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**Trump's Populism and Hate Crimes against Muslims**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Literature and Civilisation

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this humble work to the souls of my sister “Aicha” and my grandmother who their  
memory will never fade from my heart

And mind and will always draw a smile of yearning, love and pain.

To my parents who always encourage me to cross the road of success, they always ensure the  
good atmosphere for work and seeking knowledge.

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Never be done.

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To my nephews: Zaid, Amine and Adem

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were the gift that God blessed me with.

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## **Dedication**

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## **Abstract**

Islam has been demonized by the rightist politicians in most of the Western countries. This worldly normalization of hate and critics towards Islam made it the easy prey of the rightwing populist rhetoric. In USA, Islamophobia eased the success of Trump populist campaign of 2016; he enjoyed a great appeal and he further persuaded and mobilized the audience and his supporters. This research claims that the negative presentation of Muslims in Trump populist rhetoric went too far in smearing the Muslims image which negatively affected the Muslim community in USA. Trump rhetoric implicit an encouragement to the acts of violence in which his ultimate win resulted in a rise in hate crimes against Muslims. Rightist populist actors usually ignore democracy and focus on identity politics the research sheds light on the status of democracy in Trump era by analysing the undemocratic traits in the populist rhetoric of Trump, his atypical audacious decisions which appear limitless and not abiding to any norms or laws. A qualitative content analysis aims to evaluate the rhetoric negative effect on anti-Muslims crimes and its undemocratic level that affected and threatened the stability of the country. A critical analysis used to the populist approach to analyse Trump atypical policy of division that cared not to unite the people instead it deepened the gap between the people so that a pure white group dominate. This research highlighted that the populist response of the Americans in 2016 reflects their dissatisfaction about economy, politics and the cultural change. Political polarisation predominated as the critical state of society stemmed from a hate swamp sourced from social media and populist actors which stick on battling the liberal democracy. Trump populist campaign was the premonition of the appearance of authoritarian traits within the democratic US, the rise of Trump was catastrophic and incompatible with the nation's principles of liberty, equality and freedom.

**Keywords:** Populism, Muslims, hate crimes, liberal democracy.

## ملخص

لقد تم شيطنة الإسلام من قبل السياسيين اليمينيين في معظم الدول الغربية. هذا التطبيع العالمي للكراهية والنقد الموجه للإسلام جعله الفريسة السهلة للخطاب الشعبوي اليميني. في الولايات المتحدة ، سهلت الإسلاموفوبيا من نجاح حملة ترامب الشعبية عام 2016 ، حيث حظي بجاذبية كبيرة كان لها الأثر في إقناع وحشد الجمهور وتأييده لترامب

يدعي هذا البحث أن العرض السلبي للآخر في خطاب ترامب الشعبوي تمادى في تشويه صورة المسلمين مما أثر سلبيًا على المسلمين في الولايات المتحدة. يتضمن خطاب ترامب تحفيزًا على أعمال العنف حيث أدى فوزه النهائي إلى زيادة جرائم الكراهية ضد المسلمين. غالبًا ما يتجاهل الشعبويون اليمينيون الديمقراطية ويركزون على الهوية العرقية ، يسلط البحث الضوء على حالة الديمقراطية في عهد ترامب. يقوم بتحليل الدلالات المنافية للديمقراطية في الخطاب الشعبوي لترامب ، قراراته الجريئة ، اللااعتيادية و اللامبالية للحدود والضوابط القانونية المتعارف عليها. يتضمن البحث تحليل نوعي للمحتوى يهدف إلى تقييم الأثر السلبي للخطاب على جرائم الكره ضد المسلمين بما يحتويه من مستوى لاديمقراطي الذي له الأثر على تهديد استقرار البلاد. يعتمد البحث على نهج تحليلي نقدي للشعبوية في سياسة ترامب التي استهدفت التنوع العرقي في الوطن و انتهجت سياسة التفريق. هذه السياسة عمقت الفجوة بين الناس بتمجيدها للبيض كمجموعة نقية بغرض هيمنتهم من منظور استحقاقى بينما يعكس رد الفعل الشعبوي للأمريكيين استياءهم من التغيرات الاقتصادية والسياسة و الثقافية. تازم حالة المجتمع و الاستقطاب السياسي نابع من مستنقع كراهية مصدره وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي والممثلين الشعبويين و تشبثهم بالحرب على الديمقراطية الليبرالية. كانت حملة ترامب الشعبوية صفارة الإنذار لظهور المعالم الاستبدادية في الولايات المتحدة الديمقراطية ، يعتبر صعود ترامب كارثيًا ولا يتجاوب مع مبادئ الحرية والمساواة والحرية في الأمة

## Résumé :

L'Islam a été diabolisé par les politiciens de droite dans la plupart des pays occidentaux. Cette banalisation mondiale de la haine et des critiques envers l'islam en a fait la proie facile de la rhétorique populiste de droite. Aux États-Unis, l'islamophobie a facilité le succès de la campagne populiste Trump de 2016, il a bénéficié d'un grand attrait et il a davantage persuadé et mobilisé le public et ses partisans. Cette recherche affirme que l'autre présentation négative des musulmans dans la rhétorique populiste de Trump est allée trop loin dans la diffamation de l'image des musulmans, ce qui a eu un impact négatif sur la communauté musulmane aux États-Unis. La rhétorique de Trump implique un encouragement aux actes de violence dans lesquels sa victoire finale a entraîné une augmentation des crimes de haine contre les musulmans. En outre, les acteurs populistes de droite ignorent généralement la démocratie et se concentrent sur la politique identitaire. La recherche met en lumière le statut de la démocratie à l'ère Trump. Il analyse les traits non démocratiques de la rhétorique populiste de Trump, ses décisions audacieuses atypiques qui semblent illimitées et ne respectent aucune norme ou loi. Une analyse qualitative du contenu vise à évaluer l'effet négatif de la rhétorique sur les crimes antimusulmans et son niveau antidémocratique qui a affecté et menacé la stabilité du pays. Une analyse critique utilisée à l'approche populiste pour analyser la politique atypique de division de Trump qui se souciait de ne pas unir le peuple au lieu de cela, elle a creusé le fossé entre les gens afin qu'un groupe purement blanc domine. Une réponse populiste des Américains reflète leur mécontentement face à l'économie, à la politique et au changement culturel. La polarisation politique prédominait et un état critique de la société découlait d'un marais de haine provenant des médias sociaux et d'acteurs populistes qui continuent de lutter contre la démocratie libérale. C'était la prémonition de l'apparition de traits autoritaires au sein des États-Unis démocratiques, la montée de Trump a été catastrophique pour l'État libéral du pays.

## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

**BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation

**CNN:** Cable News Network

**GOP:** Grand Old Party

**LGBT:** Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender

**MAGA:** Make America Great Again

**NBC:** National Broadcasting Company

**POTUS:** President of the United States

**RWP:** Right Wing Populism

**SPLC:** Southern Poverty Law Center

**USA:** United States of America

**US:** United States



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## **General Introduction:**

In December 2015, the presidential nominee Donald J Trump called for illegalizing the entry of Muslims to the USA and more vigilance to secure the borders from Muslims and refugees as terrorism bringers. The critical events in this particular year, paradoxical populist campaigns and political tensions were the harbinger to a turning point within the American politics and society. The extent of using divisive rhetoric in a multiculturalism nation will certainly affect the track of the campaign and the society as well. Leaders in their campaigns usually introduce themselves as working on achieving democratic demands to the whole people of the country; however, this is not the case with all populist leaders.

Depending on the general will of the people, the populist leaders may proudly offer an authoritarian campaign which is abusive to minorities and contradicts the democratic and liberal establishments of the country in that a moralistic distinctive people can antagonise a demonised threatening people. The presidential election of 2016 in USA is widely considered as an unprecedented moment in the American politics and yet it is considered an inevitable consequence regarding the ways that the US politics has gone through. In 2016, both the Senator Bernie Sanders and the celebrity Donald Trump endorsed populism in their campaigns to validate the new resurgence of populism with the grassroots in the Tea Part and Occupy Wall Street movements.

A historical retrospective view shows that the worth of rhetoric in politics was appreciated since the days of the ancient Greeks but today's societies are more complex and the presence of media has contended its signification in political campaign during the 20th C. By the time, media has further drawn a particular position during the age of social media with the participation of the masses in politics. It has upended the customary procedures of election in the last three USA presidential campaigns.

Historically, populism in USA has both defended and offended democracy. Since it is a must in politics, the level and the degree of populism will determine its lead in politics. The general consensus about the flexibility of populism authorises different kinds of populisms in which the US across time has witnessed a progressive era, segregation era, conservatism populism, anti-black populism...etc. Trump's populist campaign is widely described as conspiratorial, undemocratic, divisive to society and irrespective to minorities, so the echoic side of the campaign did not only affect politics but also it influenced his supporters and stemmed in the rise of violence towards minorities.

Assuming any relation between rhetoric and crimes make the system undemocratic which contradicts with the constitutional ideals of the US democracy. Democracy in USA is the sacred struggle of the nation, through history the very first newcomers who had brought with them democratic ideals and the revolutionary rebels struggle for liberty have inspired philosophers like Thomas Paine as well as the founding fathers of the constitution to particularise the American democracy. It was the fruit of the successive generations, who with ardency, hope and consistency rebelled against Britain, denounced Salem witch trials and Andrew Jackson, emancipated the black, revolted against Jim Crow's laws and walked in a long historical line of protestations against discrimination, inequality, prejudices and hate. Yet, when it comes to Islam and Muslims, statistics says they are the less favourable minority in USA. Islamophobia in USA takes a hysteric way that led scholars to call it a Witch-hunt.

Accordingly, the religious freedom in USA is underdog and oppression in the form of harassments, crimes and discrimination is mounting under the name of freedom of speech. The literature review of anti-Muslims hate crimes dates back to 09/11. However, the malignity towards Islam dates back to the everlasting West/East divides and Orientalist roots of the inferior Other and the superior West, This superiority is part of a white supremacy within the Christian beliefs, Islam negative image before 09/11 was also contoured in the

minds of Americans through the media industries in the 20th C and political events. On the other hand, the literature review of populism has a long legacy of oppressing minorities. For that, even if USA has long defended democracy, the anchored nativism, xenophobia and nationalism persistence in the American society have always allowed the seep of rightwing populism within the American politics derogating by that the American democracy.

Under this intensive politicization to Islam and Trump controversial policy, scholars raised concerns about its implications on the domestic stability of USA. “The Islamophobic Administration”, a report that highlights the impact of Trump policies on American Muslims including the hate crimes while the Southern Poverty Law Center addressed and compiled the anti-Muslims crimes after Trump. In 2017, it was the first time for the “Journal of Democracy” to ever devote such set of articles to the situation of democracy in USA. While Jorg Mathess in his article “Voting against Islamization” elaborated the influence of right wing on both the attitude toward Muslims and the votes preferences. Democracy emphasized exploring right wing populism by scholars like Cas Mudde, Anton Pelinka and Margaret Canovan. Ernesto Laclau conception of populism explains the abandoned society of 2016 elections in which Kim Mensing relied on Lauclau’s logic of affect to connect Trump with his supporters and the Tea Party. The “not typical” and “contradictive” Trump voter of the interviews in multiple research studies inspired a causal connection between the appealing of Trump and hate crimes in order to elaborate the role of anti-Muslims rhetoric in the American politics and society.

This research focuses on the incendiary side of Anti-Muslims Trump rhetoric and the causal relation between his rhetoric and hate crimes against them as minority. The focus was on his anti-Muslim promises and agendas that might gain him appeals and boosted his populist policy. Furthermore, a meticulous scrutiny to the role of media on both the social and political sides and the way it intertwined to spread and normalize the hate is required for its

credibility and efficiency in populism. Historically, the American populists used minorities to gain appeals, soften the crude or to distract the masses but Trump skilful media training level sculptured an exceptional populism in the American history.

This research focuses on the link between Trump negative populist rhetoric and hate crimes against Muslims after his campaign and how his populist policy is incompatible with the democratic values of the country. The objective of this study is to examine the kind of populism Trump has propagated and to evaluate its implications on hate crimes, politics and democracy. The significance of the study lies in that the burgeoning rightwing populism ideology embodies a real threat to liberal democracy and that the prediction of the triumph of the liberal democracy over authoritarianism in the book of the *End of History* not only false but also far more challenging to democracy with the new digital age. This research has investigated two main questions which are:

1- How has Trump Populist campaign affected the anti Muslims crimes? This entailed the following sub-questions: What is populism? What are the causes of the new resurgence of populism? What are the populist traits in Donald Trump campaign? And why Trump was appealing to Americans?

2- Does Trump populist policy undermine the democratic constitutional principles, the social security and individual freedoms?

We claim that Trump incumbent presidential campaign has steered a rise in anti-Muslims hate crimes and that the political spectrum of populism in 2016's presidency was retreatful to democracy.

The first research question is approached by using a critical analysis to the new surge of populism relying on the definition of common themes in populism and an investigation to its resurgence in USA. A right-wing populist policy of Trump was used to analyse the

exclusionary identification of the evil “other” who represents a threat as evidence to peddle hate amongst citizens. This question also requests investigating the appeal to negative rhetoric against Muslims via evaluating the timely diversity issues, white supremacy legacy and the political events including the rise of the conservative Tea Party and the alt-right white supremacist movements. Relying on the investigations above, a qualitative content analysis is conducted using hate crimes statistics and elections results of 18 cities that include Democratic, Republican and battleground states as a sample to prove a rise in the crimes was inspired by Trump after his divisive campaign.

The second question is approached via a critical analysis to right-wing populism role in society and politics which uses an inspection to the historical influence of right populism on democracy, society and politics. This inspection helps analysing the themes of populism which are juxtaposing to liberal democracy and steering authoritarian fascist traits to explore and to evaluate the negative presentation to minorities. The traits of the authoritarianism populism are analysed to evaluate the anti-Muslims sentiments as a mutual underpinning between Trump and his voters so that we can justify any rise in the hate crimes.

The research is divided into three chapters: the first chapter contains definitions to populism and the historical backgrounds of the American populisms. The ethnic definition of the term people and their “general will” in Trump rightwing populism allowed designating Muslims as a dangerous threat that will harm the nation security. This harmonises with the ultra-conservative Tea Party ideas of increasing border security, threatening world filled with others and an allegedly forgotten conservative American where Trump is the saviour of the forgotten will of whites. The authoritarian traits in his populism pave the way to the study of authoritarian supporters who believe in conspiracy theories and blend nationalism, xenophobia and white supremacy to create a dangerous other.



The second chapter comprises data about different statistics about Muslims image, anti-Muslims and Islam hate groups in social media and the anti-Muslims Trump campaign and tweets in order to examine the apprehension of the audience and investigating any claimed support to this rhetoric by Americans. At the same time, it investigates the seeds of hate in society where the demographic changes brought fears of white decline prompted preserving white supremacy loaded by a cumulative anger and hate. The white supremacy has undergone a growing upsurge propelled by media and political dissatisfactions that dates back to Barack Obama election. The chapter discerns a unified body of hate mongering ascended with the help of social media where politics and society intermingle. It also provides backgrounds about hate crimes, the history of Muslims and Muslims victimisation in USA.

The last chapter comprises a critical approach to rightwing populism, analyses the neo-conservative supporters of Trump who appealed his campaign and leaked his endorsement, for that the shallow simplistic solutions is tempting and harmonious with their anti-intellectualism, xenophobic and nationalist beliefs and their favourability to constant solutions all of which represent a good reason to vote for Trump. Searching the causes of incumbent surge of populism induces an anthropological investigation to his supporters as well as analysing the confluence of the cultural, social and political changes where globalisation imposed a demographic shift in the traditional party line affiliation cogent to Democratic failed policy. In reference to the divisive populist policy and the appealing that Trump gained from the white supremacist a rise in crimes was validated to deduce from all the afore stated findings that Trump policy was unconstitutional and detrimental to democratic institutions via undermining to the judiciary branch, free media and any opposition through an authoritarian populism.

