Durham, 2007).

However, what was essential was for the Republican Party to embrace legislation that would attract white labor and allow Black people to return to Africa. Contrary to the ANP, the Free American's dissident national socialists expressed their support for Goldwater. He was only partially Jewish, and the main goal at that time was to beat the Democratic candidate and elect a right-wing contender. The far-right only played a minor role in the 1964 presidential campaign but did rise four years later due to the right's divide over two candidates. George Wallace served as the Democratic governor of Alabama and unsuccessfully sought the party's presidential nominee in 1964 (Durham, 2007). He was the presidential candidate for the new political party American Independent Party in 1968, while Richard Nixon was the Republican candidate (Durham, 2007). Wallace was unpalatable to most conservatives as he was incredibly suitable in other aspects. He, among other things, defended the Vietnam War (Durham, 2007).

However, he was most closely identified with race. The emergence of riots in the North prompted claims that the Civil Rights Movement was a menace to law and order, while others accused it of communist tendencies. The far-right took advantage of these arguments. However, they were also manufactured by organizations such as the John Birch Society, which made it much easier for the extreme right and radical right to unite behind the Wallace campaign (Durham, 2007). The far-right's backing for Wallace was prominent among its southern delegations. Former Klan member Asa Carter prepared his speeches. At the same time, the United Klan of America announced in early 1968 that 'Communist anti-Christ Zionist Jews' and 'Negro guerillas' had joined forces to attack and destroy White Christian America (Durham, 2007). The Klan had initiated a voter registration drive, and George Wallace's presidential candidacy gave a gleam of optimism (Durham, 2007).

To this point, I have only uncovered a small amount of information regarding the early history of racism and the far-right. As we have seen, the primary "enemy" of the "right," which includes communism, was primarily Jewish and Black Americans. This is something that we should keep in mind. However, what about the far-right movements that are happening today? The discussion will primarily revolve around the following three subjects: (Durham, 2007).

The first concern to consider is whether conservative views are fundamentally racist. A few conservative movements use open racial appeals, such as portraying Latinos, Indigenous Americans, and Black Americans as lethargic and content to rely on the government's generosity or as perpetrators of voter fraud, among other things (Durham, 2007). Such explicit racism, on the other hand, is becoming increasingly stigmatized in the greater community, and most current conservative movements declare that they are not involved in racial politics but advocate for equitable treatment for everyone, including White people. This assertion is a conservative spin on the widely held 'color-blind' philosophy, which holds that racism is only significant in an individual, discriminating setting rather than a societal context (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). Color-blind ideology, which ignores how racial privileges and subordination are embedded in social structures, and the patterns of everyday life, align with conservative attempts to eradicate government policies that address systematic racism or policies that benefit racial minorities as a group, such as affirmative action or equal opportunity laws (Feagin, 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 2009). Moreover, by claiming that the cultural and moral failures of poor communities are a barrier to the success of their members, conservative movements argue that their opposition to social welfare programs and assurances of racial equity (such as same-day voter registration policies, immigration reforms, and equal opportunity policies) is a race-neutral position (Ansell, 1997).

Secondly, there is the question of whether individual conservative activists are motivated by racial animus regardless of their organization's proclaimed philosophy or their intellectual assertions directly in their speeches (Parker & Barreto, 2013). This is a sensitive subject amongst conservatives who, like others who promote color-blind philosophies, believe that only individual racial prejudice may be considered racist (Feagin, 2006). Meanwhile, conservative groups often employ cultural symbols to organize adherents based on cultural affiliations that are not entirely and most likely not explicitly racially oriented, as opposed to movements that are (McVeigh et al., 2014). As a result, focusing on the racism of conservative activists may mask the pervasive nature of racism across political divides (Hughey, 2010). In the case of conservative movements, there is some evidence that they attract those who have racial grievances, particularly those who are economically and politically downtrodden, such as the working and lower-middle classes, who believe that racial minorities are unfairly benefitting from liberal policies in the competition for political and economic power (Lassiter, 2007).

A third point to consider is how conservative groups respond to allegations of racism, which can be genuine, strategic, or a combination of the two. To illustrate that their movement is not racist, several conservative leaders advocate for the visibility of racial minority members. They also want to demonstrate that they are models of racial minorities (POCs) who have achieved success through their efforts rather than through the assistance of government policies. As a result, several conservative movements have decided to borrow ideological frames from racial equality movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement, in order to portray White people as the victims of current social policies, making the argument that White individuals are subject to reverse discrimination (reverse racism as well) in the workplace, are denied their fundamental rights, and are falsely accused of being racist simply because they want 'equal' treatment in today's Society (Lassiter, 2007). Such initiatives have had some success, as seen by the conservative African American and Latino candidates who have garnered support amongst White grassroots activists at the state and federal levels (Vozella, 2013). Based on this brief investigation, it is clear that conservative groups continue to reap the advantages of systemic racism in the United States of America. We can see this most clearly in their disdain for persons of color, in particular.