## Chapter One: Populism and the Rise of Trump

### 1.1 The History of Populism in USA:

#### Introduction:

The history of populism in USA shows that each new surge of populism is preceded by discontents and upheavals in the social, economic and political scenes that lead to the mobilisation of the growing masses. In June 2016, during a press conference Barack Obama talked about the definition of populism, he said that his purpose of running for presidency was because he cares about the people, cares about the poor and want them to have a voice, mums, kids' future...etc. He then questioned if that makes him a populist. He talked about the new surges of populism and referred to some of the politicians policy by denying considering them as populists while they “never show any regard of workers, never fought on behalf of social justice....., in fact have worked against”, he rather sees them as xenophobic and nativist or worst (Obama).

This was an opinion that many political scientists do not share with, Political scientists identify Donald Trump as a populist and they usually link populism with nativism and xenophobia. Obama said “not to consider anyone as populist because he said something in order to win votes” whereas many political scientists like Darren Lilkeller, exaggerate the role of the communication and the power of rhetoric in the study of populism. They do not identify Barack Obama as populist despite he is a great communicator; on the other hand, they agree on the power of the simple average mind rhetoric as a reason that made Trump a populist. Populism is not a consensual term even amongst the political scientists themselves and this chapter is an attempt to explore the broad and controversial scope of populism from its history in USA to the reason behind the new rise of it in the Western countries and more specifically in USA taking into consideration its problematic with immigration and minorities and how it

demonize them in the political discourse. It provides the reinvigorated features of rightwing in USA history that see the new resurgence as no anomaly rather USA is a fungus to a fed rightist ideology.

### **1.1.1 The Concept of Populism in the Field of Political Science:**

The word populism came from the Latin word *populus* “people”, it was first introduced during political protests which were arose by farmers and workers in USA against the Capitalist’s control over their businesses in the light of a modernizing economy, which eventually led to the emergence of the People ‘s Party in the late of the 19th C (“Origin and Evolution of the Term ‘Populist’”). This party was soonly disappeared but the term resisted and inspired many scholars to refine and reshape its meaning in a way that fits the different political and ideological connotations of the term.

Populism has become an increasingly popular way employed by politicians and political parties of the current time in different parts of the world like Western Europe, South America and USA; hence this wide exploration of it in politics makes its definition unconventional. Before digging deeper in the features of populism, it is important to mention some of the academic dictionaries’ definitions of the word. The Cambridge dictionary defines populism as “political ideas and activities that are intended to get the support of ordinary people by giving them what they want” (“populism”). In addition to the Oxford dictionary which goes on to define the term as the following: “A political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups” (“populism”).

Also according to Merriam- Webster dictionary, the word populism has two definitions, the first definition is: “a member of political party claiming to represent the common people especially, often capitalized: a member of US. Political party formed in 1891 primarily to represent agrarian interest and to advocate the free coinage of silver and government control

of monopolies”, the second definition is: “a believer in the rights, wisdom or virtues of the common people” (“populism”).

Through these definitions one may see the multifaceted nature of the term in the political scope. These variations sprung from the different views of the scholars, it is seen as an ideology, mode of persuasion, social movement, tactic, political strategy.....etc. Also its dependency to other concepts and the core concepts of populism itself lead it to appear in different shapes, “populism must be understood as a kind of mental map through which individuals analyse and comprehend political reality”(Mudde and Rovira 6).

According to Darren Lilleker a theoretical definition to populism is demanding to that of which popular or based on the opinion of the majority. However, its general use indicates appeals to nationalist or base opinion, opinion without social awareness. The very beginning exploration of the term is linked to the rise of fascism in 1930’s in Germany, Italy and the U.K. Populism is mainly associated to right wing, nationalist ideals. Recently, critical issues are debated in relation to populism like the focus on the public opinion when setting political priorities. The discourse of populism is propagandist and rhetorical, it manifests from emotionalisation and authenticity (Lilleker169).

Populism has been defined based on political, economic, social and discursive features. Due to the widespread surge of the phenomenon, the term became prevalent in recent political research studies, social scientists offered many approaches to populism amongst them three main ones which are: an ideational approach, a political strategy approach and a socio-cultural approach which orderly indicate : the people’s will against the corrupt elite, leaders mobilize the masses against the corrupt elite and a socio-cultural style in which a populist performs the people in a loud and vulgar way(Schoor187). Each of these three approaches is largely used to cope the chameleonic nature of the surge in the field of political science.

Researches on populism varies according to the country and according to the region, its relation to democracy attracted scholars to make comparative studies between different countries as well as “the transnational dimensions of the phenomenon and the ways in which populist rhetorical framework has been diffused and adapted across countries”(Bonikowski and Gidron 4).

A second point that is explored in researches is the historical timeline in which scholars distinguish three main surges of populism starting with the farmers’ s movements in Russia and the U.S.A in the late of the 19th C, followed by the emergence of the Latin American populism in the mid of the 20th C and lastly the new emergence of populism in Europe, U.S.A and Latin America, other works aims to elaborate the considerable variations in the form and the degree of populist politics within the same country or region overtime (Gidron and Bonikowski 4).

Other studies to consider in populism include the ideological divisions of it. In Europe a growing exclusionary right wing variant of populism have been seen since 1980 which mainly targets immigrants and minorities, contrarily to populism in Latin America that has been in recent years mostly linked to an inclusionary vision of society that converge diverse ethnic identities to a collective political system. In the USA, it has been linked to a mixture of economic ideologies and political parties that was seen in the Populist Party of the late 19th C, the New Left of the 1960’s, the Southern segregation and the current Republican orthodoxy of free market economics. (Gidron and Bonikowski 5).

There are many politicians who share the label “populist” but it is quite a hard task to detect any other characteristics they share in common besides this label and this certainly proves the complex diverse features of populism, Martin Eiermann expressed this as “not all populisms are created equal”(Eirmann5).

Also since it is based on us versus them, some studies require indulging elitism and pluralism in the study of populism. Most scholars agreed that populism could be pathology or a panacea (Gidron and Bonikowski 5) .

### **1.1.2 Conceptual Definitions in Mudde's Ideational Approach:**

The ideational approach with a growing consensus has the most important conception of populism, Cas Mudde's defines populism in his book *The Populist Zeitgeist* as: "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people." (Mudde and Kaltwasser 8).

Deconstructing the major theoretical themes of Mudde's definition requires giving the conceptual and historical meaning of each theme according to American politics so that the type of democracy that the people strives for which will ultimately defines the type of populism. Mudde argues that both the elite and the people share the same interests and values but the people claim that they "alone represent the whole people" and that the corrupt elite represent special interests (Mudde qtd in *Populism in the Twentieth-First*). The four major themes in Mudde definition are: the people, the elite, general will and morality.

Starting with the concept of the people, the homogeneity in Mudde's definition is contingent to the definition of the people which has two distinctive definitions in the historical populist movements in USA. According to Ruth Wodak populist movements often define the demos as a racially pure entity that builds "the true nation". This homogenous view of the demos does not include the diversity of modern societies and often, especially in right-wing populist ideologies, the diversity is denied and minority may represent the dangerous others (29). Another definition to the people includes the class regardless of the ethnicity (Alessandri et al.76).

According to Mudde beside these civic and ethnic classifications of the term (people), it exists two other political notions to “the people” in populism based the scholars’ views to it. The first is “The people as sovereign” who imposes himself as the original source of power upon which the ruler should submit to and take into consideration. Whereas the second is “the common people” represents the large neglected group for their socio-economic and socio-cultural status. It represents those who the elites strive to appeal by addressing their interests and ideas, the most frequent experiences of populists are spotted in this notion. It has both integrative and divisive meaning which the populist uses either to mobilise a discontent silent majority or for the aim to mobilise the people against a defined enemy e.g: Trump attempted to mobilise people against Muslims and Mexicans.

Secondly, the concept of elites juxtaposed to the people due to the corrupt policies where they betrayed the people such as: supporting a despised minority which is excluded from the pure people. According to Canovan in the populism context, the elites are those in power against which the people rebel. The animosity to elite does not include only the political and economic establishments rather it encompasses the social movements (3).

Thirdly, the “general will, Mudde is inspired by Jean Jack Rousseau notion of “volonté générale” who distinguished it from “volonté de tous” and explained their differences in that the former indicates the potential of the people to join and unite to enforce a shared interest while the latter is a mere sum of certain interests in a particular moment in time (Mudde and Kalwasser16). The skills of leaders and their identification with the people via sharing their interests and worries enable them to drive this general will. Hence, for Mudde, democracy equal complying the general will of the people.

Finally, morality is what detaches the pure people from the corrupt elite who betray, have self interests and conspire with others against the pure people. Hence, depending on all

of the above the morality differs according to the definition of the “pure people”, so the finger-point sometimes is directed to elite other to immigrants or unwanted class of society based on bias against them due to the politization of certain social issues for the sake of votes within populism.

In addition, a broader exploration to the terms “elite’ and “people” is found in elitism and pluralism, according to Carola Schoor elitism considers the people “as incapable of governing themselves for various, context-dependent reasons: they are deemed to be insufficiently educated, morally weak, or too emotional”, hence, this entitles the elites to be more eligible for decision making (187). Also, in pluralism, the people and the elite establish a more likely conventional recruitment to power where the elite are a group or a leader who are supported temporally to govern according to the will of the people. Pluralism defines the people as “a heterogeneous assemblage of individuals and groups of people”. While, the elite groups are viewed as “just another group of people with their own interests”, accordingly, the people include the elite in pluralism (Schoor187). Rather in pluralism a conventional democracy is established.

### **1.1.3 Populism and Democracy in USA:**

Populism across the political history of USA has played a role but we cannot say populism is bad or good, rather as ideology it has always been juxtaposed to liberal democracy so the use of it as an ideology will result in it to be either a threat or a panacea to democracy and that is why it is seen as a non coherent ideology. Populism has opponents and proponents about its role on democracy; it is either a way of democtazition or a way of authoritarianism (Mudde and Kaltwasser79).

Democracy in Western societies in general and in USA specifically is challenged by a growing diverse society where populism may have different kinds of democracies depending



on the place of populism on the political spectrum whether on the right, left or middle, there are also radical populisms where the further right is linked with illiberal democracy like the populism of Jean Marie Le Pen and further left is linked to social democracy.

Although the etymological history of the term populism which was sprung of the Populist Party in USA has sought to achieve social democracy and to consider the people as the sovereign, today's new surges of populism is challenging to democracy because the democratic systems in today's developed countries largely promote liberal democracies which encompass the multiculturalism and diversities in societies and guarantee the rights of minorities.

By contrast, this has consequently resulted in growing frustrations and worries which are witnessed among the majority groups and scholars have always seen these frustrations as alarming signs to a new phase of politics. In that sense, the purpose of populism could be matched to a threat of a primitive democracy linked to an authoritarian majority rule.

At a democratic level where many ideologies exist it appears the vagueness of populism in politics due to its association other terms such as: xenophobia, nationalism, demagoguery, because, it can appear with quite different and paradoxical ideologies like socialism, nationalism, liberalism...etc. Mudde describes populism as "confusion" and "incoherent". These overlapped ideologies become prevalent in Western societies so they frequently mentioned in the current political debates.

Hence, populism is an unavoidably manipulated term especially when it comes to its relation with democracy. In that sense, the general will in populism can raise an opportunistic policy from this overlap in democracy because "democracies have come in many shapes and sizes as reflected by the different answers to questions of how, when, and to which people power is given" (what is democracy).

Furthermore, the USA has a revolutionary history that supported democracy and the founding fathers made a codified constitution to guarantee the liberty, equality and freedom of the individuals and it continued to be valid and relevant through amendments, federal court's laws and the separation of power. According to Abraham Lincoln definition to democracy which is "government of the people for the people and by the people", however, Pelinka defines populism as "protest against the checks and balances introduced to prevent the people's direct rule". Pelinka sees these limitations in the American representative democracy or the electoral college are the barrier for the true power of the people(3-5). While, on the other hand, there is a general consensus about the prominent influence of a Madisonian democracy on the American constitution that sets an enlightened elite to avoid the people incompetency (Pelika4). Hence, this will limit the people power over each other where different groups may unite for the purpose to suppress other groups, thus this indirect democracy was established for the purpose of hampering demagoguery and the rule of tyranny.

#### **1.1.4 The Historical Features of the American Populism:**

Tracing the roots of Populism in the American history shows us that the fathers of the constitution really trusted the people and created a system that restricts the elite's power over the people. The US president Abraham Lincoln established "a government of the people, by the people and for the people" (Eirmann29). However, they have also created the Electoral College which paradoxically decides over the people choice in order not to vote for a demagogue or it was meant to prevent the people of making the wrong choice. Mudde and Rovira claim that populism exists in the American political mainstream since the days of Thomas Paine and it has always been part of the American culture (Postel).

In the mid 19th century a range of populist political parties emerged: The Know-nothing Party aimed to exercise a white supremacy power over minority in politics, to be followed by

The Greenback Party sought to address the farmers and workers' problems, the roots of populist party went back to the farmers sufferance of low prices of crops so they sought inflation of money and raised demands for silver coinage instead of gold coinage.

Also urban movements like the Knights of Labours were on the rise, these movements were critical to the new economic system (capitalism), where billionaires and corporations prospered and workers suffered and enslaved amid the corrupted Gilded Age when monopolies made industrialists like John D Rockefellers and Andrew Carnegie filthy rich. Mary Elizabeth Lease expressed the situation as "Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master" (Wall Street Own the Country).

Gradually, When those frustrated people (The National Agricultural wheel, The Southern Farmers Alliance, Knight of Labours, Grangers) finally succeeded to unite their efforts, the official emergence of the People's Party took place in 1891 and it was the official creation of populism in the world. The party called for regulations like lower railroads rates; more taxes for corporations and rich people, eight hours work day, women suffrage, and direct elections of senators....etc. This party was a left wing party that sought for social democracy. It paved the way to a Progressive Era that validated the goals of the party by the passing of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> amendments.

The party participated in 1892's election with James B Weaver as a third party competitor where he gained 22 electoral votes, he was successful especially in rural areas (history.com). William Jennings Brian a Democrat embraced the party main proposals was nominated to 1896 presidency after his loss the Populist Party case weakened (Alessandri et al77). The Populist Party was successful and competed with the mainstream parties of the

time but the federal system in US favours the two parties system and this hastened the disappearance of it.

After the coalition of the People's Party with the Democrats Party, the Democrats took the initiatives to address the issues of the peoples, starting with William Jennings Brian an eloquent talent who succeeded to communicate with the people mostly famous with his gold standard speech, followed by Huey Long populism, their populism continued the hostile attitudes towards corporate power and wealthy elites, their policy had certainly addressed the general will of the people but it did not however involve other minor groups like African Americans, immigrants....etc (A Timeline )

In 1940's strains of right wing started with Father Coughlin made a beneficial use of media and drew its role in politics in addition to Long's policy, Michal Kazin see this period as "an oxymoron of conservatism populism". Both Coughlin and Long were devout followers to Theodor Roosevelt Progressive party for the hope he could change the economic structures of the nation soon they were convinced of his inadequacy for their case (Winberg5)

The significant adoption of populism by the Republican Party started in the mid 20thC, George Wallace; it merged the anti-communism with southern racism in ways such that "fear and hatred could be mobilized without mentioning race itself."(Winberg 5), and his stance about the black segregation deepened the issue of populism in relation to democracy and racism. His campaign has included women and industrial workers but continue to exclude immigrants, liberal reformers.....etc. The conservatism populism of the 1990's continued to offer populist actors with the help of the media (Winberg 5).

The significant resurgence to populism in USA in the 21 st C occurred after 2008 economic recession, Cas Mudde argues the popular premise that the populist movement is a direct consequence to the great recession of 2008 which gives it an impression of a temporal

or crisis related phenomenon is false. Mudde sees that the resurgence of populism in USA was related to several structural changes (n.p). Also Rafael Cohen Almagor noted that “the global financial crisis since 2008 certainly supported the emergence of populist and fascist right-wing parties” (qtd in 1). The USA was affected by the great recession not as economically as it was culturally, its period was short but its effects on the Americans changed their perspectives to their country and resulted in the emergence of the Tea Party and the Occupy Wall Street movements which have a direct role in 2016 populist campaigns, mostly represented in Bernie Sanders left wing populism and Donald Trump rightwing populism. These two movements discussions deviated from governments issues like taxes, government spending to focus on Islamophobia, immigration....etc (Mudde).

Populism became a successful approach in USA due to the poor addressing of the important issues by elites who are usually seen as being all the same Kazin in his book “*The Populist Persuasion*” noted that Populists “view their elites opponents as self serving and undemocratic” (qtd in Coughlin 34 ), the effective involvement of people in politics or the so called “cognitive mobilization”, popular actors attractiveness like Donald Trump, Ronald Reagan, William Jennings Brian....etc. Media coverage is crucial; Scott noted that “we are living in a “post-truth age”. Aided by Information Communication Technologies (ICT) an alternative reality is being constructed. This is re-shaping the political landscape and feeding a negative illiberal rightwing populism.”(Scott 15).

Other views on the USA populism are those of Martin Eierman who views the US leadership was bounded by either a Clinton or a Bush since 1989 with the exception of the two concessive terms of Obama, arguing on how the power of persisting features of elitism has pushed this new resurgence to populism. In his article “How Donald Trump fits Into the History of American Populism”, he argues a historical investigation to the persisting elitism features in USA in order to explain the win of Trump. According to Eirman, Historians like

Lawrence Goodwin has seen this dynastic tendency in USA politics as a normal thing which spans in the US history, he showed that “American politics has long been dominated by elite who successfully insulated itself against the whims and tides of public opinions”, which proves the modest political participation of the people in the early days of US government (Eirmann 29).

The first presidential election of 1789, 7 of the 13 colonies was satisfied by appointing delegates to the Electoral College. Also, the early political parties were not aimed to represent the people rather it served a lobbying groups, the turnout rates in US politics reach its peak in the 19th and 20thC around 55 percent for presidential election and around 40 percent for midterm elections. Despite the regulations in the franchise has changed the apparent procedures of democracy, it has nonetheless weakened the influence of elites and their power. The poor representation of the people by the elites was not unique to USA; many scholars see this as a natural inevitable thing. Walt Whitman derided this as “a never ending audacity of elected persons” (Eirmann30).

The debate over democracy was continuously consistent through the US history, its dependence to elites enable them a wide manipulative ways. In 1911 Robert Mitchell posited what later became known as “the iron law of oligarchy” theorising that the increasing power of the mass organization will eventually deviate to serve the elites interests instead of the general will, no matter how democratic it was at the beginning it will end up by bureaucracy and monopolies asserting the inevitability of elites in democracy and its dark side.

The American Walter Lippmann provided “the tragedy of democracy” backing up and showing appeals to the Austrian Josef Schumpeter where they both agree on the necessity and inevitability of elites, their visions emphasized a more pessimist opinion about the ability of the masses in politics (Eirmann31).

Schumpeter argues that once a typical citizen practices politics; his mental performance drop down to infantile, he (as an Austrian witness of the anti-Semitism surge in Germany and Austria in the 1920's and 1930's) insists on the presence of elites in politics in order to avoid the masses unintelligence and irresponsibility, for him, the necessity of elites is more important than its inevitability. Lippmann strongly agrees with this idea, he neglects the public opinion in favour of a "trained professional elite" due to its emotional inclinations and stereotypes (Eirmann31).

Hence, it is better to separate between the mass politics and the governance so any pretence of popular participation or what is now called the general will of the people would lead to the tragedy of democracy.

In 1950, American progressives like John Dewey and C. Wright Mills turned the tide of elite perspectives, for them democracy necessitate ethics and elites are corrupt. They shed light on democracy as ethical entity that elites are unable to keep, through this distrust of elite Eirmann noted "Populism gathers steam when discontent becomes the spark of political mobilization, when individual grievances are revealed as shared frustrations, and when the dispersed energies of the street are cajoled and channeled into collective action" (32)

## **1.2 Rightwing Populism and the Rise of Trump:**

### **1.2.1 The Trump Phenomenon between Business and Politics:**

Before gaining a name in US politics, Trump's popularity was already beyond the country borders, if it was not for his dominance in the USA business then it is for his famousness in media and TV. Donald Trump, as the son of the real estate businessman Fred Trump, inherited the craft of his father and grandfather who was a German immigrant builder not in a regular way but rather following passions and inspirational interests in the realm of estate

business that he had held for an early age. His passions drove him to study economics in the university of Pennsylvania, there, he declared after a question from a lecturer that he is going to be “the king of New York City when it comes to the real estate business”, he graduated in 1968(Whistler). He started working during his college summers years in his father’s company to continue working in it after graduation.

After that, he gradually expanded his father’s business and moved it from Brooklyn and Queen to Manhattan. He became the president of the company in 1971 and his first act was to rename it as “The Trump Organisation”, he matched his name in a short period with the most luxurious of addresses in Manhattan. Many biographies say that he was obsessed with branding his name, the Trump logo is written in gold on building, steaks and almost on all manners of products, he chose to focus on licensing and branding his name for many reasons amongst them to the enter in the cultural memory(Hock et al.79). He first attracted the media in 1973, by rising suspicions about his way of doing business when some tenants sued him for facing racial discriminations that they saw as being against the Fair Housing Act and this was eventually settled outside the court. His first self-made success was after the reincarnation of the vintage Commodore Hotel into the Grand Hyatt Empire where he won an award for the successful and creative recycling. Consequently, this success along with his father’s reputation allowed him to become a prominent player in the New York commercial real estate market.

By 1980, Trump was able to develop the business of his father from “empire of middle class apartment houses” to the large scale commercial real estate in Manhattan. Leading the New York Times to refer to the company as “an unquestionably a Donald Trump extravaganza” (Hock et al. 41). Soon his business expanded to include many successful projects such as: the Trump Tower, Trump Castle, Trump Taj Mahal, the Atlantic City Casinos... etc.



Facing bankruptcies by the early 1990 's, Trump never gave up investing in the real estate business, he bought lands in Western Manhattan, Plaza Hotel, investments in Florida....etc.

Meanwhile, his heavy business, neither distract his political ambitions nor his eagerness to fame. Despite all the controversies on Trump persona, professionalism and success whether in business or politics, it is almost undeniable his mastery of the world of media. The media played and still playing a crucial role in his career whether in business or politics, it facilitates and boosts his goals and ambitions; it was never a random choice that seeks for a mere fame.

Before starting a media career Trump cared to how he is broadcasted, he even disguised media with a fake profile "John Baron" to promote his business success (Kellner 5). In 2003, Trump became the executive producer and the star of the reality television "The Apprentice" and later "The Celebrity Apprentice" which lasted for fourteen seasons and it is recognised as the wide gate to his large popularity in USA and abroad, it guaranteed him a place in Hollywood celebrity and later served him well during his presidential campaign.

Beside his TV business like acting, talk shows, Miss Universe... etc, Trump also has written more than fourteen book, his first book; "The Art of The Deal" which was among the New York Times Best Seller List (Trump). This book was co-authored with Tony Schwartz who later said that he has done most of the writing, and that Trump's only remark when he saw the first print of the book was to make his name bigger. Trump is described as a "media creator", "media spectacle", he understands that the media is completely "self-obsessed" so he managed to attract the mainstream media especially by the heavy use of twitter where the reactions of millions of followers will eventually lead the mainstream media like CNN to respond and write about him (Kellner 4, Mudde).

Trump political affiliation was known by their instability, he initially was a Democrat up until 1987 when he registered as a Republican, and it was in this year when he expressed his

political views by writing three major papers which mainly poured that USA should look after its own people. In 1999, he ran for presidency as a Reform Party candidate but he eventually withdrew and from that period on, he devoted his time to express his political comments to the large audience in USA, in 2001, he became a Democrat to return as a Republican in 2009.

Trump's media training shortcutted his political journey if it ever could have a designation because in spite of his early endeavours, he was always seen as an intruder until he won the Republican nomination, the early attractions raised towards him in politics was in the Rebirth Movement that questioned Barack Obama birthplace in 2010. He seriously intended to run for 2012 presidential candidacy but later decided that it was not the right timing.

In June 16th 2015, he announced from the famous Trump Tower his candidacy in a dramatic way that captured the media attention, for Republican nomination presidency, Trump was always regarded as an intruder until he was the official nominee and he is both populist and nationalist, his money, fame and unconventional policies instigated many research concerning the ways of American politics. Despite his past calls for regulating for laws concerning the Electoral College as undemocratic, he won thanks to the Electoral College by 304 votes against 227 votes for Hillary Clinton (CNN).

Donald Trump pushed psychologists, psychiatrists, mental health professionals and critics to write about him exploring his personality, mental fitness, policies.... etc. Choziak described his presidency as "a serious case study" (Hock et al ).Trump controversial and unique personality was early detected years before his unconventional campaign, as a consequence, inspired many novelists and artists to embody his character in fiction like literature, films... etc, his unique behaviour and attitude raised their curiosity to study his psychological side, an

example of these works the book “*The Dangerous Case of Donald Trump*” which include the assessment of 27 psychiatrists and mental health to the president Donald Trump.

Since 2016, mainly after his atypical political campaign and his ultimate winning many scholars raised worries and wrote books predicting the consequences of his policies and how dangerous are they to the country, while others wrote books that support him or as a reaction to his critics, many of them was amongst the best sellers. Recently, his niece wrote “*Too Much and Never Enough: How My Family Created the World’s Most Dangerous Man*” a biography book that its date of publication moved earlier after reaching number one in the presale books and also because of efforts aim for blocking its publication (Haberman).

Some fictional books has predicted his presidency like “*The Dead Zone*” written by Steven King and was directed as a horror film in 1979 with the same novel’s name, where he created the fictional character Greg Stillson who after thirty seven years his duplicate appeared in reality to repeat the incidents in the fiction book; his rhetoric and discourses as well as his supporters conformed with those of Trump and his supporters. Steven King said “I was sort of convinced that it was possible that a politician would arise, who was so outside to the mainstream and so willing to say anything, that he would capture the imaginations of the American people” and that “American voters have always had a real attraction to outsiders”(Now This News). The plot events matches with those of Trump’s 2016 campaign, and Greg Stillson in addition to his identical rhetoric with Trump, also was a real estate businessman and a political demagogue, in the plot Greg Stillson also got assassination attempt in a campaign rally just like what happened to Trump during his campaign in Las Vegas. This precognition was so impressing that one might think of it as an art imitation.

Moreover, “The Simpsons” famous show which is known by foreseeing the future, also predicted Trump’s presidency before sixteen years of its occurrence. In 2000, in “Bart to the

future” ‘s episode where the real estate mogul Donald Trump becomes the president of the US and causes a budget crisis, the author of the episode said that it was a future vision regarding the insanity that America is going through(CNN).

Trump winning elections in 2016 triggers multiple studies like the White House policies, popular culture, and the resurgence of populism...etc. For some, his winning is seen as an inevitable consequence to American political, cultural and social changes. As the POTUS (president of the United States) , he is ranked number one in many things like: the oldest elected president in US history, the wealthiest, the most controversial, the king of media spectacle...etc. Also a German survey ranked him as the most dangerous leader of the current era (Budryk).

## **1.2.2 Right Wing Populism**

The central question for the right wing populism is who belongs to the people based on that; the populists draw their strategies to address the will of the people. The Republican since the birth of the party was swept by right wing populism. In his acceptance speech Trump declared “I alone can fix it” showing a charismatic populist underpinned by his powerful money. Racing for presidency how far has he gone with a populist policy that he has mapped in this declaration.

### **1.2.2.1 Nativism and Nationalism:**

For Mudde populism is “a thin centred ideology” where he insists on the general will of the people that usually instigates a confrontational quarrel between us (people) and them (elite) taking into consideration one main point of distinction between the two which is morality i.e “pure” (the people) versus “corrupt” (the elite). As far as, it is “a thin-centred ideology”, it cannot stand by its own rather it needs “a thick centred” ideology or a “host

ideology”, according to Mudde this “host ideology”, is the one which decides the location of populism in the political spectrum whether on the right or the left, it offers populist politics, political agents and political actors where different kinds of researches are needed such as: archival, formal modelling, discourse analysis....etc (Mudde and Rovira n.p).

The thick ideologies determine the direction of populism as a “thin ideology”. In order to explore these different ideologies we start with Likeller’s definition to ideology as representing “a set of ideas and beliefs.” (Likeller91).

While the “thin centered ideology” of Mudde’s populism addresses only a part of the political agenda, other ideologies define this political agenda to gain the appeals of the people and establish a democracy according to the will of the people. The other “thick entered” ideologies include, nationalism, socialism and liberalism.

The nation is composed of people who its homogeneity determine the definition of nationalism, for that a nationalism which is mixed with nativist ideologies provide a rightwing populism. The racial nationalism in USA aims to divide the people. It is designated and defined by Gary Gerstle as: “America in ethno-racial terms, as a people held together by common blood and skin color and by an inherited fitness for self-government.”(qtd in Alessandri et al.76). In USA, it includes people of “European heritage” whose their ethnicity enables them to represent the real people, hence, it tightens this unified word (the people) to a more restricted definition of people. Within this type of nationalism race is important, it is exclusive to certain ethnic group (Alessandri et al.76), xenophobic and nativist sentiments are usually associated with this type of nationalism. As a result, this provides a right wing populism which excludes minority within the society who become the scapegoats that threaten the people and it is the evil other.

Moreover, Gary Gerstle defines “civic nationalism” as: “belief in the fundamental equality of all human beings, in every individual’s inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness, and in a democratic government that derives its legitimacy from the people's consent." (Alessandri et al 76). This carelessness in ethnicity draws a populism that considers the people according to their class regardless to ethnicity as "us" against an upper corrupt class as "them" which is usually corrupt billionaires or unequal economic system. Hence, this type of nationalism and people according to the definition of Mudde provides leftwing populism.

### **1.2.2.2 Authoritarianism:**

Matthew C. Mac Williams argues in his book *"The Rise of Trump"* an American authoritarian spring since his success was unprecedented in USA at least since the election of Andrew Jackson due to existed political and demographic developments together with other unique factors which has smoothed the presidency of Trump. By the end of the civil war many assumed the end of the authoritarianism and that the internet's spread of information would end the authoritarian regimes. Nonetheless authoritarianism appeared in democratic systems. Four criteria should be found in a democratic system to avoid authoritarianism which are: Firstly, the executives and legislatives should be elected in a transparent and free election process. Secondly, each adult has the full legal to votes, thirdly, the political rights and civil liberties are preserved including the freedom of speech and the media. Finally, the fourth is the independency of authorities from any religious or militaries pertinence. Any imbalance in a part of these four pillars would lead to authoritarian threads within the system and it also can happen through a legitimate electoral process like the case of Trump. Threads of rising authoritarianism within democracy happen when a leader tries to silence the opposition like media, raise an imagined threats and conspiracies theories, attacking judiciary and imposing powers, focus on military. All of those were powerfully present within the policy of Trump.

### 1.2.2.3 Tea Party Political Movement:

The Tea Party is an American fiscally conservative movement associated within the Republican Party, its grassroots are ambiguous. Apparently it is was movement launched in 2010 to express the frustrations of the conservative people upon the high taxes, government spending, increasing border security, the opposition to abortion and gun control. However, inquiries associate its funding of the GOP and conservative political action committees (PACs). It was triggered by the election of Barack Obama a black president with liberal immigration, healthcare and economic policies, frustrations of the dominant political parties created a conservative backlash (Coughlin2). As neo-conservative they are mainly the white with conspiracy theories filled with the dangerous other which identifies the movement as a right wing that seeks fortifying borders, dismantling welfare system. Eventually their discussions deviated from taxes, economy to Islamophobia and immigration (Mudde).

In addition, the Alternative Right (a large online phenomenon during 2010)launched by the American white nationalist Richard B Spenser worked on spreading nativism, xenophobia, tight immigration restrictions, white supremacy.....etc. All those together raised a mass that support populists and find their rhetoric very attractive and appealing. Tea Party is anti-intellectualism, against science; they embrace conspiracy theories and demand for simple solutions to complex problems. The Republican Ed Rollins annotated to this movement as, it “is focused very much on incumbents who are in Congress and elsewhere who may not be related to what ordinary people are concerned about” (qtd in Coughlin2).These right wing ethnic tendencies along with anti-elitism sentiments created a collective white identity. Hence, the rise of a leader who claims to address the concerns of the real people and provide solution to their discontents fits the exclusionary ethnic identity of the white conservatives and the alt-right supremacists who reject other ethnic groups and create a strong political identity.