Racial issues now drive several right-wing movements in the US. The importance of race is most evident in far-right movements, but it is also essential in conservative far-right groups. Some conservative organizations use overt appeals based on race, such as depicting Latinos, Native Americans, and Black people as lazy and unproductive. People who are interested in racial issues seem to gravitate toward conservative groups. The reality that racism exists across all political differences could be hidden if attention is only paid to the racism of conservative activists. These ideas are reinforced by systemic racism, which strengthens these organizations. Their argument is further bolstered when one combats systematic racism because the opposition benefits certain minorities, making it appear like they are getting "more" than they should. Conservative far-right movements benefit from the system based on how their rhetoric demonstrates how it works.

7.1 POCs Tend to Lean Left

As we already know, there are significant connections between the far-right and republicans in this. Data from the 2020 election's exit polls demonstrate the influence of the Black vote. In Georgia, nearly half of all Democratic voters were black; in Michigan, 20% of all Democratic voters were

black; and in Pennsylvania, 21% of all Democratic voters were black. These statistics consider the criticism leveled at exit polls for failing to adequately consider the varied methods in which various groups, from Black Americans to rural White Americans, participate in politics and answer surveys (see Times, 2021; National Results 2020 President Exit Polls., n.d.; ABC News, n.d.) White, Black, and Hispanic registered voters have quite different party affiliations. While the political divide between these categories has been mostly consistent in recent years, it has widened since 2008, when white voters were less Republican than they are now.

White voters are far more likely to lean Republican in party identification. Only 39% of white registered voters this year belong to the Democratic Party or lean Democratic, compared to 54% who do so. While that only shows a slight improvement from 2012, when Republicans had a 12-point advantage (52%-40%), White American's partisan alignment in 2008 was still very close (46% Republican, 44% Democratic). As far as the Republican Party has been able to gain a lead among white voters over the previous 24 years, it is now by a margin of 15 points in terms of leaning political identification (Pew Research Center, 2016).

The distinctive political leanings of different racial and ethnic subgroupings have a significant bearing on the extent to which demographic shifts can influence the outcomes of elections. According to poll data spanning more than 20 years from the Pew Research Center, black, Hispanic, and Asian American registered voters continue to favor the Democratic Party with a significant and long-standing advantage. This advantage has been present for quite some time. The partisan divide among White voters has remained relatively unchanged over the course of the past decade, with a slight advantage being held by the Republican Party (Igielnik & Budiman, 2021). It should be no surprise that most people who identify as belonging to a minority vote Democratic rather than Republican. When voters' access to the ballot box is limited by institutional mechanisms such as gerrymandering and voter identification laws, the chances of Republican candidates winning elections are increased. It is more likely that organizations on the far-right will achieve the rhetorical and ideological objectives they have set for themselves.

8 Systemic Racism and its Dependence on the Far-Right

I have, up until this point, provided a summary of the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, as well as the history of the United States, an explanation of what systemic racism is and how it operates in the states, and a connection between the extreme right and the Republican Party. It is impossible to ignore the fact that groups on the far-right are dependent on

institutionalized racism for their continued existence, despite the fact that they vehemently deny this fact. But how exactly?

At first, glance, eliminating racism in the United States could appear to be an issue that is not too difficult to solve. Even though it is a prolonged process, it would be possible to abolish this bigotry forever by changing the institutions that display such prejudice against people of color. This would be possible even if it is a very time-consuming procedure. However, this shift will not be feasible as long as there are those on the far-right who believe that certain people are worth more than others. Therefore, one can conceive of the possibility that the systems will continue to exist for as long as those on the extreme right maintain the same level of political influence that they currently possess. This is because one can conceive of the possibility that the systems will continue to exist for as long as they possess. It is likely that they will retain their influence. Consequently, the system that obviously and negatively affects people of color will most likely continue to exist in its current form.

9 Conclusion

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I have covered a wide variety of subjects that are associated with the United States in an effort to provide a response to the research question that I posed earlier. I have discussed the definition of systemic racism in general, as well as the ways in which it is displayed in the United States. In addition, I have discussed the various ways in which one might understand race and identity. In this discussion, I have incorporated scholarly concepts and people's opinions today as expressed in thought pieces. I hope you find this to be an exciting read. This is because ideas regarding race and identity are constantly developing, which is one reason for why this is the case. The functioning of populism on its most fundamental level, as well as the various ways in which it has manifested itself throughout the course of political history in the United States, have been the topic of discussion. A condensed explanation of the connection between the far-right and the Republican party, with the primary emphasis placed on the fact that the far-right has been a member of the Republican party for a significant length of time that precedes the presidency of Donald Trump. The primary focus of this explanation is that the far-right has been a member of the Republican party for the length of time that precedes the presidency of Donald Trump.

The primary question that I wanted to get an answer to was, *"Does the continued existence of systemic racism in the United States of America rely on the ongoing growth of the far-right populist movement, or does the survival of the latter depend on the former, or are they equally dependent on each other?"* I was curious as to whether or not the rise of the far-right populist movement in the United States of America is dependent on the continuous presence of systemic racism and vice versa, and I was curious as to whether or not the far-right populist movement can survive without a racist system.