In fact, the Republican Party has become the safe haven to white conservatives since the days of Ronald Reagan. Lilleker argues that the raising of popular promises like the welfare policy, the economy or unemployment which are inspired from a base opinion only leads to short term gains, electorally or socially, long term is seen as counterproductive(169). Interestingly, Trump rhetoric did not only fit the crude appeals but also contained audacious open attitudes that were never seen before within the American RWP.

### **1.3 Trump populist Campaign and the Creation of Fascist Supporters:**

Banu Gokarikel described Trump campaign as:

Hair aloft, Donald Trump is animated, energetic, vigorous. His maligned and defended fingers jab the air. He is crass: women who stand up to him are “fat pigs,” “dogs,” have “blood coming out of their wherever.” Mexicans are rapists and criminals. Muslims are terrorists. Trump “tells it like it is.” He promises to defend the country from all manner of others, to purify it: Muslims banned, Latin Americans walled out, he will “Make America Great Again”. (1)

In these few words Cogarikel drew the dangerous gendered ethnic other that trump populist was based upon. The features of populism in his campaign encompasses many details, starting from Likeller's definition that explored populism as a “fascist body” goes in parallel with Trump and his supporters who are also known as fascists, authoritarians for their deep discontents and despise towards minorities which is seen in the number of crimes, his claims has found appealing in a time when the alt right crowded the white supremacist and the Tea Party fortified a right conservative identity. Trump has the potentials to mobilize many audiences and to absorb the anger of different outrageous groups in society mostly the White Supremacists.



Trump's ability to address people problems and sharing their concerns by offering audacious and illogical promises like the "Muslims Ban" along with his attitudes towards minorities gained him the appeals of fascists, neo Nazis, Douglas Kellener said "I believe that we can use the terms authoritarian populism or neo-fascism to explain Trump and his supporters"(20). According to Likeller Populism relies on raising worries about threat to the nation as a focus to the unity in his case the threat is Muslims and immigrants, promoting by that to nationalism and xenophobia and at the same time representing the "general will". Also he argue that populists' promises are extremes, radical but not costed (169), and this was exactly what Trump did in his campaign, he promised to build a wall which Mexico is going to pay for it, He also offered a Muslim Ban as an extreme radical promise.

Despite being a billionaire Trump extensive use of the pronoun "we" together with his down look and the open disrespect to several minorities groups (Muslims and immigrants, women), make himself identified among the good and real people (whites). His saying "together we will make America great again" gives a nostalgic view that wish to eradicate many liberal acts that has been introduced since the 1960's liberal movements and this has drawn an image of a mythical past that most populists use it is a pillar of the populist policy. Moreover, Trump accusations to Mexicans and calling them "rapists" in his rhetoric bolstered the White Supremacy and anti-immigrants sentiments resulted in supporting his campaign by racists, xenophobic, nativists... etc. Also, beside his misogynistic history, his virile speeches along with his humiliation and down look to his opponent Hillary Clinton as a female as well as his aggressive language toward female journalists attracted the misogynist white male fascists.

All these causes together were popping out a mixture of supporters who were yearning to a white America, even the media referred to his logo campaign as "Make America White Again" instead of "Make America Great Again". His supporters are highly explorative to

understand the conflicted nature in the society of today's America; they shared with Trump many features (bigotry, xenophobia, racism, nativism). Trump succeeded to create an exclusionary populism similar to the one which exists in Europe. However, USA as a melting pot, it is hard to pick who wants to exclude who if we consider the percentages of Trump's voters from minority groups because the USA has a legacy of racism and ethnocentrism in addition to "me first" that are found in most sectors of society an example of this the problems faced Obama because of the Black Hispanic rivalry (Forte). Also regarding Trump Campaign hate can attract many sectors and is not exclusive to the whites.

### **Conclusion:**

The history of populism in USA informs us about the gravity of the social dilemmas in USA in which the populist actors and right wing populism can take advantages. The definition of the people in populism is crucial in politics; this ideology can survive and flourish to influence a sanctified pillar like democracy. It also influences and gets influenced by society, the negative rhetorics of 2016 were by some means objectively representing the general will of the people. The resurgence of populism in USA imposed evaluating the diversities issues where racism, prejudices and bigotry are wearing new dresses in the modern era through which we can grasp the endorsement of Trump and the anti-Islamic attitude in USA.

## **CHAPTER TWO: Hate Crimes in USA and Trump Campaign:**

### **Introduction:**

Successive events in USA have changed the citizen's perspectives and spiked rage, discontents, crimes and victims in 2015. The 09/11 attacks were the stigmatization that the moderate Muslims paid and are still paying for it in most of Western countries, and were the seeds that many stereotypes have been weaved upon it. This chapter provides the social backgrounds of the multiculturalism America, its homogeneity, tolerance and attitudes towards minorities in general and Muslims' minority in particular which help to analyse the social and cultural circumstances amid 2016's election, claiming a populist opportunistic campaign against Muslims as a political strategy to gain popular support was led by Trump. The chapter reveals an aberration in the political debate dates back to Obama election's period with the help of media that unified different participants. Investigating the motives of hate shows that the reincarnated belief of white supremacist revives each time to play a role in society and ultimately in politics and this was clearly shown in Trump campaign when xenophobic, nativist and ethno-centrist discourses received loud applause. Hate crimes studies focus on the changes in the political environment, the economic cycles and the population flows in the study of the ups and downs of the crime, hence, this dissertation seeks to prove the presence of these three main changes to crimes statistics. This chapter enables the study of the consequences an exclusionary populist campaign on society and carrying on an investigation on the relation of the spike of anti-Muslims hate crimes with Trump rhetoric against them as a minority, and to what extent the election of supremacists in office could fuel the negative cultural changes among the society. This chapter elaborates the negative political manifestations from diversity and the mounting anxieties between its different groups. It

highlights the role of internet as a tool of communication for racist leaders towards the people in mounting a contagious hate and its ultimate use in politics.

## **2.1. The History of Hate Crimes in USA:**

Despite being the land of immigrants, the USA has witnessed a history full of unwelcoming attitudes toward any new comers marked by intimidation, violence, discrimination.....etc. Successive waves of immigrants have contributed in the inception of a multiculturalism America since the days of the English Pilgrims, but this social fusion was not that easy with the white high sense of nativism which were early spotted in their quarrels with the indigenous Indians and in the manifest destiny. The bias or hate are part of the human nature and has always existed since the ancient eras and USA's diversity makes it an epicentre for this animalistic instinct.

The USA constitutional laws promote to freedom, liberty and equality but these did not impeach the ascension of prejudices, xenophobia, paranoia and conspiracy theories with the new coming of each wave. Therefore, this pushed the struggle to a tangible adoption to freedom. Backing up their demands from the constitution, the civil rights movements of the 1960's and 1970's struggled for the rights of minorities like black or women, to maintain their freedom and liberties in the light of equal citizenship regardless of the race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or disability, they helped in the passing of many acts. Despite the fact that the first hate crime statutes were passed into law in 1981, it is unfair to dismiss the role of 1960's and 1970's civil rights acts in the study of the history of hate crime, many studies see the date of the enactment of hate crime laws as debatable subject(Shively 3). Nonetheless, through history, the court and the police efforts played a massive role in improving the law's quality and enforcement across the country.

Since the first amendment of the constitution has privileged the Americans by freedom of speech, being citizens with active involvement in politics, they express their views openly, they interact with events, and nonetheless it has always been brought into question the American way of expressing their freedom. A mixed view to freedom may lead to the violation of another's freedom. Making the distinction between freedom of speech and hate speech is on the highest concerns for the national and social security of a diverse nation with strict regulations to the constitution.

According to FBI "A hate crime, also known as a bias crime, is a criminal offense committed against a person, property, or society which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national origin." (qtd in Shively 9). There are some obstacles that hinder the accuracy of hate crime as well as an effective response to prevent it, in order to detect the gap in law many studies are investigating a lot of areas (for the sake of data collection improvement) like variations of hate crime laws between the states, underreporting include many reasons like fear or embarrassment, interminglements in the crimes for example many North Africans anti-Muslim crimes are classified as anti-White.....etc. Also, the definition of the hate crime itself has variations between the states (Shively 4-23).

The governmental and non governmental agencies (NGO), social activists, advocates and many other sides are helping the law makers and government on enforcing the enactment of laws by enhancing investigations for a better response and prevention of hate crime for the sake that a precise data draw the size and shape of the problem which it is really sensitive for the peace of USA and yet the strict law can be dismantled by leaders' rhetoric.

It is historically proven that leaders had used hate for their political goals and Trump's is no exception, also the bushfire nature of hate which can under any events even simple ones

lead to a blast of violence like in the manifestations over the incident of George Floyd where the black preferred a contamination by a deadly virus over remaining silent about the racism and discrimination. Layla F Saad a Black Muslim author said about the effects of those daily micro events that she faces as a minority “when something happened like what happened with George Floyd, it is not just the incident that you are protesting, it is all the pain and anger and sad and grieve and trauma opening up” (Saad).

The motives behind a hate crime is not an easy thing to detect, in addition to the difficulties of collecting data in a large country with a separate state law like USA, the country’s diversity and the perpetrators’ ignorance of the different cultures of the minorities make both the motives and the statistics intermingled, many hate crimes targeted Sikh for being identified as Muslims in 2016, a point that proves the power of prejudice and how the physical appearance and religious symbols cause a problem to minorities. Also religious hate has been racialized for there are many Arabs and South Asians victims of anti-Muslims crimes where it is hard to classify the crime as religious or racial (Sunar).

Many factors contribute in the triggering of a hate crimes or bias crimes like uncertain economic conditions, stereotypes in films and TV, internet and social media where groups of haters gather to express and motivate each others, a personal experience with a member of certain minority or global events like Muslims after terrorist attacks and ISIS or the Chinese after 2020 corona pandemic (Human Rights).

## **2.2The Melting Pot America’s Struggles to Melt:**

Focusing on Trump’s campaign and how the negative comments about minorities found approbation amongst citizens, it is important to research the series of events that took place in before and during the campaign in order to understand the societal dilemmas of the United States that have polarized the political debate since Obama election. According to a survey

done by Pew Research Center is Obama election is the 2<sup>nd</sup> unforgettable event in the lives of the Americans after 09\11 which was ranked the first (Deane et al.). The impact of these two epic events on society have made the diversity of views more prevailing and its manipulation from the right wing populism, that started in 2010, has become more challenging to society.

### **2.2.1 Diversity Issues:**

America has always been a diverse society and it was increasingly getting more diverse; the way society and government dealt with this diversity has known historical ups and downs. Today's different racial and ethnic groups have the same equal rights but the discrimination, intolerance, hate and many kinds of sufferance are on the battle with the human rights organizations, socials activists, and the individuals. The United States' government had worked on including and managing the diversity in place of work, universities or employment opportunities through the affirmative action which its origins goes back to 1865(Urofsky 03). It aimed to push the society groups to be more interacted. The date marked the very first attempt for a tangible enactment to the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to be addressed in congress; it sought to solve the racial inequities and divides during the post civil war era. Nonetheless, the presidency of Jim Crow hindered this struggle for democratic rights for the Blacks. The political and social divides between groups are on the rise in a time when USA is growing more diverse and less religious and this divide was more clearly displayed in 2016 presidential elections where diversity of minds was more problematic in terms of interests, views or political affiliation....etc.

A comparative look to the demographic shift between diversities during the last fifty years reveals impressive changes in the formula of the diversities. Statistics have offered results that mark a decrease of white majority from 84% in 1965 to 62% in 2015 while the

congress in 1965 has 3% of people of colour to increase to 17 % in 2015. In 2016; people of colour reached the highest percentage ever in eligible voters which is 17 % (Fusion).

Also other statistical predictions over minority is becoming majority, which has included ample typologies like birth rates, life expectancies...etc, by the incoming five decades is causing anxieties and optimistic hopes and it has definitely affected the politics as well as social norms and behaviours of the Americans (Sanburn).

American's views about the impact of diversity and the best way to achieve it are complex and paradoxical. According to Pew Research Center's survey, Americans see diversity makes the politics harder yet alone to be used in political campaigns like what Trump did, the survey was based on race (White, Hispanics, black) and party affiliation (Democratic/Republican). The survey reveals that the majorities of the three races see that diversity is very good for the country with those who lean to be Democrats the more likely to see it very good while the Republicans say it is good (Horowitz), and this fit their support to minorities and implies that they are more likely to denounce the crimes against minorities. Also for both Blacks and Whites, those with a bachelor degree are more likely to see it very good for the country, while the link between education and diversity's views is less clear amongst the Hispanics.

The views about diversity as having a positive impact on the country's culture is generally positive and the Democrats are more likely to see it positive. However, many, from both parties affiliation say it poses more challenges to policy makers (Horowitz). Among the white majority the younger the adults, the more likely to wish that their neighborhood is more diverse, which gives an optimistic hopes about the future of diversity also many see that race and ethnicity should not be considered in hiring or promotions (Horowitz). All in all, the overall views on diversity split along the party line, the education degree and the age.



In the last years, there is growing frustrations confronting diversity which were also seen in the White House, many discontents were raised since Obama election when many conspiracy theories were woven against him that are indirectly targeted his race. Some were questioning his blackness as not being a part of the slave line of the American history, the same happened to Kamala Harris in 2020(Benton).This reflects the unsolved problem of diversity in USA, it implies that diversity and all the civil movements immerse only to the old diversities, the American endurance for new diversities is overwhelmed and new diversities are not welcomed anymore. For them, it is irritating how many new peoples are making benefits from the constitutional laws and the civil rights acts of the USA and this puts the line of the new diversities in a pre-civil rights era like that of the Jim Crow era.

Moreover, according to Pew Research Center among all the minorities in USA, Muslims are the less favorable, because of their association with the 9/11 incident and terrorism (Lajevarti and Oscooii).The complexities in views and the social turmoil in USA is triggering more researches in order to understand the problematic sides of it especially when looking to the negative views about the predicted demographic shift of 2050 where many see that it will weaken American customs and values (Horowitz). Accordingly, the racial battle is going to be agitated.

The ways government and the people treat the diversity are ambivalent not just in the United States but in most of the Western countries and this is seen when those minority groups achieve success it is barely mentioned or accredited him as Muslim, Black or Hispanic rather this success is seen as an American success. On the other hand, when a crime is done by minorities then the culprit is terrorist Muslim, rapist Mexican or Black criminal. Therefore, they judge the identity the way that fit their prejudicial narratives and this rooted from the superiority and the othering tendencies which have long been a part of the European ethnicity.

### 2.2.2 Minorities and White Supremacy:

An attempt to grasp the historical use of the word minority in USA tells the changing use of the word and the gradual exploration to the term, initially, Americans used the word minority to refer to a young man or under age, then the word used in a political sense as party minority or minority report. The term was not used in the conventional sociological sense of today which is “designating a subgroup of population” (Gleason 2).

The very beginning use of the term minority has a European origin dates back to 1920’s in context with Jews minority urging protection in Europe (Gleason 2) and this inspired the journalists and socialists in USA who gradually through decades helped crystallize its meaning by shedding light to this segregated group starting with studying the impact of segregation on Black kids to combating the segregation and marginalization and voicing the problems facing this unwanted group of society that had gradually got confrontations with the white supremacist ideology.

On the other hand, Hill Fletcher in her book *“The Sin of White Supremacy: Christianity, Racism, and Religious Diversity in America”* argued a Christian origin to white supremacy; she claims it is inspired from Christianity where she explained the role of Christianity in US history and how Christian supremacy has led them to white supremacy(08).

According to FBI “white supremacy believes that white race is superior to all other races and was created to rule them. They view nonwhites as subhuman and usually refer to them in derogatory terms”(qtd in Clyburn).Whenever any political instability is raised this pro white group resorted white nationalism that tends to focus on minorities, diversity or multiculturalism as a threat to their race and hope to appeal to mainstream whites. Many affirmed the inevitability of a ROHOWA or “holy war race” (Clyburn).

The history of USA is flavored with abundant movements and personalities that struggled to achieve the constitutional principles from Abraham Lincoln to Martin Luther King. Today, the advocates and social activists are carrying the fight for this racial war where the wealth of literature concerning minority issues is credited to advocacy organizations and academic institutions that help the government to apply its responsibility and also contribute in the making of a civil equal and anti-racism society. This literature falls into two categories which are: descriptive efforts by the groups to combat prejudice and critical analysis to government policy and programs to see if any prejudicial issues are detected (Teitelbaum11). An example of these advocacy organizations is CAIR (Council on American Islamic Relations) and its role in investigating and gathering information about the Trump effect on Muslims as a minority.

Meanwhile, white peoples are upset of these equity and equality laws claiming that they are victims of a forced diversity like that of “affirmative action” and that more advantages and opportunities are given to minorities and no one is speaking about the anti-white racism. Each new minority versus white supremacy era requires a precise scrutiny aimed to back up this group of society and to study its impact on the politics of USA.

Today, a white privilege still exists which means that your skin can secure you from a lot of prejudices that is consciously or unconsciously attributed to the people of color. The darker skin you are the more likely to be discriminated, intimidated or despised and the lighter skinned is a person or group is, or any resemblance to a white descent the safer to be deemed by this ideology. In addition to skin color victims, this bigoted belief does not accept any visibly different image than that of the whites so Non-Christians with a physical religious appearance like Hijabi girls or Sikhs are usually victims of this ideology, also places of worships, concentration of minorities are usually targeted in the form of vandalism, arson, graffiti ...etc(Sunar).

### 2.2.3 White Supremacy and Politics:

The year 2008 was as unforgettable year in the history of America since it was the election of the first black president in USA and the year of a global economic recession, consequently, these two reasons gave the whites a platform to raise a white supremacist sentiment empowered by the internet. Right after the election of Obama there was rise of white supremacist online activity where Don Black a former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard claimed more than 2000 people had joined his website on the day after Osama's election. Also, there was a revival to old extremists websites like the Blacks, interests in Nationalist Socialist Movement (NSM) which is the largest Neo Nazi group in America has spiked(Rintels and Loge 08). The immigrants and minorities were blamed for the economic hardships by spreading propagandas that attracted more haters.

There is a general consensus on the impact of the digital age, for it has not only united the Tea Party and Alt Right but also united the white supremacy of American citizens. This union targeted Muslims especially. There are almost 37 groups that belong to the inner core Islamophobic network and 32 of an outer group whose intention was not mere prejudices against Islam and Muslims, but also engage in supporting Islamophobic themes(Sunar). Many social media platforms are stereotyping the Quran and Hadiths and many researches proved the impact of Facebook on inciting hate and prejudices against Muslims and as a place to deploy the hate from hateful posts, to aggressive comments and to inbox harassments (Awan).

In fact not only the citizens use the media as a platform for hate even politicians use it, an example of that is like when Trump retweeted anti-Muslims videos from a British far right and ultra-nationalist political group which led many British politicians to react and tweet to denounce the POTUS's tweets pointing out to the consequences of spreading hate. The British reaction was like a rebuke to the Trump's promoting to fascist, hatred and extremist groups

(Landers and Masters). His many anti- Muslim tweets played a role in promoting hate towards Muslims and he usually criticize events in Europe and especially Britain to justify his views, using anecdotes of terrorism were also seen his campaign to bolster it.

The date 09/11 has been stigmatizing Muslims and it is an easy argument to justify hate and to add more supremacists. Concerning the difference in designation between the Islamic terrorism and the white supremacist, the congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio Cortez pointed out to the fact that if a crime is committed by a Muslim American, it is treated by law as a terrorism while when a white committed a crime against Muslim, Jew or Hispanic is called a hate crime instead of White Supremacy. She noted that if the Islamic terrorism is taken as a global issue so should the White Supremacy be taken as a global issue (Cortez).

The problem of superiority is manifested in many ways and the outrage and discontents are provocative, usually researchers investigate its psychoanalysis sides on the victims, however, when white supremacists are elected the dilemmas are indirect and more detrimental and alarming to the society, those elected bigots are then able to act upon these xenophobic beliefs through systems of institutionalized racisms, structural violence, and marginalization policies.

### **2.3 Trump Populist Strategy of Division Targeted Muslims:**

The bias against Muslims for the normal observer would be explained as motivated by the terrorist attacks and the bad reputation of Islam in the West, in fact the bias against Muslim is much deeper and more complicated since it includes racialization, politics, assimilation, and modernity. The apparent motive is religion but behind this motive, stand multitude motives like inacceptance, abhorrence and outrage. For the Western societies Islam is static and unable to change, to influence or to get influenced, separate and inferior to the West, so the existence of Muslim communities and mosques is seen as incompatible to

Western Civilizations where the rejection comes in the form of crime. This inferiority is a reason of the chauvinistic West belief of superiority that sees Islam as barbaric, irrational, and primitive and sexist (Sunar). Islam is also seen as violent, threatening and supportive to terrorists and most importantly is seen as a political ideology (Sunar). This hostility towards Islam is the apologetics to justify the discriminatory practices towards Muslims and a reason for othering them from the mainstream society where anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural and normal. However when the normalizing of anti-Muslim hostility comes from leaders the effects on society becomes more dangerous. Islam and Islamophobia debate become one of the most boring debates since it is almost nearly two decades passed and it is still unsolved, the narratives are changing and the problem is the same, Trump has never shown any respect to this religion and this confirmed through many comments about the text in Quran, Islam, attendees of the American mosques (Haberman). His campaign and his tweets were panicking as if he was alarming the people from a danger that it is going to take over the country.

### **2.3.1 A Retrospective View on Muslims and Islam in USA before 09/11:**

People of all faiths and races contributed in the global shift, yet in USA white supremacists and ethnocentric continue to skip the role of other races and faiths in the making of the American history, Muslims living in America date back to the pre-Columbus era where North-Africans and Moors explored that part of the globe to be followed by Muslims who contributed in the voyages of the Portuguese that accompanied Columbus in his expedition across the Atlantic also the Muslims and African seamen funded by queen Isabella of Spain participated in 1492 cruises which enabled some of them to travel west in the search of gold (Curtis 4). Moreover, the Triangular Trade brought more African Muslim slaves to USA, those early Muslims struggled to maintain their religious identity while others converted to Christianity or just lost it. The American history recorded Muslims figures like Job Ben

Soloman and Abdurahman Ibraheem IbnSori (Curtis 6), these racially and religiously of anecdotes are out of the internalisation of the Americans to their historical realities, in other words, it is usually remained neglected or denied.

Like many other immigrants who were seeking for better opportunities or who were fleeing political and religious persecutions, Muslims had been coming to America as early as the late of the 1800s and early 1900s for the sake of better opportunities or to escape religious or political persecution, those early comers weaved their ethnicities by the intermarriage with Africans and Mexicans of the past generation of Americans, gradually, more Muslims joined the American population from Europe and Asia followed by Arab and North African Muslims' immigration of the 20th c (Curtis50). Today's Muslim Americans form 1,1% of the total USA population (Mohamed), they are part of the productive and creative American society like and making their touch in the different fields like economy, science, education, Business, medicine.....etc.

Being a part of the new world early Americans were busy building the nation, after the reconstruction period, the United States isolated itself from the world and the largest prominent waves of immigrants were mostly from Europe and Asia. Although Muslims formed a part of the Americans since the early discovery's voyages, the first assumed encounter of Americans with Islam and Muslims was through media that were usually full of stereotypes or Orientalists ideas, or through entertainment industry that depicted them as violent, sub-humans, misogynists....etc (Quinn158-164). Consequently, Americans formed an image of Muslims as evil and barbaric. Also, a series of political events have built impressions and also led the media to equate Islam with terrorism. It started in the late of 1940's with the Palestinians' rejection of the creation of the nation of Israel to be followed by many others events like Oil embargo, Iranian Hostage Crisis, October War...etc (Alsultany).

Frederick Quinn noted upon the media portrayal of Muslims as “African Americans, Jews, Hispanics, and Native Americans were no longer fair game for racial film profiling, but Muslims remained to provide fodder for humanity’s dark underpinnings of racism.”(Quinn154). Hence, Islamophobia started before 09/11 with the US media’s broadcasting Palestinians as terrorists in news and in films like “The Delta Force”, also the film “Death to America” depicted Iranian and Arab as anti-Americanism and many other films (Alsultany).

It was after 09/11 attack that Americans turned their attention to Muslims and spiked hate crimes against them (FBI). The reaction of the home media and international media as well as the political events in the Middle East and how they were perceived, increased Islamophobia amongst the citizens and it led the unstoppable waves of harassments and prejudices, during the anti-Islam protests over the building of Zero Ground Mosque, a protestor held a sign which says “all I need to know about Islam I learned on 09\11” (Scarcelli). Although the president George Walker Bush’s stated that Muslim Americans are part of the good citizens in the country and called out “to be treated with respect”(Freedman), as well as his continuous condemnation to hate crimes against them, the waging of “the war on terror” affected Muslims to be defined as enemies in the eyes of bigots. Media used to rush on raising suspects about Muslims as being witnessed before any primarily investigations on the attacks. Fears of Islamisation rose and helped in spreading intolerance (Scarcelli).

Political scientists have worked for years on increasing awareness about the dangers of Islamophobia on the national security shedding light on Muslims as being victims of the government policy and of the individuals as well as its problematic with racism. The dangerous use of Muslims by leaders is regressive to nation development. Hence, security leaders work to fight Islamophobia usually with the help of 99% Muslims from all around the world who has already helped to prevent a lot of terrorist attacks (Scarcelli). They also shed



light on the way all those stereotypes and propaganda are enforcing the narratives and triggering the anger of Muslims. And how certain hate speech can be provocative to Muslims which consequently will only lead to upheavals.

### **2.3.2 Trump's Representation to Muslims in His Campaign:**

The presidential election is an exciting ceremonious event for Americans where excitements mounted and zealous participants from all diversities and media join passionately in the orchestration of a breathtaking event that attract local and global attention.

“Make America Great Again” (MAGA), was Donald Trump's logo for 2016's election; this campaign was seen as aggressive toward all minorities. Trump is known by “saying it like it is”(Gokaniksell), and Muslims were often mentioned in his campaign and never in a pleasurable way, Muslims in his campaign were called terrorists and insulted directly not only American Muslims and immigrants but also on the international scale he spoke aggressively careless to diplomatic relations between the countries. He called for “a total and complete shutdown” for Muslims to enter USA and this happened after Canada's plan to welcome 50,000 Syrian refugees (CNN). The timing of his campaign was perfect it was during the second global refugee crisis in the world, the Syrian refugee crisis was mounting anxieties in Europe fuelled by anti-Islamic web pages handling to the crisis, and Americans were affected by Europeans reactions and some were upset due to Justin Trudeau and Angela Mirckel 's welcoming policy decisions(CNN).

Trump took the opportunity to escalate conspiracies and contending strict measurements in dealing with the crisis in USA if he wins, he was asked if he means 1.6 billion Muslims are terrorists he responded that he “means a lot of them” (BCC).Trump was against receiving refugees and linking it to a legitimate allowance of terrorist entering USA, he promised to

“deport them if he wins” (BCC). Hence, Trump succeeded to emotionalize the Americans and antagonize Islam and the corrupt elites that allow Muslims to enter USA.

Trump as president has neglected the first amendment of the constitution and disrespected the religious freedom of American Muslims, he mentioned the Bible in his campaign as “nothing beats the Bible” not even his book “The Art of The Deal”(CNN), which proves his white supremacist tendencies and his Christian characteristics of superiority. He showed his support and respect to Christianity and Christian citizens while he suppressed and disrespected Muslims as citizens in his claims about the Quran and what is written in the Quran as causing trouble and danger to USA by that he was supporting the hate towards Muslims (CNN). He openly said that “I think Islam hates us” (CNN). Trump rhetoric racialized Islam and was divisive to society, increased hate sentiments and led his supporter to mimic his tolerance, not only this but he also permitted and normalized Islamophobic discourses in congress, a lot of midterm candidates used anti Muslims rhetoric in 2018. Mohamed Gula, a political director raised worries about this when he said “Since the 2016 election, how easy it is for candidates to really use Islamophobic and hateful rhetoric as a part of their platform,” (qtd in Daily Sabah).

Also Fareed Zakaria comments about Trump abrasive language is that “the encouragement of certain kind of language, behaviour or certain kind of intolerance means you are permitting all those crazies to express their intolerance and their particular kind of behaviour or intolerance might not be as yours”, Fareed as a Muslim journalist and scholar also talked about a spike in aggressive and hate comments in his twitter account after Trump rhetoric (Zakaria).

During his campaign, Trump describing Obama as “gentle” on ISIS as well as his saying “to bomb the shit out of ISIS” are seen as a solace to the failed foreign policy of the USA

after 9/11 attack and the failed “war on terror”, Trump was open to express his anger about the foreign policy of the US in the Middle East he talked about a punitive way that fit “the savages” who killed American soldiers, his anger on Islamic countries is also seen in his book “Crippled America” according to scholars those made him able to built and direct an anti-Muslims body(Gokaniksel). This rhetoric worth transcending the hate to the people and coming from a politician makes it perceived as a threat to the nation.

Trump rhetoric spiked hate crimes against Muslims, led his supporters to believe in illiberal democracy as power to eradicate minority rights. Eventually, Trump as a president he did his promise and an executive order was passed to prohibit the entry to USA for seven Muslim countries which are :Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen, he later omitted Iraq from the list and added Venezuela and North Korea (not Muslims countries) under what is called a “Muslim Ban”. Hawaii was the exception to validate this law and Trump is suggesting adding more to the list (Hamedy).

Trump neglected Islamophobia and later in an interview in 2017, he ordered his followers to stop crimes against Muslims (Gokaniksel). He continued his insults toward those who oppose him from Muslim politicians, he attacked and insulted the Muslim congresswoman Ilhan Omar and call to “send her back” looking down to her origins and religion which has found appeals and later was chanted in a rally by his supporters (BBC News). Trump rhetoric was a step back to the social problems of inequalities that the social activists have fought against for decades. During his campaign there was already a spike in the attacks against Muslims where his response was either an approval or neglect.

### 2.3.3 Trump Tweets against Muslims:

Douglas Kellner invented the concept of media spectacle in the mid of the 1990's to describe the phenomenon of US media and politics, in his book *The American Nightmare* he pointed out the evolvement of media spectacle due to the development of technology with the rise of new media and social networking like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram.....etc, where anyone can join the politics and be a political commentator (Kellner 3). This new media perturbs the natural and usual flows of information particularly the new media of social networking which is fast, sharable, emotionalising and instantly virtual and viral (Kellner03).

The issue of this new media that it is usually stereotypic in nature, without any evidence and the flows of information come in a dramatic way which make the events unforgettable like when Trump in his tweets made the Syrian refugees and the Islamic Terrorism an important issue in USA. Kellner defines Trump as a media spectacle which not only his celebrity star power facilitate his campaign but also his ability to deliver his tweets to the mainstream media level (Kellner 3-11). Even Trump himself admitted the role that Facebook and Twitter in helping him win (McCormick).

Trump in his tweets was manifesting from events to gain appeals, in 05 May 2015 Trump tweeted "What would you do if a large group of Muslims had a very public meeting drawing horrible and mocking cartoons of Jesus? Oh really, be cool!"(Trump), this tweet alludes that Muslims are aggressive and would kill for a drawing unlike the Christians, each time he tweets or speak he try to convince the incompatibility of Islam in USA just like what he did when he announced "a total shut down" he justified this by the laws of beheading and Sharia laws(CNN).In his tweetshe falsely claimed that Muslims celebrated in New York after 09/11, similar anecdotes from him were proven to be false or misleading and aim to smear Muslims;

he also called for monitoring mosques and considering Muslims as radical extremists that are willing to harm the country (Schleifer; Haberman).