In spite of the fact that members of the far-right vehemently deny the existence of systemic racism and frequently attribute the cause of the problem to a flawed system that affects not only members of minority groups but also members of the general population, there is an enormous mountain of evidence that suggests the precise opposite. My findings lead me to believe that individuals on the far-right stand to benefit a great lot from the pervasive racism that exists in our culture. Not just in a direct way but also in an indirect fashion through the Republican Party, which has absorbed numerous of their talking points.

When you look almost anywhere in the United States, you will see that the institutions are working for the benefit of white Americans. This encompasses the vast majority of the system's components. Although the institutions might have a negative impact on anyone, regardless of what race they belong to, it is abundantly clear that it has a disproportionately negative impact on people of color in comparison to the percentage of the total population that is comprised of people of color. This is because people of color only make up a relatively small percentage of the total population.

As was mentioned earlier in this piece of writing, gerrymandering is a method for restricting voters in which the census is used to redraw the maps for the house seats. This is done in order to create more favorable voting districts. Within the context of my argument, I specifically addressed this kind of institutional racism. This is just one of the many ways in which the Republican Party backs people on the far-right of the political spectrum. Although gerrymandering occurs on both sides of the political spectrum, its primary objective is to further the goals of the Republican Party by reducing the number of votes cast by people who are black or who belong to other minority groups. This is accomplished by dividing voters into districts that have a disproportionate number of black or minority voters. This is accomplished by designing voting districts in such a way that gives white voters an undue

advantage over voters of other races. As was stated earlier, throughout the long and eventful history of American politics, people of color have typically been more likely to vote for the Democratic party than they have been inclined to vote for the Republican party. This has been the case regardless of which party was in power at the time. Although it makes sense to require voters to present identification at the polls from a Norwegian point of view, voter identification laws disproportionately negatively impact people of color. Because of this, people of color are the ones whose votes are disproportionately impacted negatively, frequently resulting in their votes being rendered invalid or unable to vote at all. This is because of the fact that people of color are the ones who vote. This indicates that the individuals whose votes are disproportionately impacted negatively are the same individuals whose votes are disproportionately impacted positively.

Even though a large amount of evidence suggests that various far-right movements and White Americans benefit from systemic racism, it is not very easy to find evidence suggesting these two phenomena are interdependent on one another. This is despite a large amount of data suggesting that systemic racism benefits these groups. Even in a society where racism is not tolerated at the individual level, a racist system can function; however, it is implausible that this will be the case. In this idealized version of the United States of America, there is no such thing as individual racism; consequently, there are no far-right groups. It is feasible that the systems, which are now through an excruciatingly slow process, will eventually be modified such that they no longer discriminate against specific subsets of the population. This is something that one would like to happen.

On the other hand, far-right movements, in spite of the fact that they receive a significant amount of support from the fundamentally racist system that exists in the United States, it is quite probable that they will continue to exist regardless of whether or not the system exists. This is the case despite the fact that they gain considerable support from the system. They are not dependent on it in any manner, even though their inability to access it may lead them to experience some degree of frailty. If people continue to behave in racist and bigoted ways, racism and bigotry will never disappear.

After going through the trouble of reading this article, one could think to themselves, "So what?"

It is not easy to find evidence that suggests these two phenomena are interdependent, despite the fact that there is a large amount of evidence suggesting that various far-right movements and White Americans benefit from systemic racism. This is in spite of the fact that a significant amount of evidence suggests that these groups would benefit from institutional racism. It is theoretically possible for there to be a racist system in place even in a society that does not condone racism on an individual level; however, the likelihood of this occurring is extremely low. In this perfected version of the United States of America, there is no such thing as individual racism, and as a result, there are no far-right groups. It is possible that the systems, which are currently going through an excruciatingly slow process, will eventually be modified in such a way that they will no longer discriminate against particular subsets of the population. The occurrence of this is an event that one hopes will take place.

This paper not only sheds light on the relationship between far-right populist movements and systemic racism in the United States, but it also sheds light on the current political climate in the United States, which also reflects how the current political climate in Europe is becoming. Additionally, this paper sheds light on how the current political climate in Europe is becoming similar to the current political climate in the United States. In addition, this article offers light on the ways in which the present political atmosphere in Europe is becoming increasingly comparable to the current political climate in the United States. In addition, this essay sheds light on how the current political climate in Europe is growing increasingly akin to the political situation in the United States at the present time. This article not only sheds light on the relationship between far-right populist movements and institutional racism in the United States, but it also sheds light on the political atmosphere that exists in the United States at the present time. The concept that those who identify with the extreme right adopt language that has the potential to be perceived as hostile is slowly but surely becoming accepted by the majority of society. Regrettably, prejudice in the forms of homophobia, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia is becoming more prevalent in everyday speech. On the other hand, the use of violent action that is fuelled by these forms of poisonous speech is becoming an increasingly prevalent phenomenon.

10 Bibliography

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