Other tweets were approximately during the period of the campaign about Muslims burning the American flag or celebrating 9/11 are explained as a tactic to immerse Islam in his campaign agenda. His tweets were tempting and attractive to Americans and drew his political line and policy, because he conveyed an ability in solving the problem of Muslims in USA like in: “We better get tough with RADICAL ISLAMIC TERRORISTS, and get tough now, or the life and safety of our wonderful country will be in jeopardy!”, “We must defeat Islamic terrorism & have surveillance, including a watch list, to protect America”(Trump).

After the largest mass shooting in the history of USA were conducted by the Muslim Omar Mateen on a gay bar in 2016, Trump tweeted “Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism, I don't want congrats, I want toughness & vigilance. We must be smart!”, raised discontent among peoples who saw this as horrific to ask for congratulations and bragging about being right while many families are mourning their dead(Frizell).

Trump is not a person who cares to the LGBT rights, in his campaign, he supported a gay friendly society juxtaposed to anti-gay evil Muslims rather than seeing them as equal to white male notion of his masculine obsession. Trump succeeded in launching a media war in USA, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) stated that anti-Muslim hate groups have nearly tripled in the United States since 2016, from 34 to more than 100 (Considine).

### **Conclusion:**

The interaction between politics and the social and multicultural issues are processing new dimensions in the digital age, populism entails the people participation and media echoed this involvement in politics before Trump did. The link between social turmoil and Trump anti-Muslim rhetoric enables us to study the appealing to populism as well as his influence on

hate crimes. However, his support is critically inducing analysing contradictory elements within the politics and the social identity of the Americans. Hence, it stirs anthropological explorations that elaborate this new populism and the ultimate state of democracy.

## **Chapter Three: The Impact of Trump's Populist Policy on Hate Crimes**

### **Introduction:**

This chapter analyses the themes of populism that made the populist rhetoric of Donald Trump in his campaign appealing to the American people using a critical analytical approach to the positive self-presentation and the negative other presentation in Trump discourses. An anthropological analysis to his supporters and voters was conducted to detect the appealing that he has gained. It also analyses the causes of the new populism surge in USA based on focusing on instabilities that each new traditional surge is usually preceded by in economy, society and culture to prove how the xenophobic, nationalist and anti-Islamic discourses of Trump found approbation and influenced the rise of anti-Muslim hate crimes using a causal hypothesis based on an analytical approach we proved that Trump fuelled a hate towards Muslims to finally prove a rise in hate crimes affected by Trump discourses using a qualitative content analysis to statistics. The chapter also scrutinizes the democratic status of the Trump era to finally conclude the role that populism has played in this era.

### **3.1 Analyzing the Triumph of Rightwing Populism:**

The study of the populist discourses of Trump contained Van Dijk' positive self-presentation and negative other presentation strategies in the political rhetoric (Adlpour and Eslamieh). We analyse this negative other presentation according to Mudde types of populism in which morality and monism decides the dissimilarity of populism. According to the afore stated information, rightwing populism is contingent on who belongs to the people, Trump's populism has othered many groups contending a gender-ethnic connotation to the pure people as well as a racial nationalism that finger-points Muslims, immigrants and black. This divisive rightwing populist the homogeneity of the American people, interallied to infiltrate one left

group the “pure people” (white males) as victims. Trump populism here has excluded the other ethnic groups who lack morality; Trump in many times breached their identities.

On the other hand, Trump showed custody to the general will of the white males (pure people), as early as his involvement in the Birthism movement, he has showed allegiance to their identity politics that is based a neo-conservative ultra right policy that has involved in politics since Reagan era. This identity politics revived in a strong backlash via the Tea Party, after Obama liberal immigration, healthcare system, government control on the free trade, open border, all of which quarrel with their rightist ideologies. Neoconservatives see the open borders as threat, assert “everyman for themselves” ideal, adhere a limited government control.

The negative other presentation to minorities of Trump via calling out as: Muslims appeal “horrendous attacks by people that believe only in jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life”.(qtd in Alssendri et al),immigrant as “drug bringers”(qtd in Alssendri et al), at the same time the positive self presentation conveyed the pure people as victims of economic hardship and the open borders caused by Mexicans immigrants who are stealing the jobs from the pure people, of terrorism and of Islamic ideology. Also, Trump virile language combine by his down look to journalist females and Hillary Clinton is fortifying to white male hegemony. For that according to Wodak, the conservative right precises the family values and the traditional gender role. Hence, othering women underpins positive self-presentation of the white males.

Furthermore, the ethnic identification in this type of populism of pure people (white males) begged a glorified past of a hegemonic white society that hold a xenophobic nationalist policies strategized to smear the morality of other races. Cogariksel has summed it as:



Trump uses the gendered, racialized body as a proxy for the nation and locates threats to the nation in women's and non-white male bodies embodying deep-seated fears of 'white decline' and threatened borders. The solution then becomes purification through a series of violent technologies that render class irrelevant. (01)

Others negative other presentation of us versus them involves corrupt elites, fake news media and any opposition to Trump. Starting with the elite, the conservative way of politics juxtaposed with the Democrats, both neo-conservative and Trump successively accuse Democrats by conspiracy theories and the political division between the two parties is becoming more and more complicated, neo-conservatives are dissatisfied of politics, view elites as corrupt and self-serving who betrayed the people by opening borders to Mexicans and Muslims. Their anti-intellectualism entails simplistic policy and constant solutions to political complex problems and this was offered by Trump (the Wall and Muslim Ban). Moreover, one of the significant reasons of the new surge of populism is the economic failure of the Democrat party. Trump addressed their general will via America first policy for they felt they are neglected and for Christian believers he was like the godfather to this country.

In addition, the negative other presentation of media has taken an authoritarian mode of suppressing the freedom of speech. Trump uses a rebuke mode of attack to any opposition, he ardently calls any critics as fake news, and he continuously tweets against Fox News. He even accused the media as "the real enemy of the people" (Levitsky).

The positive self presentation in Trump populism was by presenting himself as addressing the general will of the people, Trump in his campaign identified himself from the people and the "us versus them" tensions was via the use of metonymy, use the "we", words that refer to the people, calling out the corrupt elite like when he said "we are transferring

power from Washington DC and giving it back to you the people” 00:08:47 ), or when he said “we will face challenges, we will confront hardships but we will get the jobs done”, he called out politicians as corrupt elite when he said “politicians prospered but the jobs left and the factories closed” (qtd in Science00:08:41-00:09:10). Trump masters the use of simple language and this privileged him as a great communicator to the average American mind and made his campaign attractive, he was able to create a direct identification with the people, as well as a direct communication through the media in his case his daily use of twitter was his winning card. Muddle’s approach puts more weight on communicative approaches than the other approaches of populism and on media as a main reason for the global resurgence of populism, the attractiveness of populist actors in is a key success for populism and Americans have found Trump attractive for many reasons :his money, success, charisma, he was already a celebrity he was able to convey himself in attractive way an example of that the announcement of his candidacy in his gilded tower most iconic place of his wealth. Mudde contends on Trump's ability to attract media and its role in populism along with other political scientists who gives media all the credit to set populism on the rise. In USA, as early as the invention of media, it boosted the emergence of populists’ actors since the days of Father Coughlin (Winberg 4).

Moreover, even the other two approaches which consider populism as: a political strategy and as a socio-cultural style fit the populism of Trump. Regarding his divisive policy even though it is an internal divide among the pure mass of the people, his conspiratorial strategy targeted many different groups (ethnic, religious, racial, gender..... etc). Hence, this is in somehow conforms to Laclau’s view of populism as a political strategy as creating “internal divide between the people and the group of power” but in Trump divisive policy, it was within the same mass (Schoor 2). The internal divide done by Trump is much more dangerous leading by that to study the consequences of populism as a pathology.

Finally, the third approach which is the socio-cultural approach fits his average, simple language.

Furthermore, despite the difference in the social class between Trump and the white middle-class, he is appealing for them for many reasons: they tend to look up and they see themselves in an upper place as the ambitions of the American Dream have always been part of American culture. Also since the minorities are invading the middle-class, they crave to an upper class and this could be interpreted as that their sense of superiority denies their equality with other minorities and also their sense of nationalism exacts their priority in job's opportunities and in economic prosperity. The false image that Trump has drawn to himself as a self-made man made them believe in the possibility of this in a time of a serious economic hardship in US history.

Although Trump is rich, he has given to himself an image of a self-made man and this has widened the eyes of his supporters for an illusionary possibility of the American dream and the availability of ways to success. Trump has lied for years about the amount of his wealth and his claims about reaching success in business without the help of his father who also helped him in the years of his bankruptcies were false. In sum, all his claims about an original success were proven to be false and yet he is always seen as a live image of the American Dream.

By contrast, his policy changed over time according to a semiotic analysis done by Carola Schoor, she proved that Trump rhetoric slowly developed to elitism, his populism style in 2016 is interpreted to fit an electoral environment, and it was combined with a pluralism touch. In 2017 he switched to elitism because he no longer considers all elites as corrupts so he along with Republicans is a part of good elites. Also he started using they to refer to the people instead of we, a mixture of populism and elitism is also seen (Schoor).

Moreover, His opportunistic level from the rightwing populism is explorative since his stance toward Muslims is historically the same as in his campaign, so it could be seen as he only find a new platform to express his mind to people like him. He has always shown aversion to Muslims, women, Blacks and he is also famous with bullying since an early age and he just kept that in politics, after his win he continued to call out Obama though there were no political reason for that rather his us versus them tensions against Obama, Clinton and Minorities was a form of a real xenophobia, bigotry, racism, Islamophobia, misogyny and sexism. Moreover, biographies said “he was born to compete” so Trump hostility to Hillary is part of his personality, his ad-hominem to Hillary and Obama is that because he is known as a bullier (Kellner).

### **3.2. Behind the Success of Trump a Crisis of Globalisation:**

During the last decades, there are massive social and cultural changes in USA resulted in an increasingly economic and political anxieties. both Republican and Democrat parties are working on winning voters by rising promises and solutions to economy; a matter that created a political segregation within American people with every sect or class favours the political affiliation that guarantee its ideologies. The win of Trump was chocking not only for many Americans but also to anthropologists who predicted a win for Hillary by 80%. November 8th was a date that pushed many to feel the critical state of the American culture and society. While Pew Research Center attribute their polling failure to three main hypotheses which are: the Likely Voter Error, the Shy Trumper and Nonresponsive Bias in addition to the difference that the swing states has made especially Ohio and Pennsylvania. The anthropologist Huon Wardle suggests that it is time to start listening rather than predicting and that the veracity of deeds is much more worthy than the words that people have to say to those pollsters who bother them on phones or who stop them in polling places(Drummond).

It is arguably said that the positivism and rationality in predictions hoax the reality. Hence, only an anthropological analysis is needed to explain this aberration in the US politics. Huon, unlike many other anthropologists, sees Trump's victory was unexpected but not an absolute surprise regarding the surge of MAGA caps (make America Great Again) across the country (Drummond). It was the mistake of pollsters to underestimate the power of the rural areas in turning the tides of the elections.

His winning triggered a lot of ethnographic and anthropological studies where and nonetheless it has always remained mysterious for many Americans how did he become a president regarding all his absurd, unprecedented speeches and all allegations of racism and nationalism about him as well as his political illiteracy.

According to Pew Research Center, Trump was able to gain more white religious groups votes than his predecessors Republican candidates and also the more religiously practicing the person is the more likely to vote for Trump as well as an increase amongst the religious Hispanic traditional vote (Martínez and Smith). Although, his campaign was offensive to minorities, the modest votes he gained from minorities is due to the association of Christians with the Republican party as they are against the unchristian liberal laws.

The neoconservative appeal that Trump gained could be referred to the Christian belief that the wealth is a sign of God blessings, hence the blessed Trump fits to be their leader (Aslan00:02:15-00:02:32). Surveys say that his voters tend to be old, whites, without degree (Tyson and Manyam), these can be linked to Muslims since these statistics conform with statistics of diversity views which is contends a less favourable views to diversity amongst old whites, less educated (Horowitz), also the statistics of Muslims as the less favourable minority (Lajvardi and Oscooii). Many scholars link white supremacy to Christianity, Trump

pro-white campaign is a reason for his win and the already existed attacks against Muslims in 2015 by white supremacists led to consider Muslims as a reason for his win.

Besides, Trump gave little or no concern to minorities' voters and this did not make a prominent difference, since the white not only are the majority but also according to statistics their turnout rate is much higher than other minorities (Forte).

Trump offers multiple reasons to criticise and yet he was safe and achieved an exceptional success; the liberal media plays a role since its amoral viral circulation of stories makes different Medias focus on the numbers of views instead of the qualities of information. Consequently, it leads to a competitive rush to a big first story neglecting by that the core needed to be focused on in an electoral campaign. Hence, Trump was gifted a golden platform to his populist agenda. Furthermore, concerning Trump's success what media has built for decades is not that easy to decay by interruptions to his rallies or criticizing or by expecting rationality from average people all what he needed was a Republican place to carry on his own battle. The way in which media and Trump's media training succeeded in bridging the gap between nationalists, fascist and ethno-centrists could explain his win despite his political weakness.

Moreover, an anthropological analysis finds that the idea of the American Dream attracted different groups of the Americans and this implicitly interpret the votes he gained from minorities. An example of that Muslim Americans Trump voters during an interview in NPR justified the vote for Trump because they were attracted to his success in business where he, among many other Americans, thought the idea of Muslim Ban and the Trump's wall, a mere faded rhetorical promises (NPR).

Another Muslim explicates his vote to Trump for he thought that strict measurements would lead them to live in peace in USA and reduce the daily harassments to Muslims

(NPR). Other groups from minorities chose him simply for economy or as being conservatives who traditionally vote for the Republican Party (CNN, NBC News).

On the other hand, Trump's RWP has focused on the social psychology of the masses: the white decline and ultimately the fears of culture decline, movements like "Black Lives Matter", Obama election, terrorist attacks of 2015 (San Bernadino, Orlando nightclub shooting), Muslims, Syrian Refugees, Hillary Clinton. All of the aforementioned has raised a cumulative anger amongst the white especially the religious ones. Therefore, the previous neo-conservative arguments for their appealing to RWP ideologies have certainly validated his win. "Trump was an inversion of Obama wave" (Forte), the yearning hegemonic neoliberalism which is often described as a whitelash.

Furthermore, Trump successful RWP, connotes his endorsement in the Republican Party and explain his win, was a result of the confluence of social economic and cultural changes where globalisation upended the economic and political systems and more specifically the neoliberal globalisation where the free trade caused the plight of the working class. According to Gidron and Boniskowski populism in USA is a mixture of economic ideologies and political parties (4). The political division of 2016 election sprung from one party (Democratic) promoting liberal ideologies with shallow policies irresponsible the plight and chooses focusing on education as a solution to social and economic problems while the other party (Republican) corresponds the worries and anxieties concerning the social changes of the conservatives mainly Christians by RWP which is mainly counterproductive to the country's politics. The term working class was out of the political debates for years to remerge in many campaigns in 2016 reflecting the effect of global economy on American jobs. Trump's win is more likely to be seen as the Democratic Clinton's failure rather than a Trump 's win, Clinton not only abandoned the working class but also dismissed some Democratic states in her campaign which resulted in her loss of the white working class (Samuel n p).

Starting with the economic changes require investigating the reasons that pushed the people away from the Democratic Party and this triggers analysing the role that populism has played in 2016's election and the relation between the Trump's populism on the right and Sanders's populism on the left. Not only the fear of radical left of the symbolic notion of universal justice offered by Bernie Sanders turned people to the rightwing (fears of communism was always a reason to turn people to rightwing populism) but also Sanders's supporters refusal to choose Clinton after Sanders was out of the election. An evidence of that is the remarkably victory of Sanders in Michigan was followed by the city turning to Republican after his loss though its traditional affiliation is Democratic (Strauss).

Trump and Sanders offer two oppositions in their populist policies, the disparity lies in the solidarity between the "us versus them" antagonism in both of Trump and Sanders's populism, the former offers a strong white identity politics where the immigrants, Mexicans and Chinese are to blame for the lack of the jobs in USA where even the richest people in USA were able to present themselves as victims in this dichotomy. On the other hand, Bernie left populism us versus them antagonism does not offer effective solutions to raise the jobs albeit it calls for economic equality.

As a consequence, the abandonment of the working class, the victim identification politics of Trump RWP was combined with the fear and the reject of a real alternative left that would be the solution of the working class resulted in Trump victory.

Furthermore, despite Sanders's ability to offer a fake socialism that challenges the corruptions of the wealthy, Wall Street and the financial system, he did not offer a comprehensive solution to the destructive effects to neo-liberalism where the multi-nations corporations are not obliged to guarantee the jobs for Americans.



Hence, the problem of 2016's election was the lack of global government that fits the neoliberal economic system and a focus on an alternative left that offers nation-state solutions, for social and political issues that has been globalised and skipping globalised politics proves its futility (Forte). As Akbar and al stated:

“Trump's victory can be understood as a crisis of Neo-liberalism in the United States. The nationalist, racial, and anti-immigrant sentiment under Trump explains the long-standing problem. Folly and euphoria are not those that guarantee the success of Trump but the failures of the neoliberal platform pursued by Status quo since the 1980s". (04).

Moving to the societal and cultural changes that led to his win, indulging Muslims in a campaign suit these changes, however, it is unfair to attribute the animosity towards Islam only to Trump, 09/11 or terrorism. The massive changes that media, technological and scientific innovations have done to culture go unparallel with the slow change in the society where the globalisation brought more flows of immigrants, new cultures (Zakaria). As a consequence, new American identities were hard to be absorbed by Americans and considered a threat to Americanism and an anti West invasion. They rather believe the conspiratorial fears of Trump due to their inability comprehend the intricate social world around them.

Trump, as a media creator and his abilities conform to the populism approach, aligned the lines of nativists and created an online neo-fascist militia like that of which Hitler had created in 1930's. The media was the engine of this hidden explosive energy where different interests meet for the same purpose, ranged from politicians to different ideologies and wrathful, polarised and fragmented groups of society. Islam in the current USA does not conform to the old traditional hate rather it reflects the societal conflicts and the unsolved problems of neo-liberalism which shows its lack of harmony with the constitutional principles. The political segregation of these different groups created a white identity politics.

All the political and social instabilities have chosen Islam as a punching bag or as a scapegoat and as the new heir to the typical traditional paranoid and xenophobic style of the American society.

### **3.3 Trump Feeding Hate against Muslims:**

Muslims with many other minorities were victims of Trump's rhetoric in his campaign, but the anti-Muslims are more likely to find resonance due to the current critical association with terrorism, racializing and categorizing people according to their beliefs not as dangerous as when it is backed up by a president opinions and attitudes. In fact, the Republican voters' attitude towards Islam was influenced by Republican politicians since the war of Iraq and Afghanistan. However, the new narratives of Trump were more convincing and achieved palpable mobilization which was clearly seen in turning the battleground states to his favour like Michigan, Ohio, Florida and North Carolina. According to NBC survey, 25% of Americans supported Trump Muslim Ban initially in December 2015, the influence of using Islamophobia as a primary campaign strategy by Trump was clearly elaborated in March 2016's survey, when the Muslim Ban gained more than 51% of Americans' support. This change of minds between these two periods (many anti-Muslims Trump rhetoric span in this period) shows his ability to instigate Islamophobia and pushed it up to a new climax (Sunur).

Beydoun expressed his ability as "he delivered what the market demanded and doubled down on his anti-Muslim rhetoric. He fed Islamophobia his loud and angry base demanded, and as indicated by election results a sizable portion of the portion, white majority" (qtd in Sunar). Also Sunar stated that "Trump sailing with the wind of Islamophobia has long been in harmony with the emotional world of voters who have been prepared for a long time by Islamophobic networks and campaigns" proving that the American society was ready and all it needs was an approval to launch a war on this undesirable minority (Sunar).

Further arguments for this causal connection show a reciprocal support between Trump and his voters, assuming Americans as society that welcome Islam in USA or as pro Muslims sounds absurd or more likely as a liberal fairytale so it is a plausible assumption to see his rhetoric against Muslims as a populist political strategy to gain votes. His persuasive narratives range in five plots: radical Islam is the sole cause of terrorism, Islam is global existential threat, Muslims refugees and immigrants are threat to American security, the proposal to suspend entry of Muslim refugees and immigrants to the US and the faux humanitarian policy of establishing safe zones for Muslim refugees in Syria(Waikar).These were matched by a belief that Muslims are disloyal to USA, lacking Americanism, anti-West and profiting from the constitutional laws (Sunar).

All in all, the win of a person like Trump was a gain point for his supporters against the liberal democracies that frustrate them so they start implementing the rules they want and this reminds us of how the Jim Crow segregations laws encouraged people to suppress the Blacks and prevent them from using their right of ballot. Trump's temptations (closing mosques, Muslim Ban, no more refugees, monitoring Muslims) not only gained him votes but also empowered people; his decisions were yet to come in a form of harassments and crimes after his win.

### **3.4 Analyzing the Trump Influence on Anti-Muslims Hate Crimes:**

Following the presidential campaign of repeatedly negative rhetoric against minorities, the FBI released its annual Hate Crimes Report and revealed that hate crimes had spiked to 7% from 5462 in 2014 to 5850 in 2015. The following year, reports continued to rise to 6121 incidents reported in 2016, to continue the third straight annual increase in 2017 where the crimes rose to 17% to reach Trump's 7175 incidents (BBC).

This subtitle aims to reveal how the normalization of negative rhetoric about Muslims influenced the hate crimes relying on a comparative analysis between the anti-Muslim crimes during the four previous presidential terms' period that proceeds his period and the years of the campaign (2015, 2016), so that we detect the impact of each president on the public attitude towards Muslims in USA.

Table 1 and figure 1 are based on data collected from the FBI's National Annual Hate Crime Reports.

Table01: The changes of the crimes' stability after 2016 campaign

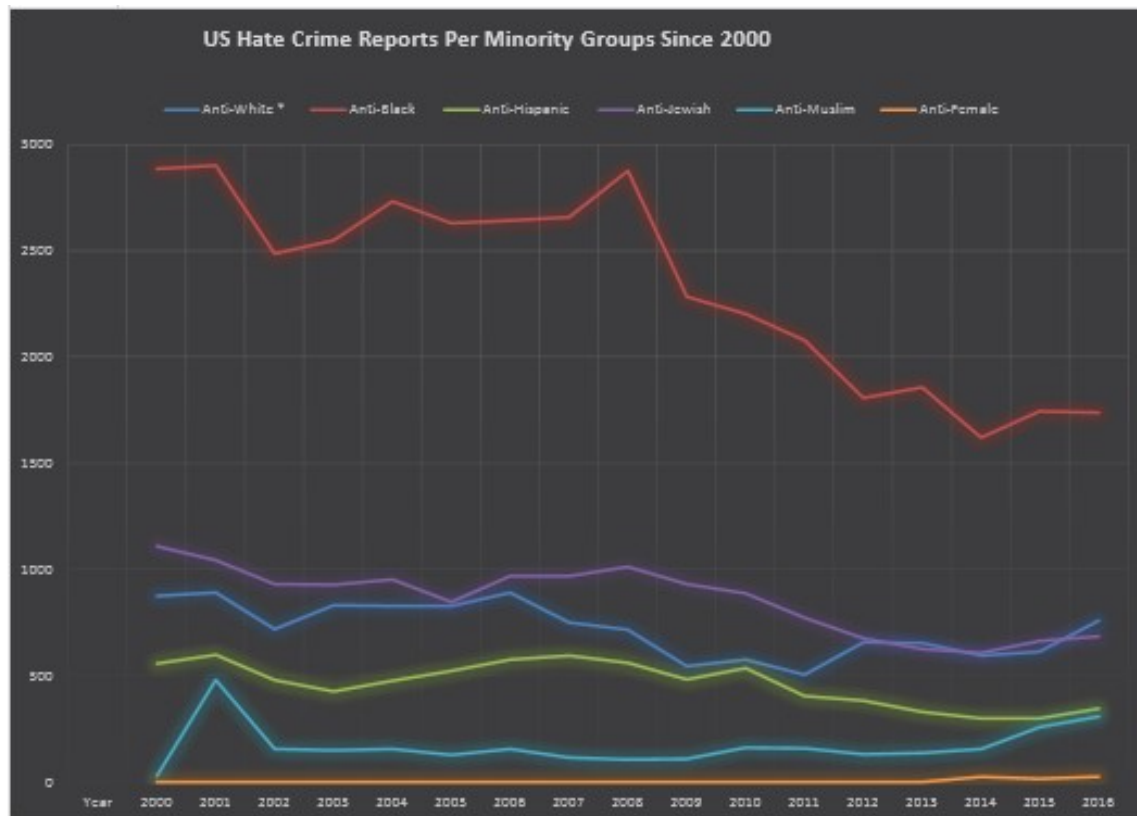
<b>Hate Crime Reports by Group Bias</b>						
<i>Bias Motivation</i>	<b>Anti-White *</b>	<b>Anti-Black</b>	<b>Anti-Hispanic</b>	<b>Anti-Jewish</b>	<b>Anti-Muslim</b>	<b>Anti-Female</b>
<b>Year</b>						
2000	875	2884	557	1109	28	N/A
2001	891	2899	597	1043	481	N/A
2002	719	2486	480	931	155	N/A
2003	830	2548	426	927	149	N/A
2004	829	2731	475	954	156	N/A
2005	828	2630	522	848	128	N/A
2006	890	2640	576	967	156	N/A
2007	749	2658	595	969	115	N/A
2008	716	2876	561	1013	105	N/A
2009	545	2284	483	931	107	N/A
2010	575	2201	534	887	160	N/A
2011	504	2076	405	771	157	N/A
2012	657	1805	384	674	130	N/A
2013	653	1856	331	625	135	N/A
2014	593	1621	299	609	154	23
2015	613	1745	299	664	257	16
2016	760	1739	344	684	307	24

\*WHITE includes people having origins in Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes those of Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian decent.

Reprinted from: Maali, Luqman. *"The Trump Effect: Impacts of Political Rhetoric on Minorities and America's Image."*. MS thesis, Harvard Extension School, 2018, p. 41. Web 10

Aug 2020

Figure 01



Reprinted from: Maali, Luqman. “*The Trump Effect: Impacts of Political Rhetoric on Minorities and America's Image.*”. MS thesis, Harvard Extension School, 2018, p. 42. Web 10 Aug 2020.

On table 01; figure 01 reveal that the two considerable spikes in anti-Muslims happened in 2001 and 2015. Hence we match this rise with the two prominent events in which are 09/11 attack and Trump’s populist campaign, which both had heavy media coverage about Islam. Starting with numbers of hate crimes in George Bush’s era, the high spike after 09/11 is analyzed as a backlash to this tragic event and the following decrease proved that Bush’s policy envisioned the dangers of the crimes, he was able to convince the people to wage a war on terrorism but in his rhetoric sought to keep the unity of society, he preserved the social peace and prevented escalating violent events in the country. The following years of his period the rise was steady marking phantom increase in 2006.

In 2008, after Obama election an overall decrease in the different types of hates crimes is marked except for the Blacks and this strengthen our previous arguments concerning the discontent after Obama election as a factor to the resurgence of White Supremacy. A significant spike in 2010 was the ripple of the grassroots of Tea Party where Islamophobia was highly discussed which paved the way to populism, after that the crime was slowly decreasing in Osama's period. Although there were other populist nominees in the rightwing Republican Party but his candidacy had crucial impact on the hate crimes, other nominees have neither his audacity in rhetoric nor his extreme decisions such as the Muslim Ban. However, his 2015 campaign upended the rhythm of the crimes against Muslims and our comparative analysis directly links this rise to Trump.

In 2015, when Trump called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States", the following 10 days reported that hate crimes against Muslims and Arabs across the country spiked to 23%, a comparative analysis reveals the link between the rhetoric and the public actions, taking Bush and Trump as evidence to prove the arguments. September of 2001 was the worst rates of crimes against Muslims, however when Bush after 6 days from the attack addressed to the nation that "the face of terrorism not the true face of Islam" the crimes decreased by two-thirds the next day and the decrease continue in the following year shows Bush ability to absorb the anger of the people. Whereas, the spike of crimes against Muslims increased to nearly 67% in 2015 right after the "Muslims Ban" suggestion, followed by an increase around 20% in 2016 (Kunzulman).

According to our findings and to the social scientists studies who contend that populism could be a panacea or pathology, according to these statistics Trump's populism was pathology. Another argument that bolsters our finding is the multiple crimes done in the name of Trump, mottos seen in the rallies and in vandalism had nativist phrases with Trump name in it like "Trump nation for white only"(PimpoJr). Statistics from FBI revealed that anti-

Muslims were increasingly getting closer to the highest peak of 2001, the number of crimes was almost close to be doubled in 2015, from 154 incidents in 2014 to 257 in 2015 and it reached 307 incidents in 2016 (Maaili table 5 p45 ). While according to Pew Research Center, assaults against Muslims surpassed 2001 level (Kishi).

Before starting investigating the causal connection between Trump and hate crimes against Muslims our previous findings suggest that not only Trump campaign has the effect on the rise, there was also a backlash since the timing of the campaign coincides with domestic terrorism attacks (San Bernardino and Orelando nightclub shooting) and the Syrian refugee crisis. Rightwing populism of Trump used these events to weave hate and xenophobic fears, his unwillingness to keep the social peace in the country; his opportunistic populist policy to these events chose to divide society into two groups putting Muslims in the basket of “them”.

The SPLC reported hundreds of incidents toward ranges of groups in the five days post election which include a Muslim woman in train called terrorist and threatened that Trump is going to deport her, another Muslim high school teacher received a note which tells better to hang off with her head scarf because “it is not allowed anymore”(SPLC). Also a note was found in an Islamic centre contains that Trump is going to “cleanse America” and “would start by you Muslims”(Revesz). Other people were bolstering their hate by Trump like when a Muslim driver was slurred as “scumbag” and “terrorist” hinting to a close deport by the Trump administration.

All these associated incidents with his names along with other mortal crimes like the Indian engineer who was mistaken as Muslim were neglected by Trump who usually rushed to tweet any incident done by a Muslim in inside or outside USA. Trump usually tweets to respond any TV show or person criticise him, attended a show just to prove his hair is not

“inanimate object” as Vanity Fair called it and yet he was always silent when it comes to a hate crime (Yan et al; Gokaniksel and Smith). This silence and neglect to crimes combine with his violent inciting campaigns make it look like it is eligible in to attack Muslims the eyes of Muslims haters.

In the campaign, he promised to “beat the savages” referring to his policy towards Muslims is inspirational, it encouraged people to perpetrate a crime because American people are well known by a high patriotism, and when hate comes from a leader it might be perceived as a national problem that require patriot’s intervention. Hence, his rhetoric about Muslims as dangerous for the national security of the country has found resonance.

Our qualitative content analysis of table 02 contains data from Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism (Levin16), and these data as it was mentioned before are proven to be intermingled, under-representative and underreported (i.e the real numbers are much higher), those data we worked on matching them with other statistical data concerning the city political affiliation (Association Press) and the Muslim population of these cities (pewforum.com) to draw the following table:



Table02: Muslims Hate Crimes in Relation to The Popular Votes of 2016's elections

State	2015	2014	% change	Rep	Dem	Muslim numbers per state(%)	Rep/Dem tendency
California	40	15	+122%	32%	62%	3697(1%)	MMD
Colorado	1	2	-50%	43%	48%	504 (1%)	LCW
Idaho	2	0	+2%	59%	28%	320(1%)	MMR
Illinois	2	4	-50%	38%	55%	1326(1%)	MMD
Iowa	1	0	+1%	57%	42%	330(1%)	LCW
Kansas	1	1	--	56%	36%	307(1%)	MMR
Kentucky	13	0	+13%	63%	33%	439(<1%)	MMR
Michigan	27	18	+50%	47%	47%	982(1%)	MD
Minnesota	11	8	37,5%	45%	46%	563(1%)	LCW
New Jersey	14	4	250%	41%	55%	886(3%)	SMD
New.York	33	24	37,5%	37%	56%	1966(2%)	MMD
Ohio	15	10	50%	51%	43%	1132(1%)	LCW
Oklahoma	1	1	--	65%	29%	391(1%)	MMR
Rhode Island	2	2	66,7%	39%	54%	305(1%)	MMD
Tennessee	10	6	128,6%	61%	35%	661(1%)	MMR
Texas	16	7	128,6%	52%	43%	2535	MMR
Virginia	7	5	40%	44%	50%	882(1%)	LCW
Wyoming	0	0	--	68%	22%	316(1%)	MMR

Table keys: **MMR**: Much More Republican, **MMD**: Much More Democratic, **MD**: More

Democratic **LCW**: Like the country as a whole, **SMW**: Somewhat more Dem.

The table 02 reports the available data of 20 (Levin) states classified using the graduality in tendency of Rep/Dem states in 2016 elections (Association Press et al), and also the number and percentage of Muslims per state (Junior), in order to conduct a comparative analysis between 2014/2015 for the purpose to link the hate crime with Trump's anti-Muslims

rhetoric in his campaign relying on the cities where he found much support as well as the availability of Muslims in those cities contending that Muslims' population in these 20 cities are about 1% or more with the exception of New Jersey (3%) and New York (2%). The table shows that the percentage surpassed 100% in Texas, New Jersey and California which have large populations of Muslims where the spike reach the highest rate in New Jersey (the highest Muslim population percentage), although the city is somewhat Democrat but the availability of Muslims spiked the crimes and it proves the impact of the political discourse even though it does politically, similarly could be said about California which is much more Democratic but the availability of Muslims spiked the crimes despite the little support to Trump it could be explained as his speeches have found the approbation of many even if they don't support him politically, his rhetoric is still encouraging to hamper the liberties of Muslims and disrespect them. Also, the much more Republican state of Kentucky went from no crime to 13 crimes which prove the impact of Trump rhetoric in both Texas and Kentucky. Moreover, a considerable spike is marked in the much more Republican cities Tennessee, Idaho with the exception of no spike in Oklahoma and Kansas, in addition to considerable spike in Ohio (like the country as a whole) and Michigan where Trump and Clinton have the same percentage of votes to show once more the power of the rhetoric of Trump, the spike is marked in all the rest of the Republican cities in the table to be added as an evidence to the overall spike in hate crime after Trump rhetoric especially in the states that voted for him where the spike is much more higher.

### **3.5. Populism Challenge to the Liberal Democracy in the US:**

The word democracy was never mentioned in the constitutional papers but the USA and yet it is the struggle and the sacred privilege that Americans are always proud of, Rightwing populism is challenging the American democracy since the mid of the twentieth century, the

general will of the people has deviated from a progressive leftwing that sought for a social democracy to an authoritarian democracy and demagoguery where Trump era is no exception in the American history. As Gokariksel echoed in his journal article:

Trump is not an aberration but perhaps a more transparent revival of nationalist tendencies and white supremacy that is an integral part of US history through the erasure of native people, slavery, and the Jim Crow era, as well as through the scapegoating of Othered workers in the Chinese Exclusion Act and the paranoia of enemies within that led to the Japanese internment. (Gokariksel03)

The way that Nationalism, white supremacy and xenophobia was invigorated by Trump is detrimental to the liberty of minorities and it proved the counter productivity and the dangers of populism as a policy. Trump via his policies undermined the American history and its democratic achievements, their consequences on the American society not only spiked hate crimes towards all minorities but also negatively affected politics. Trump's vision to the pillars of the nation was marked by an indifference and carelessness before he even got to power, not only his inferior look to non-whites is denying the unity and equality within the nation but also his early call to outlaw the electoral college shows that his will for establishing his own rule is unstoppable

Trump's authoritarian populism has harmed the judiciary systems and the freedom of speech that was preserved in the first amendment. His continuous firing to whoever opposes him distorted the image of USA as the beacon of democratic values. The longstanding tendencies to conservative authoritarianism within the Republican Party made the crisis even muddier as it met with a leader with the same criteria of these tendencies. However, the presence of authoritarian supporters cannot explain how far Trump could go.

All analyses to his odd personality that is full of complexes raised fears about the future of USA. Douglas Kellner's analysis to Trump as chaotic, dangerous, destructive and risky to meditate of him as a president, he also denotes the “worrisome to contemplate that Trump has developed a following through his demagoguery and that authoritarian populism constitutes a clear and present danger to U.S. democracy and an American Nightmare, that threatens world peace and global stability” (39).

Moreover, Trump's catchy word “you are fired” from his famous show the “Apprentice” was powerfully present in the white house since his campaign journey. Tensions with the judiciary branch escalated, it was clearly present in the strong quarrels of the passing of the Muslim Ban. Malfunction and imbalance of the three branches is discerned as Trump conspires with his administration workers as well as his selectivity when hiring is exclusive to his proponents. As a result, ambiguities occur like when his former advisor Don Mc Gahn refused to testify against him during the impeachment investigations (Gersen), further suspicions to this malfunction was the neglect of the case by the judiciary branch.

Trump escalated undermining to democracy has led many sides to intervene to warn people about the magnitude of his threat to democracy. In 2020, in a symbolic way Obama with a background containing the word “constitution”, spoke about the failure of Trump to preserve the democratic values of the nation and called for a support to Joe Biden .in addition to the whole Democrats and Bernie Sanders aligned to warn people of the Trump threat. While the former president and many Democrats participated in George Floyd’s marches. Trump, on the other hand, worsened his image by his low critics to the protestors undermining by this the freedom of expression and the case of the Black Lives Matter ‘s movement.

Conversely, Trump’s attacks on politicians not only worsened the debate but also created a deep polarisation between the two parties’ policies. Many Republicans were ashamed of

him and turned to Democrats (Bradner). His temperament and attacks against criticsers were leading to a willingness of autocracy, his former attorney warned that "Donald Trump believes that he should be the ruler -- the dictator of the United States of America. He actually is looking to change the Constitution. When Donald Trump jokes about 12 more years... he is not joking. Donald Trump does not have a sense of humor," (Leblanc).

Trump logo of making America great again was specified and attracting for it mirrors a different long demanded system by conservatives, a logo that fits those who are discontent with the liberal acts of equality, liberty and freedom. For them the Americanization is gradually fading by the increasing diversity and an Islamization authorised by the freedom's laws. Traditional values of a Christian society are deteriorating in front of liberalism, and the hegemony and superiority of Whites are provoked by the demands of equality in movements like Black Lives Matter.

Not only Trump oppose criticism, multiculturalism or liberal democracy, his supporters preferred an anti-establishment leader because they look for a potent governance free from liberal constraints, their anger of the free press, constitutional courts and individual rights is justified as they are making the policy more problematic, weakening national sovereignty and force people to equalize with others who are unlike them, liberalism did not converge people like an ethnicity, religion or heritage did. Consequently many scholars see the real danger to democracy is not autocracy rather it is the fight against the liberal principles and the institutions of the modern democracy which happens through RWP (Galston 30).

In fact, the whole attention of the studies bestowed to the modern populism is because of its threat to democracy. Populism's aggravations are not in majoritarianism or popular sovereignty, rather its striving for an illiberal democracy is what will ultimately pave the way to autocracy. Surveys say that the American support to liberal democracy is falling especially

amongst the young people whereas an open support to alternatives to liberal democracy is rising ( Galston31). Freedom, equality and liberty persist as a complex term in the canon of the American society and politics. Hence, “liberal democracy will endure as long as citizens believe that it is worth fighting for. Despite some troubling signs, most Americans still think that it is.”(Galston33).

The Muslim Ban appears to be appealing for many Americans, but it is unconstitutional and against the legal traditions of USA. It is harmful for USA since it may turn the Muslims countries against the help of fighting terrorism as previously mentioned the experts contend that best allies to fight terrorism are Muslim countries, so they see the Ban an awful idea. Also, after the ban many debates were raised concerning its veracity to the national security and it is proven that most attacks are conducted by people born and raised in USA and the banned countries did not previously have any suspicious terrorism in USA. Though 09/11 was conducted by Saudis and Egyptians, they were not on the list and Trump maintains friendly relations with their leaders so Trump proved that his policies are only seeking for the crude appeals and are rather a decline in the level of the political discourses. It was referred to his campaign as “Make Trolling Great Again” (Heikkilä).

Moreover, the human rights are giving the USA iterative warnings for breaking the international laws of refugees and immigration policies. As nativism and nationalism are a disruption to the social evolution of humanity, the impact of the hate crimes on Muslims was proven that it hampered the assimilation and integration of Muslims, and slowed their productivity and participation in society since the women labour decreased and so the intermarriage with other groups. Hate crime made them more introvert in addition to psychological damages regarding the disruption of this religious freedom.

Trump made the religious persecution legal and denigrate the equality, freedom and liberty of Muslims harming by this the politics and the culture of USA, made the political

discourse more shallow and dishonest where its results was popped out in 2020 election when the polarization of the political debate was in the form of ad hominem, attacks and coalition of Democrats against Trump. The cost of voting for a demagogue and RWP policies were clearly seen in Trump mishandling the Covid19 pandemic. USA was among the worst developed countries in handling the crisis.

### **Conclusion:**

Inquiring in the multifaceted scope of populism complied directing the research toward a critical approach that comprised the use of qualitative analyses so that they protrude the efficacy and dangerous implications of populism. Within a multicultural nation where culture and society are fastly changing, populism is a lucrative term to sensitive identifying principles to the US nation's identity. Although, populism has hit all diversities and interrupted the social development of the US nation its effect on Muslims can give new horizons to rightwing populism and the worldly incumbent politics in general. Choosing the populist anti-Muslims rhetoric is giving consideration to the echo of anti-Muslims rhetoric of a superpower nation like USA that goes beyond the nation's borders and would widen the scope of rightwing populism studies. Accepting Muslims and Islam as a part of Western American society is not a traditional diversity problem, populism affected Muslims minority because not only the racialization of Islam is causing tyranny and violence but also its politicization is harmful to the American politics and society. Claiming a fear of Islam as an ideology and at the same time insisting on indulging it within politics is constructing contradictions and convictions about both Muslims and the US democracy. Trump's populism controversy as an aberration or a normalcy whether or not is compromised, the future of American and global politics will be powerfully impacted by his anti-Muslims policy influencing by that the field of rightwing populism studies.

## General Conclusion:

Since 2010, an increasing devotion of researches is exhausted by populism for its strong resurgence has been implying a new vision to politics and democracy. The democratic level preoccupies ambiguity, confusion and retreat in the most developed countries that are adhering to liberal democracy. Islam position as a common point in the different right-wing populisms in the Western countries incited many researches. Its peculiar exposure and role in the incumbent displayed populism incited to probe the perceptions and implications of anti-Muslims rhetoric where loose stimuli and effects such as: fear of terrorism, Islamization of America, hate crimes ....etc, have not merely interpreted the powerful existence of the surge as they were crucial for the studying the social impact of this phenomenon.

The role of the new surge of Trump's populism in the modern American politics is dangerous; its fusion with nationalism, xenophobia and nativism aided Trump populist agenda and manipulated the average mind American, it marked a decline in the political discourse and a distraction against effective addressing of solutions to the real political and economic problems in USA. Populism empowered the role of the Christian religion in politics. Through history Conservatism was the cradle of nationalism, xenophobia and nativism, their fostering has proved its negative effects on both the minorities and the political constitutions for they undermine the pluralistic democratic coexistence of the different diversities and intimidate the social security when their hegemonic desires goes to the extremes.

Conservatism and Christian ideologies are tightly related to the Republican Party, their influence made the party adoptive to all the misdemeanours within the rightwing populism and their ideology is a striking reason to the ascension of Trump and the huge affection to his populist rhetoric. The influence and the role paraded by Christians elaborate eagerness to political hegemony which has turned their historical, old version of paranoia and xenophobia



into a RWP that demonizes minorities for the sake of denying their advantageous rights of protection and to justify taking away their liberal democratic rights by providing a bunch of straw man arguments.

The tempting populist promises attracted Christians which involve securing the borders from terrorism and immigrants, bringing more jobs to the real Americans....etc. Trump in his campaign conveyed the voice of the people as the victim of corrupt elite who neglect the interests of the people as well as blaming the minorities for the plights of the people. It was a revolt against the liberal and equal rights. The “savior” Trump was the real voice of the people who prioritise against all the evil “other” in the dichotomy of the populist rhetoric.

Deconstructing the societal support to Trump required spotting right wing principles in which they proved to cohere with the traditional values and ideologies of the conservative Americans and this has interpreted the huge appeal bestowed to Trump by Evangelicals. The Evangelicals are looking for political power and coding the cultural and social norms of USA according their own desires. The rightwing is their political correctness to USA. Trump success was pushed by an economic plight resulted in shifting the votes of white middle class to Republican Party after the failure of Democrats to respond the anxieties of the people, a globalised economic system without a globalised politics handed politics to the neoliberal Republicans. Also the cultural dilemmas are denying the existence of Islamic traditions and culture within the country and a mounting white lash is ensuring that diversities are not celebrated anymore, due to the threat of a white decline; it is rather seen as a menace. Globalisation and neo-liberalism compelled populism. Social, cultural and political insecurities pushed the society to blame minorities for all the problems.

Discerning the joint between the escalating victimizations of Muslim minority, crimes and harassments with the populist rhetoric of the candidate Trump proved a significant

influence. However, investigating the spurs behind the tremendous effectiveness of politicization of Islam gave multiple stimulating factors like the social media that offered a platform to Muslims haters, unified their agendas and strongly underpinned the RWP anti-Islam rhetoric. Social media eased the revival of white supremacy, exposed the diversity dilemmas within the multiculturalism and more importantly it eased anti-Muslims propagandas and stereotypes that usually mount hate. Consequently, it helped in the smearing and oppressing of Muslims in USA in which the rise of Trump who was the green light to commit crimes.

Despite all damages that Trump have done to society which occurred in many ways: crimes, distrust to politicians, inequality, racism....etc, the destruction of the democratic principles has intrinsically affected Americans. Hence, it urges more researches because our finding on the escalated negative views towards Muslims and Islam in USA suggest a deeper root than the rhetoric of Trump. We suggest that beside the existence of true haters to Muslims in Trump supporters, the overall bad image of Islam is worsened because of the Christians role in politics and their association with Republican Party. The nation is becoming less religious due to this association and the abhorrence to religion affected Muslim because of the Islamic terrorism. Accordingly, the Muslim Ban was convincing and attractive even to non haters all those who dissatisfied with religions are prone to vote for that reason.

The Authoritarian policy of Trump perturbed the Americans expectations and optimistic views about their country as the greatest country in the world, it has been weakened by Trump third world alike policy, and even amongst his supporters many are ashamed of his words and policies.

Manifesting from the controversies of Islam made the success of RWP more effective, defying by that the democratic values. Also when RWP encounters a victim to blame for all

the economic, cultural, social and political turmoil and dissatisfactions like it did with Islam, this will damagingly worsen the security and safeness of Muslims within society. After indulging Muslims in politics by Trump a mounting rise in crimes against Muslims was scored in the successive three years of the campaign. Our research has shaped an analytical study of the appealing of the populist rhetoric as motives to spread hate and inciting crimes. In addition, a comparative and content analysis based on the votes for Trump in the elections has approved a link between the commitment of the crimes and the politics of Trump.

Despite the economic factors is a direct motive to the new surge of populism they are not a sufficient reason to justify the surge or the hostility towards Muslims. RWP fertility in many economically prosperous countries like Switzerland left Islam the common point between the different rightwing populisms in the Western countries. Hence, Islam is a crucial motive to focus on and elaborate the implicative use of Islam in the study of modern rightwing populism. And more in depth analyses need to shed light on the phenomena of the politicisation and racialization of Islam in the modern era because our finding suggest that the Americans were influenced by the increasing Islamophobia in Europe caused by waves of African immigrants and refugees after the Syrian civil war since they have not such things in USA but media made Islam a collective threat to the West.

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